



1548



TO
THE RIGHT NOBLE
AND MOST WORTHY
OF ALL HONOURS, AND
ALL TITLES:

ROBERT Earle of Salisbury, | THOMAS Earle of Suffolk,
Lord High Treasurer of | Lord Chamberlaine to His
ENGLAND, &c. | MAJESTIE.

MY most Honoured Lords, Such is the indulgence of many men, especially Paper-wasters, to their owne imperfections; that when they are receiued with Fauour, and sometimes Pitie, they value them to bee iust such things, as the Mercy and Grace of those, to whom they were giuen, hath made them: And so, by the prosperitie of one fault, become confident to commit the second. I am afraid to be found in this List: that hauing about me a conscience oftrespasse in my first Dedication of this TRANSLATION to your Honours, dare yet attempt you with the latter: All that will saue me in the Imputation, is, that I did then dedicate my selfe, with my vtmost abilities: From which, the frailities that accompany Humanitie, Errors, are not easily separated. Yet, if in this second Edition they appeare lesse, either by my own industry, or the Printers, though not all found and weeded; that very study of bettering and hand-foming the VVORKE, will (I hope) commend both it and me, to your LL. fauour: which Fauour (next to diuine Grace)! proclaim,

A

claime, to haue beene the chearing meane, and inspiring power, enabling me to these, and more, that shortly couet the Light vnder your *Honours* names: At the foot of which two *Pillars* (may they be renowned as those of *Gades*) I haue written my *Terme* or *Bound*. There I wil stay, and contemplate your Vertue: which if in others breasts it finde Court, and Reuerence, in mine it hath Religion, and a Temple. And Iustice hath well provided, that such, who are not equall in Ceremonie, may yet be better in Devotion: by how much the study of Truth exceeds that of Shew.

Your LL. deuoted in all
duty and service,

EDWARD GRIMESTON.



AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Gentlemen:



Hope you expect no long Apologic, either to recommend this Work, or to excuse my owne weakness. This French History hath beene a long probationer with you, & it seemeth you haue giuen it a good applause: for I heare, the Book sellers shops are unfurnished. As for my defects, I confesse ingenuously that my Labors are unworthy of your reading. But your kind acceptance of my endeauors, haue giuen me courage to continue this presumption, hoping that if I doe not merit thanks for my Labours, yet I shall procure pardon for what you shall find amisse. The Printer desiring to bring this History the third time to the Presse, importuned me to continue it to these later times, wherunto I did the more willingly yeeld, being loath that any one should vndertake my taske whilst God giueth me health and ability. I haue continued it from the death of the last French King Henry the fourth, vnto the last Peace concluded in the yere 1622. I haue not found Iohn de Serres nor Peter Mathew to translate, but haue collected it out of the best Authors I could get, which haue written of this Subiect: there is nothing of mine owne: I haue related euery thing plainly and truly without any passion, for the which my Authors shall be my warrant. I haue contracted some Articles in Treaties and Edicts, in the body of the History, but yet haue left the full sense: And

A 2 haue

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The successe of
the French
army in Gui-
enne.The exploits of
the Prince of
Wales.

Then the Kings armies march into diuers parts, vnder the commands of the Dukes of Aniou and Berry, and the Constable *Guesclin*, to whose wifedom, (and especially to the Chancellor *Doutmaars*) they attribute the obedience of the people of Guienne, discretely praftised by them. Limoges and Cahors yeeld at the fight of the Kings armie. Carlar, Bergerac, S. Seuer, and in the end Rochel by siege: and by the successe of these Cities (reduced to the Kings obedience by force) S. Ian d'Angely, Angouleme, Xaintes, Fontenay, Parthenay, and many other townes obey voluntarily. The fortresses of Mortaigne, Lusignan and Sanzay, are added to this conquest, and in the end Tours stretcheth forth her hands to the King, and shakes off the English yoke. Whilest the Kings armie performed these happy exploits in Guienne: the Prince of Wales (a hardy and generous warrior) B to turne aside this deluge, (the which he fees falling vpon the Country of Bourdeaux) resolves to enter by another quarter, which (fearing no enemy) should be found without defence. Having made a flying campe of English and Gascons, well armed, hee slips into Auvergne, from thence into Bourbonnois and a Berry: where hauing refreshed his troopes some dayes, hee passeth into Forest; and gathering together the boates vpon the Riuer of Loire, hee passeth ouer at Marigny of Nunnes, and so crossing Malconnois, hee comes into Bourgogne: where finding all desert without victuals, all being caried into walled Townes, by the care of *Philip* the Kings brother,) he marcheth into Auxerrois, and from thence into Gafinois: in the end hee flayes before Espernay, with an armie of twenty thousand men, which terrifies the whole country, and takes the Towne easily, being not released.

Charles recalls his army out of Guienne, giuing the Constable *Guesclin* commission to stop this streame, the which he executes so happily, as all this cloud was presently dispersed: so as the Prince of Wales could hardly retire himselfe to Bourdeaux, not laden with spoiles as in former times, but with shame and losse.

This was the successe of the first passage the English made through France. But what is become of our Nauarros? Wee haue obserued how hee made his peace with King *John*, when as he returned from prison. He, thence retired himselfe quietly into his Realme of Nauarre, dissembling his iualouie, and watching all opportunities to crosse the affaires of *Charles*, who spared him with so great respect. The neernes of Bourdeaux was a fit meane D for him to continue his practices with the English vnder hand: although by meanes of the Queene, he entertained a shew of friendship with *Charles*'s brother in law.

Castile ministred matter of employment for our warriors, with a very notable successe: *Peter* King of Castile, sonne to *Alphonfus* (making great profession of loue to the French) married *Blanche* the daughter of *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and sister to *Joane* the wife of our *Charles* the Wife, and so brother in law to the King. Whiuest the Castilian loued his wife, the alliance and friendship of our King was his greatest honour: but abandoning himselfe to a strumpet named *Padille*, he forooke all duty to his Wife, left France, and linckt himselfe with the English, against his sworne faith to his allies. To this trechery he addes the murder of his wife, and a cruel tyranny against his subiects. E

These execrable proceedings procured the wrath of God against him, with the hatred both of great and small, which drew him headlong to his ruine: *Alphonfus* his father making him his heire and successor of his realme of Castile, had bequeathed a legacy by testament to *Henry* his bastard sonne, a vertuous man, that is to say, as lawfull by his vertue, as *Peter* was growne degenerate by his vices: and as greatly beloued of the people, as *Peter* was hated in general by reason of his abominable life. Hee spoiled *Henry* his brother of this legacie, the which his father had left him: but thinking to take from another, he lost his owne. For *Henry* thus ill increased, flies to Pope *Vrbans*, then resident at Auiignon, beseeching him to vse his authority by admonitions to his brother, aduising him to restore that which his father had giuen him. *Vrbans* inclining to his iust request, cites them both to appear before the Consistory, to draw them to their duties: *Peter* not onely refuseth to obey the Pope, but doth outrage to his Nuncio. *Henry* thus repulsed, repaires to *Charles*, by the meanes of *Peter* of Bourbon, brother to the Queene of Castile, whom her husband *Peter* had murdered. The indignitie of this fact procured *Henry* great succours from King *Charles*, euen at such a time as he wanted worke for his men of war. The command of this army was giuen to *Peter* of Bourbon a Prince of the blood, with the counsell and direction of the Constable *Guesclin*, who also bare the name, as he tooke the greatest pains. The

Peter King of
Castile mur-
ders his owne
wife.Charles sends an
armie into
Castile.

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The Castilians
reuelo guilt
Peter, and expect
him.The King of
England suc-
cours Peter, and
restores him.

A The army is leauied in Languedoc by the kings command, and the exceeding care of the Duke of Berry Gouverneur of that Country, to the incredible ioy of many voluntaries, who went cheerfully to so iust a warre: the successe was both happy and speedy. Suddenly as the French army appeared for the succour of *Henry*, all the Castilians reuolt against *Peter*, who with great difficulty saues himselfe with his concubine and three daughters he had by her, and one onely seruant, carying nothing with him but a little ready money, and the misery of a dispossessed Prince.

This his calamity did first moue the Prince of Wales to compassion, and then his father *Edward*, commanding his sonne to succour him with all his forces, the which hee perfor- B med speedily with a goodly army, meaning to crosse the designs of our *Charles*: but (oh the patience of God, which giues a sinner so long a time of repentance, that in the end (without any excuse) he might pay both the principall and interest!) the successe of this English army was such, in fauour of *Peter* of Castile, as hauing vanquished the French army, by an notable defeat of foure and twenty thousand men; taken *Guesclin* the Constable, *Arnould* of Andreghen Marshall of France, and many other great men prisoners; *Peter* was restored to the possession of his Realme, and *Henry* dispossessed; who escaped hardly in this great danger, and retires himselfe into Languedoc, to *John* Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and Gouverneur of that Country. But after this gracious assistance of Gods mercy, his iustice must take place, as it did against *Peter* by this meane. *Henry* being courteously receiued by the Pope and the Duke of Berry, and the Constable *Guesclin* set at liberty with all his companions, hauing payed their ransomes to the Prince of Wales, he recouers a second ayd by the bounty of our wife *Charles*, and the diligence of the Duke of Berry, to attempt anew the recovery of the Realme of Castile. The Constable *Guesclin* was appointed to this charge, to withstand the first checke, if it were possible. The euent answered the proiect, and by an admirable meane, the which ruined *Peter* through his owne folly.

This tyrant (growne proud by the wishfull successe of the English forces) makes no regard to satisfie the Prince of Wales for the charges of this warre (although the successe were to his good) but busying himselfe to take reuenge on such as had risen against him, D he contemned such as had succoured him: yea treading all piety vnder foot, hee called himselfe with the King of Belle-marine a Sarazin, and (marrying his daughter) hee abjured the Christian Religion, holding the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, to be more certaine and profitable, then all the forces of England. But it fell out contrary to his conceit, for *Henry* assisted by the Constable *Guesclin*, and the French Forces, hauing wonne five battels against *Peter*, in the end hee was quite defeated and taken prisoner.

Hauing him in his power, at the Castilians suite (wonderfully incensed against this tyrant) he caused his head to be cut off, reaping the fruits of his impiety, the which made him to forsake the true religion: of his vanity, trusting to a rotten plancke, with the losse of his conscience; and of his exceeding cruelty, hauing murdered his wife, tyrannized ouer his subiects, and spoyled his brother of his Estate against all right. Hee that E writes the History of Spaine, reports that hee was slain by his brother Duke *Henry* in *Guesclins* Tent, being come out of Montiel vpon his assurance. An excellent lesson for all men, especially for great Princes, nor to dally with God, who punisheth heynous crimes with heynous punishments euen in this life, attending the euerslasting paine in the life to come.

Charles King of Nauarre was much perplexed, seeing himselfe betwixt two armies, for desiring to be a neuter, and to please both, he knew not how to gouerne himselfe. He seeks to entertaine both *Charles* and *Edward*, although hee were more ingaged to the English, and could not well trust his brother in law, hauing greatly offended him. So he lets the English armie to passe through his dominions when it marched into Castile, to succour *Peter*, and suffered himselfe to be taken prisoner by *Oliver* of Mauny, a Gentleman of Britaine, who led him into Castile, to make the English think he had beene forced; and the French, that he did willingly employ himselfe for them, being in their troopes.

A miserable hypocrisie, which of a matter makes himselfe a slave, who might haue beene one of the chiefe of the army, without this wretched dissembling. The good and wise King, taught by the example of his father *John*, that an Ecle is lost by ouer-gripping it, desired onely to pacifie his brother in law, although he were well acquainted with his bad

Peter forsaken
by the English,
is taken prisoner.

and beheld

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The Navarraise
leeked to pay-
son King
court.

bad disposition, and the practices he continued with England. So he gave him a safe conduct to come vnto him, and restored vnto him Mantes and Meulan, and the free possession of his lands in Normandy: but this Prince fraught with malice, could not bee reclaimed, neither by the Kings prosperity, nor by his clemency: for (not trusting him) hee retires to his Realme of Navarre, where he continues his old practices with the English: he helps the Britton with men out of Normandy, and attempted against the Kings person, seeking to payson him by *Jaquet Rue* and *Peter* of Tertre, his domestick servants: who were executed, and the Navarraise places seized on, as guilty of high treason. Thus *Charles* was forced to fight against his own blood, and to haue the malice of his kinsmen and allies. No small combat for a great Prince.

The death of
both Edwards.

We haue discoursed at large of the valour and happy successe both of *Edward* the third, King of England, and of *Edward* his sonne Prince of Wales. But as humane things are not durable, to there chanced a great accident vpon his returne from the warre of Castile, which brought them both to the graue. The Prince of Wales finding himselfe threatened with a droopie, passed from Bourdeaux into England, to take the ayre of his native country, but he died soone after his arrival, the 46 year of his age. A Prince of great hope, not only lamented of his friends, but commended of his enemies. *Edward* the father, seeing his right arme (as it were) cut off, died for griefe: leaving *Richard* the sonne of his sonne *Edward* in his place, who was receiued (without any question made by his vncles) as the first by right of succession.

The English
second passage
through
France.

Richard, not to degenerate from the example of his grandfather and father, being crowned King, vndertakes a warre in France: whither he sends a goodly army vnder the command of the Duke of Clarence his vncle, who (hauing landed at Calais) passeth the River of Somme at Clercy neere vpon Peronne, and bending towards Soissons, hee crosseth the River of Oise and Aine. Then marching towards Chalons, hee passeth Marne, and shewing himselfe before Troyes in Champagne, hee spoiles the Country, and so goeth ouer Seine, betwixt Ville-neufue and Souley, and bending towards Beaulieu and Gastoinois hee crosseth into Britany, thereto reuiue the warre in fauour of *John* of Montfort, spoyling the Country with a strange desolation. On the other side there lands another army at Bourdeaux, the which hauing entered the Country, fortified such places as held for the English, to nourish the seeds of this new warre. In the Country of Guenaudan (a diocesse in that large Prouince of Languedoc) there was a Castle neere to Mande named Randon, whereas the English maintained a strong garison, a retreat for theeuers, which did infinite harme in the country. The country hauing sued vnto the King, to free them of this incombrance, he granted them *Guesclin* the Constable, a man of great reputation, but theaemie should be delayed at their charges. Hee comes into Languedoc, besiegeth Randon, and brings them to the last extremity, but as the besieged (not able to hold out) were entered into composition, behold the Constable (sicke to the death) yeelds vp the ghost. At the same instant the place was yeilded vnto the King: so as in signe that the honour of this prize was due to *Guesclin*, the Captaine carried the keyes of the Castle vpon his herse.

The death of
the Constable
Guesclin.

Thus died *Guesclin*, leaving an honourable testimony of his valour and loyalty: and to *Charles* an extreame sorrow for his death, who honoured him with a notable Obsequy, causing his body to be interred with the Kings at Saint Denis: and at the foot of his owne Tombe was that of *Guesclin*, with a burning lampe maintained by foundation, called the *Lampe of Guesclin* vnto this day. King *Charles* had giuen all Bourgongne to his brother *Philip* for his portion, according to the will of his father *John*, as we haue said, and had married him with *Marguerite* the rich heire of Flanders. Being in possession of Bourgongne, there hapned another occasion in Flanders, which won him great credit with those people whom he should command after the death of *Lewis* his father in law, who was yet liuing. The inhabitants of Gand, a mutinous people by nature, who neuer want matter to mutine, had then a great discontent, both against their Earle in generall, (by reason of some new impositions) and against them of Bruges, in particular (iealous to see them in so great fauour with their Prince) by reason of a channell which they had drawne from the river of Lis, for the commodity of the Country: which Riuier crossing the Riuier of Gand, the Gantois supposed it was all theirs in proper: so as none else might vse it without their liking. This ielousie grew so great, that this great City (as big with their wayward and contentious humors, as it was populous and rich) being thus moued, resolues to make

Troubles in
Flanders paci-
fied by *Philip*.

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A shew thereof: and in this fury they make a league, and chooe a head, bearing a marke or token of their faction, and from words they goe to blowes. One called *Leon* (a bold practitioner of popular seditions) was found fit to be the Ring-leader of this tumult: their marke was a white cap for all the troupe. These Gantois gather together, they hinder the work of this channell, and the gathering of the custome, being the cause of this quarrell: they kill Collectors and Receiuers, and in the end the Gouernour of the City called *Roger*, who being there for the Earle, laboured to teach them their duties. Their fury exceeded so far, as they spoile the Earles Palace, fire it, and in their rage pull it downe to the ground. They runne in great troopes to other townes, to draw them to their kagew. They besiege Ypre, held by the Earles men, crying in all places, Liberty, as hauing a meaning to change their Lord, and then to seize vpon Flanders. This cruell disorder amazed the Earle, when as beheld *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, his sonne in law, flies vnto him to quench this fire: and as men admire rather the Sunne rising then setting, and that the name of the House of France, and the greatnesse of his goodly portion gaue him great authority: so it chanced that he pacified this rebellion, to the content both of the Earle and Cities, taking a happy possession of this great inheritance, by a famous and profitable occasion. But Flanders alone was not subiect to these mad mutinies: for those of Montpellier, newly reduced to the obedience of our King, grew into so great a fury, as they flue *Jamys Pontet* a Knight of the Order, and Chancellor to *John* Duke of Berry, Gouernour of the Country, *Guy* of Secry Seneschall of Rouergue, *Arnould* of Montclair, Gouernour of the said City, and other officers of the Kings and Dukes, to the number of fourescore, and cast their bodies into a well. As the outrage was odious, so the punishment was memorable. The Duke of Berry comes with his forces, assisted by the whole Prouince, detesting so foule an insolency, so as the inhabitants (calling to mind their audacious frenzy) resolute to submit themselves to punishment, and not to stand desperately against force.

Se'ition at
Montpellier.

The Consuls of the City hauing halsters about their neckes, and torne clothes, the keyes of the Citie in one hand, and a red cap (the marke of their office) in the other, met with the Duke their Gouernour, being followed by the Clergy (carying a Crosse) all crying for mercy, and weeping with a lamentable noise.

D In this mournfull sort the Duke enters the Citie gates, being without any guard, hee finds the streets full of poore and desolate people, vpon their knees, men and women, old and young, crying for mercy, and redoubling their pitifull cries, as witnesses of their repentance. Then the Duke commands they should presently bring all their armes into one place neere vnto his lodging, placing a guard at the gates, and vpon the walls. The next day he caused a scaffold to be made in the market place, where hauing sharply rebuked the people for their rebellion, he pronounced a sentence in the Kings name, whereby he declares, That all their priuiledges were taken from them, their Consullship, Townehouse, common Arches, Vniuersity, their Bels, Salt-pannes, and all Iurisdiccions of the Citie, either of foueraigne Courts, or of the Commonalty: five hundred inhabitants to be chosen at adventure, condemned to die; that is, two hundred to lose their heads, two hundred to be hanged, and two hundred burnt, their children declared infamous and slaues for euer, and their goods confiscate: The Commonaltie should pay fixscore thousand Frankes of gold, and the charges of the Dukes voyage, and his armies: The Consuls with certaine Councillers that were named, should draw the bodies of such as had bene massacred out of the Well, and bury them: A Chappell should bee built for their obsequies, with the same Bell which did found the Alarm: The gates and Citie wals should be beaten downe, and their armes burnt publicly.

The sentence
pronounced
against them.

This was their doome: but it was moderated at the intercession of Pope *Clement* then resident in Auignon, by the meanes of Cardinal *de la Lune*. The summe was qualified, the priuiledges restored, the gates and wals preferred; but the authors of this sedition were put to death, that the rest of the inhabitants might liue in safety.

is moderated.

A notable preident for subiects to suppress their fury, even when they thinke to haue a iust cause of complaint, feeling themselves surcharged or otherwise greued: considering that errors are sooner committed then repaired: And for Commanders, that it is a dangerous resolution to let loose the reines to a mad multitude, which augments the mischief, supposing to cure it.

Queene *Ioane* wife to our wife *Charles*, daughter to *Peter* of Bourbon, dies about this time,

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time, to the great griefe of her husband, to whom she left two sonnes, *Charles* and *Lewis*, both very young : for *Charles* was borne the 3 of December 1371, and was caried to the Font by *Charles* of Montmorency, and baptised by *Dourmans* Bishop of Beauvais, and Chancellor of France. *Lewis* was Duke of Orleans. She left him also one daughter, *Japhel*, married afterwards to *Richard* King of England. Necessary obseruations for the course of our History.

This good Prince after his wifes death, was nothing healthfull, so as broken with poyson, the which had much weakened him, and with the tedious toyles of his youth, more then with age, he decayed daily, and he himselfe perceived it ; so as feeling the end of his life to approach, remembring what troubles he had past, during the mournfull imprisonment of his father, by the contempt of his young age, lest the like should happen to his sonne *Charles*, vnder colour of his minority, governed by Tutors, he decreed in a generall assembly of the States, by a Law, and an irrevocable Edict, *That after the decease of the King of France, his eldest sonne should succeed him presently, and at the age of foureteene years, should be declared capable to gouerne the Estate alone, and be freed from Tutors*. But (oh the weaknesse of mans wisdom!) he did not foresee that his sonne should be ill gouerned by his Tutors in his minority, that the age of foureteene should not free him from Tutors : and that euen his sonne, coming to mans estate, should giue more scope to the ambition of his owne Vnckles (more worthily to bee called murderers then tutors) then his weakest youth had done.

He had a Fistula in one arme, by the which those ill humors were drawne away, which grew by poyson, and gaue him great ease when it did runne. It chanced this Fistula stop, and then his malady encreased much.

Charles (resolving by this sharpe alarm, to goe the common way of all flesh) calls for his three brethren, *Lewis*, *Iohn*, and *Philip*; and hauing recommended his children and subiects vnto them, he giues them particular aduice for the gouernment of the Realme : leauing the custody of his sonne, and the Regency of the Realme vnto them. Hee died the 16 of September 1380, in the Castle of Beauty, seated vpon the Riuer of Marne. He commanded that *Oliuer* of Clifton should bee Constable, hauing commended his fidelity and sufficiency, and that they should carefully preferre the amity of Germany.

Charles dyes.

Thus died *Charles* the wife, wonderfully beloued and lamented of his subiects, leauing his Realme in good estate, after so horrible a desolation. And although the confusions passed had wonderfully impoverished the subiects, and wasted the Kings treasure, (neither was his reigne free from war) yet did he leaue the Prouinces of his Realme very wealthie, and an infinite treasure in his coffers: although he had built the Louure, Saint Germain in Lay, Montargis, Creil, the Celestines, and some other Churches. Of such power is good husbandry in this Realme, as in riches it yeelds not to the treasures of Peru, nor in fertility to any Country vnder heauen, to subsist amidst so many stormes, and to be presently restored by good husbandry.

His disposition.

An example for Princes to imitate, and not to despaire in like confusions, but to hope for all that may be wished for in the restoring of an Estate, by patience and dexterity, vertues proper to our wife *Charles*. A Prince so much the more praise-worthy, hauing preferred this Estate when it seemed lost; religious, wise, modest, patient, stirring, and staied, when need required; able to entertaine euery man according to his humour : hauing by these vertues wonne a great reputation both within and without the Realme, and honourable to his posterity, as to haue saved France from shipwracke.

He loued learning and learned men : *Nicholas Oresme* was his Schoolemaster, whom he honoured with great preferments. He caused the Bible to be translated into French, imitating Saint *Lewis*. I haue seene the Originall in the Kings lodging at the Louure, signed by King *Charles* and his brother the Duke of Berry. A goodly obseruation of the ancient simplicity of those royall characters. I haue likewise seene a Manuscript of the translation made by the commandement of Saint *Lewis*. He delighted in the reading of the holy Scripture and Philosophy : hauing likewise caused the *Ethickes* and *Politickes* of *Aristotle*, with many bookes of *Tully*, to be translated into French. The fauour he shewed to learned men, stirred vp many good wits, who beganne to draw the Muses from their graues both in France and Italy.

The

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A The History doth particularly note, that he did often visit his Court of Parliament, and his Chamber of accompts : gaue audience vnto suitors, read their petitions, and heard their complaints and reasons, employing some dayes of the weeke, euen in his greatest affaires, to doe those fatherly and royall workes of iustice. Hee tooke great delight to aduance his household seruants, giuing them meanes secretly (and without the priuity of any) to instruct their sonnes, and to marrie their daughters. A testimony of a good conscience, and of a wise man. This bond of loyalty could haue no better foundation, then in transporting it from the father to the sonne, nor almes be better employed then from the master to the seruant.

B Royall vertues, and worthy of eternall memory. But alas ! what shall be the successe of this bounty and wisdom? The reigne of his sonne *Charles* shall be most miserable. He hath done the part of a good brother, of a good father, a good father, and a good King: but God the Soueraigne of Kings, had limited the euents of his cares : to teach vs, (by a notable example) *That vnlesse the Lord build the house the workmen labour but in vaine : if the Lord keepe not the City, the watchman watcheth but in vaine* : for an eternall Maxime of gouernment and State, *Whosoeuer glories, let him glory in the Lord*. But vertues are not hereditary. *Iohn* not very wise, begat *Charles* a wife and happy Prince, and hee begets a stanticke man, vnhappy both in youth and age. We may on the other side oppose other considerations very disputable. Profit aduised him to marrie the heyre of Flanders, not

C onely to pacifie that Country, but also to enlarge his owne dominions, adding thereto that great and rich Estate of Flanders, from whence so many mischiefes haue sprung to France, but his delight made him preferre the faire before the rich. Moreover, the rules of State did not permit him so to aduance his brother, making him in a manner equal to himselfe in power, the which must needs be the cause of many inconueniences, as it after hapned. The cause of his brother *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, is ordered by the same rule; for who can with reason mislike, that *Charles* giues a portion to his brother by his fathers wil; and that in the rich mariage of a Prince his vassall, and of a neere Estate (whereby his Realme was daily annoyed) he preferres his brother before his capitall enemy? But God had referred the honour to himselfe. Bourgongne since *Robert*, the grandchild of *Hugh Capet*, had beene successfully in the power of Princes, who had alwaies done faithful seruice to the Crowne, and now it shall be a scourge vnto it : yet in the end it shall be vnto the Crowne againe, and taken from such as had abused it. Experience doth teach, that in matters of State, the end is not alwayes answerable to the beginning, nor the successe to the designe, to the end that Princes may depend on him who is greater then themselves, who hath made them, and can marre them : and without whom they cannot doe any thing.

Behold the life, death, race, reigne, and manners of *Charles* the fifth called the Wise. But before we enter into the troublesome reigne of *Charles* the sixth, let vs obserue the estate of the Empire and of the Church. We haue said that *Charles* the sonne of *Iohn* King of Bohemia had bene chosen Emperour, and called *Charles* the fourth. He held the Empire two and thirty yeares, beginning in the yeare 1350. So the reignes of *Iohn* and *Charles* his sonne, is contained in this Empire : for he died in the yeare 1378. Before his death he provided that *Winceslas* his sonne should succeed him in the Imperiall dignity. At the first he married *Blanche* Countesse of Valois, daughter to *Charles* Earle of Valois, and sister to *Philip* of Valois the French King, being very young, (for shee was but seuen yeares old when she was betroathed vnto him) hee had bene bred vp in the Court of France, and learned the French humors : he loued our Crowne better then our lawes. A Prince wholly enclined to his owne particular, making shew to loue our Kings, but vnder-hand hee supported their enemies against them.

The estate of the Empire.

F This was the principall reason why his coming into France proued fruitlesse, after so long a voyage and so great expences, ministring a sufficient cause of calouisy to our *Charles*, who gaue him the best entertainment he could, to make him know, that the soueraignty which he pretended to haue ouer France, was but a drama. Yet he suffered the Country of Dauphin (which they called the Empire, as a member of the ancient Realme of Arles) to be wholly infranchised from that subiection, to cut off all pretensions from his successors, embracing the commoditie to settle his affaires euen by their meanes whom he knew were not his friends.

This

1380

The Emperors
disposition:

This Emperour *Charles* the fourth, did all he could both in Italy and Germany to ap-
ply vnto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly enclined to his owne profit, for
the which he vfed the name of iustice and good order, being more learned in law then in
doing right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is he which made the Gol-
den Bull, both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignitie of the
Empire. The former confusions of the Empire had so dispensed all priuate gouernours of
Countries and Cities, as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernment.

Originall of the
Cantons in
Switzerland.

These tyrannicall disorders were the cause of the Cantons in Switzerland, who since
haue established a goodly Common-weale, consisting of thirteene Cantons, who main-
taine themselves with great order and force, hauing the amitie and alliance of the neigh-
bour Monarchs, and an honourable place among the Estates of Christendome vnto this
day. Their particular history belongs not to our subiect, it sufficeth to haue noted their
beginning, and the occasion of their common-weale, newly erected in the disorders of
that age. The Church of Rome was in a very poore estate, first by the continuall factions
of the Guelphes and Gibelins, and of it selfe by a distraction bred by an open schisme,
hauing two Popes, two chaires, two Seas, and a deadly hatred, the which troubled all the
Kings and Princes of Christendome, some defending the Pope, others the Antipope as
his opposite.

Estate of the
Church.

We haue said, that in the reigne of *Philip* of Valois the Pontificall See was translated
from Rome to Auignon, where it continued about 70 years, *Clement* the sixth hauing
bought this Citie for his successors; being a pleasant and fruitful seat. These quarrels
(continued with such violent passions) had tired mens minds like as a long processe doth
weary the most obstinate pleaders. The Popes being absent from Rome, gouerned the
estate of Italy by three Cardinals their Legats, but all went to ruine. *Gregory* the sixth
Limosin, being chosen Pope at Auignon, went to Rome to redresse these confusions,
wherein there was small helpe. Being receiued with an incredible ioy of the Romanes,
and of all Italy, he returns no more to Auignon, but passeth the rest of his dayes at Rome.
After his death the people with all vehemency require a Romane borne, or an Italian for
Pope: but there was some difficulty in the election, for the Colledge consisted for the
most part of French Cardinals, who desired to haue one of their owne nation. They
were much diuided: but the Cardinals (fearing the peoples fury, armed with an intent
to murder them if they did not chooe one of their nation) yeelded to the election of a
Neopolitane, named *Bartholomew*, who was receiued and proclaimed by the name of
Urban the sixth.

Diuiden at
Rome for the
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But within few dayes after, the malecontents retired from Rome (vnder colour to flye
the plague) to Fyndy, a towne in the Realme of Naples (of the French faction) by means
of *Queen Isabe*, where they did chooe *Clement* the 7, a Limosin, who retired to Auignon,
and was opposite to *Urban* the sixth, with open defiance one of another: which schisme
continued vntill the Council of Constance, each Pope with his faction. *Clement* had for
him the Kings of France, Castile, and Scotland. *Urban* had the Emperour, the Kings of
England and Hungary: *Clement* held his seat at Auignon, and *Urban* at Rome. In those
dayes liues *Barthol*, *Baldus*, *Petrarch*, *Boccace*, *Planudes* a Greeke by nation, *Bonaventura*,
and *Iohn Wickliffe*. These hurly-burles touched the hearts, and opened the mouthes of
many good men, wonderfully grieved to see such diuision in the Church, apparently
gowned by the ambition of such as had greatest authority in the same. The writings lye
open to their reasonable complaints, which euery one may reade, without any further
discourse.

An Antipope
chosen.

CHARLES

1380

CHARLES THE SIXT,
The 53. French King.

It is necessary to haue some direction to passe through a Laby-
rinth, so this crooked reigne hath need of some order to guide vs,
in the disorder of so many obscure confusions, which we are to re-
present. I will first obserue the most famous acts and worthiest
personages of this reigne, and then will I distinguish the subiect ac-
cording to the occurrences. This miserable reigne continued 42
years, beginning in the year 1380, and ending in the year 1422.
Charles the sixth succeeded his father *Charles* the fifth, at the age of 12
years, (being borne in the year 1363) he was crowned in the year 80, married in 84, dis-
missed his Tutors to reigne alone in 87, fals into a frenzy in 93, and dies in the year 1422.
So being vnder age with his Tutors, and of age in perfect sense, he reigned thirteen years,
and liued in his frenzy twenty nine years. Who sees not then the iust calculation of for-
tie two years in this reigne?

Necessary ob-
servations for
the vnderstan-
ding of this
reigne.

Charles the fifth his father, had three brethren; *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, *Iohn* Duke of Ber-
ry, & *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne. *Queen Isabe*, daughter to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, wife
to *Charles* the fifth, and mother to *Charles* the sixth, had one brother, *James* Duke of Bour-
bon. These foure Vncles shall play their parts vpon this stage in diuers occurrences; but
let vs adde the rest, euery one shall haue his turne.

We haue said that *Charles* the Wise left two sonnes, this *Charles* the 6, whose reigne we
now describe, and *Lewis* Duke of Orleans. And our *Charles* had three sonnes, *Lewis*, *Iohn*,
and *Charles*, and one daughter named *Katherine*: all by *Elizabeth* of Bauaria, one of the
chiefest fire brands of this Tragedie: an outrageous woman, an vnaturall mother, and al-
together vnworthy of this Crowne. These three sonnes were Dauphins one after another
in their fathers life: but *Charles* succeeded him, notwithstanding all crosses and difficul-
ties of a *Katherine* his sister was married to *Henry* the fifth, King of England; a mournfull
gage of a horrible confusion for this Realme. But alas, how many cruell acts of ambition,
vanity, and trecherie of such as held the helme of this Estate, being either royall persons,
or seled in the highest dignities? How many changes and reuolutions of these froward
humors, daring any thing vnder the liberty of this reigne: the King being either a child,
or sicke, and alwayes weake and vnable to gouerne so great a charge? In the first Scene
of this Tragedy, we shall see the Vncles of this young King in diuision one against another.
Lewis Duke of Aniou (declared Regent, as first Prince of the blood) is crossed by his bre-
thren, the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, and he abuseth his authority imperiously.
Lewis Duke of Aniou being dead, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the 6,
shall take his place, as the first Prince, and shall fall to quarrell with *Philip* the Hardy Duke
of Bourgogne, his Vncle, who dying, shall leave *Iohn* his sonne successor of his ieaalousie,
against *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his cousin. *Iohn* shall exceed all humanitie, and kill him, but
the hatred shall not die, being transplanted into *Charles* Duke of Orleans, sonne to *Lewis*
massacred, the which shall breed infinite troubles. The Dauphins shall play their parts,
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shall spring another *Philip* of Bourgogne, who shall kindle a new fire, to be reuenged of
his fathers death. The stranger is engaged in these ciuill warres: women augment it by
their furies. On the one side *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans: on the other *Isabel* Queene
of France. The Constables of Clifton and Armagnac are likewise drawne in: and the sub-
iect growes licentious in these disorders. Passion preuailes with such a fury, as the mother
forgets the birth of her owne wombe, and so abuseth her authority, as she dares attempt
(against the fundamentall law of State) to giue the Realme to a stranger, who was crowned
and proclaimed King in the heart of France, by her boldnesse.

Strange events

These be the Contents of this wretched reigne, with these two parcels distinctly to be
observed; the Kings Minority, and his Majority, and thereby we shall diuide our whole
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1380

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This Emperour *Charles* the fourth, did all he could both in Italy and Germany to apply unto himselfe the rights of the Empire, being wholly enclined to his owne profit, for the which he used the name of iustice and good order, being more learned in law then in doing right, and hauing more knowledge then conscience. It is he which made the Golden Bull, both to rule the Election of the Emperour, and the rights and dignitie of the Empire. The former confusions of the Empire had so dispensed all priuate gouernours of Countries and Cities, as euery one played the Emperour in his gouernment.

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An Antipope
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CHARLES

1380

CHARLES THE SIXTH, The 53. French King.



It is necessary to haue some direction to passe through a labyrinth, so this crooked reigne hath need of some order to guide vs, in the disorder of so many obscure confusions, which we are to represent. I will first obscure the most famous acts and worst chief personages of this reigne, and then will I distinguish the subiect according to the occurrences. This miserable reigne continued 42 years, beginning in the year 1380, and ending in the year 1422. *Charles* the sixth succeeded his father *Charles* the fifth, at the age of 12 years, (being borne in the year 1368) he was crowned in the year 80, married in 83, dismissed his Tutors to reigne alone in 87, falls into a frenzy in 93, and dies in the year 1422. So being vnder age with his Tutors, and of age in perfect sense, he reigned thirteen years, and liued in his frenzy twenty nine years. Who sees not then the iust calculation of forty two years in this reigne?

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ing of this
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Charles vnwar-
tly married.

Strange events

These be the Contents of this wretched reigne, with these two parcels distinctly to be observed, the Kings Minority, and his Majority, and thereby we shall diuide our whole Discourse.

T

The

1380

The Minoritie of King CHARLES the sixt :

From the yeare 1380, when as CHARLES received the Crowne by the deace of his Fathr, vnto the yeare 87, that he dismissed his Vncles, to rule alone with absolute authority.

Lewis of Aniou
Regent.

THE Generall Estates assemblé at Paris presently after the death of Charles the Wiſe, to provide for the government of the King and Realme; and to avoid all apparent icalouſie betwixt the Kings Vncles, they decreed, *That according to the Declaration made by their good King deaceſed, Charles his ſonne ſhould be anointed and crowned King, and ſhould vntill he were of competent age to gouerne ſo great an Eſtate, Lewis Duke of Aniou (as eldeſt of the Houſe of France, and ſo the firſt Prince of the blood) ſhould be Regent, and haue the authority of Councell and royall Command.* And likewise by vertue of King Charles his will, Oliver of Clifton (a braue and valiant Knight borne in Britany) was made Conſtable of France. Oliver of Clifton tooke poſſeſſion of his charge, preparing for the Kings Coronation: and the Duke of Aniou receiuing the Kings Treafure, which they ſay was eightene hundred thouſand Crownes. A very great ſumme for thoſe times, and after ſo wretched a ſeaſon. He forced *Sanſſy* the head Treafurer, to deliuer thoſe ſummes into his hands, and by this exceſſe laid the ground of a great preſumption which followed.

A controuerſie
for precedence
betwixt the
Kings vncles at
his coronation.

Charles is anointed at Rheims, and crowned after the cuſtome of France, the 25 of October, in the yeare 1380, in a ſolemne aſſembly of his Princes of the blood, Princes allied, and officers of this Crowne. The Dukes of Aniou, Berry, and Bourgongne the Kings Vncles, *Wenelin* Duke of Brabant, the Dukes of Lorraine and Barre, the Earles of Suoy, of Marche, and Eu (friends and confederates to our Kings) did aſſiſt. At this ſolemny there was ſome queſtion for place, whether ſhould take it, the Duke of Aniou as Regent of the Realme, or the Duke of Bourgongne as firſt Peere of France and Deane of the Peeres: diſtinguiſhing the degrees according to their qualities, to whom the order was giuen.

The King to crowne his inſtallment by ſome notable act, tooke vpon him to decide this controuerſie, and decreed, *That for as much as at the Kings anointing, the Peeres of France ought to hold the firſt ranke, in all ceremonies: the Duke of Bourgongne as the firſt Peer ſhould take place of the Duke of Aniou: and ſo Philip was preferred before his elder brother,* continuing the poſſeſſion of the name of Hardy, the which he purchaſed in defending his father *Iohn* ſo ſtoutly at the battell of Poitiers. But he encreaſed this name of Hardy too much in his carriage, leauing it hereditary to his children, conuerting this ſtoutneſſe into an imperious preſumption, which bred a huge deluge of miſeries to the great preiudice of the whole Realme. The day after the coronation, the States beſeech the Regent to provide for the reliefe of the poore people, whoſe burthen was too heauy for the great charges they were to pay of debts growne in former reignes, and the rather for that there was no warre which impoſed the neceſſity of ſo great a charge.

The Regent did not yeeld thereunto, but continued theſe leauies of money more and more, which was the occaſion of tumults in diuers Provinces of France, as if this popular humor had become like vnto a peſilent ſuer, or an infectious diſeaſe. Flanders likewiſe kindled great fires vpon ſundry occaſions, which were quenched with much trouble, after memorable combuſtions. Flanders ſhall embarke firſt in this ſtorme, and ſhall come laſt to land not without danger by ſtrange accidents; to teach Princes how firſt they ſhould preſſe their ſubiects; and for ſubiects, with what reſpect they ſhould reuerence their ſuperiors, in ſeeking out remedies for their afflictions; for in the end (amidſt all theſe tumults) the victors weepe and lament in the ruine and notable loſſe and ouerthrow of the vanquiſhed.

We haue ſayd that *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, made a compoſition for the Gantois, with the Earle of Flanders his father in law. But this accord laſted not long: for the Earle diſdaining the indignities hee had digeſted, during the ſedition, could not forget them: but vnder ſained quarrels, (to the end they ſhould haue no cauſe of complaint, as breaking the accord) he pincheth ſome, and ruines others: and for that the Gantois ſtood vpon their guard, not ſuffering the Earles men to attempt any thing within the limits of their City,

The Earle of
Flanders ſeeks
revenge of his
ſubiects.

1380

A City, he made a ſearch in the Citie of Bruges (where he commanded abſolutely) for ſuch as had been of the faction of White-caps, where he executed aboue 500. This execution kindled a new fire: Gand ſails to armes, and Ypre follows; to whoſe ſuccour the Gantois ſend three thouſand men. The Earle being the ſtronger, cuts them in pieces betwixt Courtray and Pourprigny, as they march: Ypre yeelds vnto him; being entred the towne, he cuts off ſeauen hundred of the chiefſt mens heads: and then without any ſtay, hee marcheth to Gand, and beſiegeth it. But his forces were too ſmall in regard of that great and ſpacious Citie, ſo as hauing employed all his meanes, they had ſtill the liberty of four gates.

B The Gantois loth to be ſhut vp, and to endure the diſcommodities of a ſiege, hauing a wonderfull aduantage by the numbers of their people, reſolue to provide well for the guard of the City, and then to draw forth a good troope to ſpoyle the Country, and to force ſome of the Earles places, thereby to make a diuerſion of the ſiege. They goe to the field with fixe thouſand choiſe men, vnder the command of *Iohn de Launoy* one of their Tribunes. They take and burne Tenremonde and Gramont, townes belonging to the Earle, committing infinite ſpoiles in the Country. The Earle leaues the ſiege, and marcheth away with an intent to fight with them. He finds them neare to Niuelle, chargeth them, defeats them, and puts them to flight. They recover the gates of Niuelle, and the Earle enters with them pell meel; ſome of them (led by *Launoy*) recover the Fort of the towne: the Earle beſiegeth them, and cauſeth many fagots and batins to be brought about this Tower, and to be ſet on fire. All theſe poore wretches are burnt, making moſt horrible cries. This Tribune entreatheth, that they might be receiued to ranſome, and ſhewing his purſe, but receiuing no anſwer from them, but ſcornes and mockes, he caſts himſelfe from the top of the Tower vpon their Halberds and Pikes, and ſo he dies very valiantly. This ſight was horrible, and truly vnworthy of a Lord diſpleaſed with his ſubiects, and yet he continued it with a new ſlaughter of this poore people, who being amazed with this great defeat, had neither feet to runne, nor hands to defend themſelues. All are put to the ſword, ſo as of fixe thouſand, there hardly eſcaped three hundred. But the Gantois ſhall ſoone haue their reuenge. At the brute hereof, they were as much amazed, as the Earle was. D put vp with pride to purſue his victory, being in ſo ready a way for the execution and purſuit thereof.

The Gantois
goe to field
with an army
and are defeated.

In this diſorder, the Gantois chooſe another head, *Philip* of Arteuille, ſonne to *Iames* of Arteuille, (who (as we ſayd) was ſlaine by the people) who aduertieth them to humble themſelues vnto their Earle, and to craue pardon. They are reſolued, hauing neceſſity for their chiefe Councillor, praying and beſeeching their Earle, *To haue pittie of the blood of his ſubiects, who ſubmitted their liues and goods to his mercy, to diſpoſe at his pleaſure, either in pardoning them, or ſuffering them to depart, in abandoning their native Country, as a perſeuall baniſhment, that it would pleaſe him onely to graunt them their liues.* The Earle was greatly incenſed againſt them, and in ſuch a choler, as they could receiue no other anſwer, E but that all ſorts within the City, men and women aboue the age of ſiftene yeares, ſhould bare-foot and bare-headed ſubmit themſelues to his mercy, and being in this eſtate, hee would aduſe what to doe.

They ſue for
mercy.

The Earle
makes the
Gantois deſperate.

The people of Gant ſeeing him tranſported with wrath, and no meanes to pacifie it, they reſolue (by the aduice of *Philip* of Arteuille, their leader, in this extreme neceſſity) to hazard all, and not to hope for any ſafety but in deſpaire: being the leaſt of two miſchiefes, to dye courageouſly, for the liberty of their country, and defending themſelues againſt the vniuſt violence of ſo inexorable a man; then hauing ſene their wiues & daughters deſlowred, they ſhould either ſuruiue their infamie, or be ſlaine and maſſacred without any defence, like dogges, at the mercy of ſo cruell an enemy. The euent, or rather God the protector of the afflicted, fauoured this courageous reſolution. For the effecting hereof, they make choiſe of fixe thouſand of their moſt reſolute and beſt armed men, to try their fortunes againſt the Earle, and provide the beſt they can for the guard of the City: with a generall reſolution and conſent, That if theſe fixe thouſand men ſhould be defeated, to the end they ſhould not attend the doubtfull euent of a ſiege, nor fall into the hands of ſome reconcilable an enemy, they would let fire of the City, and euey one ſaue himſelfe as he could.

This being concluded, *Philip* of Arteuille parts from Gant, with his deſperate troop, and

1380

The Earle of
Flanders de-
feated by the
Gantois.

and marcheth directly to Bruges, takes a feat of aduantage, and intrencheth himselfe, attending the opportunity, either to defend themselves with aduantage, or to fall vpon the enemy. The Earle put vp with his first successe, imagining them too few for the Lacquesies belonging to the Gentlemen of his traine, came to charge them within their trenches, and to force them to fight. *Arteuille* not like a Brewer of beere, as he was, but as a great Capitaine, ordered his troopes with such dexterity, as the Earles army had the Sun in their eyes: vpon this sudden change, hauing a full view of the Earles men, he goes resolutely to the charge, leading forth this desperate troope, which fell vpon them like a great freame of water, breaking forth suddenly, hauing found a passage. The first ranks (troubled with the Sun-beames which dazled their eyes, and not able to withstand so violent a charge) giue way, and turning their backs, they disorder all the rest.

The Gantois vpon this aduantage, reare all in pieces they encounter, as famished wolues doe in a flocke of sheepe. This braue Nobility flies, as astoned, and is put to the sword. The Earle cries, entreats, and runnes, but all in vaine: he that had the swiftest horse, and the best legges to flye, was the most valiant. The retreat from thence to Bruges was neerer: the multitude flies thither, like a current of water. The Earle enters with the rest, nor able to gather his men againe together, and shuts himselfe into his Castle.

The Gantois following, and killing them that fled, enter pel mel, and seized vpon the gates. *Arteuille* hauing speedily provided for the guard thereof, the Gantois (being victors) dispersed themselves throughout the City, crying against the vanquished, *The City is wonne*: and liberty proclaimed for the good Citizens, killing all such as they found to fauour the Earle, searching all houses for his seruants, and commanding to spare the good Citizens. The Earle foreseeing by this brute that the enemy would presently pursue him, he suddenly leaves his rich attire, and takes the simplest of one of his Grooms, and so forsakes the Castle, to seeke some corner to hide his head in. Hee was scarce gone out, but his Castle was beset, and easily taken and spoyle, whilest that he saues himselfe in a poore womans house: where in her silly cottage he had onely one roome beneath, and above a garret, to the which they mounted by a ladder. The Earle creeps into this cabin, and the woman hides him in the bed-draw, where her children did lie, and coming downe,ooke away the ladder. The Gantois hauing made search in euery corner for the Earle, they came to the house where the Earle was, and searching it, they went vp to the place where hee lay hidden. He that could haue read the secrets of this poore princes heart, in this amazement, should haue seene a remorse of conscience, for that hee had not intreated his subiects with more mildnesse. Being thus freed, he creeps out of this cottage, and gets forth of the towne, being alone, and on foot: running from bush to bush, and from ditch to ditch, fearing euery one that passed: when as behold (lying hidden in a ditch) he discouers a household seruant of his owne, named *Robert Marshall*, who takes him vp on horse-backe behind him, and in this order he recouers Life.

This vnexpected successe bred new designs in the franticke braine of this Tribune: and of this furious multitude, who should haue bene satisfied to haue auoided shipwrack, and (returning to their houses) should haue fallen to their vsuall trades, and haue vied this profitable successe to good purpose, and made their peace with their lawfull Lord, being sufficiently chastised. But vanity thrusts them on, and the certinty of Gods threats shewed it selfe in the following punishment: to teach vs, *That man hath but the misery which hee seeks by his owne folly*. A generall lesseon for great and small, both for men, Families, and States.

Arteuille with his Gantois (hauing glutted themselves with the sacke and blood of such as were any way affected to the Earle, hauing spoiled his Castle, and left it desolate, beaten downe the gates of Bruges, and filled vp the ditches) from thence they goe to conquer the other cities of Flanders, where he conceived a new Empire. Presently all obey him: Ypre, Dam, Bergues, Bourbourg, Furnes, Sluse, Pourprigne, Courtray and the lesser townes, Audenard resists: It is presently besieged. At the bruite of this successe, all Flanders flies thither, so as in few dayes there were about a hundred thousand men assembled before the towne. The Earle amazed with so violent a reuolt of all his subiects, hath recourse to his son in law *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, that by his meanes he might be relieved from the King: although he were more affected to the English then French, hauing bene too much respected by our Kings. A proud Prince in prosperity, and too much de-

All Flanders
reuels and
ingynes with
the Gantois.

1382

King Charles
succours the
Earle of Flan-
ders contrary
to the aduice
of the Regent
and Councell.

A tested in aduersity. The Regent and the Councell refused to venture the King with this man in so dangerous a cause: but two reasons moued the King thereunto, and made him ouerrule both the Duke of Aniou his Vncle, and his whole Councell by the perswasions of the Duke of Bourgogne. The one was *Arteuille* himselfe, who during the siege of Audenard (not content to haue ruined the Noblemens houses of the country) had made some roades vpon the frontiers of France.

The other was, King *Charles* dreamed that hee was mounted vpon a flying Hart, which caried him gently through the ayre, and a Heron vnder him, which did beat downe all other birds, came tuen flying to his sit, and the Hart brought him to the place from whence hee caried him, to his great content. As the King conceived a delight to report this dreame, as preface of some good successe, so the Duke of Bourgogne laboured to draw him into Flanders. The King vpon these motiues doth presently leane an armie, and goes to field. *Arteuille* to auoid this storme, fortifies the passages of Flanders, especially Pont du Lis, neere vnto Comines. The French surprise this passage politlicky, hauing attended all night in the dirtie marsh vp to the ancles, expecting the commoditie of the passage. Their patience was the more commendable, for that it was in the depth of a sharp winter, in December, Comines and Verrain being taken, sacked and burnt, the towne of Ypre kills their Gouernour, who would not suffer them to obey the King, and yeeld themselves, paying fortie thousand franks for a composition. By their example, Cassel, Bergues, Bourbourg, Graue, Lin, Furnes, Dunkeirke, Pourprigne, Tourmont, Vaillant, Messine, and other neighbour townes resolute to seaze vpon their Gouernours, being *Gantois*: and so fend them bound hands and feet vnto the King, as a testimonie that they had yeelded vpon force.

Charles receiues the townes to mercie, and cuts off the heads of these vnlawfull Gouernours. *Arteuille* fearing the reuolt of other Cities, and that his forces (which were great) would fall from him, resolute to prevent *Charles*, and to force him to fight, promising himselfe the like successe as he had against the Earle before Bruges. With this resolution he chargeth the French army betwixt Courtray and Rosbecque, vpon the Mount of gold, which at the first shocke did somewhat amaze them, they recoyling a little, but without any disorder: yet supported by the Battaille and rere-ward, they breathe, and all together charge this multitude with so great a furie, as all are put to flight, and cut in peeces, or taken with a strange disorder. They number about threescore thousand men slaine, and an infinite number of prisoners taken: after the Nobilitie had glutted their choller vpon this seditious rabble, who had made rebellion a vertue, *Philip* of *Arteuille* their leader was slaine: hee was found breathing among the dead carcases, whom the King commanded to be hanged, and so he had the reward of his imagined Empire.

This double euent may serue as a lesseon, both for great and small, for great men, in the Earles person; for small, in that of this Tribune. For the first, to command well, for the others to obey well: and for all, not to passe the bounds of their duties. God punishing the great for their tyranny and crueltie, and the lesser for their disobedience: dangerous plagues of mankind, the which cannot stand but by order and authoritie well gouerned, and well applied.

They call this ouerthrow the battaille of Rosbecque, which chanced in the yeare 1382. in December. It was the more remarkable, for that the vanquished had soon their reuenge. *Charles* thus victorious, could not manage his victorie; for in stead of surprising the Gantois in this amazement, he lingers too long at Courtray, to seeke out the remainder of those miserable mutines, which remained in this defeat: whereas, in pardoning the vanquished, the Victor gets a double victorie.

This place also (being infamous by a great ouerthrow which chanced in the yeare 1312) moued him to choler, for that this ill aduised people, to note the memorie of that day, did celebrate a sollemne feast yeately, and had rescued 500 paire of gilt spurs, which they had taken from the French in that battell. *Charles* was so transported with the memory of this audacious indignitie, as he caused this poore Towne to be burnt. An vnworthy reuenge of so great a Monarch, who should hold it the greatest reuenge vpon his enemies, to pardon when he may reuenge. The duke of Bourgogne in all this confusion, did not forget to seeke for goodly moucables, wherof there was abundance. He caried away that goodly clocke, and that exquisite tapistrie, which is now at Dijon in the Kings house.

The Gantois seeing their ruine, fle to *Richard* King of England: they choole *Francis*

1384

Gantois feeble
succours from
England.

Artreman, one of their Citizens, for their head, and renew the league of white caps, mote A
obstinately then before, being resolved to die, rather then to trust their Eaile, to whom
they imputed the cause of all their miseries, the which had continued five yeares, and
dismoured two hundred thousand men. So fatalle are ciuill diffentions betwixt the Lord
and his subjects. *Lewis* their Earle hauing laboured to settle his affaires both by the French
and English, against the Gantois, feeling daily the inconueniences of this rebellious peo-
ple, as thornes in his sides, fell into such a melscholie, as he died, leauing his whole estate
much troubled, to his sonne in law, *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, who being farre engaged
in his father in lawes quarrell, was nothing pleasing to this his people.

The warre was renewed, both by practices of the English, and by the meanes of *Arme* B
man, the head of that faction, who hauing tasted the sweet of popular command, desired
nothing more then to maintaine this diuision: but there fell out a sodaine accident, which
pacified all this great trouble, as a little raine doth a great winde. Two citizens of Gant
(whose names deserued well to be registred in this history) discoursing one day of their
common miseries, and noting the true causes of these calamities within their city, as feel-
ling the wound, they sought the meanes to cure it, the which had continued so long, and
cost their miserable country too deare. The Kings pleasure, and the Duke of Bourgongnes
must be knowne: they were not ignorant of the peoples humour, being very wearie of
so many miseries.

Their enterprise was not without exceeding danger, by the absolute authority of three C
or foure, who had most credit with the people, being susceptible of any mischief, when
they are thrust forward with a shew of good. It was requisite in the managing of so im-
portant a businesse: to vse wisdom and secrecy, vntill the foundation were well laied: and
for the execution thereof, there needed one which had both credit and authority with
both parties. The God of peace presented one vnto them, which gouerned this action dis-
creetly *John Delle*, a gentleman of Gant, but bred vp in the court of France. He that seeks
peace, findes it. This *Delle* goes to the King, & the Duke of Bourgongne; he laies open his
designe, and is well entertained. He returns with a good answer, both by letters of cre-
dit, and priuate instructions, to the Gantois. At his returne the matter is so well furthred
by those two citizens (who were in great reputation with the people) as without the pri-
uaty of *Artreman*, or the English Negotiators, the banner of Flanders (the signall of their
popular power) is solemnly planted in the great Market place. All the people flocke the-
ther, where hauing signified vnto the chiefe Magistrates, that they would haue peace, and
obey the Duke of Bourgongne their Prince; D'puties are appointed with power to ne-
gotiate and conclude a peace with him. This was effected after a long confusion, to the
content, both of the Earle and Flemings. Of a light beginning, God performs a great
work, when it pleaseth him. Thus the Duke of Bourgongne pacified Flanders in the yeere
1384, when as he feared greatest tumults by meanes of some seditious persons: to whose
great griefe a peace was proclaimed throughout all the Estates of Flanders, which gaue
an incredible content to all the people after so many miseries.

Now King *Charles* grew great, and although he were but sixtene yeeres of age, yet was
he desirous to marry. The Duke of Anjou his Vncle, according to the aduice which King
Charles the wife had given on his death bed, thought good to seeke him out a Mariage in
Germany, in the house of Banaria, to counterbalance the credit of the Emperour *Wen-*
ceslaus, no friend to the House of France, what shew foucer he made. Hee therefore mat-
eth with *Isabel* the daughter of *Stephen* Duke of Banaria, a Princeesse from whom they ex-
pected much good: but she brought infinit troubles to France, as wee shall see hereafter.
Thus mans wisdom is deceived, when as he hopes for best: that God might be knowne
for the author of all good, both in the family and State. This imperious *Proserpina*, veri-
fied the puerbe, *That a woman raiseth, or ruins a house*. She had almost ouerthrowne the
State. Eu. shortly there shall an Italian woman be toyed to this Germane, to augment
the confusions of this reigne, reasonable good in the beginning, but very miserable in
the end. This yeere likewise concluded a peace in Britany, after many troubles, *John*
Montfort hauing renewed his homage to the King, and sworne fealty, which shall not long
continue, to the great preiudice of the King and his realme.

The truce was continued in shew betwixt France and England, but with no more leue
of the two Kings, then betwixt capitall enemies, who sought to annoy one another by new
attempts.

1384

Charles sends
men and ma-
tion into
Scotland.

A attempts. *Charles* hauing pacified Flanders & Britany, resolves to be reuenged of *Richard*,
who had fought all meanes to annoy him in either prouince, besides the ordinary brau-
does hee gaue him within the heart of his realme. Hee therefore sends a thousand men ar-
mes to *David* King of Scots, and threecore Ships well appointed with furniture to
arme twelve thousand men of his country, vnder the command of *John* of Vienne, Admi-
rall of France. Their entry into Scotland was pleasing, but the Scottisshmen grew soone
discontented with our men, either through their fault or ours, they accusing vs of in-
fidelity and loofeness, and wee them of barbarousnesse and cruelty to their friend a stran-
ger, who came to succour them.

B This diuision caused *David* to make a peace with *Richard*, and our Admirall of Vien-
ne to returne speedily home with his Frenchmen: but not without obseruing the man-
ners, strength and commodities of this Island, diuided into two kingdomes. And left hee
should seeme to haue made a fruitlesse voiage, yelding an account vnto the King of
what he had done, seen and learned in Scotland, he lets him vnderstand, that the strength
of Scotland consisted but in five thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote halfe armed.
And that of England in eight thousand horsemen, and 60000. footmen. This relation
(weie it true or false) gaue aduice to assaile the King of England in his owne countrey,
where he might be vanquished with more facility then abroad, the which so moued the
minde of this yong prince (transported with the great harmes suffered with much indig-
nity by the English) as it was easie for the Duke of Bourgongne whom it much concern-
ed to haue the English molested, being often disquieted by them in his countrey of
Flanders, to perswade the King to undertake this warre. Opportunity did likewise seeme to
inuite him, for that the Duke of Lancaster (pretending right to the realme of Castile by
his Wife) had exhausted England, both of men and money, and the Gantois being paci-
fied, all Flanders would be held in subiection by this check.

The Regent acquainted with the Duke of Bourgongnes humour being his brother,
(who for his priuate interest would hazard the whole) and noting the eminent dangers in
the Kings person (who would imbarke himselfe in this action) the great want of money,
the peoples exclamations, the great danger of tumults by the great exactions which must
be made, and in the action it selfe, the inconueniency so apparent to any one that would
open his eyes, the impossibility of so great an enterprise, to assaile a great King (so oft a
Conquerour) within his owne Realme, not holding any land there; hee was vtterly ag-
ainst it, yet he spake soberly, lest hee should offend the King, who greatly affected it.

Lewis Earle of Touraine the Kings brother (who soone shall be Duke of Orleans) the
Constable *Cliffon*, the Earle of Saint Pol, the Lord of Couilly, and others in whom *Charles*
had most trust, had beene so perswaded by the Duke of Bourgongne, as they had nothing
else in their mouths, nothing founded in this yong Princes cares, but the necessity, profit,
honour and facility of this voiage. What my Liege (say they) are you lesse then the King
of England? shall the French yeeld to the English in valour, courage or force? what an
indignity is it to haue this people alwaies at our gates, to nourish them in our bosomes,
and to furnish them with armes to beat vs? what a benefit will it be to take their nest from
them, and leaue them no place of retreat? The Countries of Guienne, Normandy, Picardy
and Flanders, are wholly yours. How much doth that import for the honour of your Ma-
iesty, and the good of your Realme, to returne them their owne, who haue so often defea-
ted your armies, taken your ancestors, spoiled your Estate, braued it in your townes, & be-
sieged your chiefe City of Paris: As for the facility of the execution, who sees not but you
may effect it if you please? The Saxons conquered England with a handful of men, farre
from their owne home, and with small meanes; and *William* the Conquerour with his
sword alone. And you my Liege hauing a realme full of men, victuals and money, euen at
your enemies gate, shall not you preuaile? England opens her armes vnto you: your
Realme inuites you, which without doubt will employ both heart and purse for so great
and generous a designe, the which imports both the honour and quiet of your Maiesty.

Such and like speeches they did continually buzze into *Charles* his cares, but from his
Chamber they were published in the Court, and so throughout the whole realme, as that
which pleaseth the King doth commonly please all. The designe was to be withed against
a capitall enemy of the State, and the proceeding had a faire shew. At the generall in-
stance of all the French, the King decrees in Councell, to leauy a great army, for the voiage
of

A strange
meanes to pa-
cifie Gant.Peace in Flan-
ders.Charles mar-
rieth wth Is-
abel of Banaria.Peace in Bri-
tany.

1382

of England: letters are sent out to all parts, subsidies, taxes, loans imposed, greater then during the imprisonment of King *John*, but all was shadowed with this reason: That they must endeavour once for all, to roote out the English, who undermined this Estate, and sought to ruine it. This decree was put in execution with great applause of all men, as if France had laied new foundations of her greatness, both to warrant it selfe from danger at hand, to haue a reuenge of former losses, and to build a new Estate at the cost of the common enemy of the French nation. The Navy is prepared at *Scuse* and *Blanbergue* to the great content of the Flemings. They armed foure hundred eighty seven ships for war, with an infinit quantity of victuals, the which came from all parts like to a flowing stream. The Nobility strues who shalbe best appointed. Strange Princes are inuited. The King of Spaine (then a friend to our King) the Earle of Sauoy, the Dukes of Saxony and Bawaria send men. Our Princes will yeeld one to another in costly shewes: they adde superfluous curiosity to necessity. They paint and gild their Ships, all glitters with goodly Ensignes, Penons, Banners, Standards, and Streamers. The Masts painted with rich grounds shining with leanes of gold, gaue notice to all men, that they went not onely to a certaine victory, but to some ioyfull nuptials. But all this feast was made without any reckoning with God, who laughs from heauen at these ants, that strue to climbe without a ladder and at princes, who made these brauadoes at the poore peoples cost, who remembered not that God hath a foueraine court, and a register to controll their actions, and to oppose against their vanities. The Army was prepared in two places, in Flanders, and in Britany. It consisted of twenty thousand Knights and Squires, as many Genouois archers on foot, and five hundred men at armes Britains, vnder the command of the Constable *Cliffon*, who was with the Fleet in Britany. They had a care safely to lodge this great Army after their descent in England, expecting with safety the variable euent of warre, against a King and people, whom they came to fight with, on their owne dunghill. To prevent all inconueniences, they build a great frame or engine (some attribute this inuention to the Constable *Cliffon*, others to *John* of Vienne, Admirall of France, who had laied the first plot of this enterprise) like to a towne of warre, with towers, bastions, bulwarks, flanks, and other defences, according to the manner of that age. There was a lodging for the King and his court, according to the degrees of princes, officers, and noblemen of marke: lodgings for the chiefe of the army, according to their quarters, and space to set vp their tents and pavillions, halls and common places for the munition and victuals which followed the army, and to conclude, conuenient roomes to imbattell a great number of men of warre.

This inclosure or frame was round, and made of many peeces with admirable art, and so great abundance of stulke, as if they had cut downe a whole Forest: it was finished with wonderfull speed, by the great number of workemen which came from all parts. To the men, ships, victuals, and this engine, the Kings court gaue an extraordinary beauty, being accompanied with the Dukes of Lorraine and Bar, the Earles of Sauoy, Armagnac, Geneue, Saint Pol, Longueuille, Eu, Dauphin of Auvergne, the Lord Couilly, Master *William* of Namur, with all the great Barons of France, and an infinite number of brave nobility who embarked themselves more willingly then in the voyage to the Holy Land. Thus was the preparation made in France for England, where they remained in great perplexity, to see so great a somme ready to fall vpon them. They provide the best they can, first by deuotion, (hauing recourse vnto God) then they fortifie their Ports and all passages with great diligence, both with men of warre, and all sorts of incombers, to helpe those places which nature had made of hard access in this Island. They say that *Richard* leaued a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, which was not answerable to the Admirals relation, the first Architect of this ridiculous attempt. But thus are Princes oftentimes abused, imbarcking themselves in dangerous actions without reason, whose ends are not answerable to their beginnings.

All was ready in the end of September: the King had provided for the government of the realme in his absence leauing his brother *Lewis* Earle of Tourain, assisted with the duke of Berry his vncke, and the bishop of Beauvais his Chancellor. Thus he parts from Paris, and comes to *Scuse* with great speed, to recouer the time lost. The Regent should not abandon his person in so long and important a voyage, but he staies behind the King, promising to follow presently, but his meaning was to bring this enterprise to nothing. The King being ariued, the houres of stay are tedious, hee tels the minutes, and complains

Preparation for the warre of England.

A strong fort of wood made.

The preparation of the English for their defence.

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A of the time lost: hee sollicitres his vncke to come by sundry letters, and sends poste after poste, he stampes, he chafes by reason of his stay. The whole Court is of the same humor. The Duke of Aniou answers the King, that he will part to morrow, but he stayes at Paris to make good chere at leisure, of purpose to draw on winter, to make the voyage impossible, and so to ouer-throw the action, the which was neuer pleasing vnto him, either for that it was pleasing to the Duke of Bourgogne his brother, and so to crosse him; or for that he held it prejudiciall to the King and his Realme.

But seeing himselfe prest by importunity, and impatient letters from the King, he parts from Paris, and the same day the Constable *Cliffon* weighes anchor at Lantriguer in Britany, with his great Towne of wood, and 72. ships of warre, meaning to ioyne with the whole body of the army at *Scuse*: but it fell out contrary to his designe, and otherwise then the facility of his supposed victory had represented vnto him.

For hauing run his course towards Flanders, to take port at *Scuse*, behold a contrary wind casts him vpon the coast of England, where, notwithstanding all the diligence of his Mariners his fleet was dispersed into diuers parts, three ships (wherin this great Engine was) are driuen into England, and runne on ground at the mouth of the Riuer of Thames. Behold our Argonauts as much amazed to see themselves taken in a weire, as the English were glad, who with ioy and admiration see themselves possessed (beyond all hope, & without any paine) of that which had cost their enemies so much to ruine them.

C These newes flie speedily to King *Richard*, who commands this great booty to bee brought vp the riuer vnto him, whither all the Country flockes to so strange a spectacle, and every one holds it for a preface of good successe, to haue taken their City, which should haue taken them. Another part of the fleet is driuen into Zealand, and the Constable of Cliffon with the rest ariues at *Scuse*, much amazed at this first disaster.

All their ioy of an assured victory, is conuerted into a generall feare, lest some new losse should follow this vnfortunate beginning. But whilst this amazement troubled most of the French, the Duke of Bourgogne and those of his faction (who desired the performance of this voyage at any rate) made these difficulties light, as common accidents which should not hinder great enterprises, the which cannot bee executed with-

D out some crosse, for the which they must seek a remedy, and not despaire: He had perswaded the King againe, easie to be drawne to what he desired. Hereupon the Regent ariues, who (seeing the King resolved to imbarque) vailes his maske, speaks plainly, and tels the King in his Councell; That he will neuer consent hee should expose his person and estate to the hazard of the sea, of weather, and of warre, and vpon an aduice which seemed apparently false: being most certaine that the King of England had assembled about a hundred thousand fighting men. That these first losses were aduertisements from heauen to bridle those vaine hopes, which are sooner conceiued then brought forth. He had alwayes sufficiently declared, that it was not his aduice, yet for that hee would not seeme to contradict the Kings will, and crosse such as gaue him this council, as honorable to himselfe, and profitable to his Realme, he would not rashly oppose himselfe. But seeing now that God spake, he did open his mouth the more boldly, bearing in his heart a faithfull zeale vnto the Kings seruice, and the good of the State. That shortest errors being best, it were better to retire in time, then to make an absolute shipwracke of the Kings person, and the honor and good of the Realme, too much dismembred by former afflictions. This check from heauen which God hath sent, Winter, and the feare of worse, made the Regents aduice to be allowed, both by the King and his council, who changed opinion for their voyage to England. So this great enterprise was disappointed, being very prejudiciall to the poore people, who endured the warre that their enemy should haue felt, by an vnseasonable and excessive charge.

I haue quoted this action in the yeare 1381. vnder the Regency of the Duke of Aniou. I know some attribute it to the Duke of Berry, but I haue followed the first opinion, vpon the relation of true Authors, and as it shall appeare by the progresse of this report most likely. This action was the cause of seditions at Paris and Rouen, bred without doubt by the discontent of this bad government: for this great shew lo incensed the people (being weary and grieved to haue borne so great a burthen for so vaine an enterprise) as they rise at Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Poitiers, Lions, and many other Cities, by this new occasion, which presently succeeded the first folly.

Part of the French iauie dispersed at sea.

The Regent opposeth him, (he directly against this voyage.

The

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Seditious at
Paris.Naples offered
to the Regent.

The Regent was blamed by the people, to have been too slack in his opposition against this preparation for England, and the chiefe in Court hated him for being so hasty, for that he was the only stay thereof. Thus ill thought of by both, hee was malignd of all hands. It chanced the Realme of Naples was offered vnto him by *Quene Ioane & Pope Clement the 7.* This was his whole desire, but he must conquer it by dint of sword. The title only was offered him, both by her that might giue it as being heire, and by him that might confirme the donation as being Pope. All the Kings councill (being weary of the Regents command) wished to see him gone, but they must fly to the people for money; the which was hard to get, as experience did witness.

Presently as they hear talk at Paris of a new imposition (although they sweetned these bitter pilles with the goodly name of subsidies) all the world begins to cry out, and from Paris the brute flies through the whole Realme. The people runne tumultuously to the Greue, they desire the Prouost of Merchants to bring them to the Regent, the which he delays from day to day by excuses, but in the end he cannot retaine them. A great multitude runs to the Regents lodging, they giue him to vnderstand by their prouost, into what extremity they were brought, and vige the late superfluous expences. To what end then (say they) serueth a new war to conquer a new kingdome in the ayre with the ruine of the widow and the Orphelin? This was not decreed, nor practised by the good & wise King *Charles*, whereunto he had bound his son, who should not suffer the memory of his fathers ashes to bee taxed with this dishonor. The Chancellor *Dourmans* speaks at the Regents request, hee laies before their eyes the necessity of this voyage, whereby both the King and Realme might reape profit and honor, promising the King should provide for the reliefe of the people. This was gently put off, to makethem lose this humour in diuiding them, but the people continue more obstinate, they require a plaine and resolute answer to their demand, so as the next day, they come in troopes before the Kings lodgings, where the whole councill was assembled with the Regent.

The King giues audience to the prouost of Merchants in the peoples name, who delivers the same complaints. Then *Iohn de Marais* an aduocate in Parliament, an eloquent and popular man, prepared carefully for the purpose, makes a goodly & artificiall oration to diuert the people from this bitterness, laying before them their duties, the necessity of the Kings affaires, and the good which should redound by the enterprise of this foraine warre. Hee omitted nothing of the office of a good Orator, but he pretailed not, for the people going from thence, without respect of the King or his councill, runne presently to the Jewes, Lombards, & such other Merchants houses as had been accustomed to gather all publike exactions, they break vp their shops & counting-houses, they take away what was good, and ill intreat all such as they meet of their profession, yet they kill no man in this first tumult. The Regent winking at this insolvency, and fearing lest it should increafe by mouing the people already in choller, thinks it best to referre the matter to another time, vntill the fume of this bitter discontent were blowne ouer, aduertisements coming from all parts of the realme, that the Cities grew into the like humour.

But all this dissuades him not from his enterprise; he imployes all such as he thinks fit to win the people. *Iohn de Marais*, *Peter de la Riviere*, *James Andelle*, & such like Tribunes, who seemed to be in credit with the people, in shewing themselves affected to the common good. And to lose no time, he prepares his army, being resolute to leaue this imposition by force, whatsoeuer it cost. The farmers of this leauy, haue charge to begin it. A Collector at the Halls requiring a denier from a poore woman, for a basket of herbs, she crying out, a great troope flocke about this Collector and teare him in peeces.

But this is not all, in this tumult all runne together on heapes: Porters, Pedlers, Carriers, Butchers, Tanners, and such like, the summe of the baser sort, they goe in troopes to the towne-house, they break open the doores, and take such armes as they finde. By the Constables command they had made bectes or axes to arme their men withall, they take them, and so vse them, as this sedition was afterwards called, by the name of *Maitains*. Being thus armed, they goeto the Farmers lodgings, beat downe the doores, breake open cofers, cubboards, and counting-houses, they draw forth their bookes and papers, they teare and burne them, they take away money and mouebles, and in the end they kill and massacre all the Farmers they can finde, searching all corners of their houses. They cry that one had saued himselfe in Saint *Iames* Church at the Butchery, they runne thither,

The enuell insolvency of the Parisians.

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A thither, and murder him holding the Image of the blessed Virgin in his armes. Some faue themselves in S. Germaines Abbey, where they are presently besieged. But whilest that some labour after this siege, the rest run to the prisons of the Chasteler and Fourl Eueque where they release the prisoners and arme them. They bethinke themselves of a head, there was a very sufficient man in prison named *Hugh Aubriot*, who in former times had beene Prouost of the Merchants, and had with honour executed great charges, both in the Treasury and State, but for certaine dislikes of the Vniuersities, (which was then in great credit at Paris) hee was condemned to perpetual prison. This multitude drawes him forth, vpon promise to be their leader, but being at liberty he slips away and retires wisely to Dijon: being loth to ingage himselfe in these popular confusions, the which discrete men doe see as plagues in a common-weale. This rabble finding themselves countenanced with a Commander so well experienced, presume farther, yet seeing themselves abandoned by the departure of *Aubriot*, and recalling themselves from this phrensie, their hearts faint, and euery one bethinkes himselfe how to yeeld an account of that which had chanced, all this zeale of publike good vanishing away with the consideration of priuate danger. Such as had most to lose (finding themselves actors in these insolencies) seeke for councill of *Iohn de Marais* a popular Aduocate, intreating him to be intercessor for them vnto the King. The Vniuersity is also requested to imploy their credit with the Prouost of Merchants and other notable Citizens, which were not guilty of these phrenesies.

C There is a number chosen to goe to the King, and to sue for pardon. These deputies, in their habits, countenances and words, shew the greatest sorrow that may bee, for an offence committed. *Iohn de Marais* is their Aduocate, the King hauing heard them, sends them away, vntill his Councill had aduised what answer to make: who decrees, That for punishment of this popular insolvency, the City of Paris should pay a hundred thousand Franks, and the heads of this sedition (with such as had broake the prisons,) should bee at the Kings discretion.

They sue to the King for pardon.

This decree is deliuered to *Iohn de Marais* to make knowne vnto the Parisians, in whose name he had spoken to the Kings Councill. He acquaints them with the Article for the fine, and conceales the punishing of the Authors of this sedition: whether it were by commandment, or otherwise, the History makes no mention: yet he kept their heads and his owne for the Scaffold, as we shall presently see, to reape the deserued punishment for dealing in these dangerous affaires, and to pay a deare interest of their popular brokage. The Parisians tamed by this reprehension, pay the hundred thousand Franks, as a fine for their folly, and the whole taxation imposed for the warre of Naples, without any question.

These summes are giuen to the Regent for his voyage into Italy, where his brethren, the Constable of Clifton, and the greatest part of the Councill wished him, rather then in France (the Chancellor *Dourmans* onely excepted, who soone shall reape the fruit of his departure) notwithstanding any shew they made him, to see him in so good a way to settle his greatnesse. He parts from Paris taking an honourable leaue of the King, of his brethren, and of the whole Court, leauing the Regency to the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, vntill his returne. But taking the way of Italy, he takes the way of much paine, and the Rendezvous of death, which soone swallows vp both his life and all his dignities. His army was goodly, some say 30000 horse, and an infinit number of foot: others 30000 men, without specifying horse or foot, but all agree that he went to the conquest of this Realme, not only well accompanied, but also well furnished with silver, the necessary finewes of a long war. They gaue out, that it was the Treasure of *Charles* the 5, the which he caused *Sanoyssy* to deliuer in the beginning of his Regency.

Lewis of Aniou crowned King of Naples goes to take possession.

The order of the History commands me now to set downe the titles of the Realme of Naples, for the which our *Lewis* of Aniou marcheth into Italy with his army, and the successe of this voyage. We haue said that *Charles* (brother to the King S. *Lewis* Duke of Aniou and Earle of Prouence by his wife *Beatrice*, was called to the Realme of Naples by Pope *Phrane* the 4, and conquered the possession by his sword, hauing defeated *Manfroy* and *Conrad* of Sueuia.

That he was dispossessed of Sicilia at the Sicilian Euenfong, by *Peter* of Arragon, fionne in law to *Manfroy*, fauoured by *Nicholas* the 4, taking from *Charles* what his predecessor *Phrane*

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Frban had giuen him, so as after hee had contended long with *Peter* of Arragon, the Realme of Naples remained vnto him, leauing it to his children with more trouble then content. This *Charles* of Aniou brother to *S. Lewis*, had many children, *Charles*, *Robert*, *Lewis*, and *Philip*. *Lewis* surnamed the Lame, married *Mary* daughter of *Stephen* King of Hungary. *Charles Martel* had two sons, *Lewis* and *Andrew*, *Lewis* was Prince of Durazzo or Dirrachium, and *Philip* Prince of Tarentum. All appeared on this Theater in some sort, but *Robert* second son to *Charles*, was King of Naples, and Earle of Prouence: he had one sonne named *Charles*, who succeeded him in these two Estates, and he had but two daughters, *Ioane* and *Marguerite*.

Ioane as the eldest, was Queene of Naples & Countesse of Prouence, and was married to *Andrew* brother of *Lewis* King of Hungary, a loose and an audacious Princess, who slew her husband (as we haue said) and married with *Lewis* son to *Philip* Prince of Tarentum, her cousin, against all order. *Lewis* King of Hungary, son to *Charles Martel*, comes to Naples, to reuenge the murder and adultery of this maistie bitch: who flies with her incestuous husband into Prouence, yielding him the free possession of the City of Naples, and that of the greatest part of the Realm, some places remaining in Apulia, in the guard of certain captaines, confident seruants vnto *Ioane*, who were the means to put her again speedily in possession of that Estate, soone won and soone lost. It is manifest that the inuestiture of the Realme of Naples belongs to the Sea of Rome. *Lewis* King of Hungary being victor, hauing performed the duty of a good brother, and done all hee could against this villanous murderesse, retournes home, leauing all his new conquest to the disposition of Pope *Clement* the 6, a Limosin, then resident in Auignon.

Ioane who was neer vnto him, and to whom Auignon (where the Popes had now long held their Sea) belonged, had no great labour, for yielding Auignon vnto him he recovered Naples, both by the Popes fauour (who had the chiefe authority,) as also by money, wherewith she did both win the Gouernors of places most easie to corrupt, and also leauied an army to force them that were most affected to the King of Hungary. Now she is listled againe in the Realme of Naples, with her adulterer *Lewis* of Tarentum, who furnished not long after this exploit of Naples and the sale of Auignon. After his death she maries presently with *James* of Arragon, Duke of Calabria of whom shee was soone weary, falling in loue with *Otho* of Brunluicke, a yong Germane Prince, of a good houle, but not of ability to support *Ioane*, so as she held him not as a husband, but vsed him as a Stallion. Amidst these alterations of Naples, the Sea of Rome, was not quiet, for after the death of Pope *Gregory* the 11, who retired from Auignon to Rome, the Colledge of Cardinals fell to a horrible contention for the Popes election: the Romanes being resolute to haue one of their owne nation, and the French one of theirs, from whence sprung that strange Schisme whereof we shall speake.

Frban the sixt, was chosen at Rome, after the decease of *Gregory* the eleuenth, and the French Cardinals yielded to this election, but for that they said they had been forced by the Romanes, who had them in their power and threatened to kill them, vnder colour to change the aire, hauing obtained leaue to go to Anagnia, they retire to Fundi, a City of the realme of Naples, fauoured by Queene *Ioane*, French by stocke and humor, and there they choose *Clement* the 7, for Pope, to oppose him against *Frban*. *Clement* retired to Auignon, and *Frban* keeps at Rome.

Two Popes, two Seas, two Factions, which trouble all Christendome with horrible confusions. *Clement* teckes to fortifie himselfe, and as France held for him, so did he labour to haue Naples wholly at his deuotion, by reason of the nearnesse, much importing for the City of Rome, where the chiefe quarrell was debated. Contrariwise *Frban* the sixt to bee reuenged on *Ioane*, (a partisan to *Clement* the seuenth his enemy) hath recourse to *Lewis* King of Hungary the first interested, being brother to him whom this trumpet had slaine, that hee might oppose the same scourge which had already corrected her. But *Lewis* excusing himselfe by his age, and the infirmity of his body, sent him *Charles* issued from that *Lewis* Prince of Durazzo, who wee said, was sonne to *Charles* of Aniou, seeking euen in the race it selfe, a man to punish this wicked woman, giuing him a goodly army to that end. *Ioane* seeing this great storme ready to fall on her, flies to Pope *Clement* the 7, and by his aduice adopts our *Lewis* Duke of Aniou, of whom we now treat.

Lewis

Ioane meanes
to recover
Naples.

A Schisme in
the Church.

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Lewis hauing prepared his army, and being crowned King of Naples & Sicilie by Pope *Clement* the seuenth in Auignon, hee lands at Naples, to take possession of the Realme, whereunto the lawfull heire and the Popes authority did call him. But he came too late, for *Charles* of Durazzo (being parted from Hungary with his army, and happily landed) entered the Country, ouer-came *Otho*, the pretended husband of *Ioane*, and holding him prisoner, hee forced this miserable woman to yeeld vnto his mercy, the which was too great, for that hee onely caused her to bee smothered betwix two pillows, deferring as cruell a death as her life had beene execrable. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, *Lewis* of Aniou (thrust forward by his owne ambition,) proceeded hauing giuen such order to his affaires (after the adoption made by *Ioane* in his fauour, and the Popes coronation) as hee procured all the Captaines of places to hold for him, hauing ingaged them by money and golden promises, so as many places held good for him: and the people desired him, being glad to be freed from *Ioane*, and to haue so mighty a Lord, to maintaine them in peace.

Lewis enters the Realme of Naples: at the first he wins Tarentum and Beri, but whilest he determines to proceed in his designs, death surpriseth him, making an end of his insinuat ambition and of all his toyles: but not of his childrens, *Lewis* & *Charles*, not of their posterities. Thus *Charles* Prince of Durazzo, of the race of Aniou (called the Hungarien, for that he had beene borne and bred in Hungary, and brought vp by King *Lewis*) remained peaceable King of Naples, leauing two children, *Ladislaus* and *Ioane*, who shall prepare new stage, whereon our Princes shall soone play their parts, as you shall vnderstand. Lets now returne to France: The Duke of Anious departure put all authority into the hands of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, who began to manage the affaire of State at their pleasures. There was no great loue betwixt them, although they were brethren, but only to maintaine themselves against such as might hinder their ambitious projects. And for that they had knowne the Chancellor *Dourmans*, to bee wholly affected to the Regent, they perswaded the yong King to dismisse him, for some reasons, the which are not specified in the History. But Princes want no colours when they will disgrace their seruants. *Peter* *Orgemont* was appointed in his place, after the scale had remained some

time in the hands of *Robert* of Corby first president of the Court of Parliament at Paris, and of *Philip* *Moulins* a Chanoine of the said City. But Flanders (which alwaies bred some monsters in that age) stirred vp by the English, and puffed vp by the ridiculous conclusion of this great and vaine preparation, began new troubles, and had practices with them of Paris, to draw the rest of the Cities of the Realme into some popular league. These newes put the King into great perplexity, the rather for that he had surprised certaine letters from the Maillotins of Paris, to the white caps of Gant, to make a correspondence betwixt them, the accustomed leuaine of rebellion with ill aduised people.

As these things amaze both the King and his vnclcs, behold *Richard* lands at Calais, with an army vnder the command of the duke of Lancaster, who at the first spoiles Picardy, and then plants himselfe before Ypre, and besiegeth it. The Gantois had made a good shew, both to the King, and Duke of Bourgogne, vntill that time, seeming resolute to obserue their former accord: but the English army being entered into Flanders, they goe to field, and ioyned with them before Ypre. The Kings vnclcs muster men in all places with great diligence, and intreat their neere friends to come speedily to their succour. The Dukes of Loraine and Bar make haste, the Duke of Britanie comes with a goodly troope. They haue suddenly assembled 20000 Frenchmen at armes, besides the succors of Loraine and Britanie, the number of foot is not specified.

Charles (thus accompanied) comes to Saint Denis in France, and hauing leaue of the Maynrs (according to the ancient custome of Kings) and giuen the fore-ward of his Army to the leading of the Constable *Cliffon*, and the Duke of Britanie (the Constable marching before the Duke, by reason of his place) the ground of a dislike fell out betwixt them, which being nourished by diuers occasions, shall bee the subiect of a great disaster both for the King and Realme.

The King followed (accompanied with the Dukes of Berry, Bourgogne and Bourbon his vnclcs, and the dukes of Loraine and Bar: hee lodgerth at Blandelle, two leagues from Cassel, with an intent to charge the English, who presently leaue the siege of Ypre, Cassel and Graucins, and retire to Bergues, where *Charles* presently besiegeth them. The Eng-

Queene *Ioane*
taken and
smothered.

Lewis Duke of
Aniou & King
of Naples, by
adoption, dies.

The Chancel-
lor *Dourmans*
disgraced.

The English
enter Picardy.

A great quarrel
growes for Pre-
cedence.

Charles makes a
truce with the
English.

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lish demands a parlee with the Duke of Britany, they put him in mind of the benefites he had receiued from their nation, and demand requital in this occurrent. The duke of Lancaster remaines at Calais, by reason of his weaknesse: the English Capitaines require respit to vnderstand his pleasures:

Charles makes
a truce with
the English.

In the end the King receiues them vpon honest conditions, to depart with bagge and baggage and to leaue Flanders, the which they performe. Being returned into England, they are accused to haue sold the Earldome of Flanders to the French, so as by *Richard* command they are beheaded. The Gantois made a dutifull answer, and promised obedience and loyalty to the King. A truce was concluded for one year with the English, by meanes of the Duke of Lancaster for King *Richard*, and the Duke of Berry for our King *Charles*. Such was the issue of this sudden voyage of Flanders, being a meane to settle business of a deeper consultation and more dangerous consequence; seeing it concerned not only the heart, but the whole body of State. They sought how to suppress the sedition, which was apparently bred in Paris, and by their example, in many great Cities of the Realme. To this end *Charles* vpon his returne from this voyage, staied at S. Denis with his Vncle, the Constable, Chancellor, and his whole Councell: they were all troubled to resolue in so important a cause. For what should they doe? To punish the poore people tired with the wars, thratned with losses, halfe dead by the feeling of so great calamities, that were to beat one lying sicke in his bed for his waywardnesse, and not to cure him of the paine which is the cause thereof. It were a meane to driue him to despair, to apply a remedy worse then the disease. And not to punish them, would argue feare, and make them grow more proud and insolent, a meane to animate them to all impunity, and to lay the way open to a disordered rebellion.

The King con-
sults what
course to take
with the muti-
nous Parisians.

But the last aduice prevailed, being well verified, that since the payment of the fine, the Parisians were growne worse, and more bitter: hauing had conference with the Gantois audacious mutines, and the right artificers of rebellion, holding it a vertue to play the mad men against their naturall Lords: and also had so farre abused the Kings bounty, as they had presumed to sollicit the best Cities of the Realme to the like disorder. It did greatly import for the good of the Kings seruice and of the State, that such phrenesies should be suppressed by an exemplary punishment done vpon the chiefe authors. *John de Marais* was very deepe engaged in these tumults, and the more dangerously, for that hee cast the stone, and withdrew his arme, and making a shew of seruice to the King, he fed the people in these mad humors, very torches of sedition, vnder a colour of the common-weale: for who can beleue they would put so famous a person to death without some iust cause. I know they write diuersly, and euery man hath his iudgment free; yet is it not true nor likely, that in pardoning a whole multitude offending, they would punish him in whom there were no shew of offence. If he were not culpable at the least, he was accused of that which was the subiect of a publike condemnation.

Charles being aduised to punish the Parisians for the insolencies they had committed in his presence, caused his army to lodge about the City, and on a certaine day hee sends for the Prouost of Merchants and the Sheriues, who come vnto him to Saint Denis, to a countenance full of humility, and shew of amendment. The King gaue them to vnderstand, by *Peter Orgemont* his Chancellor, that he meant to go to his City of Paris, to punish the rebels and seditious, who had not respected his presence. The prouost makes answer: That the whole body of the City was wonderfully grieved for that which had been committed by men in despair, worthy to be seuerely punished, but the good Citizens had no community with these rascals, and that the whole City was ready to doe him faithfull seruice.

The King en-
uers Paris with
his army.

There were many about the King which made all odious that concerned the Parisians, but *Charles* made them no other answer, but that he would be soone at Paris, and doe what reason and the duty of a good King required. Hee caused his fore-ward to march, led by the Constable *Cliffon* and the Marshall of Sancerre, who seize vpon the gates, the which they found open without any guards. The King accompanied with the dukes of Berry, Bourgongne, and Bourbon, with other Lords of his Councell, and an infinite number of Noblemen and Gentlemen in great shew, terrible to the people, marcheth into the City. Being come to S. Denis gate, hee causeth the barres to be beaten downe. The Prouost of Merchants, the Sheriues, with the chiefe Inhabitants of the Citie, carry-

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ing the keyes, beseech the King to giue them audience: he denyeth them, and passeth on to the house of Saint *Pol*, but the army is disperfed throughout all the quarters of the Citie. Presently they take away all the chaines, and send them to Bois de Vincennes. They search all houses for armes; the which are instantly caried to the Louure and the Bastile. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, with the Prouost and his Archers, goe throughout the City, causing 300 of the most seditious to be apprehended.

The next day many heads were stricken off at the Halles, and amongst the rest, that of *John de Marais*, whom all men had heard of late discourse so eloquently with admiration, being held for the Oracle of France. These executions were done by fits, with such a shew of gravity, as the seat of iustice did more terrifie, then the executioners arme vpon the scaffold. A whole day was spent in these slow proceedings, the City gates being kept so straitly, as no man might issue forth: houses and shops were shut vp, with so great a silence, as if all had beene dead, euery man being hidden in his house, or else so amazed as he durst not looke into the streets. The Vniuersity (which then was in great credit with the King) becometh sutor for the people, and beseecheth him not to include the innocent with the culpable. The King answereth coldly, that he would aduise what to doe, willing them to retire. In the meane time a great scaffold is made on the highest staire of the Palace, before the great image of *Philip the Faire*, with great shew and pompe: in the midst was a royall Throne, and seats on either side.

John de Marais,
a famous aduoc-
ate, with many
others, excepted.

The Heralds giue commandement throughout the City in the Kings name, that euery man should repaire to the Palace at a certaine houre. The King sitting in his seat of iustice hauing on either side of him, the Dukes of Berry, Bourgongne and Bourbon his Vncles, with all the rest of his Councell in order, he commanded *Peter Orgemont* his Chancellor, to deliuer his mind to the people of Paris. The multitude being disarmed, compassed in round about with armed men, being bare-headed, they fall vpon their knees, seeing *Orgemont* rise from his chaire: who hauing made a great obeyfance to the King, hee turnes to the multitude. If thou hadst (quoth he) O City, as much care of thy duty, as thy Kings haue alwayes mildly and fatherly entreated thee, thou wouldest remember the soueraigne bounty and clemency of our late King of happy memory, *Charles* truly wise, who (dissi-

Orgemont
speech to the
Parisians.

grous to tame thy folly and rashnesse by a wise mildnesse) pardoned the strange and cruell errors which thou hadst committed against his father being a prisoner, without any respect, affliction the afflicted, and supporting his capital enemy against him, with all treachery and infolency. Thou canst not deny, ingratefull people, how much thou wert indebted to that good Prince: duty did binde thee to sacrifice thy selfe cheerfully for him in his afflictions. But all these things being troden vnder foot, hee vsed towards thee all humanity, which the most affectionate and faithfull subiect may hope for of his Prince. His sonne our King seated at this day in the royall throne, and heyre to his vertues, hath followed his fathers steps in this mildnesse and clemency, hauing supported thee more then a father could doe his child. But thou hast followed (being mad and ingratefull) thy wretched disposition, suffering thy selfe to be furiously transported by thy wicked Councillors (the fire-brands of sedition and disobedience) and by the vnuly passions of thy blind fury. The goodly worke thou hast made of late, the disloyall intelligences thou hadst with those mutines, enemies of all command and policy: the audacious practices thou hast presumed to make in the Cities of the Realme: and the blood which thou hast spilt in the bowels of this thy Country, wherof the hath horror, feeling her bosome polluted with the blood vnjustly shed by thy violent hands. All these horrible and tragicke effects are knowne to the world: for the which thou canst yeeld no excuse, which doth not double the offence. O wretched people! be not these authentick testimonies to the whole Realme, yea to all nations, of thy ingratitude, disloyalty, cruelty, villany, and fury? Miserable, what hast thou deserued? The Kings bounty? But thou hast treacherously abused it. Thou hast made shew to contemne publike authority, drunke with thine owne friendship of thy wicked Councillors. The King, the King I say, shall make thee feele, that he hath one arme to support and maintaine the good, and another to punish and root out the wicked. Thou hast seene examples vpon these wicked heads, which made thee to forget thy duty; but the punishment is light in regard of the offence: neither doest thou feele any smart, wherof thou thy selfe art not the cause. *Orgemont* hauing thus ended, turnes vnto the King: My Liege (sayth he) is this it which your Maicesty commanded

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me to lay vnto the people. It is answered the King) but this sufficeth not, in regard of what they haue deferred. This short and rough answer from the King, the Chancellors speech, vitred with great vehemency, and especially the blood richly spilt, which they did see as it were rebound vpon the place of execution: the fearfull armes wherewith the people were compassed in, had brought them into extreame perplexity, like men already in the graue: so as eury one beroughed himselfe, according to his offences he had committed: and such as had wealth, according to the enemies which did maligne them, being terrified with the tragike spectacle of *Iohn de Marais*.

They stand all mute, their eyes fixed on the ground, prostrate before his throne, men and women, yong & old, infinite in number. In this great silence the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne rise from their seats with a very mournfull countenance, and fall at the Kings feet, beseeching him to haue pity of his poore City of Paris, and not to comprehend the innocent with the culpable, good men with rascals vnworthy of his grace. Presently after their speech, without expecting any answer from the King, the sorrow of this miserable people, suppressed during their complaints and threats, burst forth into so lamentable a cry, as if the whole City had bene lost. All cryed for mercy: there was nothing but cries, lamentations and howlings of women & men, old and yong. The Ladies and Gentlewomen of the City, with their heire hanging downe, full of teares, cry out: *Liege Lord, will you ruine your City of Paris for some rascals? let it begin by vs and ours, we desire not to suruine this misery: take pity (Liege Lord) of your people, who sue for pity.* The people cry out againe with a fearfull voyce: *Mercy, Mercy.*

This spectacle was pittifull to behold: there was no heart so hard but relented. The King in the end answered, (the noise being quieted,) *That he would not punish the good for the bad, and that he did pardon the people, vpon condition, they should be better aduised hereafter, and not suffer themselves to be seduced by these wicked ring-leaders of sedition. That for Gods sake, and at his Vncles suite, hee gave life vnto the prisoners, paying such fines as his Councell should decree.* Those to whom the prisoners belonged, cryed out, *God save the King:* and the people freed from their feare, redouble their cries with great ioy, and so they all depart. The Councell decrees, *That forasmuch as the City of Paris had bene engaged in this sedition, they should be deprived of their Magistrates, chaires and armes, and should lose all priuiledges vntill the King had otherwise determined. That for recompence of this capitall crime, as well the prisoners, as all others guilty of the sedition, according to information duly made, should pay the moytie of their goods.* The which was speedily put in execution, to send home the men of war, by means of the great summes of money which they leauied by this exaction. Thus the sedition at Paris was suppressed, and afterwards at Rouen and Orleans, but with farre more rigour then at Paris. An example for all subjects, how to oppose themselves against their Lords: who soone or late make them to reape the fruits of their rashnesse and insolvency. Their Magistrates, chaires, armes, and all priuiledges, were soone restored to the Parisians, by means of the D. of Bourgongne, who from that time sought all meanes to creepe into the peoples fauour, which he & his sonne shall vie no lesse then the Nauarrois had done: this happened in the yeare of our Lord God 1387. in the month of December. This iust execution did greatly countenance the yong age of *Charles*, for that in so solemne an act, he had caried a countenance worthy of a Royall Maiesty: His age and the name of a King, made him know that hee was a King, together with the daily instructions which did sound in his eares, by his most inward and trusty seruants: yet his Vncles kept him still in his minority, disposing of matters in Councell by their authority. *Charles* was much discontented with this proceeding of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, who should rather haue preuented him, then hee them, experience hauing taught all Frenchmen what hee was. Hee therefore seeks a remedy for their error.

Hee caused a Councell to bee held at Rheimes, where it was decreed, *That Charles should be free from the government of his Vncles: for that both his age and the proofe of his iudgment did testifie plainly that hee was worthy to gouerne his Realme.* This resolution greatly displeased the Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne, who would gladly haue held a longer possession of this Royall authority which they enjoyed, being discontented with such as had put this spirit into the yong King. The Cardinal of Laon (one of the first authors of this Councell) enjoyed it not long, for hee dyed (not without suspicion of

The Parisians
cry for mercy.

He pardons
them.

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A poyson) *Iohn* of Montague shall pay both principall and interest in his time. *Iohn Mercier* and the Lord of Noiant shall haue their parts, these shall now enter into quarter, and haue all the credit. It is this Noiant which caused the golden Hart in the Palace to bee made for a modell of that which he would make of gold, of the Ingots he had gathered together in the Treasury, hauing reduced the coyned money into this forme, left *Charles* a yong Prince and very bountifull, should giue it away prodigally. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne retire themselves quietly to their houses, making a shew to be very well satisfied, although they hatched a great discontent, and especially *Philip*, being a man of an imperious and insupportable spirit.

We haue drawne *Charles* out of his Minority, the first parcell of our discourse: let vs now see his Maioity, into the which I tremble to enter, foreseeing so happy a beginning to haue so lamentable an end. But alas! what shall we see therein, which wee haue not scene in our miserable age. Our experience shall bee vnto vs a mournfull commentary, most true in the reigne which we are to represent.

The Maioity of King CHARLES the sixt:

Remarkable in two respects: Of Health, and Sickness.

HE reigned thirteene yeares, either with his Vncles, or alone in his good sence, and in phrensie, not ruling but ruled, or rather rauished by the sundry passions of others. So wee will distinguish his Maioity, according to the calculation of these two seasons, and in either of them the most famous acts of these home-bred confusions.

The first time of the Kings Health,

From the yeare 1388, vnto 1393.

FRANCE enjoyed a long rest, the tempest of these popular tumults being pacified, Flanders subdued, and the English forced to hold a truce (by reason of their home-bred quarrels, the which brought forth strange effects, as wee shall hereafter shew.) *Charles* then vndertook the charge of his Realme, to gouerne alone, without any Tutors. The flower of his youth, framed to great affairs, and commendable for his milde disposition, promised the fruits of a reigne both wise, moderate, peacefull, and most happy. But oh the vanity of mans hopes! a dreame of him that wakes, a fruitlesse paine which hunts and gets nothing.

Being freed from the government of others, hauing absolute authority, he was desirous to marry *Lewis* his onely brother, and to giue him authority: neither would he abandon his cousins of Aniou, *Lewis* and *Charles*, in their pretensions to the Realme of Naples: The Estate of Milan did wonderfully import to aduance this action, for the commodity tis it hath in Italy. To this end he married his brother *Lewis* with *Valentine* the daughter of *Iohn Galeas* Duke of Milan, a marriage which succeeded not according to his desire, no more then his owne. An Italian woman ioyned with a Germane, shall make strange worke: to shew, that all is not gold that glisters: for both these mariages were built vpon grounds of apparent good, as farre as humane reason could comprehend, to the end they might haue great intelligences both in Germany and Italy, alliances which import much for the good of France. *Philip* of Valois, the kings brother, & *Iohn* Duke of Orleans, were dead without children, and the Duchy returned to the Crowne. *Charles* giues this Duchy to his brother *Lewis*, who was but Earle of Touraine, and now shall be Duke of Orleans, and by this name shall be much spoken of.

In this profound peace, it was necessary for *Charles* to make himselfe knowne to his subjects, after so many confusions. He makes a progresse into Languedoc, one of the remotest Prouinces from his chiefe City, lying vpon the Mediterranean sea, and yet one of the most fertile and best affected to the Crowne. He had especial reasons to visit this goodly Prouince, for the great complaints they made against the Duke of Berry their Gouernour, who committed great extortions by his officers, vnder colour of authority. *Charles* passeth by Dijon to see his Vncle the Duke of Bourgongne, who accompanys him to Auignoa. The Earle of Sauoy comes vnto him, the people of Dauphine and

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Viuarez shew a wonderfull ioy to see their King after so troublesome a time. So hee comes to Auiignon, being kindly received, and much made of by Pope *Clement* the 7, who could not stand without him, hauing *Frane* the 6, for his competitor. The widow of *Lewis* Duke of Aniou repaired thither, who by the fauour of *Charles* caused *Lewis* the second, her eldest sonne to bee crowned King of Naples. This course wee must hold for the continuance of our History.

From Auiignon he went into Languedoc to settle his authority, the which was much respected by the people of that Country, but had been greatly blemished by the gouernment of the Dukes of Aniou & Berry his Vncles, Gouernors of that goodly Prouince one after another. He staies at Montpellier, a City of a goodly & pleasant situation; where he heard many complaints against the Duke of Berry his Vncle, for his great oppression of the country. But the absence of this Prince, and the authority of his name staid the remedy to another season. The Estates of the country made sure to haue the Earle of Foix for their gouernor, hauing heretofore liued quietly vnder him; but he would not accept of this gouernment, without the good liking of the Duke of Berry, so as all the punishment fell vpon *Beizac* his chiefe Treasurer, who was burnt at Beziers, purging in the fire the extortions he had committed vnder his masters authority.

Beizac the
Dukes treasur-
er burnt.

The tragical
death of the
Mauarous.

At that time *Charles* King of Nauarre died, so often blemished in the truth of this History: we haue noted how he had retired himselfe from Court, into his Realme of Nauarre. As this retreat was vnto him a reproachfull banishment, so this shamefull solitariness was a ciuill death. But the Catastrophe of his tragical life was a famous proofe, that God doth often reuenge notable sins by notable punishment euen in this life. He was much broken by the exceesse of venery, and all sorts of dissolutions, the which he had exceedingly vsed with his wonderfull tyranny & cruelty. As they did anoint him with medicines fit to warme & comfort his benummed members (some say they had chafed him with *Aqua vitæ*, and wrapt him in a sheete) behold, fire takes hold of this sheete with such violence, as (being vnable to quench it) he was consumed by degrees, liuing some daies, as furnishing his paine; and that which increased the horror of Gods iudgment, his death made both great and small to reioyce, and was receiued in France with as great content, as the winning of a great and famous battell. There was a generall truce betwixt the French and English, so as the garisons lying still, the souldiers bred vp and nourished in armes, fighting no more by order vnder their ensignes, fought now their prey by disorder vpon the labourer and Merchant. The Countries of Rouergue, Perigord, Limosin, Auvergne, and La Marche, had English garisons, who spoiled these Countries, and did runne vp into the neerest parts of Languedoc, Velai, Genuadan, Viuarez, and Suenes, where the villages are for the most part walled in, to preuent these sudden incursions. There were many theues amongst them: *Teste noire* or *Black-pate* in the Castle of Ventador; *Amerigor Marcel* at Roch-Vandais, who breaking the truce, sought to be supported by the King of England, but in the end they all fell into the hangmans hands, or perished miserably by some strange death, an Image of our late confusions. Liberty had been bred vp these warriours with so great abundance, as the English passed the sea to make Turneys, and to fight at barriers, as they vse at great triumphs. There was a Tilt stepp betwixt Calais and Saint Iaquesvuert, where the Nobility made triall of their valour, as in a schoole of Fence. To take away this troublesome abundance, they tooke occasions to make long voyages into Castile and Italy, but in the end there was a very famous one offered against the miscreants of Barbary, at the Geneuois request, who suffered many discommodities in their trafficke, by these barbarous Africans. *Charles* granted them succours willingly, and gaue the charge of this war to *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, assisted with the Earles of Auvergne and Foix, the Lords of Coucy, *Guy* of Tremouille, *John* of Vienn, Admiral of France, *Philip* of Arthois Earle of Eu, *Philip* of Bar, Harcourt, Antoin, Linge, Pyquiny, and many other great men from all parts of the Realme, which ranne to so famous an action, vnder so worthy a Commander, and at so great leysure, more painfull then the toyle of warre to men that desired nothing but employment. *Richard* King of England, to imitate *Charles*, granted succour to the Geneuois, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisbury, accompanied with many Noblemen and English Gentlemen, moued with desire like vnto the French, in the enterprise of this pleasing paine. The Deputies of the kings of France and England assembled to treat of a general peace, but

A voyage into
Africke by the
French & Eng-
lish together.

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A but not able to effect it, they continue a truce for foure yeares, with goodly prouisions against robberies, for the safety and quiet of their Estates. *Charles* gaue free passage to the English, by the Countries of Languedoc and Dauphin, to passe the Alpes safely.

All come to Genoa, to the great ioy of the Geneuois. Being shippt, they land within few dayes in Barbary. Presently they besiege the City of Africke (so our History termes it) as bearing the name of all the worst and barbarous Country. They call the African commanders *Agadinor* of Olfence, and *Bradaist* of Thunes. But our Argonauts found them which stayed their fury. The Barbarians defended themselves with an obstinate resolution. But their force did them lesse harme then the ayre, and diet, being very contrarie to their complexions; so as our army decreased daily, especially of men of accompt. This siege continued fixe weekes with much losse and no hope to preuaile. The Geneuois hauing conceiued a hope of a sudden victory, began to grow cold and slacke in furnishing of the army. The Duke of Bourbon foreseeing the difficulties which might grow in continuing obstinate at this siege, fearing the winter, and not trusting the Geneuois (who are famous for that they haue no faith) remembering the example of the King Saint *Lewis*, resolved to returne, without any greater losse. He trusteth vp his baggage, and brings backe his troopes into France, continuing the example to all such as are capable of reason, how difficult it is for Christians to performe these strange attempts, after the experience of many ages. The French and English hauing liued louingly together in this voyage, returned to their houses without doing any memorable act, but to haue endeauored to doe something worthy of memory to auoid idleness during so peacefull a time.

The Geneuois
always faith-
fulle.

Britany did then conceiue, and afterwards bring forth more preiudiciall effects then Barbary it selfe: and the way was made by light occasions to horrible and monstrous effects, to the great preiudice both of the King and Realme: for a notable testimony to posterity, what Councillors, enuy, and ambition, be in a State: wee like wretches seeke for peace, and when God giues it, we flye from it, we maligne another mans good, and decriue our selues of our owne. But alas! it were a small matter for a great personage to hurt himselfe by his owne passions, if this poyson did not spread abroad to the preiudice of the Common-weale.

D We haue said that *John* of Montfort remained peaceably Duke of Britany, by the death of *Charles* of Blois, and the agreement he made with his widow, whose eldest sonne *John* of Britany, Earle of Ponthieure, was redeemed from prison from England by the Constable *Cliffon*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage and payed his ranfome. The Constable was a Britton, and so subiect to *John* of Montfort Duke of Britany, his ancient and capital enemy, and yet by this successe was become his Lord.

Doublelesse in this quality *Cliffon* could not but yeeld vnto him as his vassall, but as Constable of France and dearly beloued of his master, the greatest Monarch in Europe, and Soueraigne to the Duke of Britany, herein the Duke must needs respect him, his place giuing him authority in many notable actions, ouer the greatest personages within the Realme. This was the ground of their hate, which not onely embarked King *Charles*, Lord vnto them both, but caried him so farre into the maine, as hee could nor auoid a notable shipwracke by their meanes. By the former accord, *John* of Montfort was to yeeld vnto *Cliffon* all his patrimony, whereon he had seized vnder colour of a confiscation, reuoked by *Charles*, which he had not yet performed. And although he had promised the King, and giuen him a new assurance, yet did he not trust the King, but continued his intelligences with the English, fortified his places, and coyned both gold and siluer against the lawes of State. He refused likewise to acknowledge *Clement* the seuenth for lawfull Pope, whom France approued: nor to suffer the Earle of Ponthieure aforesaid to beare the name and armes of Britany. These were the chiefe causes of their complaints and differences.

Complaints
agaunst the
Duke of Bri-
tany.

The King and his most secret Councell, *Mercier*, *Montagu*, and *la Riviere*, held for the Constable. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne, and the Chancellor *Orgemont*, for the Duke of Britany, a cunning dissembling Prince, and high minded. He spake proudly, by reason of his intelligence with England, which could not faile him: and mildly when as he found meanes to doe his businesse vnder-hand, and not to breake with the King. Hee comesto Tours vnto *Charles*, where after many discourses their quarrels are ended by marriages: the Kings daughter (being yet young) is promised to the Dukes sonne, and the sonne of *John* Earle of Ponthieure (borne of the Constables daughter) to the Dukes daughter,

He is reconciled to the King and Constable.

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ter, who promisseth likewise to restore *Cliffon* his lands; in shew friends, but in their hearts irreconcilable enemies. Hereupon *Cliffon* goes into Britany to receiue his lands. The Duke held a Parliament at Vannes, whither he called his Nobility. The Constable comes, fearing no enemy. The Duke had built a castle called the *Hermine*, where he feasts the States. The Constable is called, and welcomed with the first: this countenance did not shew what was prepared for the end of the banquet against the Constable. After dinner the Duke taking him by the hand, vnder colour to shew him his building, and to haue his aduice, as of a great Captaine and well seene in Architecture, he leads him from place to place, through halls, chambers, and closets, vntill he had brought him to a great Tower, hauing an iron doore, wherein were armed men. The Duke enters first, the Constable follows him, viewing the proportion of this worke, and the thickeesse of the wals by the windowes. But behold the Duke slips out of the Tower, where he leaues the Constable, and shuts the doore after him.

The Duke of Britanie seizeth treacherously on the Constable,

This signe giuen, the armed men seize vpon the Constables sword, and keepe him prisoner, putting irons on his legges. The Constable was not so much amazed at this strange vltage, as the Duke reioyced at this sweet content of reuenge, thinking to attaine the full of his desires, to be reuenged of a capitall and cruell enemy, and in the heat of his fury he commands a faithfull seruant of his called *John Banalan*, to dispatch the Constable presently. *Banalán* accepts this charge, but he doth not execute it. He goes to the Tower and assures himselfe of the Constables person, retaining the souldiers, whom the Duke commanded to obey him, and so he passeth the night with the Constable. But the night gaue him counsell. The Duke transported with ioy in the heat of his choler, goes to his rest, but care awaked him, and reason (of more force then his passion) lets him know the fault he had committed, and repentance followed this first act. A wife seruant in not obeying his masters passion. The Duke lying restlesse a great part of the night, riseth early in the morning, calleth *Banalán*, and demands what is become of the Constable; his passion bewrayes his mind before he spake, witnessing the shame he had of his choler, & his griefe for this furious charge. *Banalán* comforts him, and assures him that the Constable is well. The Duke wonderfully glad of this newes, which freed him from so cruell a torment, commands he should be well entreated and with respect, attending newes from the King: D from whom there comes poste vpon poste with complaints and commandements to the Duke.

And repents what he had done,

The Duke without any great delay excuseth himselfe of his imprisonment, and sends the Constable to the King. It had bene more auailable for him to haue suppressed his choler, in committing this error. But he did verifie, *That he which offends doth neuer forgive*. The Constable goes to the King to Blois, he thanks him for his care in his deliuerie: the Duke doth likewise send vnto him, to craue a safe conduct to come himselfe to make his iust excuses, and to shew what reason had moued him to put the Constable in prison. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne holding openly for the Briton, obtraine leaue for him to come vpon the Kings word. He comes well accompanied, and not only iustifies the taking of *Cliffon*, being his subiect, & in his owne country, but also he would haue the King beholding vnto him for the respect he bare vnto his officer, whom otherwise he might iustly haue put to death. It is an easie matter for great men to manage their affaires at their seruants cost. The Constable digested quietly this new affront, being glad to haue recovered his liberty: but the Duke of Britanies malice shall bee the cause of great misery both to the King and Realme, seeking new deuices to satisfie his choler, a furious beast which can neuer be tamed by flattery. It burst forth vpon a light and ridiculous subiect, which bred a horrible Chaos of sundry confusions.

Peter Craon a Nobleman of the Country of Aniou, had great credit with the King, and with *Lewis* Duke of Orleans his brother, who loued him so dearly, that hee trusted him with his greatest secrets, euen with his amorous passions, whereunto his loose disposition, his age, ease, and Court, made him too proane, to the great discontent of *Valentine* his wife, who exceeding ialous of her husband, and an Italian, seeking by all meanes to learne how he was affected, feeling him so cold to her, shee finds no better expedient then to gaîne *Craon*, whom shee handled so cunningly, as shee drew the worrne from his nose.

Hauing speciall aduertisement of her husbands loues, she threatens the Lady that was beloued,

A beloued, and complains to her husband, naming the reporter. The Duke of Orleans finding himselfe wronged by this disloyall affront done him by *Craon*, in a very light subiect, but a prooffe of his rash treachery, vnworthy of so strict a friendship wherewith he had honoured him, he complained to the King his brother, who loued him exceedingly. Both of them detecting this disloyall rashnesse of *Craon*, as a treacherous and an insufficient man, holding him vnworthy of their seruice, dismiss him with great disgrace, refusing to see him, or to heare his pretended excuses.

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Peter of Craon disgraced.

Thus *Craon* retires to his house wonderfully perplexed with this disgrace, and finding himselfe not greatly safe, he retires to the Duke of Britany his kinsman and deare friend, to whom he reports his misfortune. The Duke embraceth this occasion, and with a deeper reach, perswades him that the Constable is the cause of this disgrace, making his profite of the passions of these young Princes, and proceeding in his discourse, (thrust on by the innerate hatred he bare him) he perswades *Craon* to kill him, to rid the world of so pernicious a man: and thereupon offers him his meanes, vpon all occasions.

The Duke perswades him to murder Cliffon.

This was that miserable counsell which hatred and malice gaue him, two bad counsellors: for if choler bea short fury, who sees not by the effect, that hatred is a continuing rage, the mother of reuenges, the seed of all misery to mankind.

As it was simply concluded betwixt them, so was it vainly executed by *Peter* of Craon. He had a house at Paris, whither he finds meanes to send men fit for this murder, and follows himselfe secretly: (an easie matter in this great forest of Paris) who knowing the hours of Court, and hauing set spies to observe when the Constable should goe from the King at night to his lodging, he attends him with his murderers in a little house where he should passe, and sets vpon him with twenty armed men.

The Constable assaulted by Craon.

The Constable thinking at the first, that the Duke of Orleans had done it inieft, made no great regard thereof, but vnderstanding it was *Craon*, he defends himselfe with a great skaine (such as they did usually weare in those dayes) who being charged on all sides by these twenty murderers, and crying for ayd, he saues himselfe (all wounded) in a Bakers shop.

The people that were neare, came running at this noyse: *Craon* saues himselfe on horsebacke by Saint *Anthones* gate, with the greatest part of these murderers: three only were taken in this disorder.

The Constable was caried to his lodging, called the house of Mercy (it is now the house of Guise, as the History obserues) all wounded. The King and Court (disquieted by so audacious an attempt,) are all the night in tumult. These murderers being examined, confesse that *Peter* of Craon had not only caused them to commit this act, but was also present at the execution, and so they are beheaded.

The King comes to visit the Constable lying in bed: he doth comfort him, and assures him, that he will not leaue so execrable an act unpunished. But in effect this affront so impudently done to his Constable in the bosome of the head City, in the view of all his Court, and in his presence, together with the foorne of his audacious imprisonment, and the priuie of *Cliffon*, who keeping silence, the indignities he had so oft receiued of the Duke of Britanie, pleaded for him, being sealed by these outrageous wounds. All these things put *Charles* into such a choler, and made so great an impression in his heart of hatred against the Duke, as he was farre more sicke then the Constable himselfe.

King *Charles* assisted by his Councell, declares *Peter* of Craon guilty of high Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of France, hauing attempted against his chiefe officer, and doth eate him to come and iustifie himselfe speedily. He is called, and (not appearing) is condemned for his contempt: he is declared a banished man, and his body and goods confiscated. And in the execution of this sentence, his house at Paris was razed. The Tragedy began by this act, in the year 1393, in the moneth of May, but it shall continue with many other mournfull acts, and shall cause new Seanes vpon this Stage. This sentence thus executed at Paris, it went into Aniou and Britany. All *Craons* places and houses were seized on, and put into the Kings hands: and the Duke of Britany was commanded by the same Commissioners to deliuer him. The Duke of Britany excuseth himselfe, swearing that he hath him not in his power, discouers the place where he is, makes offer of all his meanes for the execution of iustice: he sends to the King to reiterate his excuses, assuring him that he was not priuy to this murder. *Craon* was fled to the towne of Sable in Maine, which

Craon condemned for attempting against the Constable.

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which appertained vnto him. *Charles* (transported with choler) lost both meat and rest, inceased by the Duke of Orleans his brother, and his most trusty seruants, *Noyan, Mercier, and Montaigne*, dreaming of nothing more then to be reuenged of the Duke of Britanie, whom he held to be the very cause of this attempt. Such as were of iudgement and without passion, thought no otherwise. But alas! how wake is mans vnderstanding, euen in the best things, wherein there often wants a good proceeding. *Charles* had great cause to be grieved with the Duke of Britany, but he should moderate the heat of his choler, by the temper of wisdom, expecting wisely a fit opportunity to punish, not troubling the quiet of his mind with such violence, in seeking reuenge of his enemy.

We may well say, *That Charles had a good cause, but it was ill managed: and the Duke of Britany a bad, the which he governed with policy.* Wherein our *Charles* should haue vied cunning to crosse his enemies cunning, following the example of his wife father *Charles* the fift, who vanquished the Nauarrois with patience, and flying the vntempered rashnesse of *Iohn* his grandfather, who seeking hastily a reuenge of the same Nauarrois his enemy, did thrust himselfe into a mortall prison.

The children are neither heires of their fathers vertues, nor of their happinesse, whose bodies they haue by the wil of God, being the instruments of their elence, but he referes to himselfe the souerainty of vertue and happinesse, to gouerne them in the difficult Labyrinth of this world. The Dukes of Berry and Bourgongne aduise the King their Nephew, to leaue the deciding of this quarrell to the Constable and Craon, and not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Britany, who disauowed the fact, who feeling himselfe oppressed, would seeke for extraordinary remedies to defend himselfe, whereby strange inconueniences might ensue.

But the King was resolute at any hand to make warre against the Duke of Britany. All are sent for, euenry man doth march, the Rendezuous is at Mans. *Peter* of Craon retires from Sable, whilst this storme riseth: but the King marcheth on, assuring himselfe that he was in Britany, although some say that he was in Arragon, and that the Queene of Arragon had giuen him intelligence, that she held a French Knight prisoner at Perpignan, who would not discouer his name. This distempered choler had much impaired the kings health, who caried in his face the disease of his mind.

His Physicians dissuaded him from this voyage, as most preiudiciall for his health: and the Duke of Britany by a new excuse, beseeched him to beleue, that hee had no dealings with *Peter* of Craon.

The King could not be deterred by all these difficulties, from passing on in this iourney, so wilfully vnderaken by him: although his Vncles found new deuices to stay him, both at Chartres and at Mans, employing his Physicians, to tell him, how dangerous it was to march in Summer, being extremely hot, considering the debility of his health, much impaired since his burning choler, the which had altered his blood, whereof hee had proofe by daily Feuers. But this passion of choler had so possessed his poore afflicted spirits, that such as were about him, besides himselfe, perceiued his griefe to be the greater, in that he was insensible of what he suffered: and his seruants espied that which they could not but see in him, by the extreme apprehension they had of the harme which was at hand.

Moreover, the Duke of Britany, to calme this great storme, which was ready to fall vpon him, (although in truth he had hidden *Peter* of Craon at Susner, and was Iory that he had not slaine the Constable *Cliffon*) sends a certaine Bishop of his Country to the King, called the *Beard*, a very famous man for the integrity of his life, to beseech him to beleue that he was nothing guilty of this attempt, neither did he know what was become of *Peter* of Craon, whom he would send vnto him with his hands and feet bound, if hee were in his power: That he should not make warre against his owne Country, and against a poore power, which must suffer for another mans folly. In the end this man pronounceth the threats of Gods iudgement against *Charles*, if hee should proceed vnto warre, so lightly vnderaken against his vassals and subiects, and against the articles of marriage concluded betwixt his daughter and the Dukes sonne, as a seale of their loues. This Bishop was heard in Council, and the Duke of Berry speaking more boldly then the rest (for the authority which his degree and white haies gaue him) laid open all that might hinder this voyage. But *Charles* stopt his eares to all good counsell, hauing his

The King vnles diffused from the war of Britany.

The King marches against the Duke of Britany.

The Duke of Britany labours to dissuade the King.

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A braine disposed to the distemperature which shall presently seize vpon him, running headlong into the mischief which should afflict him and all France. He parts from Mans in Iuly, (in an exceeding hot day, as the History sayes, as if all things had conspired to afflict this poore Prince) at nine of the clocke in the morning, to recue the coolnesse of the greatest heat at noone-tide, weake in head and mind, distempered with choler, griefe, despayre, and languishing: his body wearied with watching and distaste, not able to cate nor sleep, hauing his head muffled with a great hood of scarlet, and his body couered with a thicke Ierkin of Veluet, (too weighty for a sharpe winter) marching on a sandy plaine, so scale with the Sunne-beames, as the strongest did melt in sweat, and were out of breath.

Being entred the forest of Mans, behold a man bare-headed and bare-legged, attired in a coat of white rugges, steps suddenly forth betwixt two trees, taking hold of the reins of his horse, he flayes him, and sayes vnto him; *King, ride no further, but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.*

Charles (whose spirits were otherwise dulled) was amazed at this voice, and his blood greatly distempered. His seruants run to this man, and with blowes make him leaue the reins of his horse, and so without any further search the man vanished. After this accident there presently followes another. *Charles* and his Noblemen did ride in troopes diuided by reason of the dust, and he himselfe all alone pursue, with the Pages of his chamber, who were so neare vnto him, as they rode on his horses heeles. He that was nearest caried his helmet vpon his head, and the next his lance, being garnished with crimson silke. As the heat of the noone day makes men drouzy on horseback, it chanced the Page which caried his lance, (being very sleepey) let it fall vpon him which caried the helmet, making a great noise, like the rushing of armes: the King starts with amazement at this noise, and seeing the crimson banderolle of the lance, hauing his spirits weakened with the former distemperatures, transported with the imagination of this voice, sleepey with labour and heat, he imagined himselfe to be compassed in with many armed men which pursued him to the death.

A strange accident befalls the King.

The second season, from the time of the Kings sicknesse:

From the yeare 1393, to the yeare 1422.

This time of his infirmity is distinguished into many Acts, whereof this is the first Scene of a long and mournfull Tragedie.

Thus *Charles* transported with this frenzy, layes hold on his sword, drawes it, runnes violently after his Pages, and cries amaine, *At these Traytors.* The Pages conceiuing at the first, that he had bene displeased for the disorder of the Lance, flye from him. The King followes after, doubling his cry. At this noise the Duke of Orleans runnes towards him, to vnderstand the cause. The King layes at him, not knowing him: the Duke flies, and the King followes. The Duke of Bourgongne rides to him: all gather together with a great outcry: Squires and Knights compasse in the King, till that being wearied, and his horse out of breath, his most trusty Chamberlaine takes hold of him gently behind, and flayes him, chearing him with flattering words, and speaking vnto him with that familiarity that befits a faithfull seruant to a good master. Then all draw neare vnto him, they take his sword from him, they lay him on the ground, and disrobe him of his thicke veluet Ierkin, and his scarlet cap, to giue him breath.

His brother and vncles salute him: but he knows them not, neither makes he any shew to moue, being pensie, his eyes troubled, turning vp and downe, mute, sighing, panning, mouing both body and head with great amazement. All signes of frenzy appeared in this poore Prince. The Physicians are sent for in haste: they come, but hee knows them not. Brother, Vncles, Lords, Physicians, all sigh: all lift vp their eyes to heauen. Teares fall from the Duke of Orleans eyes: he beats his breast, and crosseth his armes, he approacheth neere to his poore brother, and he recules from him. All are amazed, all confounded.

O my Country! what trouble shall this poore Head giue vnto thy body? but may I lawfully sigh with my Countrymen who sighed then, foretelling the miseries that should befall them by this frenzy, as if my selfe had bene (in this disorder) a witness of so great

The initial estate of the Court.

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A general cens-
sure of this ac-
cident.

an affliction, both to this poore Prince and to his Estate? The History doth very fitly set downe the diuers Censures that were giuen of this accident, both at Rome and Auiignon (famous places being then the seats of Popes) and also in England and in France.

The poore subiects (as men whom it concerned) spake soberly, and with what griefe; some blaming the duke of Britanie, and Peter of Craon; and others the Constable of Clifton, and Mignons of his chamber, who had drawne the King into this action: but all in generall lamented bitterly this great disaster. England was amazed at this report, and sorry for it especially the Duke of Lancaster, who had conferred with our Charles very privately in the treaty of peace which they had at Amiens. He wept, commending this good and wise Prince, being desirous of the good of all Christendome. Rome & Auiignon (being) thus banded one against the other, by reason of the Schism of Antipopes, reioiced at this calamitie befalling vnto our poore King. *Yrbane* (as his professed enemy) triumphed in his misery, whereinto he said he was faine by a iust iudgment of God, hauing supported *Clement* his competitor against him. *Clement* reioiced, for that hee was not fully confirmed in his authority by him: the King hauing busied himselfe with his subiects quarrels, whereas his greatest charge was to restore the dignity of the holy See to her ancient beauty. This the History obserueth of the Censures of these Antipopes.

But the diuine Oracle saies, *O how happy is hee that iudgeth wisely of the afflicted*, representing an admirable example in the person of *Iob*, to gouerne themselves discretely in their Censures. *Iob* hath the testimony of a very good man, and yet he had great afflictions, hauing lost goods, children, house and health, tormented by his wife, and not only abandoned, but also persecuted by all his friends, in that which was more deare vnto him then his goods, life and credit, whereof they seeked to deprime him, accusing him that hee had liued wickedly like an hypocrite, hauing but the shew of a good man, and not the integrity of a good life whereof he made profession. Such is the vaine iudgement of this world, which holds aduersity for a vice, and prosperity for a vertue; measuring things according to their passions, and not with reason, but the truth doth teach vs another lesson. *O Lord how great are thy workes, thy thoughts are very deepe; the ignorant man doth not know them, nor the foole doth not vnderstand them.* That wee might know the chastisements of God to be alwaies iust, although the causes be vnknowne vnto vs.

We cannot denie but there were errors in Charles; but yet we must confesse, (in acknowledging things as they be,) that he was one of the least vicious Kings of France, and if we shall examine the zeale he had to the government of his Estate, hee must hold an honorable rancke among the most vertuous Princes that haue at any time deferred well of this Monarchy. Many nearer causes of his infirmity, may be truly and soberly obserued: the disposition of his body, his manner of life, the surcharge of affaires, the weakness of his braine, the abounding of choller, griefe, and waywardnesse, the want of rest and food, the importunity of his voyage, the terror of this voice, and the noise of armes, to weigh downe the ballance ouer-charged with so heauy a burthen. But why from man do we not ascend to God?

Truly God doth hold and gouerne this rod: and as Charles was the head of this great Estate by his wife decree, so hee not onely punished the person of Charles, but the whole body of this Realme: that both great and small might learne by this pittifull spectacle, to humble themselves vnder the mighty hand of God, who hath created the spirit of man, to worke according to his good and wife will; and disposed absolutely of men and their affaires, as he pleaseth: and that this saying may be the seale of a true and sober humilitie, *I haue haue held my peace O Lord, for thou hast done it*, drawne from this Maxime, *God doth all will, what seuer he doth.* O kings! this famous example belongs to you, in so famous a King. O subiects! you must learne by the head of Charles, of what price his head is, whom God hath giuen you for King: that you may pray vnto him with all your hearts, to make him fit for the government of the whole body without the which it cannot subsist. But I will returne to our Charles. Pardon courteous Reader this digression, for the search of the vse of so famous an Accident.

This new and strange accident made them presently to dismiss the troopes, hauing other worke in hand then to make war in Britanie. All the Court is wholly affected to the kings health. He is presently caried back to Mans: his sicknesse increaseth, hee must be transported to a better aire. The Physitians aduise it should bee to Creil vpon Oise,

The second
cause of his
griefe.The army dis-
solved.

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A one of the royall Houses, in the Country of Beauuoisin, betwixt Beauuais and Senlis, a pleasant and wholesome seat vpon the river. He is conducted thither with great care; but his frantick feuer continues still. They kecke to conceale it, lest the fame thereof should be dishonourable: but truth speaks generally. *Iames Harfely* an excellent Physitian of Laon is sent for, and performeth his duty happily, as shall appeare by the event. Nothing wanted that mans wit could deuise to helpe and cure the infirmity of so great a King. Let vs leaue Charles in the Physitians hands, and returne to the Crowne as sicke as the head, hauing as great need of a good and speedy remedy.

A Parliament is presently called: they assemble at Paris with all speed: all France B mourns for the affliction of their King, whom they loued dearly for his mildnesse, and the singular hope they conceiued of his reigne: whereby Charles purchased the name of *Wellbeloued*. The Estates assemble to resolute what was necessary for the government of the Realme in this accident. They determine first, what might be fittest for the forme of government, hoping verely of the Kings speedy recovery, being loath to seeke a remedy that might any way preiudice his authority. It was therefore set downe for a law, *That they should abstaine from the name of Regent, vntill in this sudden accident, the King being ill and of yeeres.* And they concluded, *That during the Kings infirmity, and without any preiudice to his authority, the soueraigne government of the Crowne of France should be giuen to the Prince of his blood.* But this point being decided, there was another of no lesse difficulty, *To what Prince?* The order of the Fundamentall law, called *Lewis* of Orleans the Kings brother, as first Prince of the blood: but neither his age, nor the present necessity could allow thereof. The States yeelding vnto reason, decree, *That being apparently necessary to provide for the State, by reason of the Kings weaknesse, being very sicke, it were not conuenient to lay so heauy a burthen vpon so weak shoulders, as the Kings brother, a young Prince: but that the Dukes of Berry and Bourgonne, his Vncles, next to his brother, should haue the gouernment of the Realme vntill the Kings recovery.* John Duke of Berry was elder then Philip,

An order for
the govern-
ment of the
Realme.

but hauing purchased an ill fame in Languedoc, to be couetous and violent, hee was nothing pleasing, so as the French were better affected to Philip the Hardy, Duke of Bourgonne, a cunning, cold, temperate, milde, patient, and popular Prince; but ambitious, D dishonourable, reuengfull, & malicious. Being therefore pleasing to the States, the chiefe charge was imposed on him: the title was common to both brethren, but the effect of the authority was proper to him alone. The Estates adde to their decree (especially in his fauour) that the Duchesse of Bourgonne should haue the first place next to *Queene Isabel* our sick Kings wife, and by consequence they giue her access to her chamber, and the gouernment of the children at all events. This was *Marquerite* the heyre of Flanders, a woman of a manly courage, raised for her great possessions, and wholly bred to ambition. This new precedence displeased *Valentine* the Duchesse of Orleans, who yeelded nothing vnto her in greatnesse of courage. We stand now vpon good termes, that must be gouerned by three women, a Germane, an Italian, and a Fleming, all which had absolute authority ouer their husbands: whose distaffes did cut like swords, whereof they will giue vs presently a sufficient proofe.

Contention
for the govern-
ment.

Philip Duke of Bourgonne aduanced to the gouernment of the Realme by a decree of the States.

Behold the Kings Vncles now at the helme, to the great discontent of the Duke of Orleans, and of *Iames* of Bourbon his Vncle by the mother side. The winde changeth, and the scales turne, the Court is transformed. There are two factions: but that of Berry F and Bourgonne is the stronger. The Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon make the other, but there is no equality. The authority of the whole government, and of the treasure, is in their hands to whom the States had decreed it. Such force hath this solemn consent of the French in matter of State.

Two factions
in Court.

Such as had bene of Charles his most secret Councell, were out of fauour: the Constable, *Begue de Villaines*, *Montague*, *la Riviere*, and *Mercier*, they are all in bad estate, for their ouerthrow is plotted, by what meanes foeuer. The Dukes authority must beginne with them, yet there was no loue betwixt the two brethren (for who can beleuee that am-

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The minions of
Charles are ill
intreated.

bition and couetousnesse are fit to vnite friendships) but onely to ruine their common enemies, and to suppress their authority. Such as were in their rowle, had their turnes, but diuersly. The Duke of Bourgogne standing vpon his guard restrained his imperious wife, who at his first aduancement to this great command, would haue turned all topie turay: but he seekes all meanes to preuent his enemies, being resolu'd to begin with the Constable, as with the strongest, and this he concluded with his brother Berry. *Montagne* cunningly smels out this practice, and with all the best hee could carry away, saues himselfe at Aunyon, attending some better opportunity: but he shall returne too soone to lose his head on a scaffold. The Constable *Cliffon*, at his first speeche with the Duke of Bourgogne, is so checkt and threatned by him, as swallowing this pill quietly, he steals out of Paris, and retires to his house at Montclery, from whence with extreame danger he saues himselfe in Britany, hauing the Duke for his capitall enemy. But he had his son in law there, the Duke of Anion, the Earle of Ponthieure, and so many friends within the Country, as in the end the equity of his cause shall draw the Duke of Britany to reason, being his most dangerous enemy. After notice that the Constable was fled, *Begue de Villaines*, a Gentleman of Beausse (who had married the Countesse of Rebekke in Castile) *la Riviere* and *Mercier* were coopt vp, but all escaped by sundry meanes, onely *Montagne* in the end shall lose the mould of his doublet, although he seemed to haue better provided for his safety then all the rest. That we may hold for an vndoubted Maxime in all the resolutions which mans reason can set downe in greatest dangers, *That what God keeps is well kept*. Yet not rashly to omit the lawfull meanes of our preservation, neither to relye ouer much vpon our owne wisdomes, no more then to a rotten planke in passing of a great Riuer.

The Duke of Bourgogne had nothing lesse in his heart, nor more in his mouth then the sacred name of Iustice. Hauing the Court of Parliament of Paris at his deuotion, hee begins to plant his artillery against the Constable, by this authority. The Kings Aduocate hauing framed a complaint against him, commissions are sent into Britany to summon him, who not finding him, they proceed against him by exceptions: all formalities being obserued, they condemne him by a decree of the Court of Parliament (in the presence of the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne) *as guilty of high treason, having attempted against the Kings person by poison, and against the State by theft and treason: That as guilty of these crimes he was degraded of the office of Constable, condemned in a hundred markes of silver to the King, and banished the Realme.*

A strange alteration, the which the History represents in these verses:

*Inconstant Fortune neuer stays,
her motions turning are alwayes:
The highest mounted on the wheele,
is strangely cast behind the heele.*

But truth corrects the vanity of this popular opinion. *God is Iudge, he raiseth one, and casts downe another. Advancement comes not from the East, nor from the West: but God doth raise up and pull downe by his wise providence:* for God that hath made the world, should not be gouerne the world: the eye sees not the Sunne through a thicke cloud, and yet it is in heauen, notwithstanding the weaknesse of our sight. That which the ignorant call Fortune in diuers euents of worldly things, is a secret operation of the wisdom of God, alwayes iust, euen when it is most vnknowne vnto vs: the which is no more polluted with humane passions, then the Sun beames with the most infected carrion, whereon it works by his heat. Oh man! distinguish the rod from the hand that rules it: doe thou thy duty, and leaue the euents to God: feare God and thou shalt haue no need to feare Fortune. An assured passport not onely to avoid the strange alterations of Court, but all other accidents of mans life which hath nothing constant in it, but vnconstancy it selfe. But every man treads on him that falls, saith the same History. Every man speaks infamously of the disgraced Constable, they cry out against him, as hauing bewitched the King. Thus the afflicted is alwayes held culpable, according to the censure of this wise world, which iudgeth only by outward circumstances. But who would beleeue, that *Cliffon* and his companions (who had so great an interest in the Kings health) would make him sicke? The issue will shew the contrary: verifying, that as slander is the touchstone of vertue, so there is nothing

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Philip of Eu
made Con-
stable.

Charles recouers
his health.

A nothing more couragious then a good cause, nor more victorious then the truth. *Cliffon* stirs not at all this brute, he stands vpon his guard, perswades friends, and attends the time, which in the end brought him to a safe Port, as we shall see hereafter. After his condemnation, the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne hastned nothing so much, as to aduance one to this goodly charge, whereby they might tye some great person vnto them. They offer it to the Lord of Coufly, who refuseth it, whereupon *Philip of Eu* Earle of Arthois is aduanced; and for a confirmation of this new league, he giues his sonne to the Duke of Berries daughter.

Thus passed the beginning of this new authority, when as *Charles*, by rest, a good ayre, the coolnesse of the winter, and good vtiage, beganne daily to recouer his health, comming first to the knowledge of such as were ordinarily about him, and of his wife, children and brother, who parted not from his bed whilst his vnles made this goodly worke at Paris. Hauing recovered his health, and *James Harfely* dismissed with an honourable reward, all France was reuiued with incredible ioy, to see their King as it were raised out of the graue, and giuen deuoutly to his prayers: but he hath a greater relapse into this miserable disease by a new accident; and this was the occasion.

Charles returned to Paris to his subjects great comfort, who sought to delight him with all kinds of sports: euery man employed his wits thereto: So as there was a new invention of a Maske of wilde men, attired in fine linnen cloth, all couered with very fine flaxe, from the foot to the head, being glued to the cloth so artificially, as if it had growne to the skin, and that they which did weare it had beene naked. They were fix, and the King would make the seuenth to lead the dance. For the annoyding of all danger of fire, which might easily take the flax, a commandement was giuen to put out all torches, but it chanced that the Duke of Orleans, vnacquainted with this Maske, came into the Hall, followed by his Pages, who caried torches (according to the vsual manner) euen as these Savage men (tied one to another like prisoners) present themselves vnto the company: the King (who marched first goes presently to the Duchesse of Berry, she holds him, and refuseth to let him goe without knowledge what he was.

And euen then the Duke of Orleans with an active resolute nesse answerable to his age and naturall wantonnesse, takes a Torch and comes neere to these Savage men, to know them by the lifting vp of their masks, when as fire takes hold of this flaxe so suddenly, as all were on a flame, not able to free themselves, being all tied to one line. The violence of the fire kindled with the rozen, caused a most horrible crie, but generally all men crie out, *Sauce the King*, whom they knew to be one of the Savage men. The Duchesse of Berry wraps him in her gowne, being long and large, after the manner of those times, and so drawing him out of the Hall, they led him into the next chamber, without any hurt to his person. But the amazement was such, by the horrible cries of these poore men which burnt in the flames (not able to be helped wel in so sudden an outcry) as the King could not be stayed in this amazement. They lay him on his bed, but his spirits could take no rest.

The King falls
into a relapse
by a strange
accident.

E Thus the night passeth away, this poore Prince being much distempered in mind, and all his seruants distressed with griefe.

There fell out another vnhappy accident. In the morning it was bruted through the City, that the King was dead, so as the people did runne in flocks to his vnles lodgings, exclaiming against them for the ill guard they had kept of his person, whom they desire to see either dead or aliue, so as the Dukes of Berry and Bourgogne yeelding to this violence, were forced (euen when as the King began to take some rest) to raise him out of his bed, and to lead him through the City to our Ladies Church, to pacifie the peoples fury. At his returne his spirits faile him, he falls into his former frenzy, and neuer after were they settled, notwithstanding all the helpes men could apply.

F He languished two and twenty years in this pitifull estate, and in the tediousnesse of so long an infirmity the Realme was not without languishing. Sometimes hee was in good temper (as frenzies haue their respits, and doe not alwayes distemper the faculties of the minde) but still hee fell, and euen when as he thought to doe best, hee erred most, when as he sought to retaine the authority to himselfe, and that nothing should be done but by his command. Hence sprung the horrible confusions in this reigne, for that diuers passionate men ruled his weak braine diuersly, one vndoing what another had done, couering their passions with the Kings name and authority. And all the

1394

Jealousie be-
twixt the
Dukes of Or-
leans and Bour-
gogne.

liberty to doe ill, grew from this spring. But let vs returne to the end of our painfull week. The Duke of Orleans wonderfully perplexed to haue bene the cause of this scandall, ex-
cuse himself presently in the hall, and to the King his brother, but all this did not sa-
tisfie, The Duke of Bourgogne reproacheth him, and exceeds the censure of an Vnck,
for he layes hold on this occasion, to make him odious to the people, as if it had bene
done of purpose to kill the King.

This maske of burning men (which chanced in the beginning of the yeare 1394) shal
burne farther, and kinde a greater fire betwixt the Vnck and the Nephew, for the space
of ten yeares, vntill the death of *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, leaving this hatred heredi-
tary to his posterity. There is no meanes which the Bourguignon doth not attempt to
wrong his Nephew of Orleans. Certaine Augustine Friars vnder take to cure the King
by incisions in his head, whereby he was in great danger of his life. These counterfeits
were brought forth publicly in their habits, and beheaded, but the scars of these wounds
will remaine in *Lewis* his face, who recommended them vnto the King.

The women are dealers in these actions. The Duchesse of Bourgogne perswades
Queene Isabel, that *Lewis* his meaning was to kill the King her husband, and his children.
These impressions are confirmed by the graue and sweet discourses of the Duke her hus-
band, who by degrees settled a hatred in the Queens mind against her brother in law. Thus
this faction is much fortified by the authority of *Queene Isabel*, and by her, with her hus-
bands name, whom she makes to speake what she pleaseth, sometimes as her will direct-
ed him, but not alwayes. Yet his weake braine is the checker of all these courtly poli-
cies, by the meanes of women, who are continually about his bed or his chaire, to dissem-
per his braine with variety of newes springing from their wretched passions: and this
poore Prince is sometimes wonne, sometimes lost, and alwayes tormented with these im-
portune discourses.

Valentine wife to the Duke of Orleans, an Italian, and daughter to *Iohn Galeas* one of
the cunningest and most subtil wits of her time, which subtilty some held the increase of
by conuincing) would not yeeld to the brauadoes of these two Princeesses: against whom
she opposed her selfe, not only by her husbands degree, but also by so politicke courage
bred in her selfe, visiting the sicke King with such ciuill entertainment, as her greatest ene-
mies could not finde any honest colour to deny her the doore. So as the King did not
only willingly see her, but did call for her, and in his greatest fits did know her only,
among all the rest, refusing to take any thing but from the hands of his good sister of Or-
leans. The more the Kings loue kindled a jealousy in these two Princeesses her enemies,
the more it raised vp the mind of *Valentine*, and by her meanes, of her husband: who re-
membering (too hatefully) the degree whereunto he was borne, and the wrong done him
in reiecting him, yet hauing neither dexterity, nor meanes to winne many seruants, he
gaue the Duke of Bourgogne all aduantages, being graue, cold, pleasing, and modest: so
as by his wife temper hee dissolued the heat of the Duke of Orleans immoderate vehemency,
who tying himselfe with the shew of his greatnesse, makes it knowne by effects, that
all the authority was in the Duke of Bourgogne, for whoe soeuer had need of any pub-
like helpe, he must passe through his hands, and what businesse soeuer chanced, either
within or without the Realme, the true rendezuous was at his lodging. Thus the Vnck
made his Nephew to walke horsed (as they say) although he chafed and stamped beyond
all measure. These diuisions troubled the whole Court, making them to neglect the af-
faires of State; and what can we obserue more famous in so disordered an Estate? All
businesse is done in the Kings name, yet without the King, vnlesse the parties would
haue him to countenance some great passion. I doe purposely omit all that which passed
in this reigne touching the schisme of the Church, and the House of Aniou, in the
Realmes of Naples and Arragon, not to breake off the course of my intent, meaning to re-
present in due place all that concerns this foraine History. *Richard* King of England
sends his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to congratulate his recovery, offering him a general
peace, and demanding his daughter in marriage. The Kings relapse delayed the conclusion
for a time, but soone after, by the care of the Duke of Bourgogne, who had a great in-
terest in this alliance, by reason of his Country of Flanders, it was concluded, in the
yeare 1395.

Charles had some intermissions, by meanes whereof he could ride: *Richard* repaires
to

A to Calais, and *Charles* to Arrdes, whither *Richard* came to ratifie the peace concluded be-
twixt their Ambassadors, and to receiue his new spouse. The Kings encountered one an-
other with loue and kindnesse, making shewes of great good will: but it was a short ioy for
either of them. For as it seemed that the quiet of these two realmes had bene settled by
this generally peace, sealed by this marriage, and seasoned with so many reciprocal shewes
of cordial affection betwixt these two great Kings, behold a great combustion in England,
which intangles both these Kings in this common calamity. *Richard* being of himselfe ef-
feminate, careless, voluptuous and idle, grew more delicate by this profound rest built
vpon the alliance of his enemy, who alone might haue quickned him. He is alwayes with
B his yong wife, inbracing her, dallying with her, and attiring her, with such contempt of
his authority, abusing himselfe too much to his subjects, so as he grew contemptible vn-
to his enemies, who presumed to attempt against his person. The ordinary warres of
England against France, had caused many necessary impositions without any grudging
of the subjects: but when as necessity ceased by this generally peace, the people require to
be relieved: *William More* makes an Oration vnto the King in the name of the English
in generall. *Richard* hauing no meane in these infinite exactions to supply the charges of
his idle and voluptuous life, contemned his subjects request; and in the end pressed vpon
the same matter by the Duke of Gloucester and the Earle of Arondell, in the name of them
all, he pers them vnjustly to death. The English mad with rage for the death of their de-
C puties, flye to such remedies as despaire giues to necessity. From this generally discontent
spring a strange tragedy against *Richard*: for the English seeing themselves thus despised
by their King, they cast their eyes vpon *Henry* of Lancaster his Cousin: and hauing called
a Parliament, they put *Richard* (being forced in open Assembly) to resigne the Crowne,
and to condemne himselfe to perpetuall prison, as hauing abused his royall Authority
and his subjects. But this tragick change concerns the history of England. This may
briefly suffice for ours, in the conference of our Estate with theirs.

Charles did greatly grieve at this deiection of *Richard* his sonne in law, from whom he
expected great loue and quiet for his subjects. But who seeth not the vanity of this world,
boith great and small, to feare a shower euen when the Sunne is hottest? Hee sends for
D *Isabel* his daughter of twelue yeares old, whom *Richard* had not yet toucht, being con-
tent to behold her (like a puppet) vntill shee came to age, satisfying his humour by
some other wayes: how soeuer it were, it proued to the dislike of his subjects, and scorn
of neighbour Nations. *Isabel* being returned to her father, shall be married vnto *Charles*
Duke of Orleans, sonne to this *Lewis* who is now in quarter, and from her shall spring
a goodly plant, which in the end shall giue vs many kings in their order to prestate this
Monarchy.

But, as if France had bene the store-house, or rather the common Sanctuary of all
Christendome, to whom the afflicted Christians might repaire in their greatest extremi-
ties, it happened in those dayes, that *Sigismund* King of Hongary intreated *Charles* to
E succour him against the Turke, the common enemy to the Christian name, who got
footing in the Empire of the East. For, the schisme in the Church, the confusion of the
Empire, and the daily warres betwixt France and England, had so mortified all Christi-
ans zeale from all care to support the affaires of the East, against the Turkes our sworn
enemies, as the way was made easie for the planting of themselves there to our ruine.
But all the fault was not wholly in the Westerne princes: the Christians of the East were
in horrible confusions; and euen at Constantinople, whereas the *Paleologues* had in some
fort maintained the name of the Empire of the East, since the bad government of our
French.

All the Lords of Greece, vassals to the Empire, ioyning with the Despote of Bul-
garia against the Emperour, did strue to ruine one another. This Ciuill warre drew the
Turke out of Asia (where hee was yet confined) into Europe, ouer-threw all the rest of
the Empire, and in the end shall bury the whole body of this great Estate, with the Chri-
stian name, in the ignominy of our disordered passions, as in a common sepulchre. It suf-
ficeeth to note the motiue of this warre, which was to expell *Bajazet* (of the race of the *Or-
tomans*, who yet holds the Empire of the East) being called in by *Iohn Paleolog* Emperour:
but seeing fo mighty an enemy entred within his dominions, vnder a colour to succour
him, hee sought to be freed from him by the meanes of Christian Princes his friends.

X 3

The

1394

Richard King of
England put
from the crown

The King of
Hungary cra-
ueth succours of
King Charles.

Richard King
of England mar-
rieth with *Isabel*
of France.

1396

The nearest was *Sigismund* King of Hungary, who had reason himselfe to feare this overflowing deluge, the which in the end hath ouer-runne Hungary, being at this day for the most part vnder the Turkes tyranny. But the euent was not answerable to his designe, *Charles* being solicited for succours, granted them, as freely as his infirmity would suffer. But the Duke of Bourgongne made the prouision: the charge of the army was giuen to his sonne *Iohn* Earle of Neuers, being two and twenty yeeres old, and married to the daughter of *Albert* of Bawaria, Earle of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, by whom he had then one sonne, who shall succeed him. The army was goodly, beautified with the presence of many great personages, as *Philip* of Eu Constable of France, the Earles of La Marke, Saint Pol, and Bar, the Lords of Couilly, Tremouille, Vienne, Bouciquault, Royle, Montreil, Saint Py, and Brezay, to the number of a thousand Knights and Squiers.

The French
press into
Hungary.The French de-
feated in Hun-
gary.

Being ioyned to *Sigismunds* army, which consisted of many Hongariens, Bohemians and Germans, they desired at any hand to haue the vangard, and to march in the face of an vnknown enemy, of whose discipline they were ignorant, and to make prooffe of their valour, against the aduise of *Sigismund*, they cast themselves desperately into the midst of the Turkes auantcoursers, all the Christian army being too far behind to second them; but it chanced, that *Baisazet* (followed by a farre greater troope than theirs) compassed them in easily as with a net, so as after they had fought valiantly, & made a great slaughter of Turkes, not able to withstand so great a force, they were all cut in peeces, or taken prisoners. *Iohn* of Bourgongne, and all the aboue-named Lords, were either slaine or taken, not one escaped the sword or slavery.

Baisazet moued with the great losse of his men, would haue slaine all the prisoners, but the greedy desire of ranfome was helpfull to some few of the Noblemen. The history of Germany notes but fine, all the rest were murdered after their taking, by the commandement, and in the presence of this Barbarian, who hauing resolved to kill *Iohn* of Bourgongne as the head of the army, was dissuaded by an old Turke a Necromancien, who laid vnto him; *Preserue this young man, who shall kill more Christians then thine army.* A Prince borne to the spoile and ruine of his country, whereof he shall be shortly a more cruell scourge then the Turkes. They spared him, but he spared not the blood of his cousin German, to defile his incestuous hands, and to prophane the bosome of France, which had so greatly honoured him. *Enguerrand* of Couilly, a great man in his time, died in prison, and *Philip* of Eu Constable of France (by whose death the Earle of Sancerre was aduanced to this great dignity) but after him there shall be other Constables in this confused reigne. This defeat chanced in the yeare 1396. before Nicopolis a City in Misia, nere to the which Traian vanquished the Daciens. This victorie of the Turkes had proceeded farther, by the terror it gave to those countries, but God gaue those Christians some time of breathing before the last stroke, the which came but too soon for the scornors of God: yet after this overthrow, as *Baisazet* prepared to pursue his victory against the Christians, *Tamblun*, another scourge of mankind, overflowing Asia like a great deluge, ouerthrew him, and tooke him prisoner, and so God stayed the Ottomans power for that time, but the Christians malice (abusing the patience of God) prouoked his wrath, which being instantly kindled against them, he suffered the Turkes to take Constantinople, the capitall city of the Eastern Empire, as we shall see else-where. But let vs returne to France.

The Kings chil-
dren during his
infirmity.

Charles had some truce with his infirmity, who notwithstanding this indisposicion of his braine, was in reasonable good health of his body, so as he had children during this time. Before his sickness he had *Isabel* (of whom we haue made mention) and *Lewis* the Dauphin Duke of Guienne. but *Iohn* Duke of Touraine, and *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu, *Michel*, *Mary* and *Marguerit*, two sonnes and three daughters (a goodly issue to keepe the Crowne from being an Orphline) were borne to him by *Isabel* of Bawaria, during the weaknesse of his spirit. And much happinesse befell him.

After the taking of *Baisazet*, the Turkish Emperour, and the returne of *Iohn* of Bourgongne into France, hauing paid his ranfome, the Lord of Bouciquault (being sent to Genoa, to receiue it to the Kings obedience, to whom they had willingly giuen themselves) he made a voyage to Constantinople with a new army, more happy then the first, freeing the City, and returning victorious into Italy. Milan belonging to *Valentine* by the deceale of *Iohn Galeas* her father, had beene surprisid by *Francis Sforce*, but at the returne of the Marshall *Bouciquault*, it yeelded to the French obedience, and so did Placentia and

Paulia,

1398

Paulia, cities in Lombardy. But these conquests continued not long with them, no more then the rest of Italy, by the fatal influence which hath alwaies made it a Sepulcher for the French, so as this suddaine yeelding of those Italian cities to the French obedience, was like vnto a fire of straw.

Verdun being ill intreated by the Duke of Loraine (although it were an Imperiall towne) cast it selfe into *Charles* his protection. *Charles*, the sonne of *Charles* of Naurrie, rightly marked with the name of bad, made great influence for his Seigneuries of Eureux, Cherebourg, and other lands in Normandie, the which *Charles* the fifth had taken from his father, who resigned his interest by an agreement made with him for two hundred thousand franks that were giuen him, and the Seigneury of Nemours, then made a Duchy vpon that occasion. But in these happy euents the ialousie betwixt the Dukes of Orleans and Bourgongne continued and encreased hourly, through the violent practices of their *persuaders*, of whom we haue made mention, who failed not to bring fuel to this fire, not only making coales to searce one another, but also a burning flame to fire both their houses, and the whole Realme. The occasion and meanes was very strange, *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (whom King *Charles* did know and loue during the sharpest fits of his infirmity, euen when as he knew not his owne wife *Isabel*) being in the Kings chamber, (whether she had brought her little sonne to play with the Kings children) the cast a faire apple, after the which the children did runne, but *Valentines* sonne caught it, and hauing eaten it, fell presently sicke, and within few daies after died. Thereupon they concluded directly, that this childe died of poyson prepared for the Kings sonne, which confirmed the old opinion, that the King had beene bewitched by her, so as all respect laid aside, they cried out against her, as against a rauening Wolfe. There was no other talke in Court, Paris, and through all the Prouinces of France.

The Duke of Bourgongne seemed very busie, and sent all complaints to the Kings councill, who decreed, *That, to auide a great scandall, Valentine should retire from Court*, the which shee did to the Castle of Aftinere, vpon the way from Paris, to Beauvais: the Duke of Orleans disdaining it much, who mult needs be toucht with this ignominy, and the peoples hatred encreasing mightily against him by this new accident. Whilst this home-bred hatred continued in Court, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, the Constable *Cliffon* fortified himselfe in Britany, both with friends and meanes, hauing by his dexterity gained the greatest Noblemen of the Countrey, by whose meanes he made a profitable peace for himselfe with *Iohn* of Montfort, Duke of Britany, to whom he had been a capitall enemy. The manner of this vnlooked for reconciliation is worthy of memory, to giue after ages the subiect of a notable iudgement in so famous an example. The Duke prickt in conscience, and moued by necessity, hauing banded all his Subjects against him, seeing apparently the notable wrong he had done to the Constable *Cliffon*, he resolved to be reconciled vnto him, and to winne his loue. But foreseeing, that hauing so often deceived him, he would no more trust him but vpon good assurance, he resolved to secure him by an extraordinary meanes, sending him his eldest sonne as a pledge of his faith. The Constable seeing himselfe possessed of this young Prince, without any other securitie then his fathers letters, stands amazed at so vnexpected a prooffe of the Dukes loue, and resolves to haue his reuenge by a courtesie not onely strange, but lesse expected: for although hee had all the reason in the world to distrust the Duke, who had detained him prisoner vnder colour of a banquer, and had sought all meanes to ruine him; yet taking a new aduice vpon this new occasion, hee parts from his house, and bringing backe this young man to his father, puts himselfe into his power. The Duke more amazed at this strange confidence of the Constable, so changeth his mind, as after that time he became his most affectionate friend, hauing built a firme friendship vpon this foundation, the which continued betwixt them the rest of their dayes, to the mutuall content of eather, and the profitable quiet of their subjects, verifying, That Courtlesse is a wife & happy counsellor of State, teaching great ment, that patience triumphs in a good cause; and that we must hate as if we should loue, euen in the greatest heat of passionate quarrels, being well said by the Ancients, *That hatred must be mortall, and loue immortal*.

The hatred betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew ended not so quietly. The Duke of Orleans hauing receiued this disgrace in the person of his wife *Valentine*, growing very impatient, redoubles his complaints, with great vehemency, saying, that it was no longer

The hatred be-
twixt the Hou-
ses of Orleans
& Bourgongne
encreaseth.*Valentine*,
Duchesse of
Orleans fur-
biddeth the
Court.The Duke of
Britany and the
Constable re-
concile.Deadly hatred
betwixt the
Vncle and the
Nephew.

time

1404

time now to obiect his age, against the degree whereunto both Nature and the fundamen-
tall law of State had openly called him, seeing it was now ten yeares since this borrowed
authority of the Duke of Bourgongne had given him respite to be of age to enjoy his right,
the which they could not take from him without prejudice to the Crowne; that it is a vi-
sible usurpation, being no longer able to disguise his grosse practices. The Duke of Bour-
gongne did frustrate these complaints by his coldnes and authority: but the Duke of Or-
leans grew more vehement, falling from words to deeds; and having had conference with
the Duke of Gueldres, hee raised a good number of men at armes by his meanes, and lod-
ged them about Paris, where hee enters with the said Duke, having advertised no man
thereof, but only the King, who favoured his brother exceedingly, when he came to his
right sense. The Duke of Berry made shew to be a neuter: but seeing the Duke of Bour-
gongne to vsurpe all to himselfe, tyred with his ambitious dissimulation, he inclined more
to the Duke of Orleans his Nephew, although in shew he labored to reconcile them. The
Dukes of Bourbon and Anion Princes of the blood were of the like humor. The Kings
Councell labours by all meanes to end this quarrell betwixt these Princes, disallowing
the government of any one in particular, and confirming a command of all the Princes
together, supporting it by alliances: for, *Charles* the eldest sonne of *Lewis* Duke of Or-
leans, married *Isabel* of France, the eldest daughter to our King *Charles* the sixt. *Lewis* the
Kings eldest sonne, Duke of Guienne, and Dauphin of Viennois, was betrothed to *Ka-
therine* of Bourgongne, daughter to *Iohn* Earle of Nevers, sonne to *Philip*. To *Iohn* the
Kings second sonne, Duke of Touraine, *Isabelle* is promised, the only daughter of *Wil-
liam* of Bavaria, Earle of Hainault, and so his heire. To *Philip* of Bourgongne, sonne
to the above-named *Iohn*, *Michelle* the Kings second daughter is promised: for these marriages
were all but future promises, by reason of the young age of the parties.

This was to engage the faith to come, & now present to satisfie the discontented, *Queen
Isabel* was twice pleased, both in her children and her race, which by this meanes was trans-
planted into the Royall blood of France, by her Cousin, who also carried the name of Ba-
varia. But what? as ambition cannot be tamed, so in all these marriages, there was more al-
liance then friendship, and more dissembling then truth. God must needs reconcile them
at last by a stronger conclusion.

Philip Duke of Bourgongne dyes, leaving his sonne *Iohn* the heire of his passions,
against *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, in the yeare 1404.

The beginning of the Ciuill wars.

Thus *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, raised vp with a new hope to maintaine himselfe
against his enemy *Lewis* Duke of Orleans; as well by the cement of this alliance, as
by the increase of power, which his sonne *Iohn* brought him (being his right armer,
the true Image of this great and haughty courage, and a new fire-brand of his ambition) dies
at this time, when as hee dreamt least thereof: for hee dyed at Hall, going to visit his
townes in Flanders, and to crosse the practices of the Duke of Gueldres, who was a prin-
cipall support to the Duke of Orleans. *Marguerit* his wife (a companion in his ambition)
did not survive him a whole yeare, who fearing to finde her husband too farre indebted,
renounced his movable goods, laying downe her purse and girdle vpon the place appoint-
ed, according to the vsuall custome, and so required an act from a publike Notary. Griefe
for her husband did not haften her death, seeing that she feared not her liuing should faile
after him. *Iohn* of Montfort Duke of Britany (who hath kept such a stire vpon this Thea-
ter) dyed foure yeares before him, yet more wise and happy in one thing, hauing mori-
fied the hatred he bare to the Constable *Cliffon*, before his death, as hath beene before
declared.

Thus Death doth suddenly stay mens designs, which else flye most violent. How wret-
ched then are wee to be thus blinde in these goodly examples. But let vs returne to our
Discourse.

Philip left three sons, *Iohn*, *Anthony*, and *Philip*: but *Iohn* Earle of Nevers his eldest
sonne succeeded him in his great Seigneuries of Bourgongne and Flanders; and the chief
heire

The Councell
seeks to recon-
cile the Princes
by alliances.

Philip of Tour-
gongne and his
wife dyes.

Duke of Brit-
any dyes.

1404

A heire of his hatred and other vices. Hee was equall to him in ambition, malice, dissem-
bling, and policy, but herein hee did surmount him, that his father *Philip* hauing for the
space of ten or eleuen yeares, crossed the designs of *Lewis* his Nephew, yet hee caried
himselfe with such a cunning temper as holding the helme and making him to cary the
bable, he made his vnlawfull government supportable by his modesty, and reasonable by
the order which had confirmed him in this authority. But *Iohn* continues his practices
with such violent fury, as within three yeares (hauing giuen the duke of Orleans a thou-
sand crosses, and plunged France in a ciuill war) he murders his cousin germane most cru-
elly, defiles his Country and his blood, and continues his furious designe with so great
B presumption, as countenancing this murder with a free confession, and seeking to main-
taine it by reason, he omitted no kind of mischiefe, but brought in all kind of disordered
confusions, as if France had beene the Rendezvous of villany and impiety. A text, the
commentary whereof may be read at large in the following discourse. Behold the be-
ginning of a ciuill war among the French, both long and furious, bred by the ill counsell
of the Princes of the blood, abusing their authority. A history the more worthy the no-
ting, for that it serues vs to marke the fits, and accidents of diseases, where-with wee haue
been afflicted, to apply the vñe thereof to our owne experience.

After the death of *Philip*, all the government of publike affaires was without all con-
trouersie deliuered into the hands of the Duke of Orleans. The King loued his onely bro-
ther dearly, and desired to grace him what he could. The Queen (to please her husband)
made shew to reioyce thereat, hauing no more a Duchesse of Bourgongne to incense her,
reason gaue him this preheminece, and the French obeyed him willingly, as the lawfull
guardian of the French Monarchy. All things fauoured this yong Prince, if hee had not
failed himselfe: but the choller hatched in his brest, hauing for so long a time swallowed
vp so many indignities, the immoderate heat of command, so much desired, and the am-
bition and couetousnesse of his wife *Valentine*, all these pluckt from him the fruit of these
fauourable occasions to settle his greatnesse, and gaue his enemy meanes to ruine him.
These errors were accompanied with indifcretion, which commonly shakes the misfe-
rable. The Dukes of Berry and Bourbon, his vncles, had fauoured him much, during the
D Bourgignons reigne, and their age had greatly countenanced his authority, if hee could
haue vied them rightly. But this yong Prince was so pleased with the sweet of com-
mand, as hee was loath to impart it to any: the which must needs discontent them, al-
though (being wife) they dissembled it, yet this dislike encouraged the Bourgignon his
enemy to attempt against him.

The couetousnesse of *Valentine* prepared the way to these disorders. *Lewis* was desi-
rous to purchase the Duchy of Luxembourg, his wife urged him thereunto hourly, wish-
ing him to deuise some meanes to make the King to pay for it. Vpon this aduice *Lewis*
propounds in counsell, that for the Kings important affaires there must bee a taxation
made. There neuer wants some pretext to colour these exactions, but in effect it was
E for this purchase. *Iohn* duke of Bourgongne opposeth for the good of the common-
weale. On the one side it was a goodly meanes to shew both his loue to the people, and
his zeale to the Kings seruice: and on the other, a reasonable subiect to make the Duke of
Orleans odious. Yet this proposition passed in counsell through the absolute authority
of the duke of Orleans. The Bourgignon imbraceth this occasion, and flatters the Pa-
risians, to ioyne their loues, and to oppose them against his enemy, who could not be more
odious then in this cause; and even then they grew into such dislike of him, as they could
neuer loue him. This was spred throughout the Realme, and the Duke of Bourgongne
hauing protested that this charge was imposed vpon the subiects against his consent, lay-
ing a good foundation of firme correspondency with the Parisians, he retires into Flan-
ders to take possession of his mother *Marguerit*s inheritance, and credit, with that rich
people; but in effect it was to build vpon the hereditary hatred hee had against his cousin
and capitall enemy.

To omit nothing that might auail him against the duke of Orleans; being at Brussels
he sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles*, beseeching him, with all affection to consum-
mate the marriage betwixt *Lewis* his eldest son, duke of Guinne and Dauphin of Vienn, and
Katherine of Bourgongne his daughter. *Charles* thought it fitt to content his cousin
Iohn vpon this demand, but his brother *Lewis* crossed this marriage, as prejudiciall to the
house

The Duke of
Orleans aduan-
ced to the go-
uernment.

The Duke of
Orleans grows
odious to the
subiect, by rea-
son of an imposi-
tion.

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House of France, being already weakened by the vining of Bourgongne to Flanders, the which would be much more fortified by this alliance with the Kings sonne. *Johns* Ambassadors (after long delays) returne home without any effect, making their master acquainted with the cold proceedings of the Court, the which required his presence. In the end, he resolves to goe in person, to sollicite a matter of so great importance. But being ready to march, behold the King of England sends an army into Flanders, to besiege Sluse, which makes him yeeld to necessity, and to demand succours of the King, as his soveraigne, against the common enemy of the State, staying himselfe in Flanders, to prevent these practices of the English. *Lewis* of Orleans (pretending a truce betwixt France and England) causeth succours to be denied him, as if they should draw a warre vpon France being already tired with so great and long troubles. *John* held himselfe much wronged by this denial, and to have the better meanes to returne to Paris, he compounds with the English, being desirous to make it knowne, that hee would oppose himselfe against the Duke of Orleans designs, taking hold of the occasion which hee himselfe offered him to his great prejudice.

The imposition was leauied by the D. of Orleans his command, and commissions were brought into Flanders. At Paris it was exacted with all rigour, but *John* commands his subjects of Flanders not to pay it, and goes wel accompanied to Paris to assist the people, who greatly discontented with this burthen, durst not yet vtter their griefe, expecting the countenance of a great commander. The Parisians incited against *Lewis* of Orleans, sollicite *John* of Bourgongne to come to Paris, being resolved to employ all their meanes in the defence of this cause, which they held to be very important for their reliefe. *John* desired nothing more so as redoubling his courage at these calls, hee goes in haste to Paris, and sties at Louvre in Paris, giuing the Parisians notice to come vnto him. The King remained at Paris, as he was accustomed, the Queene and *Lewis* of Orleans having discovered the duke of Bourgongnes intent, and fearing lest (being the stronger, and having the Parisians at their deuotion) he should force the King to marry the Dauphine *Lewis* made sure to his daughter: they thought it best to conueigh this yong Prince into Germany, to some place of safety. And going together first Paris they left the Dauphin with *Lewis* of Bavaria (his vncle by the mothers side) who should conduct him secretly in alitter to Corbeil, where a goodly troope attended him. The Bourgignons follows giue him present intelligence of their departure. *John* follows so speedily as he ouertakes the Dauphin *Lewis* at Ville-Isuise, conducted in a litter by *Lewis* of Bavaria his vncle, and brings him backe gently to Paris, where they receiue the Duke of Bourgongne with great ioy, and are glad of the Dauphins returne, going to meet them in great pompe, at a ioyfull triumph. *John* being come to Paris, hath conference with them of this faction, and finds them at his deuotion. The Prouost of Merchants, and the Vniuersity assure him of their faithfull seruice, they intreat him to vndertake the reformation of the State, a charge which he doth willingly embrace, as a fit maske for his ambitious humor.

He then presents a petition to the King, beseeching him to reforme the State, strangely corrupted by the ill government of the treasure, whereby the subjects were oppressed with insupportable charges, and sacred iustice ill administered, the ordinary subject of the peoples complaints: but in effect it was to araigne the Duke of Orleans. The King forbore to make any answer vnto his brothers returne, being president of the councill, and greatly interceded in this complaint: but these were words without effect, if force had not followed this admonition.

The Bourgignons, had brought great troopes, vnder the conduct of *John* without Pitty, Bishop of Liege, and the Duke of Cleues. The Duke of Orleans had also assembled an Army from diuers parts, by the Lord of Harpendanne, fortified with the Forces of the D. of Loraine and the King of Sicily, being made ready for the voyage of Naples. Thus the Isle of France is full of souldiers of one livery, but of contrary humours, as the manner is in ciuill warres, French against French, and kinsman against kinsman, all making profession to maintain the good of their Country in ruining it.

John of Bourgongne in shew had the aduantage, being in the capitall City, and possessed of the peoples hearts: hee had the King in his power, and (for a gage of this new authority, which men honor like the fun rising) the Dauphin of the house of France, whom hee pretended to bee his sonne in law. All these considerations made his heart

swell,

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swell, and his tongue to speake proudly. But *Lewis* Duke of Orleans founds forth the name of publicke authority, which then remained in his hands, as in a sacred guard. The most passionate make a stay at the name thereof, to attend the cue of so great a quarrell. Such force hath the name of lawfull authority and order in a State, whereon it depends as on a firme foundation.

These armies thus lodged about Paris, the Generalls minds appeared in the deuices of their standards. In that of the duke of Orleans was written, *Je l'enure*, with a staffe full of knots painted in it, signifying that hee would knocke him on the fingers that should presume to touch his authority. In the D. of Bourgongnes was written in Flemish, *ick houd*, that is to say, *I hold it*, with a ioyners plane to make smooth the knotty staffe, and so to encounter the force that threatned him: yet these passions were suppressed by the only respect of authority, without the which all had tended to a violent spoile. The Princes of the blood (who were not ingaged in these quarrels) labour to reconcile their cousins, seeing the Kings infirmity will not suffer him to vse his absolute authority.

Lewis of Aniou, King of Naples and Sicilia, and *Lewis* of Orleans, were with the Queene at Melun, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, and the King of Nauarre, are at Paris with the King, and all the faction of Bourgongne. The King of Sicilia comes to Paris, hee les the dukes of Berry and Bourbon vnderstand, how necessary it was to quench this fire in time. All these Princes are willing to mediate an accord, but the indiscretion of the Duke of Orleans had almost spoiled all.

At the first he grew amazed, but seeing no man to stir, and having some feeling of his authority, he began to speak bigge, writing to Paris, and to the best Cities of the Realme, against such as had made this petition. And (contrary to the aduice which the Princes his cousins gaue him, not to part from Melun) hee resolves to come to Paris, and to oppose himselfe against the duke of Bourgongne. The City and Vniuersity of Paris send an honorable deputation vnto him, excusing themselves, beseeching him to hearken to a good reformation, but he fo checkt the deputies, as they returned ill satisfied, to a people big with a seditious humour. He shewed himselfe indifereet in two sorts, excusing himselfe when no man accused him, which was properly to accuse himselfe, and in waking of a sleeping dog, incensing this mutinous people, who were then kept in awe by his onely authority, not daring to mutter against him but in secret. The Bourgignons desired nothing more then to haue some apparent cause to draw this people into mutiny, giuing it out openly, that the duke of Orleans came in armes to spoile the City of Paris. Behold the Parisians are in armes, prepared both within and without, to withstand the Duke of Orleans coming: they beate downe pentises within the City, to make the streets more free for to cast stones. The people troope with the Duke of Bourgongnes men, and issue forth armed about Mountfaucou, in view of the Orleansois, lying in great numbers vpon the plaine.

The Chancellor of France, accompanied with the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, goe to the Princes, aduertising the Duke of Orleans of the danger of a great confusion, if he did not foresee it. Hereupon *Lewis* commands his troopes to retire, and sties at the Castle of Beauty vpon Marne, to haue the better meanes to heare from his Vncles, who (by the authority of reason and alliance, after many voyages) reconciled *Lewis* of Orleans, and *John* of Bourgongne, having scene and embraced one another like kinde Kinsmen, with all outward signes of perfect and cordiall loue. This was but a coloured peace, the which in the end was so heauy a burthen to them both, as it weighed them downe, and by their owne willfull follies, as if they willingly fought their owne ruines, verifying this assured maxime: That man hath no harme, but what he seeks himselfe, confirmed by the truth of these Oracles; *T hey haue no harme, but by their owne iniquity*: and, *My people haue not obeyed my voice*: and, *Isaie would none of me*, ratified likewise by the experience of all men, all Estates, and all ages. The duke of Orleans fought his owne death, in prouoking his enemy without reason, and the duke of Bourgongne in murdering him, erected a scaffold to shed his owne blood.

This agreement made, *John* of Bourgongne informs the King and his Councill, how much it did import to take the towne of Calais from the English, where the commodity of landing, and the necernesse of the Kings estates, gaue the common enemy great meanes to molest the Prouinces of Flanders and Picardy, requiring aid and succours from the

The Parisians
sollicite *John* of
Bourgongne to
come.

John of Bour-
gongne seizeth
on the Dau-
phins person.

He sues to the
King for refo-
rmation of the
State.

Ciuill warre
begins.

The Duke of
Orleans dis-
contenteth the
Parisians.

A peace be-
twixt the duke
of Orleans and
Bourgongne.

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the King to besiege it; the which hee grants. Whereupon he with all his Cities, makes great preparations to fortifie the French Army, the which enters into Picardy, attending a commandement to beleaguer Calais. The artillerie and munition was ready to goe to field, through the great diligence of the duke of Bourgogne, stirred vp with hope to pull this thorne out of his foot, and to free the traffick betwixt his subiects and France, when as suddenly the Kings letters patents come to the heads of the army, commanding all men of warre, of what condition soever, not to passe any farther, vpon paine of their liues. This unexpected countermand, accused the Duke of Orleans as the author thereof, and gaue occasion to all men that desired the good of France to detest him, as seruing his owne passions, to the preiudice of the common-weale: but about all, it gaue too important a cause of discontent to the Duke of Bourgogne, who infinitely grieved with so inexcusable an affront, and such inhumane circumstances of a cruel indignity (for whereto serues it to discover in particular, the griefes of so apparant an injury?) he resolues to haue his reuenge once for all. Thus fure the Duke of Bourgogne had reason to complaine of the Duke Orleans; but he exceeds, from reason he flies to passion, the which is a dangerous Councillor; which presented vnto him a pernitious remedy, being then pleasing to his troubled minde, leauing him nothing but a late repentance, and his body taken in the trappe which he himselfe had made.

A new cause of discontent betwixt the Duke Orleans and Bourgogne.

The Duke of Bourgogne resolves to kill his cousin of Orleans.

Thus *Iohn* resolues to free himselfe of his cousin the Duke of Orleans, who he supposed would be a perpetuall and irreconcilable enemy. The motives of this cruell resolution, are visible by the forepassed actions. But they added ielousie herunto, an intestine fire, which consumes him that lodgeth it in his bosome. The originall of the History speaks nothing hercof, for this shamefull injury (which the wife conceale) was not spoken of by those that were chiefly interested. But the learned obserue, that the D. of Orleans had vied his cousin of Bourgongnes wife too familiarly, when as her husband was in the voyage of Hungary. A yong Flemish Princeesse and browne, of whom they had made a song, the which the duke of Orleans caused to be put into musick, and to be sung before the ielous husband, at a banquet which hee had made him, hauing the Princeesse picture in his Cabinet, and vinting that it was the triumph of his loue. These are stabs which pierce the hearts of generous men with an incurable wound. This they set down for one of the motives of the Bourgougns hatred against his cousin of Orleans. This vanity cost *Lewis* of Orleans deare, being giuen exceedingly vnto women, and as it was one of the causes of his death by the iust iudgement of God, so is it considerable, for being slaine by his enemy, amongst his other vices, he shall reproach him of luxury, to iustifie the murder. But let vs obscure the sequell of this Tragedy.

Lewis Duke of Orleans is slaine by Iohn Duke of Bourgogne, and in the end Iohn makes a counterfeit peace with the children of Lewis, but it is the renning of greater troubles.

*I*OHNE of Bourgongne hauing resolved to kill *Lewis* of Orleans his cousin Germane, went to Paris, with so good a shew, as if hee had no intent to breake the accord so solemnly made betwixt them. That which most troubled him, was to see his enemies authority confirmed by this reconciliation, hauing the absolute government of the State, respected as the Kings brother, and the first Prince of the blood. And (to giue him greater authority and power) the good King *Charles* had giuen him for a new yeares gift in the year 1407. the Duchy of Guienne for his portion, whereof the Daulphin then carried the title. This new fauour and great aduancement, kindled the coale of ielousie in the Bourgougns braine, being already much transported, and holding it for certaine, that hee should neuer by any ordinary course preuaile against so passionate and powerfull an enemy, who as his meanes did increase, so would his desire augment to ruine him. He therefore thinks it convenient to prevent him, and draws vnto him men fit for so audacious a murder, *Raoulet* of Auroville a Noiman, an ancient seruant of his house, and discontented with the Kings brother, for that he had taken from him the office of Generall of Normandy, and a souldier of Guines called *William Cortcheuze*, with others of the same humour, to the number of eightene. This *William* had a brother called *Jean* of Courtcheuze, a groom of the Kings chamber, who should be the instru-

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ment to draw this poore Prince into the pitfall. The Queene lay then in child-bed, the Duke of Orleans goes to visit her after supper, when as this *Jean* of Cortcheuze goes to the Queenes chamber to tell him, that the king desired him to repaire presently vnto him for very important affaires. The Murtherers were lodged secretly in a house by the which the Duke should passe. Being mounted vpon his mault, accompanied onely with two Squires vpon one horse, and one that followed on foot, his pages carrying torches both before and behind him, as the horse (which carried the two Squires) came before the house where this ambuscadoe lay, hee began to snort and to run. The murtherers issue forth instantly and charge the Duke, at the first they cut off his hand which held the reignes of his horse. He cries out, *I am the Duke of Orleans*, and they answer, *it is you we seeke for*. They double their blowes with such violence, as they beat him downe and cleaue his head, so as the braines lay scattered vpon the pavement.

The Duke of Orleans murdered by the Bourgougns.

The yong Squire that remained with him, runs desperately among their weapons, and is presently slaine vpon his poore master. The pages had already giuen the alarm at his lodging, and many came running to succour their Lord, whom they find thus massacred. There was nothing to bee heard but cries and lamentations, whilest the murtherers (hauing fired a house and cast Calthrops in the streets) get themselves into the Duke of Bourgongnes house. Thus the night passeth in miserable lamentations. *Valentine* doubles the terror of this horrible accident with fearfull out-cries. The Princes his cousins run thither to participate in this sorrow. All weepe and lament, all cry out in this mournfull house. When the day appears, they finde his hand on the one side, and his braines scattered on the other. The reliques of his head are gathered together with teares, and all is kept for an honourable funeral.

O head! how many mischiefs attend thee? Oh murtherer! thou shalt bee murdered: disloyall, thou shalt be disloyally slaine. I haue horror, yea I tremble to shed this blood againe by my report. The very enemies of *Lewis* were amazed at this audacious murder, foretelling the miseries that should follow. The Queene wonderfully passionate, causeth herselfe to be removed to the Kings lodging, and doubles the guards. In the end the king hath notice thereof, and apprehends it according to the weakness of his braine, but the Princes provided presently for his safetie and their owne, euery man fearing for himselfe in so strange an accident.

Such was the violent death of *Lewis* duke of Orleans, traiterously slaine at Paris by *Iohn* duke of Bourgongne, the twentieth day of Nouember, in the year of our Lord 1407, who thinking to kill his enemies, slew himselfe, and left this blood prodigiously shed, as a mournfull Legacy to his posterity; and hoping in his ouerweening spirit, to vsurpe France from the lawfull heires, he lost Bourgongne for his posterity: neither could hee hinder his issue whom hee had so treacherously murdered, from the happy enioying of the whole Realme; for *Lewis* D. of Orleans left three Sonnes by *Valentine* the heire of Milan, *Charles*, *Philip* and *Iohn*: from *Charles* the eldest (being duke of Orleans,) is issued directly King *Lewis* the twelfth, the father of the people, and of *Iohn* Earle of Angoulesme, father to King *Francis* the first, the father of the Muses, who hath giuen foure Kings successfully to our Monarchy. But of *Iohn* of Bourgongne wee can reckon but two successors, *Philip* and *Charles*. *Philip* was his son, who by the patience of God left *Charles* in his place, but *Charles* suffered for his grandfathers errors and his owne, for he died in blood: his pride was entered in an vknowne tombe, and Bourgongne was plucked from the fellonious hands of this murdering race, and vnto the Crowne. Now *Iohn* of Bourgongne shall commit strange disorders during 12. yeares, from the date of this massacre; and it seemes that blind Fortune hath adorned his temples with bayes and triumph, to guard on these execrable crimes: but he is not freed that draws his halter after him. He shall soone pay these principal and interest to Gods iust iudgment, which slackes not, although it seeme slacke, but comes in due season, marching slowly, to take all excuse from the obdurate and impudent sinner, recompensing in the end this apparent slacknesse of punishment, by the greatnesse of eternall paine.

But let vs returne to this desolate house: *Valentine* widow to *Lewis*, with her 3. sons, and *Isabel* of France the Kings eldest daughter, wife to *Charles*, the eldest sonne of *Lewis*, now Duke of Orleans, by the decease of his father, come all to our poore King *Charles*, (being sicke) to demand iustice. All cast themselves at the Kings feet, as much discom-

The issue of Lewis of Orleans:

Valentine demands iustice for the death of her husband.

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forted as themselves, for the cruell death of his only brother, whom he had alwaies loved dearly both found and sicke. *Lewis* of Aniou King of Sicily and Naples, the dukes of Berry and Bourbon, with all the Princes of the blood, accompany them in this lamentable fate, wherein *Charles* promifeth to give them satisfaction.

The Kings Councell being assembled, they require an account of the Prouost, what he had done in search of these murderers. He answers, that having done his duty hee could not find any thing. That there were no places vnsearcht, but Princes and great mens houses, where if he might be suffered to enter, he would doe his best, to discover the murderers. The Princes were all in Councell, and the Bourguignon amongst them, all promise it freely: *Iohn* of Bourgonne (guilty of the crime) holds his peace: and as they beheld one another, hee riseth, and drawing the King of Sicily and the Duke of Berry apart, hee confesseth, that through the devils motion hee had committed this murder.

These Princes (being amazed) conceale it for that day. The next day coming to Councell, the duke of Berry willed him to retire himselfe. Thus amazed hee returns to his lodging, and presently without any stay he flies with five more into Flanders, wherethe murderers likewise finde a sure retreat. That conscience which at the first had terrified him, is now hardened: and that which had moued him to confesse himselfe the author of this murder, doth now animate him with new motions, to become obstinate, and to maintaine by vniust force, that which he had committed by furious violence. Having sought the loue of all the Cities of Flanders, hee finds them willing to support him, in right or wrong in his necessity: vpon this assurance hee calls an assembly at Gand, to tolerate those succours whereof he stood in need.

At the newes hereof, the zeale of Iustice growes cold in Court, they seeke an accord with him whom they should pursue: the King of Sicily, and the Duke of Berry goe to Amiens, being prouder then if he had done a meritorious act, where making open profession of his pride, hee had placed ouer the doore of his lodging, a table wherein were painted two Lances across, whereof the one had a well steeld head for the warre, and the other a burr head for the Tilt, as giuing the choice of warre and peace: publishing generally, that hee not onely had done the murder, but that he would and ought to doe it. And to the end he might be mad with reason, he findes Diuines in those dayes that confirme him in this passion, and protest to maintaine it by Scripture, as the sequell will presently shew. The Princes that were sent vnto him (not able to moue him to confesse his fault, and to humble himselfe) they command him in the Kings name not to come to Paris. He answers them boldly, that he would presently goe, to informe the King what reason had moued him to punish the common enemy of France.

And hauing reuiued his practices at Paris, by meanes of his intelligences, he gathers together a great army, and accompanied with his two brethren, and the Dukes of Lorain and Cleues, he comes to Saint Denis, and lodgeth his troopes about this great City, who willingly stretch forth their hands vnto him, as to their redeemer, who should purchase them perpetuall rest. The Princes goe vnto him, and entreat him in the Kings name, not to enter into Paris, but with his ordinary traine of 200 men. *Iohn* makes them answer: That for the surety of his person, hee could doe no lesse then to goe well accompanied: and the next day hee arrives at Paris with all his troopes, being receiued by the Parisians with cries of ioy, as a new Monarch. He fortifies himselfe in Bourgonne house, where he is visited by the whole body of the Citie and the Vniuersity, who seeke to support this execrable murder. The next day the game is played with a strange prelude. *Iohn Petit*, a Doctor of Diuinity, maintained (with wonderfull impudency) that the Duke of Bourgonne had caused the Duke of Orleans to be worthily slaine, by reason of many notable crimes, whereof he doth accuse him. The Original of the History doth set downe these detestible frenzies, to shew how much disorder preuailes in an Estate without a head. The Councell of *Constans* shall condemne this Impostor, being accused by the Colledge of Sorbonne, who shall disauow this mercenary man, after the death of the Duke of Bourgonne.

The issue was answerable to his speech. The King being sicke in minde, and the Princes fainting, *Iohn* of Bourgonne is absolved of the murder committed on the person of his cousin germane. The King (to couer this bad act) declares by his letters patents, *That in case he died, he would that Lewis his eldest sonne, Dauphin of Viennois, should haue the govern-*

Iohn of Bourgonne confesseth the murder.

Flies from Paris.

Fortifies himselfe.

Offers to iustifie the murder by azens.

And is absolved for the murder.

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ment of the Realme, and after him *Iohn* and *Charles* his younger sonnes one after another, without any Regents. But the Bourguignon was ignorant, that this decree gaue him authority that should punish him: being also aduised (for some speciall considerations) not to deale any more with the affaires of France, but with his owne. So he retires into Flanders, not daring to attempt any thing, being thus iustified and absolved.

This infolency, accompanied with some indignities against the Kings maiesty, displeased the whole Court: and not iustificable by the Bourguignon faction, it caused *Valentine* and her children to renew their complaints to the Kings Councell, who stoutly made a decree against *Iohn* Duke of Bourgonne, for satisfaction of the murder committed by him on the person of the Duke of Orleans. But what auails it to report that which took no effect, but onely to prove, *That when lawfull authority is suppressed, Iustice is of no force, and the stronger treades vnder foot the right of the weaker.* As it proued in this ridiculous and imaginarij sentence, giuen in fauour of the children of Orleans against the murderer of their father: for it was scarce recorded for the benefit of the interested, when as newes came of the victorie which *Iohn* of Bourgonne had gotten against them of Liege, in fauour of *Iohn* of Bauaria surnamed Without-pitty, their bishop. This did quite change all their thoughts, countenances and words in Court: all Commissions for the leauing of souldiers, for the execution of this decree, by force are reuoked. There is no talk, but how to warrant the King and Dauphin from the Bourguignon, who without doubt would (according to his humour) bring his victorious army to Paris, to disannull the decree vpon their heads that should maintaine it. So as the Dauphin with the Dukes of Berry and Bourgonne conduct the King to Tours for his better safety, being vnwilling to leaue him in the Parisians power, who were passionate partisans of the Bourguignon.

The Parisians are wonderfully discontented at this departure: they arme, draw their chaires, as in a time of war: and call in the Bourguignon, assuring him of their hearts and meanes. He comes speedily with a great army, and staies at S. Denis, contrary to the Parisians expectation, who thought he would haue kept the more stir, hauing so great forces. But hee wisely weighing the vanity of popular tumults, resolves to husband this occasion, and to make his peace with the King and the House of Orleans, hauing so great an advantage ouer them, to ratifie the abolition which he had obtained against all euent. He then sends his Ambassadors to King *Charles* to Tours, *William* duke of Bauaria, the Lords of S. George, Croy, Vieville and Dolchaing, to treat a peace with him and the children of Orleans, making great shewes of humility and loue.

This new course moued the King and Princes, the which they expected not from the Duke of Bourgonne, being so late a Conqueror: so as they easily yeeld to an agreement, vpon conditions; but still to the preiudice of the poore widow, and afflicted Orphans. In this confusion, *Valentine* Duchesse of Orleans (seeing her paines lost in the pursuit of so iust a cause) dies for thought within few daies after: leauing great trouble & few friends to her children, and great ioy to the Bourguignon, seeing his cause won by the death of this courageous woman, who onely might oppose her selfe. The King comes to Chartres, to solemnize this peace, hee sends for *Charles* Duke of Orleans and his brethren, and for *Iohn* Duke of Bourgonne; and all appeare at a prefixed day. A scaffold is made, where the King sits in his seat of Iustice, enuironed with the Princes of his blood, in great state. *Iohn* Duke of Bourgonne (approaching neere the King) kneeles downe with *Dolchaing* his Aduocate, who speaketh thus: Liege Lord, behold the D. of Bourgonne, your seruant and cousin is come vnto you, for that hee vnderstands you are much offended with him, for the deed done and committed on the person of my Lord the Duke of Orleans your brother, for the good of the Realm & of your person, as he is ready to let you vnderstand whensoever it shall please you, and therefore my Lord, hee doth humbly beseech you, that it would please you to forget the wrath and indignation you haue conceiued against him, and to receive him into fauour.

After these words, the King commanded the Duke to retire himselfe: which done the Queene, the Dauphin, the Kings of Sicily and Nauarre, and the duke of Berry fall on their knees before the King, and the Queene said; *Dread Lord we beseech you to grant the request of our Cousin the Duke of Bourgonne.* The King answered, *We will and doe grant it for your sakes.* The Duke of Bourgonne being called againe, kneeles before the King, who sayes vnto him, *Faire Cousin we grant your request, and pardon you all.* The Duke hauing

The King forsakes Paris.

Valentine Duchesse of Orleans dies for grieke.

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hauing thanked the King, rifeth. Behinde the Kings chaire flood *Charles* of Orleans with his brethren weeping bitterly. The Duke of Bourgongne goes vnto them, accompanied with his Aduocate, and hauing saluted them with a very humble countenance, the Aduocate spake thus vnto them, *My Lord, the Duke of Bourgongne here present, intreats you to put out of your remembrance that hatred which you may haue against him for the outrage committed on the person of my Lord of Orleans your father, and that hereafter you will remaine good kinsmen and loving friends.* The Duke added, *And herof I pray you.* But they answered nothing. Then the King said vnto them: *My faire Cousins, I will haue it so.* And they answered: *Liege Lord, seeing it pleaseth you to command vs, we yeld thereto: for we will not disobey your commandments in any thing.* The Duke accepted it, thanking the King and his Cousins of Orleans. Then the Cardinall of Barre brought the holy Testament, wherein both parties did sweare a peace, neuer to remember what was past, and to hold a perpetual league of friendship. And the King said, *We will, that hereafter you liue like good kinsmen & friends together, and most straitly charge you not to wrong one another, nor any other person that hath fauoured you: neither shew any malice or hatred vnto them, as you tender our displeasure, except such as committed the said murmur, whom we banish our Realme for euer.* These are the very words faithfully collected out of the Originall of that age. This hapned the ninth of March, 1409. Then followed nothing but mariages. The Duke of Bourgongne married his two brethren, *Philip* Earle of Neuers with the heire of Cously, and *Anthony* Duke of Brabant with the heire of Luxemburg. He is greatly in credit with the King and Queene; his traine seemed greater then his Masters: the bounty of his kitchin draws men from all parts; but hee had not made his peace with God, neyther (in his heart) with those poore Orphelins, destitute both of friends and meanes, at whose cost this peace was made, the which was but counterfeit, and continued not long.

John Duke of Bourgongne governeth all in the Kings name and the Daulphines. The Faction of Orleans opposeth. The Ciuill warres reuine: ended with a peace: and the new authority of the Daulphin, who dispossesseth the Bourgignon, and restoreth them of Orleans.

From the yeare 1409, vnto the yeare 1413.

After this accord the Court takes a new forme. Queene *Isabel* thinks no more of her poore Nephew of Orleans, shee is wholly the Duke of Bourgongnes. The Duke of Berry follows the same traine. For prooue of a cordiall friendship, the Queene doth openly fauour the marriage so long promised, of *Lewis* the Daulphin her eldest sonne, with *Katherine* daughter to the Duke of Bourgongne; the which marriage was solemnized.

John governeth the Court.

Now *John* of Bourgongne is father in law to the Daulphin: it is hee which gouernes both his heart and house. Moreover, *Charles* King of Nauarre, *Lewis* duke of Barria, the Duke of Loraine, Britany, Barre, Alanfon, Cleues, Vaudemont, and (after their example) the greatest Noblemen in Court, are all on his side. There is nothing but feasting in his house; all ioy, whilst the Orphans of Orleans weepe. Paris honours him as their protector, and trusts none but him: and *John* doth affect nothing more carefully with the King and Daulphin, then the loue of the people. Hee doth all hee can to please them. The chiefe subiect of his discourse is to reforme the State; to seeme thereby more affectionate to the common weale. In a solenne Feast (where all the Court was present) he gaue to his friends, instead of a banquet, plomets of gold and silver, shewing by this figure, that his desire was to rule the State well: and to shew the effect of his words, hee produced this notable occasion.

All men cryed out of the Treasurers, as horre-leeches of the common treasure; and the chiefe causes of bad husbandry, whereby the King and people were so much impoverished. Wee haue made mention before of one of the Kings chiefe minions called *Montagu*, who had too soone fled the storme: being returned hee growes in greater credit with the King then before, who giues him the office of Lord Steward, and marries his eldest sonne to the sister of the Lord of Albert, his Constable; although *Montagu* were but of a meane calling. The shew of his traine exceeded Princes houses, and made him odious to all in generall, so as they accused him to haue robbed his Prince, and the publicke Treasure.

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A The Bourgignon begins with him, in the reformation of the State. The Princes of the blood were easily drawne to allow of this proceeding: so as *Montagu* was taken, condemned, and speedily beheaded. Whether this were done by commissioners, or iudicially (as it was said to be iustified after his death) it is not certaine. This is a good lesson for meane men, that grow rich by the publike treasure, not to abuse their wealth by excessive pompe: to keep their credit in Court, and to flic the fury of great men, vnder his protection that hath power of life and death, arming themselves with a good conscience and vnproueable in their charges. But the Burgignon had a farther reach then *Montagu*: for vnder colour of the publike good, he reuenged himselfe of him, who else might haue crossed his delignes. His meaning was, not to reforme the State, but to gouerne it absolutely. Thus he seeks to vsurpe all, and in the ruine of *Montagu*, hee will haue all men know that he hath power to hurt and helpe. This first insolency furthered his enemies, being in a manner forsaken of all men, euen of their owne blood: for *John* Duke of Berry (caried away with the vent of this new fauor) had subiected himselfe to the Bourgignon: but finding himselfe contemned by him, who tooke all to himselfe, and reiected such as had serued him to rise, *John* resolves to ioyne with the house of Orleans, and to oppose themselves against the Duke of Bourgongnes greatness.

This is the beginning of the two factions of Orleans and Bourgongne, which troubled all France during this reigne. This league (whereof the house of Orleans bare the name (as the first and most interessed) was concluded at Gien in the yeare 1410, the tenth of March, being defensive and offensive against the house of Bourgongne. The chiefe were *Charles* Duke of Orleans and his brethren, *John* duke of Berry, *Lewis* Duke of Bourbon, *John* Earle of Alanfon, *Francis* Earle of Cleremont, *Bernard* Lord of Armagnac, and *Charles* Lord of Albret Constable of France, with their friends and followers in great numbers. Of the Bourgignon faction, were *John* Duke of Bourgongne with his brethren, *Charles* King of Nauarre, (sonne to that wretch of whom we haue made mention) the Dukes of Loraine, Brabant and Britanic, the Marquis of Pont, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Saint Pol, Ponthieure, and many others. This mournfull diuision continued vnto the yeare 1419, in the which *John* was slaine, but it ends not yet. During these eight yeares we shall see diuers changes, one in, and another out, as they could enable themselves with the Kings authority, which is the strongest batteric of ciuill warres. Now the Duke of Bourgongne is in quarter, and plants his Ordnance against the Orleans, as guiltie of high treason: but shortly he shall be dispossessed, and they of Orleans shall take their turne.

The house of Orleans complains, that they are not respected according to their degree: they sue to be admitted to the priuiledges due to Princes of the blood, and that the duke of Bourgongne should not command absolutely, holding (as they said) both the bodies and wils of the King, Queene, and Daulphine in captivity. They assemble in great troopes, first at Chartres, and after (to manage their affaires with greater shew, neere vnto the capitall City of Paris) they lodged at the Castell of Winchestre, then called Bicestire, but now ruined. The Duke of Bourgongne accused the Duke of Orleans for practising to take the Crowne from the King and Daulphin, perswading the King to what hee pleased against them, as against rebels and disturbers of the publike quiet. This fire continued but seuen or eight moneths, wherein there chanced no memorable accident, but onely the death of *Lewis* the good Duke of Bourbon, who died for griefe in the beginning of this war, being accused as the motiue of these troubles.

Queene *Isabel* laboured to reconcile these Princes, but the preuailed not, being suspected by the Orlean faction, whom she had left without cause, to ioyne with the Bourgignon. After some Edicts of confiscation, not executed (like Canon shot spent in the aire) a space was made by meanes of the duke of Berry, vpon condition that he and the Duke of Bourgongne should ioyntly haue the Daulphin in guard, and the house of Orleans should be respected in their degree, and that *Peter* of Eftards (a sworn enemy to their party, and a most passionate seruant to the duke of Bourgongne) should be no more Proprietor of Merchants. This was concluded at Winchestre, whereof it beares the name, the twentieth day of Nouember in the same yeare, hauing contended this sommer about Paris onely, to the hurt of the poore people, discontented chiefly with the *Gascons* that came out of Armagnac, who gaue their name to the troopes of the Orlean faction,

call I for this occasion Armagnacs, wearing for their colours a white scarf, the which they have used in our last troubles. This first Peace continued not long, neither were all promises performed. The Bourguignon did eate the cake alone, and yet he complained first, as having to doe with children. Hee sends the Lords of Croy and Douries, to the Duke of Berry, to dissonce him from the Duke of Orleans his Nephew, who having intelligence of their negotiation and passage, caused them to be surpris'd in Sologne, and brought prisoners to Blois: but he sent backe Douries, and detained Croy, as suspected to be guilty of his fathers death, and by consequence punishable by the treaty of peace. The King commands him to set him at liberty: and hee demands iustice of his fathers murderer. Hereupon they goe all to armes. They cause the King to summon him by his Edicts, whereunto Charles Duke of Orleans answers, by a challenge to the Duke of Bourgongne, as the murderer of his father, and the author of all the miseries which then reigned in France.

Beginning of
the second
warre.

Thus began this second warre, the 20 of Iuly, the yeare following, 1411. the Princes passions giuing the poore people scarce seuen moneths respite to breathe in so many calamities, which they suffered through their voluntary diuisions. The Orlean faction assembles at Gergeau vpon the riuier of Loire, to resolute of the meanes to make warre against John Duke of Bourgongne, whom the challenge by a publike cartell, as the murderer of a Prince of the blood, the Kings onely brother: and as vsurper of the royall authority, holding the persons and wils of the King and Daulphin captiue. John duke of Bourgongne had great aduantages; the Kings authority, and the Daulphins, (who was heire apparent to the Crowne of France) the capitall City of the Realme, the approbation of the best Cities, most of the Prouinces, and without comparison greater meanes of himselfe, both for men and money.

This second war continued a yeare, it began in Iuly, 1411, and ended the yeare after, 1412, in the same month, far more variable and violent then the first; and memorable in this, that the vanquished was victor, and the victor vanquished. The same authority which had supported the stronger, was in the end fauourable to the weaker: such as most pleased their masters humor, receiued death of him for their reward. Very necessary obseruations to iudge of these ciuill wars. The Orlean faction went first to field. They were about seuen or eight thousand horse. The number of their foot is not specified. Charles duke of Orleans makes the body of his army in Gastinois: the duke of Bourbon in Bourbonois, and the Earle of Alanfon in Vermandois. Peronne, Chauny, Neele and Han, yeeld vnto them. Cleremont (which belonged to the duke of Bourbon) is fortified: they seeke to surprize Retell and Bapaumes, but in vaine. This was the first fallie begu by them of Orleans: but the Bourguignon takes another course, he prepares the kings Edicts against them, hee employes the peoples force within the Cities, and armes in field, and all auailles him at the first. He had a great army both of horse and foot, the which doth presently march into Picardy, where the Orleanois had begun, and easily recouers what they had gotten. Han stands resolute: they besiege, take, spoile and sacke it.

The Bourguignon
craues aid
of the King of
England.

The Flemings which were vassals to the duke of Bourgongne, being laden with spoile, craue leaue to returne home, neither could the dukes promises, nor threats retaine them, but they leaue his army and depart. This had almost ouerthrowne his affaires, hee abandons Mondidier, the which was presently surpris'd by Peter of Quefnes, Lord of Gannes of the Orlean faction, and putting his army into Garisons, doubting the euent of this war, he sends with all speed to Henry the 4.ing of England, crauing succours in this necessity. Henry makes his profit of these ciuill diffentions in France: he presently sends twelue hundred men to the Bourguignon, to supply the Flemings want, vnder the command of Thomas Earle of Arondell. The Orleanois lose no time; and for their nearer approach to Paris, they surprize Saint Denis, and Saint Cloud, places of importance, and fortifie Corbeil for the passage of the riuier, of purpose to furnish this great City, which liues by daily prouisions brought from diuers parts. But he finds one to countermeine his practices, vsing the same instrument he had employed to hurt him. The Orleanois keeping the field about Paris, must needs be the cause of great calamities. And all this was acted in the view of the King and Daulphin.

John informs the King of his enemies infolency, who (without appealing to his Majesty) presumed to spoile the heart of France, as if they were strangers or enemies. Charles

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apprehends this error but too easily, desiring nothing but rest: but Lewis the Daulphine especially is incensed by these informations, and his choler increaseth daily against his cousins of Orleans. The Bourguignon sayd, that they played the Kings, and could not coneeale their intention, which was to seize on the Crown, seeing they presumed to take armes against the King. There are rigorous Edicts made against the Orlean faction, as against rebels, and guilty of high treason. All their goods, honours and persons, are confiscate which remaine in this army, if within fifteene dayes after publication of the Kings letters patents, they retire not themselves to their houses. And to begin with the greatest, Charles of Albret Constable of France, and Arnold of Corby the Chancellor, are dispossessed of their dignities, and the Earle of Saint Pol preferred to the first place, and Dolehaing the Duke of Bourgongnes Aduocate to the last.

This storme makes worke at Paris, they seeke out all of the Orlean party, and presently cast them into prison: Peter of Effars being restored to his place, remembers the article made against him at Winchester, and armes the people against them. Whosoeuer is found out by the Parisians, being of the Orlean faction, he is brought with hazard of his life to prison. All is lawfull in this popular rage, so it be against the Armagnacs. All these engines forced from diuers parts, doe strangely shake the Orlean party. Such as were restrained within any townes, durst not breathe: and many in the army slip away daily, fearing the rigour of these Edicts, which were executed with all severity.

Charles Duke of Orleans (having taken counsell of the Princes and Noblemen, his associates, what course to follow in this alteration, before a greater inconueniency) resolves to draw the Bourguignon to battell, although hee were fortified with these new forces from England. So as having passed the riuier of Oyse, vpon a bridge of boats, (all the passages being seized on by the Bourguignon in the Kings name) he presents himselfe before the gates of Cleremont in Beauuois, where John his capitall enemy remained. The Orleans army is faire, beautified with the presence of great personages: the Duke of Bourbon, the Earles of Alanfon, Cleremont, Albret, Verurs, Vienne, Bouciquant, the Archbishop of Sens (brother to that Montagu which was beheaded) Craon, Montbason, Hungeff, with many Barons, Knights, and Squires, all resolute to end this quarrell by battell: and to that end (having desired the Duke of Bourgongne) they attend him, betwixt Cleremont and Catheray. But the Bourguignon leaving them there to spoile that goodly and fertill Country of the Isle of France, whereby they increased the hatred and curse of the people, more incensed then euer against these Armagnacs, exclaiming of him as of a coward that durst not fight, he arises at Paris, to the peoples great content, who attend him with all deuotion. He presently takes Saint Cloud and Saint Denis from the Orlean party, to their great losse, notwithstanding any diligence of Charles their head, who proclaimed a victory before the combat. Thus Paris is freed without any restraint, and all the Orlean party brought very low. Neither Charles nor his associates talke any more of fighting with the Bourguignon: they had worke enough to retire themselves, and to defend their townes, expecting a present siege. John of Bourgongne failes not to husband this good successe, and (to countenance his forces) he doth ingage the King and Daulphin in the pursuit of his enemies halfe vanquished. So his victorious army enters into Beausse, turning head towards the Duchy of Orleans, the inheritance of his chiefe enemy. Estampes yeelds to the King. The Duke of Bourbon is there taken prisoner, and sent presently into Flanders.

Whilst that all things succeeded thus happily for the Duke of Bourgongne, Henry the fourth, King of England calls home the troopes he had sent to his succour, vnder the Earle of Arondels command, entreating the Duke to hold him excused, if he did vse his owne at this need. He had no meaning to fauour the stronger party, but to succour the weaker, as experience did soone teach. This sudden alteration did somewhat stay the Bourguignons designe to attempt Orleans: but making warre aduisedly, hee attends his enemies proceeding, and taking an honest leaue to retire, by reason of the winter, hee comes to Paris, where (not to lose any time) he continues the Kings thundring Edicts, and executes many of his prisoners, to fesh the people. To blood he addes Ecclesiasticall Excommunications against the Armagnacs, whilst the Orleanois take cold by making war in Charolois, and sending for succours into England, seeking for reliefe in the same place where their enemy had found a scourge to whip them.

The English
troopes leaue
the Bourguignon.

Certaine

1412

Certain letters (carried by a Monke from the Duke of Orleans to the King of England) were intercepted, and brought to Paris, being examined in full assembly of the Vniuersity, and from thence imparted to the people, with the Bourguignons Commencaries. They made the Orlean faction so much the more odious, as if the Dukes of Orleans, Berry, and Bourbon (combined together) had sought to take the Crowne from the King and Daulphine, and to dismember the Realme in giuing part of it to the English, and to diuide the rest among themselves. Strange newes without any subiect, which vanish at their breeding; but yet they serue to put poffe according to the designe of their Architect.

The King and Daulphin (being possessed by John of Bourgongne) haue no thought but to ruine the Orlean party, and putt vp with this first successe, hoping to finish the rest, they employ all their meanes to leaue a great army, the which (through the Bourguignons care) was held to be an hundred thousand men. A notable number, after so many miseries, and in so great a confusion.

The City of Bourges was of great importance, for the vniing of the Prouinces on that side Loire, where the associate Princes had their greatest supplies of men. The Bourguignons greatest malice was against the Duke of Berry, who not onely had forsaken him, but (for his degree and age) understood much in his enemies affaires. They resolve therefore to besiege it, to make the way more easie for the conquest of the rest. In the beginning of the Spring, the King and Daulphin goe from Paris to their army, which assembled in Gastinois: being entred into Berry, the lesser Townes yeeld without question. Dun le Roy, Fontenay, and Sancerre. Bourges being summoned, makes answer: That neither the King, nor Daulphin did make this warre, but the Duke of Bourgongne, who holding their persons and wils captive, would deprive the Princes of France of their right, hauing imbrued his murdering hands in the blood of the first Prince of the Crowne, seeking to vsurpe the State. There were very many good souldiers within the City, which were supplied with all that might be wished for in a long siege. They intreated the enemy (in scorn) that he would approach neere the City; and they leaue their gates open in a brauery. Many fortunate sallies are made by them, crying in field, *God save the King*. They take many prisoners. The waters abroad are poisoned, and many dye before they discouer the cause.

All rings out with military railings of Armagnacs and Bourguignons: but the greatest defeat is in spoiling of the Country. All the prouision being caried into the City, what a spoile should an Army of an hundred thousand men with their followers make? and (to increase their misery) all the houses of the champion Country were either sackt or burnt. The English (being victors in France) neuer committed greater spoiles then these French Armies.

As the duke of Berry (the Lord of that country) was much grieved to see these spoils, for the Daulphin (the heire apparent of the Crowne) was discontented with his father in lawes ambition, growing odious vnto him. His blood (which could not degenerate) moued him to compassion, and the blood vniuilly shed, troubled his conscience. For, to what end should they ruine a whole Realme to maintaine so execrable a murder? If zeale to reforme the State (saith he) be the Bourguignons intent, is this the way? His father (being sicke could not apprehend these things; by reason of his infirmity: what reproach then were it for him (being his eldest son) to suffer himselfe to be baffled by his father in law, like vnto an infant? These apprehensions moued this yong Prince, who nothing dissimbling his conceptions, told his father openly, that hee was not pleased with these confusions, and that they must find out some meanes to pacifie them. It chanced one day, as they aduertised the King, that in a sally made by them of the Towne, they had slaine some one of his seruants, the Daulphin cried out in the presence of the Bourguignon: *Shall we neuer haue an end of these miseries? I am resolved to make them cease.* The Bourguignon hauing before discovered some coldnes in this yong Prince, found his mind now to be wholly changed. He therefore replied mildly: *That it should be well done, so as they of Orleans would acknowledge their error.* How (saith the Daulphin) *shall they acknowledge their fault, if we doe not know them for our blood?* And then they resolved to make a peace. The Duke of Berry had layed the foundation by Lignac, great master of Rhodes, who failed not to imbrace this occasion, seeing the Daulphin so well affected. The Earle of Sauoy had sent his Ambassadors, to exhort both parties. After a months siege they be-

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1412

gin to treat of the meanes to pacifie these troubles. The Bourguignon makes haste to be the first in all things, and parles with the duke of Berry betwixt two bars. One accuseth, the other excuseth, but in the end a peace is concluded by Deputies.

The Princes, at an enteruiew imbrace one another, with all shewes of cordiall loue, such as their blood makes shew of, after long bitterness. The Bourguignon onely is troubled, doubting this peace to them would be a war to him, for that hee had no peace in his owne Conscience.

The King enters into Bourges, where the peace is signed, and for that reason it was called the peace of Bourges, the 23 of Iuly, in the year 1412. A Parliament is called at Auxerre, to confirme it by solemne oath. The Princes are receiued into fauour with the King and Daulphin, all Edicts made against them, were disannulled and of no force. They and theirs restored to their degrees and dignities: all things to be forgotten. The names of Armagnac and Bourguignon (as infamous markes of ciuill dissensions) forbidden vpon paine of death: and the English (come to the succour of the associate Princes) to be satisfied out of the Kings Treasure. Without the City of Auxerre, neere to the Abbey of Saint Marian a stately scaffold was made, where the King sitting in his seat of Iustice, enuironed with his Princes, the officers of his Crowne, and the chiefe Deputies of the Parliament, the peace was proclaimed with as great ioy, as the war had been tedious and mournfull. To confirme this peace with John of Bourgongne, Philip Earle of Vertus married his daughter: C but all this could not reconcile him to the house of Orleans. The Daulphin reioyced much at this peace, and made all shewes of loue to his cousins lately reconciled, being grieved that there had bene so long dissention betweene them: desirous to repaire what was past, and about all to maintaine an inuioable peace within the Realme. The good sicke King present at all, yeelded his consent and authority, sometimes inclined to good, sometimes to ill. Queene Isabel held with the strongest: but all these good motions were crossed by the Bourguignon, so as all the confusions of this reigne are not yet ended.

John Duke of Bourgongne seeing himselfe crossd by Lewis the Daulphin, and the house of Orleans restored to grace, sirs up new troubles, from the year 1412, vnto 17: when as the Daulphin dyed, but the troubles ceased not.

FRANCE began to hope for better, by the meanes of Lewis the eldest sonne of King Charles: hauing a desire to make a peace against the Bourguignons will. But this was notall they expected of the Daulphins first resolution: yet the weaknesse of the sicke King, and the inconstancie of this yong Lieutenant gaue the subtil braine of John of Bourgongne too great an aduantage to suffer the French to enioy the fruits of peace so much desired, who neuer yeelded to bare threats, but grew more resolute. And notwithstanding this alteration of the Daulphin his sonne in law, yet he left not the Court, being E alwaies neere the King, keeping the Councell in breath, who were for the most part all of his faction: and although the worshipped they Sunne rising, yet seeing the spirit of this yong Princeto be weak and inconstant, and the Bourguignons firme resolution, they stood vpon their guard, doing nothing that might openly offend either the one or the other, but vnder-hand they fought to please the most politike and redoubted master; who else might proue a most cruell and dangerous enemy.

Thus were affaires handled in the Kings Councell. And as not onely the Court, but the whole world, is an ebbing and flowing of diuers humours, the which doe change according to occasions; and the scaffold whereon dissembling, trechery, and treason play their parts diuersly: so at that time the Bourguignon (a principall artizan of these goodly F shewes) found an ample subiect wherein to employ his filthy trade. But although he seemed to haue gained all, whatsoeuer he desired that should come to passe, and to haue attained the full of his desires, yet all his enterprises came to nothing, and in the end he payed (with the price of his blood) the great debt of his horrible wickednesse. But this Act shal haue many Sceneces. In the first, our History shal set downe the new government of Lewis the Daulphin. This yong Prince was not capable of so great a charge, hauing an idle braine, being carelesse and voluptuous, giuen to his owne will, obstinate, taking no aduice from any but of himselfe, or from yong men of his owne humour: loth to yeeld to any that

The Bourguignons practices in Court.

The estate of the Court vnder Lewis the Daulphine.

The King and Daulphin besiege Bourges by the Bourguignons meanes:

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that vnderstood more then himselfe, and especially to his vnclcs, whose graue heires hee disdained: neyther could hee loue his father in law, being resolu'd to gouerne the Realme alone. The Queene seeing her sonnes humour inclined to loue the House of Orleans, made shew to fauour them: but in effect hee was indifferent, being wholly giuen to flatter her husband, and to gouerne him according to the time.

The Bourguignon dissembling his sonne in lawes wayward humours, was alwayes neere the King, giuing him such goodly reasons, as the good Prince could not gaine-say him. The subiect of his suites was pleasing to the Parisians, whose good liking he entertained chearefully; but alwayes with an intent to be reuenged of his enemies, vnder this goodly name of the Common-wealth, as the soueraigne end of all his designs: but in effect he held still one of the chiefeest places, not yielding in any thing, to gouerne them which seemed to rule, and to keepe backe such as might crosse his authority. By the Peace of Bourges the Constable of Albret should be restored to his dignity; and Arnold of Corby to his Chancelorship. They delay him from day to day, but in the end they are restored with much difficulty. The meanest haue many delays, more troublesome then a flat repulse, being more willing to leaue all, then to make these fruitlesse pursuits. Arnold of Corby being honourably restored to his place, resigned it into the Kings hands, to auoid the danger of so confused a time: more wisely then Henry of Marle that succeeded him, being slaine at the massacre at Paris, with the Constable of Armagnac. But the Bourguignon flew a higher pitch then to preiudice the House of Orleans in their goods and honours; or to crosse their affaires and their followers. He found no better expedient then to doe as he had done with Lewis their father: for a dead Lyon doth no harme. To this end hee assembles some of his most trusty followers at Paris, to finde meanes to murder the Dukes of Orleans, Berry and Bourbon: but Peter of Effars (one of his most violent partisans) discovered this practice, for which hee soone after smarted.

By the Treaty of Bourges, the English (which came to the Duke of Orleans succour) must be satisfied. They presse for payment, one part being discharged (to the Duke of Orleans great hinderance) he was forced to leaue his Brother John Earle of Angouleme in hostage for the rest: being carryed into England, hee was in the end redeemed, after much trouble and many delays.

In this Article the Bourguignon made shew of his good husbandry; soliciting the English vnder-hand, on the one side, for to presse Charles his principall debtor; and on the other side he cryed out against the disorder of the Kings treasure, so ill gouerned, as there was not sufficient to furnish the ordinary expences of his house: pretending all these great summes to be wasted by the Treasurers, cyther in gifts, or in superfluous expences. This complaint was very plausible, but it was a pitfall to catch his enemies, and to mutine this discontented people, by reason of their great oppression, being easie to bee moued at the name of the Common-wealth. He soone obtained from the King a generall Conuocation of the chiefe Cities, to reforme the abuses of the Realme; and especially of the treasure, for the reliefe of the poore people. To make this party good, the City of Paris must make the first point: but the Vniuersity which stood as a neuter (dealing with nothing but their bookes) should make the proposition and first instance.

The cause was vehemently set downe by a Doctor (chosen for the purpose) and auowed by the City and Deputies of the prouinces: such as were subiect to accumps, were much terrified, and the greatest number fled: such as were taken, lost their heads at the Halles or Greue, to the peoples great content, who highly commend the Duke of Bourgongne, as the onely Prince which loued the good of the Realme. The Dauphine grows ieaalous at the sound of these praises (as preiudiciall to his honor) vowing neuer to suffer the Bourguignon to attempt any thing against his authoritie. Such as were interested, sed the young Princes humour: who (by the meanes of Lewis of Bauaria his vnclc by the mothers side) perswade him to take the name of Regent for a marke of his greatneffe.

He takes this title, and giues notice to the Duke of Bourgongne, that it is now high time he were knowne in his degree. The Bourguignon (protesting that he hath no other obiect but the good of the Realme) makes no shew to deale in these affaires, leaving the gouernement thereof to whom it appertained: yet vnder-hand hee caused the Parisians to arme; and (least the better sort should be called into question, hee employeth the basest, being led by one Cabosh a butcher, followed by a multitude of rascals, who (being armed)

1414

A armed) come in troopes to the Regents lodging, and require of him by rowle the chiefe enemies of the Bourgignons house, who (they said) had gouerned the treasure, or had bene enriched by excessive gifts. Amongst the which was Peter of Effars, who (without any long processe) lost his head, receiuing a iust reward for his great wickednesse, by his hands, who had then caused him to commit them. But this was not one daies fury: the next day the people assemble in great multitudes, and taking white caps for their badge, they came to Saint Pol, where the King lodged, and demand audience, hauing seized on all the passages to his lodging, after a terrible manner. A Carmelite Frier was speaker for the people, accompanied with the Deputies of this multitude as his ruffians. Being entered into the Kings chamber, after many tedious speeches, he demands reformation of the State, protesting they would not be fed with words: they vrged the King to punish such whose names they had contained in a list, being guilty of capital crimes. The Duke Bourgongne makes a good shew, and answers: That the King would consider thereof. This Frier replies impudently, that they would not depart before they had such as they demanded. Their rage was such, as the King and Princes tooke white cappes, the marke of the seditious. They demand the chiefe seruants of the King, Queene, and Dauphine, not onely men, but all women which had bene in any credit: and aboute all, Lewis of Bauaria the Queens brother. There was not any one but stood amazed at these audacious impudencies.

The Queene comes weeping, she intreats the King, the Monke and the deputies of the people. They answer, it is their charge, and they cannot alter it. The people cry from the base Court with a violent noise, that if they deliuer not these prisoners, they will force the lodging. So as after all these intreaties, Lewis the Queens brother with the rest (specified in the rowle) both men and women, yield vnto the mercy of these mad and furious men, and are by them led into diuers prisons.

This night passed not without many murders, many were strangled, and many cast into the riuer, without any other formes of iustice, but the Bourgignons secret commandement: who (with his cold and graue countenance) made shew to haue no interest in the action. The City was neuer in so lamentable an estate, by this shameful contempt of Law, order, and of the King, Princes and Magistrates. There is no talke but of blood, killing, hanging and drowning of poore prisoners.

The horror of this confusion toucht the hearts of the most passionate. The Vniuersity (which had bene the mouth of these captious complaints) repaires to Henry of Marle the first president, and to John Luenal of Virfins the Kings Aduocate, protesting that they were not guilty of these infamous disorders. And hauing taken aduice, they resolute to go to the King, as well to purge themselves of the suspicion of these abominable confusions, as to intreat him to giue eare to a good peace. They giue him meanes to win the heads of this popular faction, and set vp an Ensigne with the Kings armes, and cry in all parts of the City, Peace, peace good people: an inuention which preuailed much in this action.

Euill counsell is most hurtfull to him that giues it: the Bourgignons practices light on his owne head. The people seeing themselves disauowed by the Vniuersity (who then had great credit for their esteeme of wisdom and knowledge) hauing the King and his Parliament opposit, being abandoned by their Tribunes, they hide themselves in Bourgongne, and hee himselfe feeling the storme to approach, retires to Champaigne, attending the event.

The Orlean faction repaires to Paris with speed, and were receiued ioyfully by the people, as the anchor of their hope. All the world exclaimes of the Bourgignon as the onely motiue of the troubles of France, and vnworthy to hold so honourable a rancke among the Princes of the blood. The Queene feeds this dislike, for the interest of her brother imprisoned, & the King thunders forth his Edicts against the Bourgignon, the which are seuerely executed vpon such as are apprehended. Scaffolds, riuers and streets witness the reuenge of the murders committed by the Bourgignons vpon the Orleans. All officers preferred by the Bourgignon are displaced, and all such as had supported him are ill intreated. Valeran Earle of Saint Pol, is put from the dignity of Constable, Gauchard Dauphin of Auvergne, from that of great Master, and Charles of Rambures from being Master of the Crosse-bowes, the which is at this day as the Colonell of the infantry. Three hundred men and women of the Bourgignon faction, are banished

A strange sedition at Paris.

The King incensed against the Bourgignon.

And his faction disgraced and banished.

1415

banished by a decree of the Court of Parliament. *John* Duke of Britany leaues the Bour-aignuon and comes to Court against him.

To conclude, all bandy against the Bourguignon, yet he is nothing amazed, but continues constant against all stormes. He craves ayde of his Cities in Flanders in this necessity: being thus perplexed, there fell out a favourable occasion to raise him vp againe. The Queene being much discontented with him, incensed the Dauphin. This young Prince had some of his household seruants from the Bourguignon: these vsing the authority of a nother, takes them from him, and puts them in prison: the reason was, for that the feared the men were of the Bourguignons faction. The Dauphin takes this as an affront, and writes to his father in law to assist him. The Bourguignon embracing this vnexpected occasion, calls a new assembly of his subjects, and shewes them these Letters. And making his profit thereof, he giues them to vnderstand how needfull it was to leaue an army, to free the King and Dauphin, whom the Orlean faction held in captivity. And vpon this cause he writes to all the Cities of the Realme, intreating them to assist him in so good a worke; and worthy of good subjects to their Prince. Hereupon hee leaues an army, and goes to field, making a publike declaration, That he takes armes to set the King and Dauphin at liberty, and is followed by many French, so as his army increaseth daily. Having passed the river of Somme, he enters into Champagne, and doth summon Senlis, to send him the keyes of their gates, as marching for the Kings seruice: but a countermand comes from the Dauphin, which doth frustrate his designe.

The Dauphin
disauiwes the
Bourguignon.

The Dauphin (won by the Orleansois) protesteth that he had neuer written these letters, and disauiwes the Bourguignon: he writes letters vnto him of a contrary tenor, requesting him to forbear to torment the people vpon so vniust a cause: protesting that he was not only in full liberty, but doth also enjoy his authority, by vertue whereof he commands him to dismisse his troops, and to leaue France in quiet. The Bourguignon goes on his course, meaning to enter Paris, and to stir the people to a new sedition, and so hee marcheth with his troops neere to the City, and stayes at Saint Denis: but his proiect had no successe.

The Dauphin assures the City wals, and the peoples hearts against him, who seeks by all meanes to speake to the King or people, approaching himselfe neere the City, sending his Heralds, with Letters, planting his colours neere the gate, and in the end conueys a flasse with Letters in it: but all this would not preuaile. The King doubles the battery of his Edicts against him, as guilty of high treason, and a disturber of the publike peace: commanding all men that were in his army to leaue him, vpon paine of confiscation. Hereat the greatest part of his troops flye away, yea his Flemings abandon him, who had alwayes protected vnto him in all his assemblies, neuer to cary armes against the King nor Dauphin. In the end the King and Dauphin, accompanied with the Princes of his blood, march with a goodly army, they besiege Champagn (where the Bourguignon had left a garison) and take it by composition: from thence they march to Soissons a towne of greater strength, having taken it by force, and *Enguerand* of Bournonville his right hand in it, hee leaues the towne in peace, and cuts off *Bournonvilles* head at Paris, with many of his companions, to the peoples great content, glad of this new blood: and in the end hee passeth to Arras, the which he besiegeth with his victorious army.

The Bourguignon amazed at these vnexpected euents, demands peace of *Charles*, and obtaines it with much intreaty, by the meanes of the Countesse of Hainault his sister; and the Duke of Brabant her brother. It is called the peace of Arras, being made at that siege. This was grievous to the Dukes of Orleans and Berry, who said, that both the King and Dauphin had promised them, not to lay downe armes, before they had utterly ruined the House of Bourgogne. But God wiser then they, would vnto all the French, to oppose them with a common consent, against the English their common enemy: and will soone shew, that it is a meere vanity for mortall men, to nourish immortall hatred against their enemies, to satisfie their insatiable revenge. We haue said, that *Henry* the fifth, King of England, watcht all opportunities to feed the confusions of this miserable reigne: and to that end he did sometimes succour the Bourguignon, sometimes the Orleansois, still supporting the weaker. And knowing well the Duke of Bourgognes humour, seeing the Dauphin incensed against him, he leaues a goodly army, to make a benefit of these diuisions. The count fauoured his desire, but not his proiect: for meaning to assist the Bourguignon, he finds that he had made his peace with our *Charles*.

Having

1415

Henry the fifth,
King of Eng-
land enters
France with an
army, and de-
mands *Katherine*
the Kings
daughter.
He marcheth
into Picardy.

Having landed at Harfieu, a sea towne seated vpon the River of Seine, he sends his Herald to demand his daughter *Katherine*. This was a matter far fetcht, and a strange course, but this daughter must be the ground of many miseries for this Realme, and likewise an occasion to free this Realme absolutely from the English by a strange meanes, and (as we may say) admirable, as the course of our History will shew.

Henry takes Harfieu by composition. Before he takes possession of this conquest, hee goes bare-footed to the Church, to giue God thanks. He had not his whole army with him, one part attended him at Calais, having an intent to ioyne with them, and so to fortifie his troops. With this resolution hee lodgeth at Fauille, and passing through Caux to the County of Eu, he comes to Vimeu, to passe the River at Blanquetaque (an infamous place by the losse) where the passage being surpris'd, he takes his way towards Arennes, and from thence to Baillu in Vimeu, seeking to passe the bridge at Remic: but notable to force it, he recouers Hangest vpon Somme, and so passeth the river at Voyenne and Bethencourt, places ill guarded by them of Saint Quintin: and then hee lodgeth at Mouchy la Gache, toward the River of Miramont.

He had in his army six thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot. That of King *Charles* was farre greater of it selfe, besides the Bourguignons troops (which were drawne together for another intent then to fight with the English: they were in all about twenty thousand horse, and threecore thousand foot, and therefore *Henry* did thin the battell, and sought how to saue himselfe through the fennes. Our accustomed rashnesse, and wilfull forgetfulness of two experiences past against the same nation, and in the like occurrences, made vs to note with blacke and mournfull letters that our throw and calamity. *Henry* deminded passage to returne into England, yielding vp Harfieu and other places conquered in this voyage: but we fought our owne decay. The Constable *Albret* commanded the Foreward that day, and with him were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earles of Eu and Richmond, the Lord of Bouciquault Marshall of France, and the Lord of Dampierre, Admirall. The battell was led by the Duke of Bar, and the Earles of Alençon, Vandemont, Neuers, Blamon, Salines, Grandpre and Rouffy. The Rereward by the Earles of Marle, Dampmartin, and Fouquerbergue.

Henry (being denied passage by the Constable) resolues to fight, putting his trust in God and his owne valour, determining to vanquish or dye, he made choice of a place of hard access; and the better to fortifie his archers, every one had a sharpe stake planted before him. The French ordered as before, attended their enemies, either looking who should begin the game. Impatiency forceth the weaker, like desperate men, the English Archers begin the fight with such a fury, as the French foreward cannot endure the violent fall of this furious storme: the Constable *Albret* was slaine fighting in the foremost ranke. The duke *Anthony* of Brabant, brother to *John* duke of Bourgogne, (seeing this disorder) leaues his troupe to redresse it, but he was also slaine by the English bow-men, with his brother *Philip* Earle of Neuers. The battell was likewise forced after a great fight. The rereward fled, and saued themselves in the nearest places of retreat. So as the losse was not so great as the shame and ouerthrow. They number ten thousand men slaine, but their rashnesse was inexcusable. The head smited for it, and the Bourguignons brethren had there an honorable tombe. *Charles* duke of Orleans and *Lewis* of Bourbon, the Earles of Eu, Richmond and Vendosme (the strongest pillars of the Orlean faction) with many Noblemen and Gentlemen, were taken and led into England. This defeat chanced the 20 day of October, in the yeare 1415. called the euill battell of Agincourt. And as one mischief comes neuer alone the bodies slaine at this defeat were scarce buried before *Lewis* the Dauphin dies. This *Lewis* (eldest sonne to our *Charles*, sonne in law, and a terror to the Bourguignon) was little lamented of the people, and lesse of his father in law, who hated him to the death. A Prince of little valour and much toile, more busied with himselfe then with the affaires hee managed, the which he made troublesome by his insufficiency and presumption to know much, vnwilling to learne from others what hee vnderstood not, for the good of the State and his owne duty.

John duke of Touraine his brother, succeeded him in degree, as the first Prince of the blood, and the Earle of Armagnac was made Constable, in the place of *Charles* of Albret who shall minister good occasion to speake both of his life and death. *John* duke of Berry brother to our *Charles* the fifth, augmented these losses. A wife Prince and Iouing lea-

Then numbers of
the English and
French army.

The battell of
Agincourt.

Lewis the Dauphin
dies.

His disposition,

The Duke of
Berry dies.

Z

ning,

1416

ning, commendable in all things, but for his courteousnesse, the which made his vertues of a lesse fame. A blemish very ill becoming a generous and heroicke spirit. These great losses should have made the Bourguignon humble, but he became more insolent, making new practices to raise himselfe, having no competitor. Embracing this occasion, he gathers together what troopes he can, with an intent to goe to Paris. The Queene and Constable of Armagnac (unwilling he should come armed) command him in the Kings name, not to approach. The Parisians were not then so well conceited of the Bourguignon, being restrained by the Court and Vniuersity, but especially by the Kings authority being present, who spake whatfoeuer his wife and the Constable would haue him, being then alone in authority in the Kings Councell.

The Bourguignon renews the warre.

The Bourguignons troopes kept the field, committing all kinde of insolencies and spoiles: against whom the King made Edicts as against common theues, giuing the people liberty to kill them. But this did nothing mollifie the heart of this reuengefull Prince, borne for his Countries misery, having no other intent but to afflict it with new calamities. To this end (as in the Kings sicknesse the Daulphin had the name and authority of the State) he sought to winne the fauour of *Iohn*, succeeding in the right of his brother deceased. This occasion was offered, but the issue was contrary to his designe.

The Emperour Sigismund comes into France.

The misery of our France was such, as the common duty of humanity, moued foraine nations to pity, foreseeing our ruine, if the warre betwix: France and England continued. In this common desire, the Emperour *Sigismund* (by the consent of the Germanes) came into France. His traine and the good worke he vnderooke, deserued an Imperial Maiestie, but the end will shew his intent to be other then he protested. Being arriued in France (to the great content of all the French) he findes our *Charles* at his deuotion, who receiued him with all the pompe he could giue to so great a Monarch, making shew of the great desire he had to make a peace betwixt the French and the English, for the generall good of both Estates. But this accord was but halfe made.

The Emperour (having remained some time with *Charles*) goes into England, where he finds *Henry* of another humour, pufft vp with the happy success of his affaires and the weaknesse of ours, and in truth the measure of our miseries was not yet at full. So *Sigismund* (having perswaded *Henry* in vaine) returns into France. *Charles* (to honour him) sends his sonne *Iohn* Duke of Touraine and Daulphin of Viennois into Picardy, to meet him, having married the daughter of the Earle of Hainault, as great a friend to the Bourguignon, as ill affected to the French. The Emperour seeing his labour lost, in seeking this reconciliation, takes his shortest course into Germany, leaving a reasonable subiect to the cleare-sighted, to iudge that hee had another intent then to settle a peace in France, by countenancing of the Bourguignon, the instrument of her miseries: for after this young Prince had spoken with the Emperour, hee is wholly changed in fauour of the Duke of Bourguigne, and resolves to bandy with him against the Duke of Orleans. This foundation being layd by the Emperours policy, it was fortified by the Earle of Hainault, father in law to *Iohn* the Daulphin. Now he embraceth the greatest and most dangerous enemy of all true Frenchmen with a wonderful affection.

The Daulphin Iohn dies.

But the subtilly is taken in his owne snare, and the end doth bewray the intent. As all things tended to a manifest change by means of this young Prince, enchanted by his charmes, having a spirit like vnto waxe apt to receiue any impression, from so subtil an artificer as the Bourguignon, behold death cuts off all these hopes, cast in the mould of this new authority, buried in *Iohns* tombe, who died during these practices, at Champagne, when as the fire began to kindle in fauour of the Bourguignon, and to the apparent resulting of troubles in France.

To *Iohn* succeeded *Charles* Earle of Ponthieu, the youngest son to our *Charles* the sixth. He remained also the first Prince of the blood, with the prerogatives of the fundamentall law. A Prince that shall minister much matter to talke of his life in the course of our History, guided by the singular prouidence of God, to raise vp this Monarchy, almost ruined. The last, but the happiest of all his brethren: for this is that *Charles* the seventh, who (having corrected that furious Giant of Bourguigne) in the end shall expell the English, and haue a free way to his posterity, to restore this Estate, to secure the ruine. But this shall not be without many painful difficulties, the which the order of our History commands vs to represent in their due places.

Iohn

1416

Iohn of Bourguigne the murderer of Lewis of Orleans (having added new troubles to the former) ioyues with *Isabel* Queene of France: Who having declared her selfe Regent of the Realme, makes warre against her sonne *Charles* the Daulphin; seizeth vpon Paris, and there commits a cruell massacre, where the Constable of Armagnac, and *Henry of Marle* Chancellor of France, are slaine. But this *Iohn* of Bourguigne is in the end slaine by the Daulphin.

The Queene takes vpon her the Regency.

From the yeare 1415, to 1419.

A New kinde of misery now supplies the stage, to despight Nature by the franticke drunkennesse of our confused passions. An vnnatural mother forgets her onely son, the bandies with his capitall enemy against her owne blood, seeking to transport the hereditary Crowne to strangers, a Crowne inalienable by the Law of State; to the end this *Medea* might fight both against Nature and the lawes of the Realme. A horrible phrensie, ast of Ciuill warre, that is to say, of the assured ruine of the State. They call it Ciuill (being the ruine of Citizens) but very vnciuill indeed: for if we shall iudge thereof by the barbarous and brutish cruelties, what is there in the whole world more vnciuill? But alas, behold the image of vnkinde confusions, wherof the fury of our warres hath made vs eyewitnesses; for haue we beheld lesse, having seene the Crowne set to sale, and our Kings blood shed vpon our Scaffold? But the History requires audience, to report things in their order, as they haue chanced, according to the causes and motives.

A strange confusion, the mother against the sonne.

Charles Earle of Ponthieu had married the daughter of *Lewis* of Anion, king of Sicilia, a capitall enemy to the Bourguignon. So this young Prince bred vp from his youth in hatred against the house of Bourguigne, must be the instrument to ruine him and his whole race. He loued his pleasure much, and sometime he gaue himselfe vnto it with too great a scope; yet he could apply himselfe well to serious affaires, and force his spirits in necessity: firme in his resolutions, and immoueable in his designs, wherin he happily ended his dayes, restoring the Realme strangely shaken by the errors and losses of his predecessors. In this beginning of his new authority, he was faithfully (though not profitably) assisted by the Constable of Armagnac, one of the chiefe pillars of the Orlean party, and almost alone, since the imprisonment of the duke of Orleans, and the death of the duke of Berry, the King continuing in his infirmities, sometimes better, sometimes worse, but always weak both of body and minde.

Charles an enemy to the house of Bourguigne.

The Bourguignon had his troopes together, to the great spoyle of the Country, who complained still without any redresse. This Prince being resolute in his course, seekes all occasions of new garboiles, his hatred encreaseth daily against the contrary faction, seeing them advanced and in credit, being out of hope to haue any interest in this new Daulphin, who was wholly possessed by Armagnac, an old fox, and an irreconcilable enemy.

He hath practices in Amiens, Abbeuille, Peronne, and all other good townes of Picardy: who by reason of neighborhood are easily drawne to his party, making goodly protestations to maintaine them in peace and liberty vnder the Kings obedience. He writes likewise to all the good townes of the Realme, complaining of the death of *Iohn* Duke of Touraine, a Prince whom he assured to be wholly giuen to the good of the State, and for this cause had beene poysoned by the enemies of the publike quiet. But his true intent was, to make lush odious as were in credit about the Kings person, although hee named them not in his letters; but in noting them he made a still and a dangerous warre against them, encouraged by his forces and perswasions, who entering the Cities freely, and causing his letters to be publicly read, he moued their hearts by the feeling of former confusions, the blame wherof the Bourguignon laid vpon his enemies.

The King (that is to say) his Councell, being encountered both by writings and force, should likewise oppose armes & writings against the Bourguignon; but he sends the Lord of Cagny to treat with the Bourguignon, which negotiation was fruitlesse, both for that the person sent vnto him was odious, as also by reason of his charge, which was not pleasing vnto him. He had an intent to put Cagny to death; but the respect of his Master withheld him, making answer to all his instructions, specified at large in the original of this

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History.

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The Bourguignon army and draws in the English.

A meeting at Rouen.

The Dauphin encountered by three great enemies.

The Bourguignon. The English.

Hillory. But what avails it to repeat many vaine words without any effect? In briefe, these are but accusations and excuses, plaints and counterplaints. All protest to be the Kings servants, and all blame the King in troubling the Realme. What plainer Commentary can we desire of these factions, then what we haue heard and seene in our time? The Bourguignon made a more dangerous war then with papers; he had secret practices within the cities, to winne the inhabitants. Hee also drew the English into armes, and armed himselfe, laying the forces together, but with diuers intentions, yet their generall designe was, to afflict France, fishing in a troubled water, making their profit of our confusions, and building their affaires vpon the ruine of the realme.

The Dauphin *Charles* plus another part, he had scarce knowne the Court, when as he was forced to goe into Anion, to the funerals of *Lewis* duke of Anion King of Sicilia his father in law, and to assure the Duchie, being in some danger by reason of the neighbourhood of the duke of Barrie, a doubtfull friend in the incertitude of those confused times. Being armed, behold a charge of difficulty for the first fruites of his new authority. The people were mutined at Rouen, they had slaine *Gaucoart* gouernour of the city, the Advocate, and the Kings preceptor, and besieged the Castle; and to multiply these calamities the Bourguignon is in field, and besiege S. Florentine. The Kings army is not dismissed, but dispersed into diuers parts, according to the necessity of his affaires. The Dauphin hauing need of the greater part for Rouen, sends the lesser to the besieged; but the succours being weake and slacke, Saint Florentine yeelds to the Duke of Bourgogne. This hard beginning might haue bene prejudiciall to his affaires at Rouen, but they succeed better; for the chiefe of the City met the Dauphin, and excuse themselves of this tumult, imputing it to the people ouer charged: they beseech him to pardon this fault, and to receive their voluntary obedience. Thus he is honourably received into the city, already pacified, and takes all things with mildnesse.

But there are other newes of harder digestion; for the Bourguignon marcheth to Paris with a great power, and the English takes port in Normandy with a thousand faile. There were reasons on either side to ballance these great difficulties, and to trouble the Dauphin: for whether shall hee goe first? If hee march to Paris, the English will conquer without resistance: If hee make head against the English, then Paris is lost, being wholly inclined to the Bourguignons practices: who sees not but the losse of the capitall city of the realme would be his ruine, and the overthrow of all his designs? but *Charles* did not foresee a greater difficulty at hand by his mother, more waighy and dangerous then all the rest; yet must hee aside all these other stormes, not without great danger; that the providence of God, the preserver of this Monarchie might shew itselfe more admirable, restoring this estate, being in this wretched losse. For *Charles* (who in so sharpe an encounter reaped so wondrous victory) owes the homage vnto God, who gaue him means both to fight well, and to vanquish happily. The Dauphin standing doubtfull betwixt these two great extremities, returned to Paris, to defend the city against the Bourguignons practices, and to assure the Kings affection, who knew would speake whatsoever he pleased, being in his power. *Henry* Maistre, Chancellor of France, remained at Paris with the King, being wholly a the Dauphins sensation. The people stir not, being kept in awe by the Parliament: *Valentin*, who were then well vained. But experience will foone discouer the inconsistency of humane stormes, when they seeme most assured, and the vanity of a multitude being the effect of popular motions.

The Bourguignon more insatiable, doth publish his protestation, and displays his colours, causing a new alarme. He makes a declaration, containing the causes for the which he hath taken arms. *He* reformed the State, extremely desolate, by the ill government of both isles, since the which *he* (ordinarily) managed the affaires of the realme at their pleasure, and without any of the persons, oppressed them with extraordinary charges, against all right and reason. *He* grew soe to haue no other intent, but to restore the Realme to her former liberty, but he shall change his copy, imposing new exactions, to the prejudice of the people; and shall grow shamed with such as shall oppose themselves: so as it seems all this was but a make to abuse the people, vnder the goodly shew of ease & liberty. But as at the first all seems goodly, so these glorious beginnings won him great credit with the French nation. Thus as *an* begins to march through Picardy toward Paris. All Cities open their gates, where he doth presently proclaim an exemption of all subsidies & other charges,

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A charges, except of salt, as the gentlest imposition, seeing that all men without distinction paid their port. But about all, he was very careful, that his army should live orderly and modestly, without any oppression to the poore people, being his ordinary delinquencie, as one greatly grieved for their afflictions, and being very desirous of their quiet and content.

These examples proclaimed his vertues, and wonne him the peoples hearts. Other cities in Picardy follow this example: Beauvais yeelds willingly vnto him, and shewt out forioy at his entry, he goes presently to Senlis, kept by *Robert Duple* for the Armagnacs. The citizens (desirous to imitate the rest) seize vpon their gouernor, open their gates willingly, call in the Bourguignon, and receive him with all ioy. From thence he marcheth speedily to Beaumont, the which hauing endured some Canon shot (being besieged to the house of Bourbon) yeelds vpon an easie composition. Ponthoife and Melun obey without any dispute. So by degrees he comes before Paris, and to shew his army to the Parisians, he lodgeth at Mont-rouge, but to approach neerer, he incamps slower, in a place called, The withered Tree, vnto this day; by reason their flood a great dried Tree. A preface what should afford befall his greene and flourishing designs. Being there, he writes his letters to the King and city of Paris, full of cunning admonitions, beseeching the one, and exhorting the other, to hearken seriously to a good reformation of the State, the true and soveraign end of his armes.

In the meane time hee loseth not an houre. *John* of Luxembourg (during this his necessary abode at Paris) goes with a part of the army, to try the voluntary cities, and every day made new conquests. Chartres, Estampes, Gaillardon, Moncheury, Auneau and Rechefort: obey: and after some dayes of rest (to annoy Paris) he besiege the Corbeil, a place of importance for the victualling thereof. But whilst he pressed Corbeil with exceeding hast, behold he suddenly abandons it against the opinion of all men.

The Dauphin and the Constable of Armagnac supposed, that seeing that he had lost his labour at Paris, he would seeke to possesse himselfe of places of easier conquest, according to his course begonne. But the effect will shew that his rising was to an other intent, which bred a horrible combustion throughout the whole realme: for *Isabel* Queene of France, (discontented with her sonne *Charles*) incites the Duke of Bourgogne to free her from captivity. Shee was then at Tours, with some guard, by the Kings commandment, for the which she blamed her sonne, and the Constable, who then had the gouernment of the Court. They kept not so strict a guard of the Queene, but she had liberty to walke both within and without the City, euen to the Abbey of Marmontier, where she had her chiefe deuotion. This was a meane to give intelligence vnto the Bourguignon, and to slip into his hands as we shall shew. Reason requires, the History should set downe the moriue of so vnnatural a discontent: but she is silent, and reports only a very light occasion. That the King coming from visiting of the Queene, who held her State at Bois-de-Vincennes, and returning to Paris, he met *Lewis Bourdon* a Knight going to Bois-de-Vincennes, who coming neer to the King, bowed himselfe on horse-back, and passed on without any other reverence. The King fends presently his prouost of Paris after him, commanding him to apprehend him, and to keep him safely. The prouost executing his charge, tooke the said Knight and brought him to the Chastelet, where by the Kings command, he was cruelly tortured, and drowned in the river of Seine: and some few dayes after, by the commandement of the King, the Dauphin, and such as then gouerned at Paris, the Queene (accompanied with her sister in law the Duchesse of Barria) was sent to Blois, and so to Tours, to remaine there in meane estate. *William* Trel, *John* Picard and *Laurence Dupuis*, were appointed for her guard, without whose consent shee durst not attempt any thing, no not to write a letter. These be the words of the Original.

This her imprisonment, was aggravated by a new rigour. All the treasure which she had in Churches, or priuate houles within Paris, was seized on by the Constable of Armagnac, a free executioner of these proceedings. This shewes a notable dislike betwixt the husband and the wife, but the mother and sonne: but the cause is not specified. If it be lawfull to search into this secret, shall we say, that *Queene Isabel* mother to our Dauphin, louing the one better then the other (as the variety of the mothers affection to their children is too common) had strained all her credit to countenance *John*, after the death of *Lewis*, being thus ingaged with the Bourguignon, whom she did hate deadly, by reason

The Prouost, gny with an any before Paris.

The Bourguignon goes to Queene Isabel at Tours.

The King dislikes the Queene.

The Queen sent with a guard to Tours.

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of the imprisonment of her brother *Lewis* of Bawaria? but as she had first loued, and after hated him, might he not in like sort receiue him againe into fauor, as the diuicifity of her passions did moue her by new occasions, to loue or hate the same man?

The Emperor *Sigismund* proceeding made it very suspicious, being the greatest instrument of the alliance betwixt *John* and the Bourguignon. And to what end did the Bourguignon goe to him into Sauoy after all this? It is likewise to be considered, that the sodain death of *John* encreased this womans fury against her sonne *Charles*, holding it for certaine, that by the Constables counsell he had caused him to be poysoned. Ambition and choller are furious beasts, not to be restrained by respect, especially in a woman, in whom hatred and reuenge made deepe impressions. Jealousie might likewise be a violent counsellor vnto *Charles*. As it *Charles* (animated by the Constable of Armagnac, fearing lest his mother had some great practice with the Bourguignon and his associates) had incensed the King against her, hauing moued him with some other pretext. But in effect it was wholly to restrain this womans power, depriving her both of liberty and treasure, but the euent will tell, that she was not alwaies buied at her distaffe, or in her deuotion. The search of the motives is necessary in a History, especially in famous actions, but the doubtfull coniectures are free to euery mans iudgement. This is all the certainty of this action.

The Bourguignon being called by *Isabel*, leaves the siege of Corbeil, lodgerh his footmen in the townes of Beaufe, that were most fauorable vnto him, and with his horse

(which were about ten thousand) he goes into Touraine, when as behold (the *Queene*, being one morning at her deuotion in the Abbie of Marmoufrier, according to her custome) he arriues with his horlemen at an houre appointed. He meetes the *Queene*, receiues her, and enters the Citie with her, without any difficultie, hauing first cunningly seized vpon the gates. Being entred, hee proclaimes an exemption of charges in the *Queenes* name, and (being accompanied by the people) he presents himselfe before the Castle, which opens vnto the *Queene*, being exceeding glad, to see her selfe at liberty and to command freely. She referres her selfe wholly vnto the Bourguignons will, who likewise seeks to vie her name to make his designs more plausible. Hauing therefore assured *Tours* they march to Chartres, a more conuenient towne for their affaires, lying so neere vnto Paris. Being there, & hauing assembled all the Clergy, Nobility, the three estates, and such Citie as they could of their faction, hee cauleth *Philip* of Morueliers to make knowe vnto them, That by reason of the ill government of the Realme, through the great weaknesse of the King her husband, and according to the degree whereunto God had raised her, being *Queene* of France, she desired infinitely to reforme it. And the rather for that *Charles* her sonne (corrupted by the ill counsell of the enemies of the State) shewed her not the duty of a child, to her griefe. So as to prouide good and wholesome remedies for the prelauation of the State, and for the seruice of the King her husband, by the good aduice of her cousin the Duke of Bourgongne, a prince of the blood, she declares her selfe Regent of France. The which was pleasing vnto them all, with this title: *Isabel* by the grace of God, *Queene* of France, hauing by reason of the King my Lords infirmity the government and administration of the Realme, by an irrenocable grant, made vnto us by our said Lord and his Councell. And for confirmation of this new authority, she caused a seale to be made, whereon was grauen her image, standing right vp, with her armes hanging downe to the earth, as one without comfort and requiring helpe: on the one side were the armes of France, and on the other, that of France and Bawaria quartered, with these words. *This is the seale of Causes, Soueraignties and Appellations for the King.*

The *Queene* declares her selfe Regent of France.

There were two Soueraigne Courts of Iustice erected, one at Amiens, and the other at Troy in Champagne, with expresse charge not to goe to Paris. The office of Constable was giuen to the Duke of Lorraine, by the deprivation of the Earle of Armagnac, and the Chancellorship of France to *Eustache* of Laistre, by the giuing ouer of *Henry* of Marle. As these things began to kindle a new fire of miseries, there were certaine Bishops which labored to reconcile the *Queene* and Daulphin. The Bourguignon accepts of the motion: but the Constable of Armagnac breaks off the treaty. An article which shall make him more odious with the people. The Bourguignon hauing retired his army, and put his men into garrison, goes into Sauoy, where at that time the Emperour *Sigismund* was,

(who

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A (who erected the Earledome of Sauoy into a Duchie) and there did conferre with him at Mommellian. This was not without some great designe.

In his absence *Philip* of Bourgongne his sonne held a Parliament to resolue vpon the meanes to make warre with more aduantage. Thus the Bourguignon wrought for his part. The Daulphin seeing the fields freed and without any enemy, thinkes good that the Constable of Armagnac should besiege Senlis, and the better to countenance his armes, the King himselfe goes with the army. The Towne being prest, they take a day to yeeld, if by the 17 of April they be not releued. *John* of Luxembourg (whom the Bourguignon had left in Picardy, for the fury of those places) gathers together what troopes he can, and comes at the day prefixed: at which time the townes-men made a great sally vpon the Kings campe, fying their tents and pauillions. The Constable (moued with this affront) cuts off the heads of foure of their hostages, and they kill fix and fortie of his men that were prisoners. In the meane time *John* of Luxembourg approacheth towards Creil, meaning to fight with the Constable, vying him by sundry skirmishes, hauing sent *Charlot Daillie* towards Dampmartin with a good troope to stop the passage.

The siege of Senlis.

The Constable (fearing the euent of a battaile, being loth to hazard the King) would not ioyne, but desirous to find some honest colour to auoyde the fight, he sends a trumpet, to know who commanded these troopes. And vnderstanding it was *John* of Luxembourg, he answered in a brauery. Seeing it is neither the Duke of Bourgongne, nor his Sonne, they are not for vs, let vs goe to Paris. So he retunes without fighting, whether the chiefe of his affaires drew him, not fore-seeing the mischief which attended him, by reason of this retreat, being too preiudiciall to his honour: for the Parisians who hated him, and yet feared him for the reputation of his valor, began now to contemne him, noting in this retreat a kinde of cowardise, as hauing refused to encounter *John* of Luxembourg, who had so brauely offered him the battaile. The brute of this shameful departure was published by the Bourguignon faction to their masters aduantage. They inbrace this occasion being loth the peoples heart should grow cold by any better successe, observing likewise that the King, Daulphin, Constable, Chancellor, and all the chiefe of that party were at Paris, to be all surprised together. The Duke of Bourgongne was vpon his returne from Sauoy, but he departed not without good instructions from the Emperour.

But leauing the Bourguignons army in field, let vs note the estate of that great City of Paris. *Perrinet* Clerc a Smith; *John* Thibert a Broker, *Perrin* Bourdichon a Cooper (such were they whom the Bourguignon had made his Colonels at Paris) hauing practised all their friends with great secretie, and ingaged many, they aduertise the Lord of *Lisle-Adam* (who was gouernour of Ponthoife for the Bourguignon) of their enterprife: the which was to deliuer him a gate, and a good troope of the Inhabitants within the heart of the City, so as they might haue fouldiers to second their attempt. *Lisle-Adam* accepts thereof, and the euent was answerable to the designe: for these vnder-takers assigne him *Saint Germaines* gate: *Perrinet* had the Keyes. *Lisle-Adam* presents himselfe at midnight, being the houre appointed, with eight hundred armed men. He findes the gate open, and *Perrinet* attending him. Then he puts his men in battaile, lest hee should be taken in disorder, *Perrinet* shuts the gate and casts the Keyes into the ditch: and then without any noyse, he marcheth with this troope to the lesser Chastelet, where he had left a squadron of foure hundred men vnder the great vault, to lye more couertly.

Lisle-Adam hauing ioyned his troope with the Citizens (so as the one might assist the other, hee sends forth diuers troopes to giue the alarm in diuers quarters of the City, with charge to moue the people to armes. Euery troop marcheth speedily to his quarter, crying out with a terrible voyce in the dead of the night, *Rise good people, peace, peace, God save the King and the good Duke of Bourgongne*. At this noyse all rise, some to hide themselves, others to arme: so as in short time a great multitude (being armed) wander vp and downe the streets ready to fight. Their Captaines appoint them what houses of the Armagnacs they should force. The first troop must seize vpon the King; but before all was ready, the alarm was generall. Such as had most interest are soonest vp. *Tannequoy* of Chastel, prouost of Paris (a very trusty seruant to the Daulphin) wraps him in a sheet and carries him into the Bastile. A good Ieuaine which shall one day raise the dow, and the hand of him that kneads it. Some others also retired themselves thither, which shall serue in this Seecane. *John* Louet, *Robert* Masson, the Vicont of Naibone and Bouciquant.

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Sedition at Paris.

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The King taken.

The Chancellor taken.

The Constable taken.

The Dauphin saves himself.

The Dauphin secret to recover Paris.

The Constable of Armagnac in a disguised weed saues himselfe in a neighbours house. A But all this troope flies to the Kings lodging at S. Pol. These Tribunes cause this poore sickle Prince to rise, without any respect: they force him to promise what they please, and to ride through the Citie, crying, *God save the King, and peace*: thinking by his presence to increase their troope, and to countenance their confusion.

This done, every troope seeks his quarter, and many are taken. The Chancellor of Marle is surprised in his lodging, and *Raimond de la Guerre*, who were good supporters of the Armagnac faction: many Presidents, Councillors, and masters of the Accompt were taken without any respect of persons. The Cardinals of Barre and Saint Marc, the Archbishop of Reims, the Bishops of Senlis, Bayeux and Constance, were carryed away and imprisoned: all the prisons are filled with honorable persons. But what is become of the Dauphin and Constable? They search, they hunt in all places; yet finding nothing, they command by sound of trumpet, that every man should presently vpon paine of death discover the Armagnacs. The Dauphin was safe, but the Constable (discovered by his Host) is taken, carried away by one of these Tribunes and imprisoned; hee was in danger as he past through the streets, riding behinde him that had him in guard.

This was the night spent untill day, yet without any murder; and it seemes this was by commandement. This hapned in the yeare 1418, the 25 of May, a pleasant day, the fore-runner of a mournfull Winter. The Dauphin having escaped this danger miraculously by the good aduice of *Tamargay* of Chastell, he resolves to doe his best in retiring himselfe else where, and not to hazard his person with this furious and murderous people. By the faithfull meanes of this good seruant, hee goes forth secretly in the night, and slips into Melun, leaping from place to place, like a bird that flies from bough to bough. From Melun he goes to Nemours, whether he sends for his most trully servants, of whose helpe hee had neuer greater need. The Marshall of Rieux comes vnto him with many of the Nobilitie: they consult of the meanes to recover Paris before it be surprised with fouldiers.

So they gather together fifteene hundred horse with all speed. The Marshall of Rieux hath the charge to lead them: while the Dauphin preserves the fortune of France in safety. A dangerous enterprise, which had no successe, but the honour to haue attempted. A thing altogether impossible, the which was executed with much lesse losse then the danger was great. The B. de held Saint Anthouies gate sure, for the Dauphine. The Marshall of Rieux enters it with his troopes, and marcheth boldly to the Kings lodging, but hee finds it empty, the king being retired to the Louvre. The alarm is given throughout the whole city, they must thinke of their retreat, stones, tyles, arrowes, and all things else flie from the houses & windowes, the chaires are drawne, and the streets full of armed men: all cry kill the Armagnacs. The Marshall of Rieux leads his men happily in this retreat, and hearing Saint Anthouies gate hee draws them forth so closely, as he escapes this great and imminent danger with little losse.

This alarm had put the people into armes, who hauing chased their enemies out of the heart of their city, were quiet for that time, expecting some further command from the Bourguignon, and an end of this terrible tumult: whilst they take breath, others are drawne into the like murdrie by their example. All the townes of Picardie, fauouring the Bourguignon greatly, make bonfires. Compiegne, Creil, Saint Maxance, Mouchy le Preux, Pont a Chotay, Neion, Laen, Soissons, Chauny, Peronne and Gisors (expelling their garisons) declare themselves of his party. Some dayes are spent thus quietly, since the first taking of prisoners.

But behold a new tumult like vnto a violent wind, which chanced the twelfth of Iune. In the morning all the people arme by the command of their Leaders. This furious multitude goes forth of their houses (like a swarme of Bees creeping from their combs) armed with all sorts of weapons. In short time there are forty thousand men assembled in the streets and market places. *John of Luxembourg*, *Jamies of Harcourt*, the Vidame of Amiens, *Lisle Adam*, *Possence*, *Chaffellus*, *Coben*, *Lambour* the new prouost of Paris, (with many others most trusty seruants to the Bourguignon,) are on horse-back in troopes, to second this multitude on foote, ready to fight as in a day of battaile, when as about foure of the clocke (like as when the heauens darkned with thick clouds, and the ayre overcast, the thunder tumbling in the ayre, suddenly when the lightning appears, the crack breaks forth

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A torch and teares a Towers top) this furious multitude, flocking from all parts of the City with a silent stillnesse, burst forth into diuers parts. They open the prisons and kill such as they meet, without any pity.

They murder Taylors, their wives and children, men and maides, but especially the poore prisoners are their obiect. In this tumult all crie, all howle, all are amazed. The confused cries of the murderers and murdered rebound vp to heauen. The Constable of Armagnac, and *Henry of Marle* (being brought forth with shoutes and reproches) are beaten downe and laid by for the triumph. The Bishops of Constance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Xaintes, and the Abbot of Saint Cornille got the faway. The Earle of Grandpre, *Raimond de la Guerre*, *Helior of Chartres*, *Enguerand of Marcouilly*, *Charles Poupard*, the Officers of the Court of Parliament, Chambers of Accompt, Requeits and Treasure, to conclude, all that are of any account are massacred. The blood runs through the City, the streetes and walls overflow. The noted Armagnacs are thus murdered, but the fury of this mad multitude extends farther, even against such as had bene with them, and of their owne faction: for many affectionate Bourguignons were beaten downe, every man seeks his enemy to kill him vnder this pretext. The rascalls fell vpon the rich, and killing them as Armagnacs, they spoile their houses, as a lawfull prey of their conquest. The eye of this furious multitude spares neither sexe, age, nor quality. The Duke of Bourgongnes followers are lookers on of this spectacle, and watch that none escape.

The History makes mention of fixteene hundred cruelly murdered on this miserable day, noted to the dishonour of these detestable murderers, and to the griefe of France, to see her owne bowells thus defiled with her blood, and her memorie blemished with this crueltie. This furie continued from foure of the clocke on the twelfth day, vntill tenne the next day, nothing ceasing for the nights rest. These madde men (hauing refreshed themselves) seek out the rest to finish their most cruell worke.

The prisoners of the great Chastelet made resistance against their fury: they are besieged, forced and massacred, the greatest part are cast from the toppes of the Towre, and fall vpon their pikes, halberds and other weapons. The bodies of the Constable and Chancellor, lying naked vpon the stones, are caried to the marble table in the palace D. hall. To note the Constable by his accustomd carie, they flea a bend of his skine and yeie it about his body. This spectacle is drawne about the City three daies together, and then caried out in a dung-cart, to a place where they cast all their carion and filth, without any buriall.

The Bourguignon was at Digion during this tumult at Paris, who was presently advertised thereof. The History saies, that he seemed very glad of the taking of the City, but very sorry for the murder of the prisoners; but God, who kept a true register, shall one day put him in minde thereof. And in truth, he that shall duly consider all the circumstances of this confusion, cannot imagine, but it was done by his command. He gathers all the forces he can together, to guard the Queene to Paris, as it were in triumph. The Parisians meet him with great pompe, they offer him their most affectionate seruice, and present the Duke of Bourgongne and the Earle of Saint Pol his brother with purple velvet gownes, pondired with Saint Andrews croises, the which at their requests they presently put on, and so (drawing neere the Queenes coach) they enter the city of Paris, the people attending at their entry, and crying, *God save the King and the good duke of Bourgongne*, the Coach being couered with flowers which they cast vpon it. And this was the Queenes and the duke of Bourgongnes entry after the massacre.

But this Parisian ioy was soone returned into heauinesse, for within three moneths after this butchery, the plague entred the City, and slue about fourescore thousand persons in three moneths. The History obserues, that *Perinet* and his companions (after they had eaten what they had gathered together by spoyle) perished miserably, little enioying their thefts. Most of the Noblemen and Gentlemen which had assisted these murderers died of the plague, except *Lisle Adam*, who was referred to receiue his punishment from *Henry* of England, although vpon another occasion, as you shall see hereafter. And was not this God who reuenged this crueltie? But let vs returne to our discourse, for seeing the punishment was so sudden, we might not well remit the rehearsal to any other place. *Charles* looks but coldly vpon his wife, whom hee loved not, neither in health nor sicknesse. Hee welcomes the Duke of Bourgongne with a cheerefull countenance,

A horrible massacre of the Armagnacs at Paris.

The number of them that were murdered.

The Queene & the Bourguignon come to Paris.

A plague after the massacre.

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nance who had wonne his heart, by framing himselfe to his weaknesse with milde speeches, shewes of honour and apparant humility, impressions of common sense, wherof phrensie for the most part doth not deprive madde men.

The Kings Councell assembled presently, many things were propounded the first day, they beggan with Officers, the Constables place was confirmed to the Duke of Lorrain, and the Chancellorship to *Eustache de Laistre*. *Lisle Adam* and *Chastellans* are made Marshalls of France, for their well deserting at the massacre at Paris. Our Bourguignon creates *Charles* of Lens Admirall of France, being Captaine of Paris; and *Philip of Monuilliers* the Queenes Advocate, first president of the Court of Parliament.

The English
raise all Nor-
mandy.

During this confusion, *Henry* King of England makes other worke. Hee was in Normandy, taking townes and castles without any resistance. *Touques* (a castle held impregnable) was forced by him, during the passions of our mad-man, as the first fruits of his conquests, *Louviers*, *Pont Larche*, *Caen*, *Cherebourg*, *Falaiffe*, *Argenton*, *Alençon*, *Constance*, *Saint Lo*, and other places followed, to make the way open to *Rouen* without any great difficulty.

Rouen is besieged in a manner the very day of the massacre at Paris. *Henry* doth assault it with all the force and policy he can, as the Dongcon and chiefest strength of all Normandy. The citizens give a testimony of good and faithfull subiects by their valour and constancy. They demand succours from the King, with a protestation of the event. The Count makes shew to stirre & to provide for their defence, but what remedy can the dead give unto the sicke?

In the end, after all their resistance, seeking to maintaine themselves vnder the obedience of France, *Rouen* yeeldeth to *Henry* King of England vpon hard conditions. To pay him three hundred sixty five thousand crownes of gold, and three citizens at his choise to doe his pleasure with. And so he suffered them to enjoy their priuiledges. Of the three which he had chosen to punish, he pardoned two, and caused *Alain Blanchet*, Captaine of the commons to be beheaded, worthy to be eternized in our History, dying for the seruice of his King and country, in a time so famous for so desperate a confusion. The sequell was great, for not onely all the townes of Normandy yeeld vnto him, but also the Isle of France was so amazed, as all obey him euen to the gates of Paris, where the fury of our miserable dissensions prepared a Throne for the sworn enemy of our Realme.

I am weary to report our shamefull losses, as reuiuing our old sores. *Henry* might haue grauen in his triumph, *I came, I saw, and overcame*: onely *Mont Saint Michel* in Normandy was maintained vnder the obedience of our Crowne, through the valour of some Gentlemen Normans, whose names the history owes to posterity. *John* of *Montfort* Duke of Britanie (seeing this happy successe) makes composition with the English, shrowding himselfe vnder his protection, but he shall soone leaue him, when a more happy season shall make him turne to the Dauphin. In this shipwracke the Queene and the Bourguignon had meanes to glut their ambition and fury at Paris, beholding the ruine of France, hoping that in all extremities they should make their peace with the King of England at their Countreys cost, hauing a Daughter for a pawne and confirmation of this accord.

The Bour-
guignon treats
with the En-
glish but in vain

They send Ambassadors to *Henry* King of England being a conqueror, and for a baite they carry the portrait of *Katherine* of France, the Kings daughter, a Princess of excellent beauty, who must likewise bee the leuain of our miserie. But *Henry* finding this figure to be faire, desires to see the essentiall substance, so as the Queene and the Bourguignon (gouerning the spirit of this poore sicke King) conducts him in person with his daughter, to their enemy nere to *Meulan*, to aduise of a meanes for a generall Peace; but they departed without any conclusion, by reason of the great demands which *Henry* made, putt vp with this victorious successe, seeking to sell his friendship at too high a rate. Yet the Image of *Katherine* had made an impression in his heart, being much discontented that they had refused her with these conditions.

He growes dis-
contented, and
desires to recon-
cile him-
selfe

The Bourguignon likewise found lesse kindnesse then he expected, and returned malecontent, for that *Henry* (putt vp with these fortunate incounters, and caried away with hope of future victory) spake more proudly then the Bourguignons humour could well digest, which was the cause of his distemperature: for *Henry* said in his choler, *That*

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A he would haue both daughter and Realme, whosoever said nay, and that there was no sufficient security for what they promised, seeing the Dauphin did not consent therunto. A pill which the Bourguignon could not easily swallow. So he chawed vpon this speech of the English, which drew him to his ruine, for euen then he began to study by what meanes hee might reconcile himselfe vnto the Dauphin, hoping to finde a better composition with a young Prince his kinsman, and weary of the wartes, then with the English growne insolent by his victories. *Charles* was not quiet in mind, fearing lest in these treaties they should conclude something to his prejudice. So as they both inclined to an accord, but vpon diuers causes, to oppose against their common enemy with a common force. But before B we shew the effect of this common desire, wee must see both the estate of our Dauphin (since he retired himselfe from Paris) and of the Bourguignon, since he became Tribune of the people.

Although this terrible storme might haue shaken the young yeeres of the Dauphin *Charles*, vnacquainted with the affaires of the world, and his disposition (inclining to pleasure) seemed vnfit to endure much paine and toyle: yet the effects at need shewed his constant resolution against all difficulties. They attribute this constancy and resolution to the faithfull counsell of his seruants, yet was it much for him to follow it. *Tannequoy* of *Chastell*, *John Louvet* President of Provence, the Viscount of Narbone, and *Robert Massier* were those which serued him most for Councell in the beginning, but God soone after did raise him vp strong hands to manage armes courageously and valiantly, *la Hire*, *Polshon* of *Saint Treille* (whom commonly they call *Zinnailles*), the bastard of Orleans, with other braue and fortunate Captaines, which shall bee famous in the course of our Historie.

But the Realme was strangely diuided into these factions. The Kings authority and the capitall City were for the Queene and the Bourguignon. Picardy, Bourguigne, and many townes in Bry, Champagne and Beausse obey them absolutely after these massacres. Only Sens in Bourguigne held out, the which they could not pull from the Dauphin. The Prince of Orange (of the Bourguignon faction) makes war for him in Dauphin and Languedoc, to crosse the affaires of our *Charles*, who notwithstanding had the greatest part D of the Country at his deuotion, with the friendship of Auignon, and of the Earldome of Venaisioin or Venise. The English possessed all Normandy, and a great part of Guienne; but *Rochel*, *Poitiers*, *Saint John D'Angely*, *Angoulême*, *Fontenay*, and some other townes acknowledged the Dauphin. All Aniou was his, Auvergne, Berry, Bourbonois, Forest and Lionois obeyed him, so as they are deceiued which thinke that hee onely held the City of Bourges in those dayes, vnder colour that his enemies called him King of Bourges, because he made his chiefe residence there, when as his mother called her selfe Regent. He likewise tooke vpon him the name of Regent: A name which fortified his title with great authority, and did countenance his affaires in those difficulties and confusions.

E The Queene and the Bourguignon laboured by all meanes to winne him, they sent him his wife honorably attended, with all her iewels, promising him his place with respect and obedience; but their meaning was to bee rid of him, not able to know how to conforme him to their humours. In keeping himselfe far from them, hee preferred his head for the Crowne; the which attended him; he prevented the ambitious designs of his enemy, and made himselfe to be more respected throughout the Realme.

At these horrible massacres, his Captaines ronzed vp their spirits. *Boquianx* seized on Champagne, *Pierre Fons*, and *Soissons* for him, who (molesting Picardy, and the Isle of France with their daily roades) held Paris in iacalouse. He himselfe had part of the honour in the execution of these conquests, not leaving all to his seruants, for he leapt out of F Aniou into Touraine, besieged and tooke the City of Tours. The Duke of Britany seeing the happy successe of the Dauphins affaires, leaues the English, and ioynes with the Dauphin, as the strongest part.

Behold the estate of our Dauphin, who growes constant and resolute amidst these tempests, and what was the estate of our Bourguignon? In the beginning his partisans were all fire and flame, for the zeale of his seruice; but finding not what they expected at his hands, or any successe in his affaires, but rather the discommodities of Paris and other places vnder his obedience to encrease; this heat abated daily, finding by experience, that

The Queene
and the Bour-
guignon seeke
vnto the Dau-
phin.

The Duke of
Britany leaues
the English,
and ioynes with
the Dauphin.

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the cause of these warres was light, being but humours and private quarrels, very prejudiciall to the State, the which the English did sappe, vndermine, and ruine, seizing daily vpon whole Prouinces, without any difficulty.

The people grow in dislike with the Bourguignon.

Thus *Henries* victories were plaine demonstrations to the most passionate, to discourage the Bourguignons dissembling: for, who sees not but his end was to gouerne, to the ruine of France? In the end euery one coming to his right wits, findes that of a Frenchmen he is become an Englishman. The folly or fury of a faction could not mortifie the feeling of lawfull obedience, vnder which they were borne. To what end (sayes the common sort of these cleere-sighted) shall we vndoe our selues, for the passions of the Duke of Bourgongne, opposing himselfe against the lawfull heyre of the Crowne? Thus the Bourguignon sees the affections of his partakers to grow daily cold. A worme which tormented him hourly, hauing grounded his chiefe hopes vpon their constancies, who promised to stand firmly to him at all euents.

Doubtlesse, whatsoever the Gyants of States haue imagined, setting one hill vpon another, the Pyrennees vpon the Alpes, with all the Appenin, to scale the throne of the French Monarchy, promising vnto themselves euents according to the moulds of their imaginations, yet cannot the French yeeld to any strangers command, no more then to change nature and become a stranger.

But to encrease the Bourguignons hearts griefe, his chiefe instrument not onely failes him, but is ready to turne violently against him. For what hath he not attempted to win the loue of this multitude at Paris, and of the greatest Cities of the Realme, making them helpe, that he burnt with zeale of their good, and the publike weale, the onely end of all his designs; feeding them with these goodly and popular promises of exemption of charges and impositions? But they beginne all to mutine, seeing he spake one thing, and did thinke another, and oppressed them more then those whom he had condemned as the causes of publike oppressions: for what yeer he imagined, yet had hee need of money. For how could he else make warre? how could he entertaine his great traine? his partisans, and his reputation among strangers? and where should he rayse it, but vpon such as obeyed him? to seeke it at such as could resist, were to mistake, and to make his reckoning alone in vaine. Moreover, this people (whom hee had so much countenanced, making themselves masters by his power, to become by their means master of his enemies) would be generally obeyed, and why not of the Bourguignon? seeing hee had opposed himselfe, and prescribed a Law to a sonne of France? If the Bourguignon doth worse then he hath done, shall not the people reduce him vnto reason? Hee hath promised exemptions of subsidies, and they are more grievous then before. Wee haue preuailed (say they) against a Constable, against a Chancellor of France, yea ouer the King and Queene, making them to yeld her brother, and most trusty seruants, and shall we not suppress some few gallants, seruants to the Duke of Bourgongne? This was the Parisians ordinarie discourse: and their Tribunes (who were not so well entertained as before) beginne to mutine. They resolue to seize vpon some of the Bourguignons Favorites, & to punish them, who had perswaded him to renew the impositions, contrary to his promise.

The Parisians mutine against the Bourguignon faction.

These men (the concealing of whose names, notes the baseness of their qualities) hauing intelligence of this search, fled into the Bastile, and the people follow after as if they would overthrow it. A great multitude begins to vndertake it, and had preuailed, if the Bourguignon had not instantly come much discontented, who seeing himselfe enuironed with so great a troope of armed men, fearing the losse of his head, he was forced to deliuer his seruants to the people, who put them all to death, to teach the Bourguignon that they had no lesse authority and power ouer him, then ouer the King, and the Dauphin his sonne. This occasion thrusts the people into greater fury, who (being thus armed) choose a Head, called *Cappeluche Bourrel*, to finish their executions vpon some such as might recuite these impositions and publike charges. They march through the City, and enter into many houses to rob and spoile vnder colour of apprehending of such as had assisted at these innovations. The rich men feared for their owne particulars, but the Bourguignon more then all, knowing himselfe to be the author of this disorder, hauing thrust the people into armes: for what successe should this disordered libertie haue, but to fall vpon the authors thereof? Hauing therefore wonne some of the chiefe

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A Commanders, they choose out a troope of the most willfull munitious, to bee freed of them, vnder colour of sending them to the warre against the Dauphinois, which had surprised the cattle of Montleher, and began to run euery to the gates of Paris. Yet they retained *Cappeluche Bourrel*, vnder colour of some speciall seruice. But the Bourguignon being growne the stronger, with the chiefe of the City, he causeth *Bourrel* to bee taken and hanged, with some number of his associates. This multitude being at Montleher, discontented with the Bourguignon, leaues the siege, and returns to be reuenged: but the gates were shut, and the wals well guarded, so as all passed without any more adoe. But the Bourguignon was much perplexed, being troubled in mind to haue put a sword into a madmans hand: being afraid of an vnure guard, and a foretelling that his Empire should not continue long.

So, the repulse he receiued from the English, the coldnesse of the Nobility of his party, and the peoples change, were the moitiues which made him wish for the Dauphins friendship, who now preuented him, although he had often refused it. That which moued *Charles* thereunto, was necessity, and the hope of a greater designe, finding no better means to stop the current of the English victorie, and the Bourguignons treacherie, then to ioine with him, attending some better occasion. The successe fauoured this counsell of his followers. He sends *Tannequy* of Chastel to the Duke of Bourgongne, to make the first proposition, and after him the Lady of Giac (in whom the Bourguignon had great confidence) to appoint a day and place for a parlee, and to seeke the meanes of a good peace. They meet at Pouilly the strong, neere vnto Melun, in the open field with their guards. The Bourguignon talked to the Dauphin, on his knee, & held his stirrop, although *Charles* refused this submission. Proofoes to shew with what necessity he sought his friendship, as a man that is beaten with all winds and out of breath. So they conclude an inuolable peace, and to bandy themselves against the common enemy of France, promises are made on either side, with all demonstrations and protestations of a firme and inuolable friendship. The Articles of their accord and contract are set downe at large in the original of our History. This peace betwixt *Charles* the Dauphin, and *John* Duke of Bourgongne, was made neere to Pouilly the strong, vpon Ponthiel, a league from Melun, in the year 1419. All France reioyced, as after a long and sharpe winter, when the Sunne appeareth in a pleasant Spring. The King and all the Parliaments ratified this accord, which euery man held for the gage of firme friendship betwixt these Princes, and their loue for a firme pillar of the Realmes quiet. But the prouidence of the protector of this French Monarchy had otherwise decreed. These reconciliations could not serue for sufficient cautions against his iustice, worthily incensed against the Bourguignon, being guilty of horrible crimes, and the willfull abuse of his patience. The course which *Charles* held to be rid of his enemy, is not commendable: but in one and the selfe-same worke, we must wisely distinguish of that which is of God, and that which is of man, to approue the good which is alwayes iustified in Gods ordinances, and to blame the ill, alwayes to be blamed in man: that we may stop our mouthes, and open our eyes, and not reply against the iudgements of God, but view the strange and extraordinary punishment of the Bourguignons strange and extraordinary crimes, who during the weakness of our poore King, hath so much troubled the Realme.

We haue said (and the course of the History will shew it very plainly) that the Dauphin *Charles* suffered himselfe to be gouerned by his seruants. By their aduice hee had made this accord with the Bourguignon, wherein they had either of them severall respects: although eithers intent was to make his profit with the others losses, in circumventing of his companion. But he that made his account to deceiue (hauing not yet changed his mind, although the present necessity made him to change his countenance) was deceived: and which is more, he which built his greatest designs vpon murder, is murdered, being the onely expedient the Dauphins seruants could deuise to free him from their troubles, in dispatching the Bourguignon once for all.

The resolution was very great, but to perswade this Prince thereunto, was of greater difficulty. A young man, iust, wise, moderate and of a very milde disposition, so as they had much adoe to perswade him to so bold and violent a remedy. Why my Lord (say they) can you beleue that the Duke of Bourgongne is any thing amended? although hee stoop now to necessity, can he bend his heart to reason? haue you forgotten what hee did to

Reasons to induce the Dauphin to kill the Bourguignon.

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your deceased vncle the Duke of Orleans, when as he held the same degree that you doe now? did he not kill him, and maintained it as well done? braued the King in Paris, armed himselfe against him, and forced him to iustifie this execrable murder? Hee masked himselfe with a shew of good meaning, to make his accord with your poore Cousins of Orleans, but was it not with an intent to ruine them with the more facility, seeking to diuide them from your deceased vncle the Duke of Berry, incensing the King and your eldest brother against them, making Edicts against them, as guilty of high treason, and pursuing them with cruell force; when as your brother (discouering his wickednesse) had forsaken him, and that he (yeelding to necessity as he doth now) concluded a peace: did he not arme himselfe by a new deuice, to ruine your blood, opposing both Paris and the States of the Realme, vnder the name of the Common- weale, to put to death the best seruants of the King your father, incensing the people against them, being the furious executioners of this execrable rage? And when as he found these popular furies not to succeed well, hath he not fled to force? yea seeing his great enemy your cousin of Orleans prisoner, and your vncle of Berry dead, hath he mortified his cruell designs in these common calamities? He hath rather stirred vp the Emperour to trouble the State, laboured to draw your deceased brother *Iohn* to his humour, to kindle new fires, and to consume you in them. You (my Lord) are he who onely troubles him, who onely may frustrate his designs, and therefore he strues to take away your head, and set your Crowne vpon his: what hath he not attempted against you? His last actions are worse then the first: there he sought to abuse your brother with your cousins, here hee opposeth your mother against you. There he did openly fight against the law of State, here he doth openly oppugne the law of nature. There (by his policy) he did nourish ialousie betwixt kinsmen, here by his audacious violence he teares in funder the womb wherein you did lie, to ruine the State. For to what end doth he giue the regency to your mother, (the King your father liuing) and you being borne Regent during his life, and King after his death? To what end should he flye to a furious multitude, to decide your controuersies? He hath armed forty thousand men in the capitall City of your Realme, and accompanied them with his men-at-arms. To what end serued all that, but to make a tragicall conclusion of his violent passions? why did he cause that massacre to be made when you were in the City, and sought for you so carefully, but to vse you as they did your Constable and Chancellor, and as many of your good seruants as fell into their hands? And after all these exploits, the Bourguignon must call the English King into France, to giue him your sister in marriage: rather to take your Crowne from you by peece-meales: for seeing hee cannot haue it all, hee seeks to diuide it. This is the apple for the which he sows so much dissention. The law reiects him, and he appeales to faith, to shadow himselfe with her cloake, and to deceiue you with more open shew. He therefore kisseth your hand, he kneeles, he holds your stirrop, to hide his treachery with a shew of humility. Will you beleeeue (my Lord) that he is in bad teames with the King of England? They ayne both at one common object. They haue sworne both to take away your life, but the Bourguignon may effect that which the English cannot. And that which they cannot worke by open force, they pretend to effect by policy, couering it with this goodly shew of peace. What effects hath he giuen you of this reconciliation? what towne hath he rendered? nay, what men hath he dismissed? Continuing still in armes he discouers his intent: he meanes to ruine you with his Forces, being lodged in your bowels. His designs being well knowne vnto you (my Lord) will you suffer him to preuent you? We ought to watch for you and seeke the meanes to crosse him. It is lawfull to repell craft by policy. Faith is a holy thing, but who can with reason gaine-say, if a thiefe denies his name to circumuent vs, but that it is lawfull to surpriue him with his owne armes? To draw an enemy into a mischief which hee had prepared for a good man, is no trechery, but wisdom; especially when there is question to preserve the State. Are you (my Lord) a private person? All this great bodie (whereof God hath made you the head) stretcheth forth the armes, and craues your aide against this thiefe, which hath sworne the ruine thereof. He attends but the houre to dispatch you, and to seize thereon. The safest counsell is to preuent him: your enemies head shall preserve yours, and all your good and faithfull subiects. My Lord, we protest there is no priuate interest of ours, all is yours, and the publike-weales. The faith we haue vowed vnto you, commands vs to deliuer our free aduice. We haue liued, doe liue, and will

A line, your faithfull seruants, euen vnto the death. The heart makes the mouth to speake, but our hands shall execute your commandements.

The Dauphin (encouraged by these persuasions of his seruants) resolues. Wee haue said, that he parted from Tours, to parlee with the Bourguignon; but after that accord, he made a voyage into Berry to assure those places, and to leaue men, in shew to ioyne with him, and to oppose against the English with their common forces, but in effect it was for the murder of his greatest enemy. He had then twenty thousand fighting men with him. With this troope he comes into Soulogne, approaching neere vnto those places where his men might best be employed. Montreuil-saur-Yonne (a towne in Bry, where the Riuier of Yonne loseth her name, ioyning with Seine) held for him. From thence he sends *Tannequy* of Chastel (a very sufficient man of his household, and his trusty seruant) to Troies in Champagne, to the duke of Bourgongne, desiring him to come vnto him to Montreuil, to resolute vpon the effecting of their accord, and to employ their common forces against their common enemy, hauing brought them to that end, protesting that he should be much grieved to see them burthen some vnto the people without vse. Moreover, hee had some very priuate affaires to impart vnto him, as vnto his best and dearest friend.

Tannequy had no other answer from the Bourguignon, but that it were better for the Dauphin to come to Troies to the King and Queene, his father and mother, to conclude things in their presence, and by their authority, the which should be very necessary, to reduce the affaires to some good course. Some dayes are spent in refusing and re-intreating. The Bourguignons conscience caused him to feare, & the proceeding was suspicious; but that the apparent dislike betwixt the mother and the sonne, needed the mediation of such a friend as the Bourguignon. This was a goodly pretext, to draw the Duke of Bourgongne to be a mediator of peace betwixt the Queene and the Dauphin; and the charge of their armies (being idle) was not small, the which urged this enteruiew. The Lady of Giac (of whom we haue spoken) was employed againe to sollicite this treaty. So as the Bourguignon comes to Bray vpon Seine, whither the Dauphin sent the Bishop of Valence vnto him, he was brother to *Charles* of Poitiers, Bishop of Langres, in whom he had great confidence. This Bishop had in the end power to perswade him to goe to Montreuil, where the Dauphin attended him. The Bourguignon goes accompanied with five hundred horse, two hundred Archers, and many Noblemen, among the which was *Charles* the eldest sonne of the Duke of Bourbon, whom the Duke of Bourgongne had corrupted to weaken the Dauphins party, being a Prince of the blood. The Dauphin had prepared the Castle for the Bourguignon, but he vnfurnished it of all munition for warre and victuall, and caused the bridge to be fortified with three turnepikes, to stop their free entrance into the towne, whither the Bourguignon must come by duty vnto the Dauphin. This succeeded according to his designe, but it caried the shew of an enemy. The Bourguignon sends three gentlemen of his household to the Dauphin, *Theoullangeon*, *Ernoy*, and *Soubreier* to aduertise him of his coming. They giue him notice of the two Barricades made vpon the bridge, and wish him not to aduenture. Hauing referred it to his Council, all being on horsebacke, he resolues in the end to passe on: hee lights at the Castle where his lodging was assigned, and sets his guards at the entry of the gate towards the towne. Here vpon *Tannequy* of Chastel comes vnto him, who after due reuerence flured him from the Dauphin, saying, that he attended him at the bridge foot, at the towne gate.

Then *Iohn* of Bourgongne, hauing chosen out ten of his most trusty followers, (*Charles* of Bourbon, the Lords of Nouaille, Fribourg, S. George, Montagu, Vergy, Ancre, Pontauillier, Lens, Giac, and his Secretary *Seguinat*) he approacheth to the first barre, where he encounters with some from our *Charles*, who entreat him to enter vpon his masters word, and assure him by oath. Before he enters, (as if his heart had foretold his harme) he stayes suddenly, and asks aduice of his company, who encouraging him to passe on, he enters the second barre, the which was presently lockt, and then hee caused some to goe before him, and some behind, he remaining in the midst. *Tannequy* of Chastel comes to receive him, and the Duke laying his hand vpon his shoulder very familiarly: This is he (sayes the Duke) in whom I trust. I will conclude this bloody Catastrophe with the very words of the Originall. And so hee approached neere vnto the Dauphin, who stood

1419
The Dauphin
resolues to kill
the Bourguignon.

The Bourguignon comes to the Dauphin.

1419

The Daulphin causeth Iohn of Bourgongne to be slaine.

all armed with his sword by his side, leaning on a barre. Before whom hee kneeled with one knee on the ground, to doe him honour and reuerence, saluting him most humbly. Whereat the Daulphin answered nothing, making him no shew of loue, but charged him with the breach of his promise, for that he had not caused the warre to cease, nor drawne his men out of garison, as he had promised. Then *Robert de Loire* tooke him by the right arme and said, Rise, you are but too honourable. The Duke hauing one knee on the ground and his sword about him, which hung not to his mind, somewhat too farre backe, kneeling downe he laid his hand on his sword to pull it forward for his ease. *Robert* said vnto him, Doe you lay your hand vpon your sword before my Lord the Daulphin? At which words *Tannequy* of Chaffell drew nere vnto him on the other side, who making a signe, sayd, It is time; striking the Duke with a little axe so violently on the face, as he cut off his chin, and so he fell on his knees. The Duke feeling himselfe thus wounded, laid his hand on his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himselfe: but he was presently charged on his sword to draw it, thinking to rise and defend himselfe: but he was presently charged by *Tannequy* and others, and beaten dead to the ground. And suddenly one named *Oliuer Layet*, with the helpe of *Peter Fortier*, thrusts a sword into his belly vnder his coat of maile. Whilest this was doing, the Lord of Nouailles drew his sword halfe out, thinking to defend the Duke: but the Vicount of Narbonne held a dagger, thinking to strike him. Nouailles leaping forcibly to the Vicount, wrested the dagger from him, being so fore hurt in the hinder part of the head, as he fell downe dead. Whilest this was acting, the Daulphin (leaning on the other side of the barre) beholding this strange sight, retired backe as one amazed, and was presently conducted to his lodging by *Iohn Lounet* and others his Councellors. All the rest were taken except *Montagu*, who leaped ouer the Turnepike, and gaue the alarme. There were none slaine vpon the place, but *Iohn Duke* of Bourgongne and Nouailles: *S. George* and *d'Anere* were hurt. The Dukes men charged home vnto the Turnepike, but they were easily repulsed. His troops retiring to Brayac pursued by the Daulphinois, with losse, and in the end the Castle is abandoned by him that had it in guard. The Dukes bodie (stript of all but his doublet and boots) is drawne into a Mill, and the next day buried. This happened the tenth of September, in the year 1419. Behold the end of *Iohn Duke* of Bourgongne. Seeing then this murder troubled the Daulphin, who had caused it to be committed, what stony heart would not be amazed therat? Truly the breach of faith is vnexcusable, howsoeuer it be disguised: for as faith is the ground of humane society, so doth it extend euen vnto enemies, with whom it must be inuolubly kept.

This blow shall be deare to *Charles*. Through this hole the enemy shall enter so far into the Realme, as he shall put him in danger, and in the end he shall be forced to confesse his fault not able to excuse himselfe without accusing of his Councellors. But from vnjust man, let vs ascend to the wisdom of that great Iudge of the world, who is alwayes iust. The Oracle cries, *He that strikes with the sword, shall perish with the sword*: and, *The disloyall to the disloyall. They loved misery, and misery found them out*. And wise Antiquity layes, *God punisheth great wickednesse with great paine, euen in this life*. And, *Hardly can tyrants descend into the grave with a dry death, that is, without blood or murder*. Oh iustice of God, alwayes iust, alwayes wise, and alwayes good! Thy iudgements are righteous O Lord: condemn the error of men, yet I held my peace because thou didst it. Draw the curtaine. *Iohn* of Bourgongne hath playd his part vpon this Theater. Hee had slaine the Duke of Orleans traiterously, and now he wallowes in his owne gore, being treacherously slaine by the Daulphin *Charles*. Now let vs see the care his sonne *Philip* Earle of Charolois had to be reuenged of *Charles* for this cruell murder: but all is not yet ended.

The

The Catastrophe of this miserable reigne.

Philip sonne to Iohn Duke of Bourgongne stirres up great troubles against Charles the Daulphin, in reuenge of his fathers death. By whose meanes Isabel, an vnkind mother, makes warre against Charles her sonne, and peace with Henry the first, King of England, then a capital enemy to the State. She giues him her daughter Katherine in marriage, and procures King Charles the first, her husband, to declare Henry his lawfull beyre, and to disinherite his onely sonne Charles the seventh from the Realme of France.

B During these occurrences Henry the first, and Charles the first dye, leaving the Crowne of France in question betwixt Charles the seventh, and Henry the sixth, proclaimed King of France at the Funerals of Charles the first.

From the yeare 1419, to the yeare 1422.

AFTER this tragickall and strange murder of *Iohn* of Bourgongne, *Philip* his sonne, Duke of Bourgongne, by his decaise, seekes to be reuenged vpon *Charles* the Daulphin, and *Charles* to defend himselfe. *Philip* was then in Flanders. The Parisians (passionate partisans of the Bourguignon) who had seene the Duke of Orleans murdered without mourning, and they themselves had massacred the chiefe officers of the Crowne, and had shed the blood of many good men for his pleasure and passion, hauing repayed the blood treacherously slaine by him in the same coyne, they now grow into a greater mutiny then if the King himselfe had bene slaine. They send their Deputies to *Philip*, and promise not onely to be faithfull, but to assist him with all their meanes, to reuenge the murder committed on the person of his father. And at the same instant, *Montagu* being escaped from the Turnpike, writes to all the Cities vnder the Bourguignons obedience, of this accident, the which he could report as an eye-witnesse. *Charles* on the other side writes to all the good Cities of the Realme, yelding a reason of this murder, and imputing the fault to the Bourguignons bad dealing, who would haue slaine him at a parlee, exhorting the people not to mourne for the iust execution of a man borne for the ruine of France, who had willingly thrust himselfe into this mischief: offering all his meanes to settle the Realme in peace, according to the authority whereunto God had called him. But in talking, he seekes to assure himselfe of some Countries, *Stephen* of Vignoles, called *la Hire*, and *Poton* of Xaintrailles, winne Crespigny in Laonois, and *Caradoz* of Quefne with *Charles* of Flauay take Roze, places very important to trouble the Cities of Picardy, where the Bourguignon was chiefly obeyed. The strong Castle of Muin opposite to Crespigny, and Roze is surprized by the industry of his seruants, and keeps all Vermandois and Laonois in alarme. This beginning caused *Philip* to seeke all speedy meanes to crosse *Charles* his proceedings, being resolute to continue what he had begunne: yet the Parisians were in some feare, pressing *Philip* againe not to abandon the seruants of his house, the which made him more prompt in the execution. *Philip* being assured of his Flemings, obtains a suspension of armes from *Henry* the first, King of England, and a day and place appointed to treat a generall peace betwixt the two Realmes. Then marching with his army through Picardy, hee recouers Crespigny, Roze and Muin, to the great content of his partisans: and so he arrives at Troies in Champagne, the appointed place for this Treatie.

Isabel Queene of France (a cruell *Medea*, and an vnnatural mother) continued her tragick choller against her sonne, who hauing defaced the common feeling of nature, did soone forget the honour she had receiued to be married into the House of France. Being thus wedded to the Bourguignons passions, shee tormented her poore husbands spirits, being exceeding weake, perswading him that his best course was to disinherite this wicked sonne, to declare his daughter heyre, and (in marrying her to the greatest King vpon the earth) to giue her likewise the Realme after his decaise, and to her issue, as descended from the blood of France. *Philip* comming to the King, found new worke: for presently *Henry* the first, King of England, concludes a peace with King *Charles* the first, weds *Katherine* his daughter, and doth obtaine by Letters Patents, that establishing a firme and free peace in both the Realmes of France and England, in regard of the marriage of *Katherine* of France.

A 23

The exploits of the Daulphin and of Philip of Bourgongne after this murder.

Queene Isabel hates the Daulphin her sonne deadly.

1420

The lawfull
heire reiectod,
and Henry the
declared heire
of France.

France, he is declared Regent of the Realme during the life of King Charles, to whom the title of King remains, and to Isabel his wife the title of Queene during their liues. But presently after the Kings decease, the Crowne and Realme of France with all their rights and dignities should remaine vnto him, whom King Charles the sixt calls by his Letters Patents, his misdece and welbeloveng sonne, and to his heyres in chiefe. They cause this poore sicke King to sweare vpon the holy Bible, and to promise this for him and his, with all exemptions and necessary clausies in so great and important a businesse. This goodly act (the fruit of the furious passions of ciuill war) was made at Troies the 21 of May, in the yeare 1420.

This done, the French and English forces ioyning, and marching vnder the same colours, acknowledge one Commander, and for their first exploit they winne Montfaucon-Yonne, where they take vp and bury *John* of Bourgongne againe, and so marching on as against Rebels, they take Melun, Meaux and Moret, and besiege Champagne. But lest matters should grow cold, Henry of England (whom they call Regent) returns to Troies, and with a goodly traine, conducts the King, Queene, and his new wife *Katharine*, to Paris, being better followed and serued then the King himselfe. The Parisians folly did wonderfully embrace the coming of this new Royalty, promising vnto themselves a new heauen: but this humour lasted not long, hauing tried the power of foraigne Princes, and the command of their Kings by very contrary effects.

bourguignons proceeding in his new Royalty of France. The Bourgignons craues iustice against the Dauphin.

The Regent held a Councell presently in great state, in the Palace of Saint Pol, being the Kings lodging. Two thrones were erected for the two Kings, and a seat vnderneath for *Philip* of Bourgongne. The Kings Councell (being few in number) is supplied by the Court of Parliament, and the Vniuersity. *Philip* demands iustice of the murder committed on the person of *John* of Bourgongne his father. His Aduocate *Rollin* made this instance. The Kings Aduocate and the Vniuersity assisted him in the pursuit. King Charles promiseth iustice against his sonne the Dauphin, and to doe all good offices for King Henry his new sonne. This was the first act of the new Regency, against the onely sonne of his House. And moreover they decreed, that hereafter all the treasure should be governed by the Regents authority and command. Henry resolves presently to call a Parliament for the necessity of his returne into England, whether he meant to conduct his new Spouse. A Parliament was held according to this decree, but all were amazed at this sudden alteration, euen the very report of my History hath some feeling thereof: for what canst thou see herein (gentle Reader) but frozen ice, in the remembrance of these confusions, renewed by the feeling of our owne? Thus the Regent caused *Charles* Duke of Touraine, and Dauphin of Viennois, to be called to the Marble table. All solemnities obliterated, and he not appearing, by a decree of the Councell, and of the Court of Parliament, he was banished the Realme, and iudged vnworthy to succeed in any of the Seigneries, as well present as to come. The Dauphin appeales from this sentence, *To God and his sword*, who in the end doing him iustice, shall blesse his sword, and make it victorious over his enemies.

The Dauphin banished.

The Parisians (discontented with the violent courses of the new Regent) beganne to abate their ioy within few dayes after, before Henrys returne into England. *Philip* of Bourgongne Earle of Saint Pol, Cousin germane to the Duke of Bourgongne, was gouernor of Paris by the appointment of King Charles. Henry displaceth him, and appoints *Thomas* Duke of Clarence his brother. He sets English guards in all the strong places of the City, and displaceth the French and Bourgignons, and yet durst they not mutter. The Lord of *Lisle-Adam* made Marshall of France (for that he had assisted at the taking and massacre at Paris) was as much out of fauour with this new King, as hee was pleasing to the Parisians. The Regent sends men to apprehend him, whom (as they led to the Bastile) the people made an offer to rescue, but they were sharply repell'd by the English, and well beaten: a iust reward, hauing wished for a strange King: but they shall soone haue other employments, to teach them to know new bread from old, which they had so much disdain'd. Thus Henry the sixt made the Parisians to know in time that he had authority to force obedience, in punishing fooles and rebels growne contentious in confusion.

On the other side, the Dauphin faints not at the first brute of this new royalty, but growing resolute against all formes, he loseth no opportunity to aduance his affaires. We haue shewed how that Aniou obeyed him. The new Regent commands the Duke

1420

A of Clarence his brother to make war in those parts. So hee enters the Country with his army, as it were to take possession of his owne. He presents himselfe before Angiers the chiefe City of that Prouince, presuming that all would presently obey him: but the issue did not answer his hopes, for he found all the French resolute to defend themselves against a stranger, and to obey their naturall King; hereupon the French ioyne together, they arme and goe to field. The English being out of hope to take Angiers, turne head against the French army lodged at Little Bauge, which attended resolutely the force of a mighty and victorious enemy. On the other side, the imaginary hope of victory thrust on the Duke of Clarence against our men, whom he held to be halfe dead, but he findes them reuiu'd, ready to sell their liues at a deare rate. The battell was very bloody, the one fighting for Empire and honor, and the other for their liues and alars. The euent was vnfortunate for the English. The Duke of Clarence was slaine, and the English army lost 1500 men vpon the place, for the first fruits of their new Regency, and a gage of their pretended Royalty. This famous encounter hapned in the yeare 1420, the 9 of April. As in the fir of a dangerous discale, the first motions of nature are very important, so is it in State. A light beginning after a great danger, drawes a great consequence either to good or euill. This first action had a great traine. Charles his party began to rise, as if the good hap of the lawfull heire reuiuing, had taken a new forme in feeling his authority. *John* of Montfort Duke of Britanie fauoured this first successe of Aniou. After that the English had seized vpon Normandy, he put himselfe vnder his protection: but now he turnes taile, and allies himselfe with our Charles against him, in a defensive and offensive league. What remains of the History of Britanie, I will reserve for another place: let vs now returne to our discourse. At the same instant *James* of Harcourt leaues the Bourgignons partie. He makes warre in the Country of Vimeu and takes diuers places; Pont Remy, Saint Riquier, la Ferte, Mareuill, Diancourt, Araines, and other small places. The Bourgignon goes to field, the smallest townes yeeld vnto him. He besiegeth Saint Riquier being well defended by the Lord of Offemont, but newes comes that the Dauphins Army approacheth. The Bourgignon resolves to meet them: he sends forth part of his forces; they are dispersed vpon a false alarm, that the Duke of Bourgongne was dead. As they were in this disorder, behold, he shewes himselfe to his souldiers full of resolution, and so fitly, as hauing rallyed his men and encouraged them, hee not onely repels his enemy, but defeats them, takes Riquier, and frees Picardy from feare. Such is the variety of our encounters: the conqueror is here conquered.

The English defeated, & the Duke of Clarence slaine.

The Bourgignon being in field, our new Regent comes from his Realme of England with new forces: hauing resolved to employ all their meanes ioyntly to ruine the Dauphin, before he should fortifie himselfe with any new successe: they disperse their forces into diuers parts of the Realme, hauing more men and money then the Dauphin. The Prince of Orange held the Dauphin in awe. The Lord of Roch-baron made warre in Forest and Auvergne, and the body of the Army with the Regent and Duke marched against the Dauphin, who was retired to Bourges a strong City, and of a situation, lying in the midst of such Prouinces as obeyed him. This army marching with a victorious shew, besiegeth Dreux, and takes it by composition. Chartres yeelds willingly: from thence he marcheth with an intent to draw the Dauphin to fight, but the Regent (seeing him retire to a place of hard access) resolves to free all the Townes about Paris, but especially Senlis and Soissons, townes of importance. He hoped to vanquish him by degrees, and in the end to giue him the mate.

The greatest plots of Henry.

But all enterprises succeed not: Man purposeth, but God disposeth, who meant to try, but not to ruine France. All succedes not withfully to the English, being King of France in conceit. The Prince of Orange is beaten in Languedoc, and *Tanneguy* of Chastell Steward of Beaucaire, hauing happily recovered Pont Saint Esprit, (a towne of importance, vpon the passage of Rone) all the rest yeelds to the Dauphins command: so as he could hardly keepe his Towne of Oranges. Aignon fauoured the Dauphin. Roch-baron was taken at Seruette by *Imbert* of Grosse, Seneschall of Lions, and so Auvergne and Forest were subiect to the Dauphin: who seeing himselfe without an enemy, and forces ready for his defence, he besiegeth la Charite and takes it. From thence he goes to Colne, where he finds great resistance, yet he doth presse it with such violence, as they are forced to come to a parlee. They prefixe a certaine day to be succoured by the new Regent

1422

Regent, or to yeeld to the Daulphin. The Regent assures them of reliefe, exceeding glad of this occasion, to draw our Daulphin to the combate, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignments more certain, then all Monarches: for resolving vpon this voyage, although hee had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke, and of a strange discafe, which the vulgar sort teame *Saint Fiacre*, and Physicians * *Phyriasis*. *Enguerrand* assures, that the chiefe discafe whereof he died, was *Saint Antonies fire*: but it is more credibly reported, that hee died of a Plurisie, a discafe in those dayes so rare and vnknowne, that Physicians being not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause whence it proceeded, could not prescribe nor apply any remedy. *Henry* having his mind fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victory, parts from Senlis, hauing taken leaue of the King, *Queene* and wife, (whom he shall see no more) hee caused himselfe to be caried to Melun in a litter: but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmity, he returned to Bois de Vincennes, where hauing taken his bed, hee sent his army into Bourgoigne vnder the command of the Duke of Bedford his brother, and the Earle of Warwicke, commanding them to pursue the Daulphin. At the bruce of this great army, the Daulphin *Charles* leaues Coiffe and retires to Bourges: and so the towne was freed.

Henry was not so freed from his sicknesse, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his end, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the sixth of that name, whom he had by *Katherine* the daughter of France, and the Duke of Excester his Vnde to bee Regent of England, commanding them expressly to liue in concord with *Philip* Duke of Bourgoigne, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of Valois (for so hee called him) vnlesse they might haue Normandy in fouereignty, neither to release the Duke of Orleans and Bourbon, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the sixth dies, being neere about 42 yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, hauing already giuen proofe of what he might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish France by an Englishman, yet would hee not suffer France to haue any other King then a French-man. This unexpected death, in the great course of *Henry* the sixths victories, hapned the last day of August, in the yeare 1422, followed soone after by one no lesse memorable. For *Charles* the sixth our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest reigne that France had euer scene to that day) fell sicke and died the 22 of October in the same yeare, fifty dayes after the decease of *Henry* of England. A sicknesse and death remarkable in so great a King, for after that he had languished in so long and infamous an infirmity, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chancellor, the first chamberlaine, his Almoner, with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death hee was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the Realme to languish. At the funerals of this poore Prince, after the Herald had proclaimed, *The King is dead*, another cryed, *God saue the King, God send a long and happy life to Henry the sixth, by the Grace of God King of France and England, our Soueraigne Lord*. To the end that passion might triumph ouer the infirmity of our King, even in his graue. This *Henry* shall be crowned King at Paris soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Iezabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this History, yet cannot find her. She who caused so great diuisions, dies without any memory, but to haue liued too long for France and her children. Oh the vanity of this world! which doth inerre the most busie in the forgetfulness of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppe of their desires.

Thus *Charles* the sixth reigned, thus hee liued, and thus hee died, miserable in his reigne, miserable in his life, but most happy in his death, as well to free himselfe from paine, and by this occasion, his whole Realme from confusion. His manners, his race, his reigne and his age doe appeare by that which we haue written. He liued 34 yeares, and reigned 42. He had many sonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, hauing bene the mournfull gage of many miseries. Of three sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* only remained successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for hee shall settle the Realme, redeeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeare in the following discourse.

CHARLES

CHARLES the seuenth, The 54 French King.

1422



After the long and painfull carriere of the fore-passed reignes, were it not time now to breathe? Since the vnfortunate battell of Cressy, we haue felt nothing but thornes, tempest, combustions, and shewes of ruines. And it we shall abate that little happinesse which *Charles* the fifth brought vnto our Ancestours, there are not lesse then seventy yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe 30 yeares more before the conclusion. And as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, we must shut our eyes, recouer new Forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and end courageously with them the remainder of this painfull course (in the troublesome discourse, which we shall find in the beginning of this reigne): to see in the end a happy Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vniõ of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this reigne.

Notable particulars of this reigne.

Here our Frenchmen may reade with admiration and profit, that as it is not now alone, that France hath bene afflicted, so God doth now begin to watch our end, deliuering it by miraculous means, when as it seemed nerecst to ruine. Here *Charles* the seuenth the least and last of his brethren, shall deface the ignominy of France, and triumph ouer the victories of a stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. Of a truth God meant to punish vs by means of the English, but not to ruine vs. The French cannot bee commanded but by a French-man. The Ocean is a strong barre to diuide these two Estates, content with their owne rights: This reigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect Idea of the reigne of *Henry* the fourth lately murdered.

The order of this discourse.

But to represent so variable a subiect with profit, it is necessary to distinguish it in order. There are three parts famous both for the subiect and success. The first shewes the confused and trouble some beginning of this reigne, vntill our *Charles* was solemnly installed King, and thereby acknowledged of all the French, for vntill that day the greatest part called him Earle of Ponthieure, or King of Bourges, in mockery: and such as were more modest termed him Daulphin of Viennois. The second puts him in possession of his royall authority, shewing by what means hee reduced the Cities subdued by the English to his obedience, beginning with the City of Paris, and so proceeding to the rest of the Realme, expelling the English from all, but onely Calais. The third shewes the end of this reigne, discouering the Kings domestical contentments, which hastened him to his graue, after the happy euents of all his difficulties.

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Regent, or to yeeld to the Daulphin. The Regent assures them of reliefe, exceeding glad of A this occasion, to draw our Daulphin to the combat, wherein he hoped to vanquish him.

But he had not made his accompt with death, who holds his assignments more certaine, then all Monarches: for resolving vpon this voyage, although hee had many other affaires in hand, he fell sicke, and of a strange disease, which the vulgar sort termne Saint *Fiacre*, and Physicians * *Phyriasis*. *Enguerand* assures, that the chiefe disease wherof he died, was Saint *Antonies* fire: but it is more credibly reported, that hee died of a Plurisie, a disease in those dayes so rare and vnkowne, that Physicians being not therewith acquainted, nor with the cause whence it proceeded, could not prescribe nor apply any remedy. *Henry* having his mind fixed vpon this voyage, and his supposed victory, parts from Sens, having taken leaue of the King, *Queene* and wife, (whom he shall see no more) hee caused himselfe to be caried to Melun in a litter: but feeling himselfe prest by his infirmity, he returned to Bois de Vincennes, where having taken his bed, hee sent his army into Bourgogne vnder the command of the Duke of Bedford his brother, and the Earle of Warwick, commanding them to pursue the Daulphin. At the brute of this great army, the Daulphin *Charles* leaues Cosne and retires to Bourges: and so the towne was freed.

Henry was not so freed from his sickness, the which increasing daily, made him to thinke of his end, disposing as he pleased touching his sonne *Henry* the first of that name, whom he had by *Katherine* the daughter of France, and the Duke of Excester his Vnckle to bee Regent of England, commanding them expressly to liue in concord with *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, and neuer to make any peace with *Charles* of Valois (for so he called himselfe) lest they might haue Nomandy in souereignty, neither to release the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, vntill his sonne were of a competent age.

And thus *Henry* the first dies, being neere about 40 yeares old, in the vigor of his age and spirit, borne and aspiring to great matters, having already giuen proofe of what he might haue done if he had liued longer. But God would punish France by an Englishman, yet would he not suffer France to haue any other King then a French-man. This vnexpected death, in the great course of *Henry* the firsts victories, hapned the last day of August, in the yeare 1422, followed soone after by one no lesse memorable. For *Charles* the sixth our good King, (but subiect to the miserablest reigne that France had euer scene to that day) fell sicke and died the 22 of October in the same yeare, fifty dayes after the decease of *Henry* of England. A sickness and death remarkable in so great a King, for after that he had languished in so long and infamous an infirmity, he died in a manner alone. They name but the Chancellor, the first chamberlaine, his Almoner, with some groomes of his chamber which were present at his end. After his death hee was visited by such as had caused him to die liuing, and by his miserable life had made all the Realme to languish. At the funerals of this poore Prince, after the Herald had proclaimed, *The King is dead*, another cryed, *God save the King, God send a long and happy life to Henry the sixth, by the Grace of God King of France and England, our Soueraigne Lord*. To the end that passion might triumph ouer the infirmity of our King, even in his graue. This *Henry* shall be crowned King at Paris soone after. But where is that *Isabel*, or rather *Iezabel*, who had so much tormented her poore husband? I seeke her in all the corners of this History, yet cannot find her. She who could get great diuisions, dies without any memory, but to haue liued too long for France and her children. Oh the vanity of this world! which doth increase the most busie in the forgetfulness of the graue, when as they thinke themselves raised to the toppes of their designs.

Thus *Charles* the sixth reigned, thus hee liued, and thus hee died, miserable in his reigne, miserable in his life, but most happy in his death, as well to free himselfe from paine, and by this occasion, his whole Realme from confusion. His manners, his race, his reigne and his age doe appeare by that which we haue written. He liued 54 yeares, and reigned 42. He had many sonnes and daughters. *Katherine* is famous, having bene the mournfull gage of many millicies. Of three sonnes which came all to the age of men, *Charles* only remained successor of his Crowne, but not of his fortunes, for hee shall settle the Realme, redeeming it out of Strangers hands, as shall appeare in the following discourse.

CHARLES

CHARLES the seuenth, The 54 French King.

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After the long and painfull carriere of the fore-passed reignes, were it not time now to breathe? Since the vnfortunate battell of Crecfy, we haue felt nothing but thornes, tempest, combustions, and shewes of ruines. And if we shall abate that little happinesse which *Charles* the fifth brought vnto our Ancestours, there are not lesse then seventy yeares of confusion. But all is not yet ended: we must passe 30 yeares more before the conclusion. And as if we felt the crosses of our fore-runners, we must shut our eyes, recouer new Forces, grow resolute against all stormes, and end couagiously with them the remainder of this painfull course (in the trouble some discourse, which we shall find in the beginning of this reigne) to see in the end a happy Catastrophe in the restoring of this Estate, and the vnion of the Church, diuided by a long and dangerous schisme, which disquieted Christendome, during the troubles of this reigne.

Notable particulars of this reigne.

Here our Frenchmen may reade with admiration and profit, that, as it is not now alone, C that France hath bene afflicted, so God doth now begin to watch ouer it, deliuering it by miraculous means, when as it seemed neere to ruine. Here *Charles* the seuenth the least and last of his brethren, shall deface the ignominy of France, and triumph ouer the victories of stranger, who had in a manner dispossessed him of his Realme. Of a truth God meant to punish vs by means of the English, but not to ruine vs. The French cannot bee commanded but by a French-man. The Ocean is a strong barre to diuide these two Estates, content with their owne rights: This reigne abounding in miraculous accidents, is the more considerable being the perfect Idea of the reigne of *Henry* the fourth lately murthered.

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would vie him for the establishing of the French Monarchy, so did he bring him vp in the schoole of affliction, to fortifie him against all difficulties, assisting him with great and worthy persons, both for warre and counsell, by whose meanes he did raise vp this Estate, yet with great and confused combats, and by a long and painfull patience. But let vs proceed to that which hath chanced vnder his reigne, most worthy of obseruation.

The miserable estate of this reigne, vnto the Coronation of Charles the 7, during seuen yeares:

From the end of the yeare 1422, vnto 29, in the moneth of Iune, when as he was solemnly installed King in the City of Poitiers.

Such was the estate of *Charles*, when his fathers death called him to the Crowne. We haue seene after that the miseries of France had caused his mother *Isabel* to forge her owne blood, making him to bee rejected from the Crowne, and *Henry* the fifth King of England substituted in his place, yet he fainted not in these extremities, but did valiantly withstand the pretended designs, by whose death God soone laid the foundation of this Realmes restoring. Yet after the death of King *Henry* the fifth, *Charles* was encountered with infinite difficulties. Hee had small meanes, fewer friends, and many mighty enemies. Hee scarce enjoyed the least part of his estate, followed by intreaty, and obeyed by halves, euen of such as made profession to be most faithfull. The Cities had diuers motions, as priuate interest drew mens mindes to that party which they held most profitable. There were but too many which followed the fortune of the English, being a Conqueror, the corruption of man inclining commonly to the stronger. But amidst these vncertaine humours of people, hee had enemies which encountered him with advantages apparently victorious: for *Henry* the sixth although hee were very yong, yet did he exceed him in all things: hee had a Realme hereditary and absolute: the best part of the French Monarchy: the assistance of the Duke of Bedford his vncke, with many worthy men, and great meanes. To these enemies were ioyned some great men, which D filled in a troubled streame, euenly one imagining to haue a part of this garment, building their designs vpon the Sepulcher of *Charles*, and the alteration of the State. Among the chiefeest were *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy, *Peter* Duke of Britanie, with his brother the Earle of Richmond. Diuers instruments vnder that great engine of England: but all these motions were to ruine France, and to build their greatness vpon her ruines.

The Bourgignon (who had a great hand in the State) was most interested and most opposite to *Charles*, being apparently the author of his fathers murder. Yet *Philip* (a iudicious Prince) so hated him, whom necessity commanded him to hate in this accident, as if hee should loue him in time, nor wedding himselfe absolutely to the English: yet did hee so worke for him in shew, as making himselfe in effect the stronger, hee might counterpoise him, if necessity required, and strike the last stroke for him to whom the French should incline. Reason likewise taught him, that the people would respect the lawfull heire of the Crowne, louing their Prince naturally, and in the end would rectifie the Stranger, as an vnlawfull tenant, who made himselfe daily insupportable by his imperious carriage. *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy being on the Stage, and farr from blows, kept the stakes, and entertained *Charles*, as if he should be an assured mediator in these quarrels, to end them with more advantage than any Christian Prince, and so hee nourished this diuision, by a strict intelligence which hee had from the Bourgignon. As for the humour of the two Brethren of Britanie, the course of the History will soon shew it.

Thus *Charles* charged by many enemies, had few faithfull and confident friends, and in that golden age, so small meanes to entertaine his friends, as hee could hardly supply the ordinary charges of his traine, selling and ingaging peace after peace of his inheritance. So as he had nothing more assured then the equity of his cause, and his resolution in this great necessity. He had yet some good friends remaining in Scotland, whom he bought dearly, aduancing them to the greatest dignities of the Realme: for hee made *Charles*

Steward

A Steward Earle of Boucquan his Constable, and *James* Earle *Douglas* Marshall of France: and to honor the Scottish mens faith, hee gaue them the guard of his person, an institution which continues vnto this day. He had likewise some friends in Spaine and Italy, who succoured him in due time, according to their meanes. We haue shewed what Provinces followed the party of our *Charles*, amongst the which Languedoc was a principal. The importance of this country did much aduance his affaires. This reason moued both the Bourgignon and the Sauoiard against this Province. The instruments fit for this enterprise, were *Iohn* of Chalons, Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Roch-baron, a Nobleman of Velay, one of the 22 diocesses of Languedoc. The first by the commodity of his neighbourhood did win Nismes, Pont saint Esprit, Aiguemortes, and all the rest of bafe Languedoc, vnto Beziers, except the castell of Pezenas, the tower of Villeneuve by Auignon, and the castell of Egaliers, now wholly ruined, neere vnto Vcz. This losse was somewhat repaired by the fidelity of the inhabitants. Aiguemortes set vp their Ensigne of liberty, by the direction of the Baron of Vauuerbe, and kils the garison of Bourgignons, which the Prince of Orange had placed there. To this day they shew a great vessell of Stone, wherein they did slay the Bourgignons. The example of this strong and important Citie, awaked the rest, and euen vpon the approach of the Earle of Foix (who came with a goodly army) all the townes yielded vnto him except Nismes and Pont S. Esprit, townes of great importance in that country, the one being the head of that Seneschauce, the other a passage vpon the Rofne towards Dauphine. But as the liberty of time made the seruant presume about the Master, so it chanced, that the Earle of Foix, (having tasted the sweet of command, and transported with the common humour of men, seeking to make their profit of the common confusions of France) detained the reuenues of Languedoc, by his absolute authoritie, imparting none to *Charles*, being exceeding poore in this confused time. This necessitie was accompanied with a cruell warre, stirred vp in Velay, by the Lord of Roch-baron, a partisan to the Dukes of Sauoy, and Bourgongne, who furnished him both with men and money for this rebellion: for it was rather a horrible theeuery then a warre. These two occasions drew *Charles* into Languedoc, to confirm his authority, and his voyage succeeded according to his intent: for he chased the Prince of Orange out of Nismes and Pont Saint Esprit, he pacified the troubles of Velay, & put the Earle of Foix from his government, giuing the place to *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a Prince of the blood, to the great content of all the people. Having thus happily provided for his affaires, he takes the way of Velay, to returne into France: being arriued at Espaly, (a castle belonging to the bishop of Puy) he is aduertised of his fathers death, after *Henry* the fifth his Competitor. Hee falls presently to reares and mourning, yet hee buries not his affaires in care. His Councell aduiseeth him to change his blacke robes into scarlet, to set vp the banner of France in his name, and to proclaime himselfe King, for the first fruits of his coronation: the which being performed at Puy, to the peoples great ioy, *Charles* goes to Poitiers, where he caused himselfe to be crowned King, and received the homage and oithes of the officers of the Crowne, Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen that were about him, with such pompe as the strictness of time would permit. Then he entituled himselfe King of France, and made shew of more authority and greater pompe. But on the other side, the duke of Bedford began to bandy more strongly against him. *Henry* the sixth, his pupill, a yong infant, was in England. He caused him likewise to be crowned King, till that seuen yeares after he should be solemnly installed at Paris, in the yeare, 1430. He set his name vpon the money of France, making a new stamp, but without any other change, then of his name.

So that hereafter two Kings, two factions, two armies shall contend for this goodly Crowne. The heire being the weaker shall fight against a strong pretender. Law fauours the one, and force the other: but the protector of this estate will giue a fauorable doome for the weaker, that the honour of so memorable a preservation of this Monarchy, apparently drawne out of the graue, may be giuen to him, who rules the deluge of our confusions, by his miraculous providence. Scarce had *Charles* received the first fruits of his royall authority, when as the dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, his capital enemies, assembled at Amiens, to crosse his new dignity in the breeding. There shall be seuen yeeres of exceeding bad time, but after this sharp winter, there will come a goodly spring, when as all seemed lost: and in the end, Summer shall follow with a plentiful harvest of rest to this

Diuerſitie of humours in the Court.

The enemies of Charles.

The King of England.

The Duke of Bourgongne.

The Duke of Sauoy.

The Duke of Britanie.

A strange cruelty whereby they are called Bourgignon falls to this day.

Charles mournes for the death of his father.

The Dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne hold a council at Amiens.

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A great league
against King
Charles con-
firmed by allian-
ces.

this Realme, whereof the lawfull heire shall remaine in quiet possession, and the pre- tender expelled with losse of euill that which he might haue ciuilly inioyed.

In this Assembly at Amiens, great plots are laid against *Charles*, whose ruine was their foueraigne end. All is done at the charge of the English. *Peter* duke of Britany and *Arthur* Earle of Richmont his brother, are there present. *Amedee* duke of Sauoy, sends his Ambassadors, vnder another colour, but he calls the stone and hides his arme. The dukes of Bedford, Britany and Sauoy, make a defensue and offensiue league against *Charles*. The foueraignty of the crowne should remaine to the English: the commodities to the dukes. They set the scale of marriages to this alliance. *John* duke of Bedford maries with *Ann* the sister of *Philip* duke of Bourgongne, and *Marguerit* his other sister takes *Arthur* the Earle of Richmont. Then they seeke the fruits of this alliance with the preiudice of *Charles*. Euery man takes his quarter, to torment him on all sides. The Bourguignon undertakes Picardy, where he settles *John* of Luxembourg, to expell the Dauphinois out of some places which they held there. *Henry* of Lancaster Earle of Salisbury, went into Champagne and Bry, to cense the Country about Paris, and to bridle Orleans. The Earle of Warwicke undertooke Guienne, to make warre against those townes that held the Dauphins party. *Lewis* Prince of Orange had charge to arme in Languedoc and Dauphine. Behold a great storme rising against the lawfull heire of this crowne.

Amidst all these difficulties, *Charles* must needs be in great perplexitie: but I read with ioy, that he whom God had chosen to restore this Estate, was not amazed, nor daunted, but hauing commonly in his mouth this Oracle, *We must haue God and reason on our side*, hee hath recourse vnto God, and salles courageously to worke. He flies to Rochel, to assure it vnder his obedience. Being in the towne, there happens a notable accident, as he was in counsell, a part of the chamber funke, and *James* of Bourbon with diuers others were slaine in this ruine. The King was hurt. From this danger, he passeth on to the chiefe of his affaires. He sends into Scotland, Milan, and Castile, to summon his friends to succour him, who speedily will send him notable aides. He provides for all the passages vnder his obedience. He assures himselfe of Languedoc, from whence he drew his chiefe helps by the Earle of Clermont: from Dauphine, by the Lord of Gaucourt: from Lions, Lyonnois, Foret, Beauculois and Masconois, by *Imbert* of Groslee, *Senechal* of Lions: from Gascogne, and other countries of Guienne, where he was acknowledged by the Vicount Narbone, and the Master of Orual. He sends *James* of Harcourt into Picardy, accompanied with *Pothon* the Xaintrailles, or Saint Treille, & *Stephen Vignoles*, called *la Hire*, the flower of his captains. And likewise the Bourguignon sent thither the greatest part of his forces. *Ambrose de Lore* goes into Maine and Perche, *Pregence* of Coigny, into Champagne. The Earle of Dunois (a bastard of the house of Orleans) keeps Orleans. The townes lying vpon the Riuer of Loire, about and beneath Orleans, were vnder the obedience of the French, La Charite, Gyan, Iargeau, Meung, Baugency, Blois, Amboise, Tours, Saumur, diuers small townes in Beaulieu, La Ferte of Gaules, lanuille Espernay, Pluuiers. And in the countries of Gastenois and Vrepolis, Montargis, Chastillon, Milly. Nearer vnto Paris, Mont-lehery. Orsay, Marcouilly (very strong places then, but now desolate) kept Paris in alarm.

Thus the cards were shuffled, but the English had the better part, keeping the great cities and the Kings purse, and (as the stronger) he begins the game, which had this issue for the remainder of that year. The English besiege and take Bazas, and the French win Meulan vpon Seine, with great slaughter of the English, but the duke of Bedford (loth to endure such a thorne in the sides of Paris) doth presently besiege it. *Charles* sends them succors, vnder the command of the Earle of Aumale, the Constable *Boucquham* & *Tanneguy* of Chastel. Too many commanders, to doe any great exploit. Icalousie of command bred such a confusion, as all these troopes marched in disorder, no man acknowledging but his priuate commander. Hereupon the English Army arriues, who had an easie conquest of those disorderd troopes, and then Meulan yeelds to the Duke of Bedford.

The sharpnesse of Winter could not temper the heape of these Warriours: and as the fortune of the Warre is variable, one winnes, another loseth, *Ambrose de Lore*, and *John* of Belay (thinking to take *Fresnay le Conte*) lost a notable troope of their men. The Lord of Fontaines hath his reuenge vpon the English, and defeats eight hundred of them

The French
defeated by
the English, &
Meulan yeel-
ded.

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at Neuville, and *John* of Luxembourg, a Bourguignon, defeats the Lords of Gamaches and Amant with their troopes. The Earle of Salisbury takes the townes of Verrus and Eprenay, and the strong places of Montaguillon and Osay neere vnto Paris: the composition is strange, the souldiers yeelding at the Regents discretion, are brought to Paris, bare-headed, halters about their necks, and swords at their breasts.

This miserable troope thus tyed, and led in triumph, passeth through Saint James street to goe to the Tournelles, where the Regent was lodged, and from thence to be drawne to the place of execution, if the Duchesse of Bedford (moued with the pity of a French woman, at so pittifull a spectacle) had not begged the liues of these poore condemned men. Thus that year passed, wherein *Charles* the sixth, and *Henry* the fifth died; but God to restore our Monarchy, began in the same yeare to lay a leuain against the attempts of Strangers, who sought to ruine it. *Jaqueline* of Bauaria, Countesse of Hainault and Holland the onely heire of those two states, had married with *John* D. of Brabant, who by a blind and ambitious avarice, gaue her selfe to *Humfrey* Duke of Gloucester, vncle to the King of England, and married with him, reiecting her lawfull husband. Her excuse was, that the Brabantin was her cousin germaine, but this shall be a meanes to dissolve that alliance for cunningly conioyned by the Dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne, who shall breake vpon this occasion. The yeare begins while that losses came by heapes vpon *Charles* as the current of an vnauoidable ruine: whatsoeuer he vnder-tooke, succeeded not.

James of Harcourt was Gouvernor of Picardy, placed there ouer some remainders of the shipwracke of that country, he surpriseth Dommartin in Ponthien from the Bourguignon, and spoiles the neighbour Abbeies, and the country. Hauing ruined these poore disarmed men, he is charged by *Ralph Butler* an English Captaine, loseth all his conquest, escapes hardly with his life, and sees Crotay taken before his face, the chiefe dungeon of his designs, Rue, Saint Valery, and in the end the goodly city of Abbeuille, sufficient to stay the English forces, if it had been guarded by good men. After these shameful losses he comes to *Charles* to excuse himselfe, he pardons him, but God made him soone pay the interest of his thefts, being the cause of his owne ruine.

Hauing no place of aboad, he retires to Parthenay, to his vncle, who entertained him courteously, but *Harcourt* not content with this kind vlage, would be master of the castle, his practice fell vpon his owne head, being slaine by the guards, suffering the punishment of his treachery: as he had done of his couetousnesse and cowardice. A lesson for bad seruants to their Princes, detestable either for their robberies, or for their treacherous cowardises, whom God paies in due season.

The entrance of this yeare was also infamous, in two shamefull losses, happened to two great captaines: to *Ambrose* of Lore, who loseth the castle of Tenny in the country of Maine, and to *Oliuer* of Magny beaten by the English, at the Bishops parkes neere Auranches, but from final accidents, we must come to great actions. Champagne was in no better case then Maine. The Earle of Salisbury made warre with all violence against *Regent* of Coigny, who defended the Kings party the best he could, but not able to beare so great a burthen, he flies to *Charles*, who sends him his Constable with forces, the which were imployed both in an other cause, & with other successe then he had designed: for behold the towne of Creuant in Bourgongne (situated vpon the riuer of Yonne, vpon the frontiers of Campagne) is surprisid by the bastard of Baume, for the King. The Constable flies thither, but too late, for *la Baume*, not able to take the castle, abandons the towne. In the meane time, the brute thereof drawes forces thither, from al parts, as a cupping glasse doth humours. The Dowager of Bourgongne (mother to Duke *Philip*) sends a goodly troope vnder the conduct of *Toulangon* Marshall of Bourgongne. The Duke of Bedford doth suddenly furnish a notable supply, for the respect he bare to the Duke of Bourgongne his brother-in-law: *Charles* fearing lest his Constable should miscarry, assembles what forces he can, with all speed, and sends them vnder the conduct of the Lord of Senerac Marshall of France, the Earle of Ventadour, the Lords of Fontaines, Velay, and Gamaches. The number was very equal, but the incomber fell vpon our army. And this was the occasion. The Constable hauing made his choise of a little hill, a place of aduantage, to attend his enemy, the English comes with a Conquering brauery, as hee that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any stay: hee forceth our guard, placed vpon the bridge to keepe the passage. Hauing thus passed in view of our army, in patience seizeth

The cause of
dissension be-
tweene the
Dukes of Bed-
ford and Bour-
gongne.
Charles hath
diuers losses.

1423

The notable
battell of Cre-
uant vnfur-
nate for
France.

seizeth on our men by this proud contempt, and they cry out to the Constable, who gal- led with despight for this affront, resolues to the combat. So all with one fury leaue the hill, march towards the English and offer him battell.

The Earle of Salisbury makes a stand, to temper the heat of our French, who durst not approach very neere, fearing the fury of their English arrowes. This first motion thus flackt, the Earle of Salisbury gives the signe to battell. Those of Creuant halfe mad, hauing beene some few daies besieged, issue forth, and charge on the one side. On the other side, the body of the English army, doth march with such violence against the Scots (which were in the first battaillon) as not able to withstand this storme, they open, & giue them entry against the French, who hauing fought resolutely, in the end they leaue the place to the victors. All are in rout. The Marshall of Senerac forgets his honor, and flies in this disorder. They account the losse about three thousand men. Of make, the Lords of Fontaines, Guitry and la Baulme, of Scottishmen, the Lord of Karados, nephew to the Constable, *Thomas Seton, William Hamilton*, with his son *David* and *John Pillot*, all worthy of the memory of France, seeing they died for her in the bed of honor.

There were many more taken prisoners then slaine, by the resolution of the captaines, who in this generall overthrow (rallying their troops) intrenched themselves, and fought for their liues with the English, and saued themselves honourably with their armes. The chiefe prisoners were the constable of Bouqhan, and the Earle of Ventadour. It is a thing worthy remembrance, that either of these two lost an eye in the battell: this was the 29 day of Iuly. The gaine of this victory to the Bourguignon, was, that Malcon, a towne of the French obedience, yielded vnto him without any force, but feare.

This continuance of so many losses, was exceeding grievous: but as God meant to cha- rize France, and not to ruine it; so he counterpeyted these great losses with some small gaine. These victorious troops returning without feare, all disordered, were defeated by the Earle of Aumale, sent by the King to preserve the rest of Champagne: eight hundred English were slaine. But this checke awaked the Earle of Salisbury, Gouvernor of Cham- pagne for the English, who hauing recovered new forces, goes to field to cleare the Country. He besiegeth and taketh the strong towne of Sedan, in the County of Verus, and then Rembouillet in Bry, and Neelle in Tartenois. Then the tide flowes for the French. The Bourguignon exceeding glad of the seizure of Malcon, (a town very important vpon Saone) commands *Thoulangeon* his Constable, to rid all that the enemy held thereabouts, and to leaue the trafficke free. La Buissiere a most strong castie betwixt Tournon and Malcon, did much annoy it. He resolues to take it by one meanes or other. But he did not foresee, that in seeking to take, he should be taken. He had some familiarity with the Captaine of the place. And trusting to the vsuall practices of those times, he did confidently hope to corrupt him with money. He sounds him, and findes it pregnable: they agree vpon the price, but he was ignorant of the Captaines meaning, to haue more then his money. A faithfull seruant to the King, and worthy to be named in this Register. The Captaine doth aduertise *Imbert* of Groflee, the Gouvernor of Lions, of this trafficke, who E wisely provides to take him.

Lewis of Cullant Admirall of France, was then happily at Lions, attending some horse for the King, from *Philip Maria* duke of Milan. The plot is laide to surpriseth this constable of Bourgongne, and the successe is answerable. *Thoulangeon* comes to Buissiere at the appointed houre, and brings with him men and money. He enters the Castle, with as many men as he held sufficient, and counts the money to the Captaine. He hauing left his troope in the field, behold the Lions issue forth their Ambuscado like Lions indeed, some seize vpon the castie gate, and assure the place, others charge his troope, which was easily defeated. The Constable with the chiefe that had followed him into the castie were taken, a conterchage which shall deliuer the Constable of Bouqhan and the Earle of Ventadour, after the battell of Cullant.

And almost at the same instant, *Stephen* of Vignoles, called *la Hire*, and *Pothon* of Xaintrailles, roused themselves. *Vignoles* surprized Compaigne, and *Pothon*, Han, vpon the riuier of Some. But this ioy lasted little, for *John* of Luxembourg, gouernour for the duke of Bourgongne, in Picardy, flies thither, besiegeth, and recouereth both the one & the other with a happy celerity. *Pothon* saues himselfe with much difficulty in Guise (being pursued by the Bourguignons, to their cost that were ill mounted.) Luxembourg managing his victory

The Constable
of Bourgongne
taken by his
owne practice.

1423

Pothon of
Xaintrailles
taken prisoner.

A victory wisely, attempts other places: he takes Oyls, Broissy and other small townes of Tiralche, and in the end he besiegeth Guise, where *John Proissy* commanded for the King: *Pothon* (to annoy the besiegers) issues forth of Guise, but being too farre engaged in the fight, hee is taken prisoner, to make the siege of Guise the more easie, but *Proissy* doth his best indeuour to defend it. The towne belonged to *René* of Aniou, Duke of Bar, and brother to the King of Sicilia. Hee intreats the Duke of Bourgongne to leaue it him in peace, but it was in vaine. The siege is vehemently continued, so as in the end Guise falls into the Bourguignons hands, and so he remains master of all Picardy. And as if this storme had fallen vpon Charles from all parts, la Charite (a very important towne vpon the riuier of Loire) is surprized by *Perrinet Graffer*, for the Bourguignon: and so the terror of the war came into Berry, much troubling the quiet and commerce of the Court, for that the King most commonly was resident at Bourges, or at Meung.

The like mishap fell vpon *La Hire* at Vitry, the which he yeelds to the Duke of Bourgongne, by a composition very preiudiciall for the King and the Realme. And at the same time Beaumont vpon Oyle surprized by the French, was taken againe by the English with much blood and sacke. In like sort the fort of Saint Michels Mount, is besieged by the English, and well defended by the French, which caused the victory of Granelle, happily taken by the Baron of Colances from the English, as it were to coole the heat of our continuall feuer with some little water. In sooth the Estate of France was then most miserable. C There appeared nothing but a horrible face confusion, poverty, desolation, solitarieffesse and feare. The leane and bare labourers in the Country, did terrifie euen theeues themselves, who had nothing left them to spoil but the carcases of these poore miserable creatures, wandering vp and downe like Ghosts drawne out graues. The least farmes, and hamlets, were fortified by these robbers, English, Bourguignons, and French, euery one straining to doe his worst. There was no speech but of forts and contributions. At men of war were well agreed to spoile the countryman and the naked Merchant: euen the cattell accustomed to the larum bell (the signe of the enemies approach) would run home of themselves without any guide by this accustomed misery. This is the perfect description of those times, taken out of the lamentations of our Ancestors, set downe in the original. Who D seeth not here the perfect Image of our times, during the confusion of our vncinill Ciuill warres?

But amidst this horrible calamity, God did comfort both the King and Realme: for about the end of the yeere, he gaue Charles a goodly sonne by *Queene Mary* his wife, a happy gage for the establishing of this Realme, whereof he shalbe a peaceable King. He was borne at Bourges, and there honorable baptized in Saint Stephens church, and was named *Lewis*, King of France after the decease of his father. Charles would haue *John* of Alençon a Prince of his blood, and then his trusty friend, to be his God-father. But alas! both by this God-father, and this God-sonne, shall grow a horrible confusion, euen when as Charles expected an end of all his troubles. Whereby we may learne, that there is nothing but E vanity in worldly affaires, remarkable for great men, in that which seemeth most firme in mans life.

Lewis the xi
the eldest son
of Charles
borne.

This was the flux and reflux of this yeare. The beginning of the new yeare shewed a better countenance: but these small gleames of good hap, were soone ouercast by horrible losses, which seemed to giue the last wound to this Monarchy, and to alter the name, if God had not staid it with his mighty hand, in laying a foundation whereon he shall build the meanes to restore it to her ancient beauty, without any fliew of the industry or force of man, when as all things seemed desperate. But the prouidence of God creepes on insensibly by degrees to perfect his worke. The losse of the Scots was very great in the vnfortunate battaile of Cullant. To repaire this losse, Charles lends into Scotland *Renauld* of Chantre his chancellor and Archbisshop of Rheims, accompanied with the Earle Douglas, Marshall of France. And being reduced to a miserable want of mony, he engageth the Duchy of Tourain vnto him. A title which Douglas shal not long inioy. But whilst they make this leaue in Scotland, and shal returne to their troopes, let vs consider the humour of the French and English during this medly.

New supplies
come out of
Scotland.

As the successe of the English was happy, so their harts swelled with pride, and they exceeded dayly in Insolency, especially in great cities, where they braued it disdainfully, as treading the name of French-men vnder foot. This contempt bred an extreme

14. 2.

The French
grow discon-
tented with
the infidelity
of the English.

discontent, even in the most senseless, to see themselves thus intreated, their Kings suppressed, and their Lawes abolished. There were not two years past of this new royalty, and yet dispirable. How farre say they, will this English Empire exceed, being augmented and fortified by the authority of many yeares? Shall it bee eyther to transport new Colonies beyond the seas, or to plant others here, and in the end to extinguish the name of the original French, to the end that no man shall dare to repine at the ruine of his Countrey, reduced into the power of strangers? These imaginations were generally in all mens mindes, but complaints in the mouthes of few, the which they whispered softly to their well assured friends: but the time was not yet come, although the blood (which cannot degenerate) shewed many signes of hearts discontented with this servitude, both at Paris, and especially at Rouen, where the English government was most heauy. One *Michael Lallier* was the beginner of this liberty, and was put to death at Paris, & a woman was burnt, worthy to live amidst the flames, & to shine in the goodly light of our History.

The Nobility of Picardy was much discontented with this new command. *Tournay* began first to stirre for the Kings seruice. So immouable is the French obedience to their Kings, and so sweet and pleasing is their command. It was a capitall crime to speake of the King of England, but as the lawfull King. Spies were set in all places to restrain the liberty of the French. These executions were threatnings of worse, if any should mutine. Yet the Nobility of Picardy was so wearied with the English and Bourguignon yoke, as they resolute to free themselves at what rate soeuer. The heads of this resolution were the Lords of Longueval, S. Simon, Mailly, Maucour, Recourt, Blondel, and many other Gentlemen which had followed the Bourguignons party. These are named. The Original should not conceal the rest, whom I could not specify without some Author. Behold the first fruits of the French liberty. These Ensigne-bearers assemble at Roy, they forsake themselves for the King against the English and Bourguignon, and take diuers townes in Picardy at a prefixed day. *John* of Luxembourg thunders against them that were suspected, and some he takes and hangs. At these terrors some drew backe and left this league: yet the greatest part remained constant, though with the apparent danger of their liues. These were the pure and true sparkles of the French fidelity to their King, but the day-spring was not yet come, which mounting to our horizon, should in the end shew forth the goodly light of liberty to all France.

The first motions put *Charles* in some good hope of a better estate: but beheld a new check which cooles his courage. At the same time that hee made his leauy in Scotland, the duke of Exeter prepared a great army in England to releue the duke of Bedford his brother, that he might haue means to continue the warres in France. There comes vnto him eight thousand archers, and eigheteen hundred men at armes. For the employing of these men he besiegeth *Galardon*, and taketh it at his first approach, and without the losse of an houre, hee plants himselfe before *Yury*, and at the same instant all his forces come to him, vnder the command of the Earle of Salisbury. The army being thus encreased, he pressed the siege. *Girard* of *Palice* held the towne for the King.

The due of Bedford summons him to yeeld it. *Girard* demands respite to aduertise the King. *Charles* was then at *Tours*, well accompanied both of his subiects and foraine friends: for after the defeat of *Creuant*, fore-seeing that the English would pursue the cause with more violence, he had provided men to oppose against them. The Marshall *Douglas* duke of *Touraine* by his new purchase, had brought him succours from Scotland. The Vicont of *Narbonne* a goodly troop from *Languedoc*, which was the flower of the whole army. The duke of *Alençon*, the Earles of *Aumale*, *Ventador*, *Tonere*, *Douglas*, *Moiry*, the Vicont of *Narbonne*, the Lordes of *Faiette*, *Tournon*, and other Noblemen of marke, with their followers, were ready to doe their best endeavour. So as he had eigheteen thousand fighting men. The rendezvous is in *Perche*, and they were shortly to march to *Yury*. The King stayes at *Chasteaudun*. The Constable of *Boulogne* sends to view the enemies countenance. The Scouts report the greatnesse of the English Army, and their diligence at the siege, who being discovered and pursued, hardly escape. They resolute then in stead of charging the English army, they should besiege *Vernueil*, (a towne obeying the English) eyther to take it, or to make a diuersion from *Yury*. The first succeeded, for our men approaching neer to *Vernueil* with a victorious countenance and bragge, as if the English army had bene defeated, *Vernueil* opens the gates with-

Compleats
against the
English.New forces raised
in England.Vernueil yeelds
to the French,
Yury to the
English.

14. 4.

without any question, and yeelds to the Kings seruice. But this shew of victory cost our Frenchmen deare, who had done better to succour *Yury*, then in losing it, to hazard their owne ruine, as it happened afterwards.

Girard of *Palice*, hauing long and in vaine expected succors, and doubled the prefixed time, he yeelds to the Duke of Bedford, who hauing now no other impediment, he resolute to fight with our army at his aduantage: for the effecting whereof, hee had the better means by their long stay. Hauing intelligence of the estate of our army, he resolute to draw them to battell, knowing how much it did import to ferd a victorious fouldier, against one whom he hath vsually beate. He therefore sends a Herald to dese them, giuing him charge to direct himselfe to the Duke of *Touraine*, a Scottish man Marshall of France. To whom he sayes, *The Duke of Bedford my master commanded mee to tell you, that he comes to drinke with you.* *Douglas* answers him: *That he should be welcome, but hee must make some haste, for that dinner was ready.* Upon this brauado they goe to Councell. The mischief was, the army had no head, hauing indeed too many. A multitude of commanders and commandements, is a plague to all good order, and especially in militarie discipline, which consists wholly in authority. Euery one had varied in his opinion. Some were of aduice to attend the enemy, others thought it fittest to take him at his word, without enduring of these brauadoes.

Thus their diuident opinions diuided the army, and those which in shew made the army, couerthrow it. *Douglas* and *Narbonne*. *Douglas* said, *Seeing the army is well lodged, hauing a good towne to backe it, to what end should they runne rashly against a victorious enemy? The Narbonnois replies, To endure these brauadoes, were to take away the hearts of the French fouldiers, and to coole their courage without any reason: and what greater indignities might a vanquished man beare?* The Duke of *Alençon*, and the Constable were of the first opinion, but the contention grew to great, as the Vicont said, *That if the wisest had no mind to fight, he would goe and defend the honour of France with the hazard of his life.* So being retired to his quarter, he commanded to found a march, notwithstanding the Duke of *Alençon* entreaty to stay and march together. On the other side, the Duke of *Touraine*, discontented at the Viconts choller, keepe backe the Scots. But necessity drew forth the whole army, one battallion after another. This disorder was the cause they could not choose a fit place of armes, nor dispose of their battallions. All were in grolle confusedly without any vanguard. The chiefe of the army were on foot. They place two wings, and to euery wing a thousand horse. The Italians had the right, and the French the left. In the fore-front of this battell they planted foure hundred Horse, to beginne the skirmish.

The Duke of Bedford had opportunity to dispose better of his armie, he makes a body all on foot, where he placeth his chiefe forces, and lodgeth there himselfe. In the front of this body he placeth great store of Archers, and euery Archer hath a stake stickt in the ground, to withstand the charge of the horse. Upon either wing he plants the choice of his most resolute Archers: behind, are his vnarmed people with the baggage, the horses being tyed close together, taile to taile, with two cords or withs: but for their guard hee left two thousand chosen Archers. In this order he attends the French, whom he discouers coming affare off, resolute to fight, with the countenance of Conquerors. They were long before they could set their troopes in order, and ranne a full gallop to their death. So as in hurle burlie and haste to fight, they were out of breath before they came to blowes. All the morning is spent in approaches, the two armies fronting one another: a little after noone, a signall is giuen to the battell: our aduenturers goe to the charge, to tie if they can force the grolle of the English army.

The foure hundred Italian Lances (led by *Cameron* with one eye) made the point, and at the first charge beat back the English Archers that were in the front. At the same instant, our two wings of horse charge the English army in flanke, seeking to breake their ranks. The fury of the fight was violence on either side: our men struing to enter into the body of the English foot, and the English labouring to withstand our men with a continual storme of arrowes. Then, behold our Lanciers, hauing forced one side of the battell, beginne to cry victorie, but the first ranks being forced, they are seconded by the rest without disorder: and with the like impression, the whole body of the English army raise a great cry, and aduance to the combat. Thus the two armies ioyne with a horrible confict,

B b 3

which

The Duke of
Bedford sends
a childe mee to
the French
armie.The French
Armie.The English
Army.

1424

which continued about an houre, one fleshed against another with a cruel & bloody fury. And (saies the original) there were neuer seen two parties of so great power fight so long with out knowledge who were victors. But beheld a new change in our army, our French and Italian horse appointed to force the English battell, being valiantly repulled, fled, and leaues our footmen open to the English shot.

The battell of Vernueil.

Both the battells had continued long in fight, and that which had made it equal, was not onely the equality of their forces, but the counterpiece of horses, which serued honorably. But the English had a supply of 2000 Archers, referred at the taile of his Army to guard the baggage. The duke of Bedford seeing our foot naked of Lances, resolues to employ them. So as this fresh squadron, doubling a fearfull cry, fall violently vpon this wearied troope, and being halfe disordered, disperseth them. Then all are in a rout: some fly, others kill. The massacre was exceeding great in this first fury, kindled by the obstinacy of the fight. Yet after this first heat, the English accustomed to our blood, fell to take prisoners. Vernueil was the nearest retreat, but the gates were shut, fearing lest the English should enter pel mel, with them that fled, so as the ditch serued for a graue or prison to many. Thus the English had the victory, but they bought it full dearly, for they lost about fifteene hundred men, and our losse was farre greater. Our Historiours confesse five thousand, the English report fifteene thousand. Yet all was not lost, for *Xaintrilles*, and *La Hire* gathered together a good number of them that fled, and saued them in Mass the nearest place of retreat.

A brave retreat of Italians.

There happened a memorable thing in this rout. The Italian troope which had fled, being intrenched in a neere village, to fight for their liues, having a false aduertisement that our men had won the victory, they presently part, and come to the place of battell, being knowne, they are charged by the English, but their retreat was exceeding hardy, for in despite of their army they saued themselves. Being to passe a riuer at the end of certain hedges, by so narrow a passage as they could goe but one after another, these Lombards plant their cornets there, as the marke of their way, with 16 armed men to make stand, while the troope should passe. All escape this way without any other harme, due feare: So much order preuailes euen in disorder.

The Nobles saw that were slaine.

This ouerthrow chanced the 6 of August. The losse was the greater, for that it did aggrauate the former: many great personages were slaine. The Earle of Boughan constable of France, the Marshall *Douglas* (a short time Duke of Touraine) the Earles of Aumale, Harcourt, Ventadour, Tonerre, Moyry: the Lords of Grauille, Montenay, Combreff, Fontenay, Bruncel, Fumblert, Guirry, Peisy, Marhe, Rambels, Lindecay, Gamaches, Malestroit, Boyon, Remboniller, Harpedanc, la Treille, Fourchouinere, la Salle, Lappe, Rochebaron, la Tour, and many others in great numbers. The Vicount of Narbonne (a rash instrument of this misfortune) was taken by the Bourguignons, and presently hanged, for punishment, having assisted at the massacre of *John D.* of Bourgongne. The chiefe prisoners were, *John* of Bourbon Duke of Alenfon, and the bastard of this house, the Marshall *Fayette*, the Lord of Hormid, *Peter Herisson*, *Lewis* of Vaucourt, *Roger Brouffes*, *Huon* of *S. Marke*, *James du Puy*, and many others, from whom the English drew great summes of money. Vernueil (to augment this misfortune) was yeelded by *Rambures*, vpon an honorable composition, with their liues and baggage freed, except that which belonged to the army. The insolent English, spoiled the poore iouldiers, when as the Earle of Salisbury arriving, sue one of these treacherous wretches, causing these poore vanquished men to be conducted into Deny or Touraine in good safety. After this notable victory, the duke of Bedford having triumphed at Paris, managed this profitable accident: to our losse. Hee presently deliueres these victorious troopes (carying in their hearts and foreheads, the fortune of England) to the Earle of Salisbury, a wife and valiant captain of his army, who employed them with great successe, for he tooke from *Ambrose de Lore* (a brave and valiant captain) the forts of *S. Sufanne*, *Mahuns*, *la Hines*, *la Forté-Benard*, as the remainders of this shipwrack, and in the end he caried it to the towne of Mans, although the fidelity of the Inhabitants yeelded him their obedience more slowly, & with greater difficulty. The English insolencie increased daily & apparently, like the swelling of a riuer. Watches were set to observe all such as did but mutter for their liberty. The Lords of *Maucourt* and *Rocomp* were put to death, as guilty of high treason. The goods of such as were sent, were confiscate. In France it was a great crime to be a Frenchman.

But

1424

The miserable estate of Charles in diuers sorts.

But as one mischief comes not alone, and griefe vpon griefe procures no health, these misfortunes which touched the members, had almost ruined the head: for this lamentable battell of Vernueil (which made all France to mourne) had almost thrust *Charles* into his graue. Besides these general losses, this poore Prince was surcharged with many difficulties: the incredible burthen of his povertie, and the reproches of his subiects, accusing him as the author of these banquerout losses, which chanced daily to his armies and townes. Thus he was abandoned both of himselfe and his subiects, his great and many afflictions having killed his courage, and lost his credit with the people. In this disgracefull necessity, there was no speech but of ingaging the reuenues of the Crowne to pay the Garisons of places, which else would bee lost. The Kings table failed daily: hee ate no more in publike, but sparingly in his chamber, attended on by his domestical seruants. The History notes, that as *Pothon* and *la Hire* came to him to Chasteaudun, to require succours, they found him at table with a rump of Mutton, and two Chickens: and yet in this extreme poverty of his, the great men got of all hands. The duke of Alenfon had Niore in Poitou, and the bastard of Orleans the County of Gyan, for many they said had been lent for the Kings seruice, who aowed all and payed all, for nothing. But that which was of harder digestion, was the continuall discontent of his subiects against him, as if (neglecting his affaires) he had abandoned himselfe to the loue of faire *Agnes*. A blot which doth yet blemish the name of *Charles* the seuenth, in the general conceit of the French nation, registred as a certain truth, by the writers of our time, which haue written of that reigne. As it is my course to search the Originals, and not to allege any new writer for an author, so haue I carefully noted what the ancients did observe. *Alain Charretier* the Kings Secretary sayes nothing, *Monfret* speaks, but vpon occasion in the end of this reigne.

The King reproached for the loue of faire Agnes.

And for as much (saith he) as the King did see her willingly, the common fame was, that he kept her dishonestly, for the vulgar is more enclined to speake ill then well. But the loue which the King did shew her, was for her pleasing behaviour and eloquent speech, and also for that she was of all faire creatures the fairest. The History of Saint Denis written by the Historiographer of France, doth cleerly excuse him, in these tearmes. *La Chro- nicle*, desiring to write the truth, haue duly informed my selfe, and without falsifying of the truth, doe find by Knights, Councillors, Physicians, Surgeons, and other domestical seruants, examined by oath, as appertained to my charge, to the end to free the people from scandall; that during five yeares that faire *Agnes* liued with the Queene, the King neuer frequented her but in great company, nor in the absence of the Queene: he neuer vied any lasciuious countenance vnto her, nor touched her beneath the chin. And after his sports, *Charles* retired himselfe vnto his lodging, and *Agnes* vnto hers. But he loued her for that she was pleasant and young, among the fairest, seeking all kind of delights to sweeten his thoughts and cares. These are his very words. But howeouer, this fear remains vpon *Charles* his face, that he neglected his affaires, losing both his time and iudgement with this woman, and in his gardens; the which blemished his reputation much, euen with his enemies, who held him for an idle person, and of small valour. But as this report made him contemptible, so the insolent behaviour of his Minions made him hateful, for that vnder his authority, these horse-leeches oppressed the people, and tooke all reward from such as had ventured their liues for the Kings seruice.

Thus this poore prince, surcharged with many difficulties, was so discouraged, as he had not any care to preferre himselfe by armes, but employed all his spirits to find some means of an accord at what price foeuer, with the Duke of Bourgongne and Britany. But hee was much deceiued, for they had all conspired his ruine, and euery one pretended a part in this confiscation. The Duke of Sauoy looked for a share, and *Lewis* of Chaalon Prince of Orange, was in hope to make himselfe great with the remainders of this spoile. But where the wisdom of man ended, there the providence of God began, who provided means for *Charles*, that which he could not foresee, neither by his industry nor authority, that the restoring of this Realme might bee knowne to proceed from the miraculous bounty of God, the Guardian of this Estate.

We haue shewed, with what care the duke of Bedford had built an vnion with the dukes of Bourgongne and Britany, to confirme the English affaires in France. *Arthur* of Britany Earle of Richmond, brother to the duke of Britany, began to make a breach in this alliance. He had married one of the Bourgongne sisters, and Bedford together, *This Arthur* was a Prince

The league with England taken.

1424

Prince of good iudgement, who governed his brother wholly, and had a great interest in his brother in law of Bourgongne. He shall helpe much in the restoring of this Estate, uniting the hearts of Princes distracted from the King; but his foure complexions did much dissemper *Charles*, who shall pay dearly for the fruits of his seruice, as the course the History will declare. The Duke of Bedford being at Paris, mightily puffed with his victories, plaid the King: this insolent greatnesse, which made him odious to the French (although they durst not shew it) was likewise hatefull to his owne faction.

Bedford & *Rich-*
mond brother to
the duke of Bri-
tany are iarrs, be-
ing brothers in
law.

Man hath alwaies the miserie that he seekes, and is the plotter of his owne misfortune. This pride bred a iarre betwixt him and the Earle of Richmond, and made a way to the general diuision of these confederate Princes, and re-union of the whole Realme. *Richmond* was come vnto him, to be employed in some honorable charge fit for his house and person, making great esteeme of his loue, whereof their alliance seemed an assured gage. But he found nothing but discontents. *Arthur* was of a French humour, nourished in the mildnesse of our King, bred vp in their armes, and had bene prisoner for them at the battell of Azincourt: the time only had with-drawne him from the King seruice, whom every man held lost. The pride of Bedford reuiued in him this first affection: so as not able longer to accord with the English, he resolues to seeke all meanes to recouer the Kings good grace and fauour, and to ingage his brother the Duke of Britanie.

Arthur of Bri-
tany leaves the
English.

Thus he leaves the Duke of Bedford, and retires to his house with this discontent. There falls out a fit occasion to aduance this businesse, to the good liking of *Richmond*: For the office of Constable was void, by the death of the Earle of Boucquhan, slaine in the battell of Verneuill. *Charles* sleeps not at these newes; but as if he had attended some good opportunity, he presently sends a trusty Gentleman to the Earle of Richmond, to offer him his loue, and for a gage thereof, the dignity of the constable of France, with all aduantage that a King may honour his seruant with. This first summons *Richmond* tooke reasonably well: but he answered; that he could not doe any thing with-out his brother the Duke of Britanie: with whom hauing conferred, he would presently aduertise *Charles* of his resolution. But as the Kings vrgent necessity made him to reckon the minutes, so the tediousnes of the Britons answer made him to languish.

His Councell likewise allowed well of this league, the which shall proue more trouble to some vnto him, then honourable, and more preiudiciall then profitable vnto France. *Charles* (without attending any answer from *Richmond*) sends *John Louet*, President of Prouence, one of the chiefe fauourites then in credit: but he remembered not that he was in dislike with these Princes, so as *Louet* returned without any effect. Yet *Charles* (loosing this opportunity, and to giue the English any time to reconcile himselfe to their Britons, sends to him with all speed a very honourable Ambassage, which was *Yoland* Arragon, Queene of Sicile his mother in law, with *Tanneguy* of Chastell, being very acceptable to these two brethren. Their coming did greatly aduance this businesse. They prevailed so farre as the Duke of Britanie, and the Earle of Richmond his brother, were both ready to embrace the Kings friendship, and to doe him seruice, so as the Duke of Bourgongne would yeeld vnto it: and in the meane time (to draw this businesse to some good end) *Richmond* should goe and treat with his Maiesty, vpon good hostages for his safety. This condition was accepted by *Charles*; and to lose no time, the Lord of Albret and the bastard of Orleans, were sent vnto him for hostages, and the townes of Chinon, Loches, Lusignan, and Meung, were giuen him for assurance vntill the end of the Treaty, and ample passports made to goe and come with all liberty. This worke began this year in Nouember, and shall end the next year, with a notable successe.

But the Duke of Bourgongne embraced another notable occasion, which shall more preiudice the English then this occurred of Britany. Wee haue said that this league was laid in the year 1423, by the marriage of *Iaquelin* Countesse of Hainault, Holland and Zealand, a wife contended for by two husbands; the duke of Brabant, cousin germaine, and a deare friend to the duke of Bourgongne; and the duke of Gloucester brother to the duke of Bedford, and Vncle to *Henry* the sixth King of England; two great parties, which shall diuide the dukes of Bedford and Bourgongne; and shall be the meanes to reconcile the Bourgignon to *Charles*, and restore him to the obedience of this Crowne, expell the English out of France, and restore the Realme. But the prouidence of God, which goes insensibly by degrees about mans conceit, must be distinctly considered.

About

About the end of this year, *Iaquelin* of Hainault comes out of England with the duke of Gloucester her second husband, fortified with an army of six thousand English. Shee caused the Nobility and the Cities to renew their oathes, both to her and the Duke of Gloucester her lawfull husband. All the Nobility obeyes this commandement, except the Earle of Conuerfan, *John* of Lumont, *Angilbert* of Anghien, and all townes except Hals. The Duke of Bourgongne greatly affected this quarrell. The Duke of Bedford foreseeing the danger that might grow by the Bourgignons discontent, labours to suppress it in the breeding, and to that end he draws them to Paris with their friends, but in vaine. The one strives to enioy his Estates, and the other to hinder him. So as whilst the cause is disputed in the Court at Rome, the armies prepare on either side to end it by blood and spoile. The Gloucesterian begins, and the Bourgignon follows. So the end of this year is the beginning of a war of foure whole years, but it shall be ended in fauour of the Bourgignon. This new year shall be spent in the alterations of the Court and Britany.

The Earle of Richmond comes to Tours to *Charles*, as he had promised to the Queene of Sicilia, but not able to resolve any thing without the consent of the Duke of Bourgongne, (as we haue sayd) the King seeing it very necessary he should goe to him, doth send to him a very honorable Ambassage, *James* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, a prince of his blood, the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishop of Puy. The end of their negotiation was double, that the duke of Bourgongne should like of the alliance betwixt the King and the Princes of Britany, and that he himselfe should be reconciled vnto him, to liue and continue good friends, as they were neere in blood. The first was fully concluded with the Bourgignons consent, the other was suspended. The causes are specified, for that *Philip* could not with honesty let slip the death of his father, whereof *Charles* was the author: this reconciliation could not be well effected, ynnlesse that *Charles* did chafe from him all such as had dipped their hands in this massacre, either as fauours or as executioners. They were specified by name, *John Louet* President of Prouence, *Tanneguy* of Chastell, *William d'Anangour*, *John* of Gyac, sonne to that Lady of Gyac, who perswaded *John* duke of Bourgongne to go to *Charles* at Monfreaux-saut-Yonne, where he was slain. But these were but colours, for notwithstanding their absence from Court, yet the Bourgignon seemed to be nothing enclined to the Kings seruice. In effect he stood watching the opportunity to effect his designs, and so entertained time, to keepe the stakes, as the whole course of the History will declare.

Charles employing all his friends and meanes, entreats *Amedee* duke of Sauoy to bee a mediator of this accord. In respect hereof he comes to Monucl in Bresse, but in truth this was but a shadow. They all sought to get from *Charles*, and so watched for opportunity. Yet the Bourgignon made all shewes of his seruice vowed to the King, and the establishment of France, which he lamented infinitely to be fallen into the hands of strangers. He spared no chiere nor entertainment for the Ambassadors, and for a gage of sincere loue, *Philip* giues his youngest sister *Anne* in mariage to the Earle of Clermont, but with an intent to winne a Prince of the blood neere the King. Thus the Bourgignon leuelled alwayes at this mark, and did nothing but with an intent to maintaine his greatness at what price soeuer.

In the meane time the meaner smart for the folly of great men. At the returne of these Ambassadors, the Court is in an vprore, *Charles* grieues to chafe away his seruants, which could not be done but in contempt of his authority. And yet the Ambassadors cried out that without it they should not effect any thing: and the more they stayed the execution, the more they hindered the Kings seruice. *d'Anangour* parted first with the good liking both of King and Court. *Gyac* made his peace, by the mediation of the Queene of Sicilia, who had all power in this action. The King was wonderfully discontented for the departure of *Tanneguy* of Chastell, whom he called father. A man beloued, and of amiable conditions. But there was no remedy. He had giuen the chiefe stroke to *John* of Bourgongne. So likewise he protested without any difficultie, to retire himselfe whither soeuer his master should command him.

He beseeched him to giue him an authenticall certificate, that it was not for any fact of his, but for the good of his seruice. He obaines it, and a promise withall that his offices should be continued him. Thus he retires to Beucaire in Languedoc, and the office of Prouost of Paris remained to him still, with the fee, and a good reputation with all men, to haue

1424

Annotable pro-
cesses of *Iaquelin*
against her hus-
band, supported
by the Bourgui-
gnon.

Charles sends
an ambassage
to *Philip* of
Bourgongne.

The minions
chafed from
Court.

1425

haue bene a good seruant to the King, and carefull of the publike good. *Iohn Lommes* president of Prouence, dispured his departure with some bitternesse and obstinacy. What inflicte is it (saith he) to condemne a man without hearing? What breach, to vse the Kings seruants thus, for an others pleasure? but not only the Bourguignon and the Britton hated him to the death, but also the Court and people did detest him. A man of a high minde, cunning, obdurate, reuengefull, cruell. Great men hated him, as crossing their affaires with the King, abusing his tractable disposition: and meane men, as the horse-leech and the sponge of the publike treasure, and a man without mercie. The Bourguignon hated him as the first motiue of his fathers murder; and the Britton, as hauing giuen counsel to the Earle of Ponthieure to take him prisoner at Cantouceaux. Hauing gotten great wealth, and impouerish ed the King and the Realme, he had matched his daughters in good houles. The one, with the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans, the other with the Lord of Ioyeuse. The respect of this alliance faued his life. He was safely conducted to Auignon, & from thence he retires into Prouence, without any other fame then to haue gouerned the King ill. His daughter of Ioyeuse died with thought, for her fathers disgrace. *Gyac* returns into grace more then before, hauing purchased the fauour of the Queene of Sicily: but he shall soone pay for these imaginations of happinesse, not onely succeeding the President in his misfortune, but also losing his life after an ignominious fort.

The Duke of Britannie comes to King Charles

These men thus chased away, the Constable of Richmont went for his brother *Iohn* duke of Britannie, who came to *Charles* to Saumur: he tooke the oath of fidelitie, offering him all seruice. The Bourguignon speaks not yet one word for the King; onely he forbears to make warre against him, hauing a plausible excuse, for his not sending any more men to the Duke of Bedford, being busied for the Brabantine, against the Gloucesterian, in the war of Hainault and Holland. So this accident bred some ease to *Charles*, but no release. During these confusions in Court, Mans was lost, and after it the rest of Mayne obeyed the Earle of Salisbury. But the Constable of Richmont, (being freed from those domestick crosses which might hinder his credit with the King) would make prooue of his valour, in arming the Brittons against the English. And as in the beginning all is good; at this first command all Britannie riseth, and runs to this war. But these troopes being raised, and not yet ioyned to frame the body of an army, beheld the Earle of Warwick marcheth suddenly with a goodly army, gathered out of all the garisons of Normandy, the inhabitants of Townes, and the Nobility of the country, with great speed, who besiegeth and taketh Pontorson, a towne vpon the confines of Normandy and Britannie, neere *Saint Michaels* Mount. This prickt forward the Constable, to whom this scorne belonged. After that Warwick was retired, hauing left a garison in his conquest, beheld the Constable comes to Pontorson with his Brittons, hee besiegeth it, beats, and takes it by force, making a great slaughter of the English.

The Constables ill success.

This successe gaue him courage to passe on: the towne of *Saint James* of Beuuerond much disquiet that country. He attempts it, hoping to be succoured with men and money from France: but hauing words alone without effects, his Brittons (being for the most part voluntaries) slip away daily, not withstanding any preuention of the Constables, who resolved, before this warlike multitude had abandoned him to make profit of his presence and to giue a generall assault. The neernes of Auranches (where the Earle of Suffolke with *Scales*, famous captaines among the English) remained with goodly troopes) gaue him occasion of feare, lest they should charge his men in the heat of the assault. To this end, he sends forth two thousand men out of the body of his army, to meete with these imagined English.

The Commanders hauing discovered euen to the gates of Auranches, and found nothing, they resolute to returne to the army, not giuing the Constable any other advertisement. The Brittons being at the assault, seeing those men come, suppose them to be English, and fearing to be coopt in hauing an enemy both before and behind, they resolute to leaue their ladders, and retire to their campe. Their retreat was somewhat difficult, by reason of a poole with a narrow caufey, which they had wonne with great labour and paine. The besieged seeing the Brittons forsake the wals, fally forth courageously after them, and recouer the quarter abandoned, where there was a point that flanked the poole, in the which they plant three score archers. There were eight or nine hundred Brittons shut vp betwixt the wals and the poole: so as from this recovered point, they might choofe them

one

1425

The Brittons defeated by their own retreat.

one after one. The rest of the English garison issuing forth the towne furiously, put these amazed Brittons to the sword, who are either gauled with English arrowes, like beasts in a toyle, or with a desperate courage leape into the poole. Thus lesse then 500 hundred men ouerthrowe about eight thousand. The campe was abandoned and spoiled, 18 ensignes lost, with the banner of Britannie: many prisoners were taken, after the English had bene wearied with killing. The principall that were slaine, were the Lords of Molac, Coisy, la Motte, and many captaines of marke. The artillery, engines, and all the rest of the munition remained for a pawne. This vnreasonable alarum, greatly troubled the Constable, who was now become all the hope of the French, as if he carried all France vpon his shoulders like another *Atlas*. To repaire this ridiculous disgrace, hee raiseth new forces in Britannie with all speed, hee ioynes vnto him the troopes of *Ambrose* of Lore to be assisted with his valour, and hauing giuen them their pay, he causeth them to march into Aniou, where he takes la Fleche, Galerande, Beaufort, Malicorne, and forreuiues the hearts of his men after so notable a losse, and kept his enemy in awe. From thence hee goes to Court, where there were other designs then to fight with the English. A man fitter to brane it in a Councell of State, then to dispute a battell or the siege of a towne. He came to Court to bee the author of many confusions during this yeare: and on the other side, his brother the Duke of Britany, before it passe, shall leaue the party of France, and reconcile himselfe vnto the English, that the honour of our deliuerance might be giuen to God, the guardian of this Monarchy, and not to these Princes of Britany, to whom *Charles* was too much affected, in buying their friendship so deare, being euen then vnprofitable, when as he had greatest need: yet in their season, all these instruments worke to restore our decayed estate. But these were the Constables good seruices. After this shameful disgrace, he seeks to couer his fault, exclaiming first against the King, as if hee had bene the cause of this infamous disorder happened at *Saint James*, and hauing too freely discovered his griefes vnto the King, he presumed to take *Iohn* of Malestroit Chancellor of Britany prisoner, as being particularly charged to sollicite the payment of such money as was appointed for this Britton Army. *Charles* was much offended with this presumption, & in despite of the Constable, caused *Malestroit* to be presently released, and sent into Sauoy. The Constable was greatly discontented with this proceeding, the which hee tooke as an affront done to his person, and resolves to bee reuenged. So great were the confusions of that age, as the seruant durst prescribe a Law to his master, and his counsell bandy against him to controll his will. Yea the Priaces of the blood (so great was the corruption of that wretched age) were the chiefe controllers of the Kings actions. Then was there nothing more miserable then France, who discontented with her King, nourished the ambition of many Kings. This iealous ambition did nothing cure the infirmities of our Estate. *Charles* found it lost, he could not raise it alone. To debase his authority was no meanes to cure the confusions of the Realme. And as there is nothing more troublesome then affliction, the French Nation being then extremely afflicted, did nothing amend their condition, in casting vpon the King the reproaches of their calamities.

He exclaims against the King.

A dangerous waywardnesse to make the King odious or contemptible.

This was to deprive themselves of their head, wherein consists the whole life of the body. An vnreasonable discontent. The whole body of the State was sicke, and this distastfuld people would haue their head found. A notable circumstance, for it is strange, that (after so many miseries) this domestick confusion had not bene the vtter ruine of the State. But let vs returne to our discourse. The Constable had great credit with the Counsell, whom in the beginning the King had greatly countenanced: but the priuate practices, and the generall discontent of great persons, had made him halfe a King, to crosse the Mignons whom all men hated. Great men hated them, as possessing the King, and the people detested them, as managing all things at their pleasure, to the preiudice of the common weale. There were two Mignons that did greatly vex them, *Gyac* and *Camas* of Beaulieu. They resolute by a generall consent to dispatch them.

The Princes, with the Lords of Albret and Tremouille (who had a great interest in the State,) where of the party. But the Constable must doe the execution. The matter concluded betwixt them, was thus executed: *Gyac* was taken in bed with his wife, carried to Dunle Roy, condemned and executed: that is, he was put into a sacke and cast into the riuer. The Constable performed this office, without any other forme of law, then his

The Kings Mignons slaine by the Councell.

1426

his bare command. Afterward *Camus* borne in Auvergne, as hee walked in the Kings lodging, was ventrally slaine, by a fouldier belonging to the Marshall of Bouffac. *Charles* vnderstood it, and in a manner, toucht the blood of his two domestick seruants, being wonderfully discontented: but the time (which did authorise these confusions) caused him to swallow this pill quietly. *Tremouille* married *Gyacs* widow, the heire of Lisle-Bouchart, and entred newly in credit with the King, giuing him to vnderstand that all was for his seruice, so as there was no more speech thereof: euery man shut both eyes and eares. But *Tremouille* shall haue his turne: he shall leaue some of his haire, and hardly faue the mould of his doubler. Thus the affaires of the Court ebbed and flowed, the which raised vp one, and cast downe another. In this deceitfull manner of life, there is nothing certaine but incertaintie, fauours being giuen not by desert, but most commonly by a blind appetite, which hath no other iudgement, but the apprehension of weake heads, diuiding the happinesse of a Courtiers life into quarters, this day to one, and to morrow to another. A goodly lesson for such as are fauoured in Court, not to bee transported with vaine hope, toyes to deceiue the indiscreet. The surest guards of prosperity, are integrity, wisdom, modesty and patience, to remember aduersity in prosperity, according to the precepts of the wife.

This was the good government of the Constable of Richmond, a bold practiser of these domestick confusions, whilst the Bourguignon plyed his businesse. Wee haue made mention of the suite of *laqueine*, Countesse of Hainault and Holland, for *Humfrey* Duke of Glocester, her pretended husband, against *John* Duke of Brabant, her lawfull husband, for so had Pope *Martin* pronounced it, in fauour of the Brabantin, but from law they goe to Armes. The Bourguignon supported the Brabantin. These Princes (hauing prepared their forces,) begin by writing. The Glocesterian accuseth the Bourguignon of couetousnesse and treachery. The Bourguignon giues him the lye: but from reproches they fall to Armes. The Bourguignon offers the Glocesterian to end the question by combat: and by that tryall to auoide the effusion of their fouldiers blood. The Glocesterian accepts it: all is prepared for the combat: but the Duke of Bedford interposeth his authority. To this end he calls the chiefe men of all estates to Paris, to quench this fire, and by common aduice decrees; *That, that day should be disannulled, neither should it bee preiudiciall to either party.* That is to say, All being well viewed and considered, there was no iust cause for either to call the other to this wilfull combat, from the which they could not depart, although it were accepted, without great preiudice to both their honors. In the meane time, neither the Popes authority, nor the Regents decree, by the generall aduice of the States, could preuaile, but all burst forth into open warre. The Bourguignon proued the stronger: so as the Glocesterian (leaving *laqueine* at Mons) posted into England for new Forces, but all was in vaine, the Bourguignon making his profit of this Princes absence, did easily effect his desire, hauing no opposite but a woman, dishonored for her infamous adulteries. He failes not to enter Hainault with a strong Army, and vseth all force to reduce this people to reason.

The Country seeing it selfe pressed by the Bourguignons forces, (neither hoping for, nor desiring any succours from England, and perswaded that *laqueine* supported a bad cause) resolute to obey the stronger. Hauing to that effect protested vnto their Lady what they thought fitting for their duty, they leaze on her person, and deliuer her into the hands of the Duke of Bourgogne. *Philip* receiues her honorably, and promisseth her all offices of friendship to comfort her. From Mons he causeth her to bee conducted with a goodly traine to Gand, by *Loris* of Chaalons, Prince of Orange, a braue Nobleman. The Gantois employ their means to honour her. This great liberty gaue her meanes to make an escape from this goodly cage: so as hauing practised some for her guide, she disguiseth herselfe in the habit of a man, and retires from Gand to Breda, where she doth assure the riuier of Garide, and doth sollicite the townes of Holland by her Agents. The Bourguignon (foreseeing by these beginnings a long continuance of trouble) flies thither with his Army. He enters the Country, as the first they all resist him, for the respect the subjects bare to their Lady. But as the inconueniences of warre increased daily, and that *Philip* did shew by publike writings and priuate practices, that whatsoeuer hee did, was to maintaine the right of the lawfull husband, many townes yielded vnto him. At this time *John* Duke of Brabant, the lawfull husband of *laqueine*, dyes in the Castle of Lencoure, hauing

intituted

intituted *Philip* of Bourgogne his heire. The Cities seeing the Bourguignon supported both by force, and right, follow him by a common consent, as twice a Conqueror, and perswade their Lady not to appoynt her selfe obstinately against so reasonable a necessity. So without any other force, but the happy successe of the stronger, an accord was made betwixt *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, and *laqueine* Countesse of Hainault and Holland, vpon these conditions: *I hat laqueine doth acknowledge her Cousin, Philip Duke of Bourgogne, for the lawfull heire of her countries, and from thenceforth doth make him gouernor of Hainault, Holland and Zealand. All these estates should take their oath and doe homage of fealty vnto Philip. All fortresses should be deliuered into his hands, and the promisseth neuer to marrie without his consent.* Thus *Philip* was honourably receiued throughout all these Estates, to the content of some & discontent of others, according to their diuers humours: but force controlled all. *laqueine* made a good shew, yet greatly discontented to see him her master. Such was the Tragi-comedy of this long suite, for the quiet of these Estates, and the greatnesse of the Duke of Bourgogne, who made his profit of all sides, for soone after *William* Earle of Namur, left him the Earledome of Namur, whereof he takes possession, to the great discontent of the Liegeois, as we shall see hereafter. This greatnesse of the Duke of Bourgogne bred iealousie in the Duke of Bedford, he being assisted by the Duke of Britanie his open enemy, and the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, whom he sees hourly to grow great in his authority.

Thus fearing more mischief to fall vnto him by that meane, he resolues to fortifie himselfe with new helpes, and to this end he goes into England, leauing the affaires of France in charge of the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, and Salisbury. His stay was not long, necessity pressed him. He obtains both men and money, fit remedies to preuent a storme. He returns into France with ten thousand men; and a notable some of money for their pay. For the good employment of these new forces, he resolues to besiege Montargis, a dangerous thorne, both for the neernesse to Paris, and the conuerse of the Bourguignon, who continued his designs, notwithstanding the still iealousie of these Princes. The charge of this siege was giuen to the Earles of Warwicke and Suffolke, with three thousand men: the rest were dispersed in Normandy, and in townes bordering vpon Picardy, for feare of the Bourguignon, in whom hee had no confidence. Montargis is besieged, and although the waters hindered their approach to the walles, yet with in few daies it was fiercely battered by the English, and valiantly defended by the French.

They cry out for succor, but the affaires in Court were wonderfully confused, (by the intestine iealousies of great men) that one gazed vpon another, yet no man stirred, although *Charles* continually cried, to armes. In the end they begin to march: & although the Constable had busied himselfe in this leaue, yet fearing the example of *Saint James*, he would not hazard himselfe in the leading thereof, pretending many excuses to faue himselfe from blows. For want of him, the charge was giuen to the Earle of Dunois a bastard of Orleans, to *William* of Albert Lord of Oruall, to the Lords of Gaucourt, Guiry, Graulieu, Villars, *la Hire*, *Gyles* of Saint Simon, *Gualter* of Broffard, *John* Steward a Scot, and other valiant Captaines, who led fiftene or sixtene hundred fighting men. Their purpose was onely to victual the besieged, whilst the King raised new forces in the Countries of his obedience. The Constable remained at largeau attending the issue, which succeeded more happily then the designe of so slight a succour. The Earle of Dunois doth aduertise the besieged of his approach.

The riuier forced the English to make three lodgings, these within the towne had cunningly surprized the bridges vpon the riuier of Loing, and after the succours had fiercely recovered the Rendezvous, those within the towne stopped the course of the water so artificially, as the riuier ouerflows the bridges. At the same instant all the troopes charge the English: *la Hire* leading the first troope, chargeth the quarter where the Lord de *la Poole*, brother to the Earle of Suffolke commanded, and crying *Montiege* S. Denis, he fills all with confusion, killing, burning, and spoiling: de *la Poole* with much adoe saues himselfe with fourteen more in his brothers lodging in the Abbey without the towne, vpon the way to Nemours. The Earle of Dunois (whose Rendezvous was towards the Castle, hauing ioyned with the Townes-men (who were issued forth with great resolution) chargeth the body of their armie, the which he wholly defeated.

The slaughter was great, for so small troopes, for they numbered sixteen hundred: slaine vpon

The Duke of
Bourgogne
seizeth on
laqueine
Countesse of
Hainault.

1426
Made heire of
Brabant.

The Duke of
Bedford
brings new
forces out of
England.

The siege of
Montargis.

1427

upon the place. In this charge the Earle of Suffolke, fauoured by the waters, gathers together all he can in his quarter, and recouers the hils, to make his retreat to Chasseau-Landon, and Nemours, places vnder the English command, and of necest retreat. The honor of this happy successe, was attributed to the Earle of Dunois, whereat the King receiued an incredible content, as a refreshing to this burning feuer, and the Constable Richmond a grieuous discontent, being absent: and so this year ended.

But the new year will then what fruits Britany yielded to France during her great necessities. This check at Montargis did somewhat coole the Duke of Bedfords heat, but the Constables ambition nothing at all; who hauing vndertaken to play the King with the King, sought to crosse all the humors of this Prince: he hated what he loued; disallowed what he allowed, and dispraised what he commended. After the violent death of Gyse (of whom we haue spoken) he had fauoured Tremouille, to plant him in the Kings good fauor. But as ambition hath neither faith nor honesty, Tremouille finding himselfe inward with the King, retains all fauour for himselfe, little esteeming both the Constable and the Princes. He did onely associate vnto him in credit, Prie and la Borde, men of small account, to vse them at his pleasure, ialousie mounts again vpon the Stage: the Princes, Constable and chiefe officers of the crowne, in stead of taking counsell to pursue the good successe of Montargis, they combine themselves together to worke their wils vpon Tremouille, and his Partisans, as they had done vpon Gyse. The plot was orderly laid. James of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, and Charles of Bourbon Earle of March, Princes of the blood, become heads of this league against Tremouille and his companions. The league is thus plotted, *First, much as the King is governed by base people, to the contempt of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, and to the great oppression of the poore people, the confederates mean to punish these flatterers, abusing the Kings name and authority, and to approach neere vnto his Maestie, to gouern the affaires for the good of his seruite, and the ease of France.* The execution must begin with the seizure of Tremouille, and continue with Prie and la Borde. The Constable should take Tremouille, and the Princes were to seize on the citie of Bopriges, where Prie and la Borde were in the great Towre, and so to punish them.

But this enterprise came to naught, for Tremouille hauing intelligence of this designe not only preferred himselfe, but hauing perswaded the King, that this complot was made against his own person and authority, it troubled Charles, as he came in person to Bourges, and preuented the Princes entry, and without any more disguizing he was strangely incensed against the Constable, as the author of these troubles and confusions, forbidding the cities to receiue him. The Constable notwithstanding smothered this disgrace, and to shew the deuotion he had to the Kings seruite, he goes to field, gathers together a goodly troope of Brittons, and puts himselfe into Pontorion, a towne abandoned: he fortifies it, and inans it with a good Garison, vnder the command of Monsieur de Rostrenan and Beaufort. This done, he dismisseth his Brittons. The Earle of Warwicke watched all occasions to surpris the towne, when as beheld these two gouernors minister a fit meanes: for (making a roade towards Auranches) they are both taken. Warwicke marcheth presently to the Wals of Pontorion with his army. The Constable sends Bertrand of Dinan, Marshall of Britany speedily with great succours. Yet the siege continues obstinately. New supplies are sent them by the Duke of Britanie, the which were cut in peeces. Pontorion after much paine comming to a parlee, in the end yeelds to the English, the besieged departing with bagge and baggage.

But this was not the end of this victory: the English army increased both in number and courage: by this happy successe, and threatens Britanie with fire and sword. They prepare to enter. John Duke of Britanie wearied with so many losses, and fearing worse, making no account of the succours of France, (to whom he was coldly affected) takes part with the Duke of Bedford, renouneeth all other alliances, promisth to acknowledge the King of England for King of France, and to take the oath of obedience, such as his predecessours were accustomed to doe to the Kings of France. Behold the great good which Britanie brought to our country in her extreamest afflictions, after so many hopes & imbracings. This year is painfull, shamefull, and confused, but the fore-runner of a worthy deliuerance. Take courage then my countrymen in the remainders of this tempest. We haue said that after that miserable battell of Veruicell, the towne of Mans yeelded to the English. The inhabitants not able to beare the imperious command of the English, resolute in the end

New troubles
in Court by
the Constable.

Pontorion
yeelds to the
English.

The Britton
James I. scale
France of
France.

A to shake off that yoke: For the effecting whereof, they feaze vpon a gate, giuing intelligence thereof to the Lord of Oruall, brother to the Lord of Albret, who happily arries, takes the City, and cuts the English in peeces. The Earle of Suffolke was within the Castle. Talbot that renowned Captaine was at Alenton, he aduertiseth him of this surprize. Talbot prepares his succours with such silence, and flies thither with such speed, as hee arries at Mans the third day after the surprize. Our French-men transported with ioy for so noble a conquest, and fearing no enemy among so many enemies both politicke and discontented slept securely in their beds after the French manner, without feare or guard, when as Talbot (hauing entred the Citie by scaling) surpriseth them in their beds, killing them without resistance.

A notable example, both to imitate and to flye: to flye, that through carelesnes we suffer not our selues to be surprisid like swine; it is the very terme wherewith the History doth blemish this brutish sloath: to imitate, not to hold any thing impossible when as resolution doth accompany him that hath any notable attempt in hand. But this victory slayes not at Mans: the Earle of Suffolke with his braue Talbot, goes to field, they march to Laual (a towne of importance, vpon the confines of Aniou and Britany) they take it easily, by the onely terror of their victorious armes, encounter no enemy to withstand them. The whole Court was in confusion; the Princes of the blood, and our Constable shew not to make warre against the English, but against the Mignons. It was their proiect, as if the whole State depended vpon the Kings fauour, who lost daily to the generall discontent of all the French. So this year had nothing memorable, but that our warriors had lost both iudgement, courage, and force: that through their defects God might raise vpon me extraordinary meanes, for the deliuey of this monarchy, almost ruined. Our Captaines then did some exploits, taking Rochfort, Bertran-court, Lanul, Chasteau-neu, Puisse, Toury, Mompieau, Nogent le Rerrou, and Lude: but what toyces are these, in regard of the stately triumphs of the English?

That which was most admirable this year: amidst all these domesticall contentions, and all these ruines and desolations of the State (which might well haue quailed the best affected) those of the Citie of Tournay (after long contentions) in the end abandon both D English & Bourguignon, protestfing solemnly, not to acknowledge any other King then Charles the 7. sonne to Charles the first, as the true and lawfull King of France, and by consequence their lawfull Lord: yet they made a truce with the Bourguignon, being their neighbours, with the Kings good liking. In the meane time, the Duke of Bedford leaues what men and mony he can, both in France and England, for some great attempt, Charles hath intelligence from diuers parts, but what could he doe in so deepe despaire of his affaires, and in so visible an impossibility.

The famous Siege of Orleans.

ALL the cities on this side Loire, from the Ocean Sea were lost, with the whole countries of Normandy, Picardy, the Isle of France, Bry, and Champagne. He had nothing left but the townes lying vpon the riuier of Loire, from Gyon to Angers, for 1 Charles held for the Bourguignon. The chiefe was Orleans, this being wonne, what could hold out long for the French: Bourges could make small resistance, it the English had forced Orleans. The enemies of our State (who called Charles King of Bourges) threatened to take from him this small and languishing Royalty. Orleans then was the marke whereat the Duke of Bedford ayimed, who hauing wonne the Britton, it greatly fortified the English affaires in France. As for the Bourguignon, he had in a manner recovered the Estates of Holland, Hainault, Zeland, and Namur. And although ambition and couetousnes can neuer be restrained: yet these Princes (nothing friendly among themselves) but as common enemies to this Crowne, agreed well in this, to make their priuate profit by the ruine of our State. But man purpoken, and God disposeth: we shall soone see how much he becomes their vanities.

In this lamentable time, mans reason could not discern by what meanes Charles should resist so mighty enemies. But in the weaknesse of this Prince, I reade with ioy the words of the Originall, which saith, *During the time that the English held their siege before the noble Citie of Orleans, King Charles was very weak, being abandoned by the*

1428

Mans surprisid
from the castle

And recovered
again.

1428

greatest part of his Princes and other Noblemen, seeing that all things were opposite unto him: yet had he still a good trust and confidence in God. He was not deceived in this hope, as the sequell will shew. The charge of this siege at Orleans was given to the Earle of Salisbury, a wife and resolute Commander: having given good testimonies of his sufficiency: for the well managing of this siege, he refused to take in all the Forts neere to Orleans, that obeyed the French, and beginning with the weakest, parting from Paris, (taking his way through the Country of Chartres) he seized vpon all the small townes wherein our Capitaines had so much toyled but a few months before. Nogent le Rotrou, Puzos, Rochfort, Bertancourt, Janville, Toury, Mompiepeau, the Caille of Pluuiers, and la Ferte of Gaules, and approaching neere the Citie (both above and beneath) Meung, Baugency, and Jargeau.

The Earle of
Salisbury be-
siege Orleans.

In the end he plants himselfe before Orleans, the sixt of October, in the year 1428. A day to be observed, for that the 12 of May, the year following was the last fit of our disease, which changed the estate of our miserable Country, like vnto a pleasant spring after a long and sharpe Winter, when as a goodly summer crownes all our labours with abundance of peace and plenty. So this siege continued iust seven months. The brute of this great preparation did wonderfully disquiet both Court and Country, vnder the French obedience, in the weaknesse and confusions of the State. The King after the taking of la Chaire, was commonly resident at Poitiers, hee now retires to Chinon, to be neerer to Orleans. The townes willingly contribute men, money, and victuals. Many great personages flie to this siege, to defend the chiefe strength of our King and Kingdom. Lewis of Bourbon the sonne of Charles Earle of Clermont, the Earle of Dunois, bastard of Orleans, the Lords of Bouslac and Fayette, Marshals of France: John Steward Constable of Scotland, William of Albret Lord of Orual; the Lords of Thouars, Chaugny, Grauille and Chabannes. The Capitaines la Hire, Xaintrailles, Theobald of Valpergue, and John of Leflego, Lombards, with many other great personages. There were not any of the Prouinces of Dauphine and Languedoc: for that the Dukes of Bourgongne and Sauoy, at the same instant prepared a great army, by the meanes of Lewis of Chalons Prince of Orange, to invade those Countries being wholly in the Kings obedience. The Orleansois resolues to defend himselfe. Hee presently begs downe all that might accommodate the enemy, suburbs, houses of pleasure, wine-presses, yea, and the temples themselves.

Charles the
Seventh.

Salisbury doth likewise wth great dexteritie and diligence to plant his siege, towards Beaulieu and the port Banniere, he builds a great Bastille, which hee calls Paris. Another at the port Renard which he names Rouen. Towards S. Laurence another, to the which he gaue the name of Windfore. At the port of Bourgongne he fortified a ruined Temple, called S. Loup, and neere vnto it another, named S. John the White. At the Portereau hee built a great fort vpon the ruines of the Angustines Church, calling it London: from the which he wonne the Towre vpon the bridge, and all with wonderfull speed. All the City is enuironed, having neither issue nor entry, but with fore fighting. And in these toyles they spend the rest of the year.

The first day of the new year, the English (for a new-years-gift to the city) bring their scaling-ladders courageously to the bulwarke at the port Renard, but they were valiantly repulsed by the defendants: the next day the Admiral of Cullant having passed the river of Loire at a ford (winter being very drie this year) visits them of the citie, and brings them diuers necessaries; vpon this return, he encounters some English troops which came straggling from forrage. He chargeth them, cuts them in peeces, and so retires without danger. Thus the month of January passeth without any other memorable exploit; but there hapned a strange accident the 20 of February following. The Duke of Bedford sent Lanten prouision to the Earle of Salisbury, with some munition of war, vnder the conduct of John Fastolfe and Simon Bowyer, with 1700 men for their guard. The Duke of Bourbon brought a goodly succour of foure thousand men to be besieged. He resolues to charge this English troope, having well viewed their numbers. It was likely the stronger should haue the victory, but the issue was contrary to the designe. For it chanced (as his men marched confidently, as it were to an assured victory, without any iudgement) the English seeing them in doubt how they should fight, either on foot or horse-back, and irresolute, in the end they resolute to charge the French: it falling out many times in this exercise, that he

which

The battell of
Hastings, vnder
the French.

which begins, wins. To conclude, without any further aduice, the English embrace this occasion, charge our troopes, who were so surprised with this unexpected impression, as they presently giue way to the English Bow-men. All fye, some here, some there, without order, without command, and without courage, and few fight. Those that made head were slaine, the rest saue themselves within Orleans. There were fye or six hundred of our men slaine vpon the place. The English lost but one man called Brisfanteau. The chiefe of our side were the Lord of Orual, the Noble House of Albret, John Steward, Chasteaubrun, Montpel, Verdusant, Larigot, La Grene, Dinray, Pully, with better then an hundred Gentlemen.

This ouerthrow was called the Battell of Herings, for that they caryed them to the besiegers: the amazement was greater then the losse, for that the Earle of Clermont a prince of the blood, who should haue bene a ring-leader, full of resolution and valour in these extreme accidents, was so amazed with this losse, as he retired with his men, leauing the City to the bastard of Orleans, who resolues to attend the end of this siege, at what price soeuer. In this gallant resolution, he was virtuously seconded by the Lords of Guity, Gaudou, Grauille, Villars, La Hire, and Xaintrailles, lights of great hope in this cruell storme, and worthy of eternall memory, in that they despaired not of this monarchy, in so apparent despair. And that which is chiefly to be observed herein, the King (vnderstanding this retreat of the Earle of Clermont) said that he did see no meanes to saue the rest from

C Shipwrecke.

To increase this feare, the Duke of Bourgongne comes to Paris at the same instant with a troope of fixe hundred men armed richly appointed. Our Commanders (being full of resolution) were not only to encounter with the English, but with the confusion of times; the Kings misfortune, and (which was worst of all) the amazement of the men of warre who discouered plainly the disorder of the State. They were loth to cast the helme after the hatcher, but fought the most assured meanes to saue the City in this storme. They aduertise the King herof, who was so irresolute, as he referres all to their discretions; who resolute to deliuer the towne into the Duke of Bourgongnes hands, to keepe it for the Duke of Orleans, or the Duke of Angouleme his brother, being then prisoners in England, D with the Kings good liking. Fastolfe of Xaintrailles, and Peter of Orfon (wife and valiant men) goe to Paris to the Duke of Bedford, vpon his assurance. Hee heares them, and returns them presently, both for that hee distrusted the Duke of Bourgongne, and held the conquest assured. The Bourguignon was greatly discontented with Duke of Bedford for his refusal, whom after that time he neuer loued.

The Duke of
Bedford dis-
contentes the
Bourguignon.

The English triumphed as victors, so as our Ambassadors could hardly saue themselves with their passport. Then the English (saith the Originally being in great prosperity, had no consideration that the wheele of Fortune hath power to turne daily. But the holy verity of the Church, which draws vs to the wise prouidence of God, cries, I haue said to fooles, Play not the fooles: and to the wicked, Lift not up your hornes, speake not with so great pride, for E greatness comes not from the East nor West, neither from the North: it is God that raiseth vp and casteth downe. He holds a cup of wine in his hand, he imparts it to eery one as he pleaseth.

Truly the pride of the English, who possessed a great part of this monarchy, being drunke with this good fortune, was now come to his height: there remained nothing but the hand of the soveraigne Iudge to suppress him; but he shall not long hold it.

O my Country! forget not the time of thy visitation. Reade in this true discourse the estate of thy predecessors. Remember their afflictions, behold their feare, see the image of that time wherein thou hast borne a part, and iudge if now onely thou beginnest to be afflicted.

In this extremity as the French were exceedingly distressed, so the English were transported with ioy, for their late victory; and reioycing with a new hope as if all were won, they cry to the besieged, Will you buy my sayre Herrings: at the same instant the townes-men issue forth along the river, the Earle of Salisbury stood at a window in the tower vpon the bridge beholding the skirmish, when as one of the Capitaines named Glacius, said vnto him, My Lord, behold here your Citie, here may you view it plainly. But behold a Cannon charged with stones was shot from the towne, which ayimed at the Earles head, strucke him and left him dead in the place. This unexpected blow (comming as it were from heauen) changed this exceeding ioy of the English into mourning, being a man of great valor, who

The Earle of
Salisbury slaine
before Orle-
ance.

C c 3

by

1429

1429

The Lord Talbot
commanded
in his place.

by his carriage had wonne great credit among them, beloued and honored of all, for the mildnesse of his manners. So this losse troubled both the wits & affaires of the English army, the which had greatly disbanded, if the Earle of Suffolke, *Talbot*, *John Fastolfe*, and *Scalus*, famous Captaines, had not happily been there, to reuiue their spirits and courage, attending the Duke of Bedford's pleasure, who gaue the charge to *Talbot*, being the choise of their best men, and sending him new forces. So as the siege is continued with more vehemency then before, with great presumptions, that all would goe worke with the besieged.

In this occurrent, *Charles* knew not what to doe, to whom should he flee? his Princes forsake him. Orleanse being taken, whither should he retire? Bourges was ready to yeeld, and withall, the country adioyning. He had no whole Prouince vnder his obedience, but Languedoc and Dauphine. And at the same instant the Bourguignon and Sauoyard provide worke for him in those countries. The taking then of Orleanse (which in reason could be vnauoyable) was the ouerthrow of *Charles* and his estate. There was no winking that which was too apparent. That (considering the estate of his affaires in generall and of his Houle in particular, if Orleans should be lost) all the townes vpon the riuer of Loire, and in like sort the rest (already waivering) would abandon him.

Amiddest these fearefull considerations, what could the braue and Noble Commander within Orleanse doe, but plant their hopes in God and in themselves? A *soveraigne* remedie in extreme dangers. So (to purchase an honorable and profitable composition) they set a good face on it; giuing the English to vnderstand, that if they desired their liues, they should buy them dearly. France reduced to so great an extremity, and truly such, as men could doe no more, behold God raised vp an extraordinary meanes, the which meanes reason could not foresee, and much lesse provide. A meanes which reuiued the daunted spirits, changed the face of our affaires, and dismayed the enemies. And to conclude by miraculous meanes gaue a happy successe both to our King and Realme: and this was the occasion.

Charles the
famous Maid.

A young Maiden named *Jane* of Arc (borne in a village vpon the Marches of Barre called *Durham*, neere to *Vaucouleurs*) of the age of eightene or twenty yeares, issued from base parents, her father was named *James* of Arc, and her mother *Isabel*, poore country folks, who had brought her vp to keepe their cattell, she said with great boldnesse, That shee had a reuelation, how to succour the King: how he might be able to chase the English from Orleanse, and after that to cause the King to be crowned at Rheims, and so put him fully and wholly in possession of his Realme.

After she had deliuered this to her father, mother, and their neighbours, she presumed to goe to the Lord of *Baudricourt* Prouost of *Vaucouleurs*, she boldly deliuered vnto him (after an extraordinary manner) all these great mysteries, as much wished for of all men, as not hoped for: especially coming from the mouth of a poore country maide, whom they might with more reason beleue to be possessed by some melancholy humour, then diuinely inspired, being the instrument of so many excellent remedies, in so desperat a situation, after the vaine striving of so great and famous personages. At the first he mocked her, and reproued her, but hauing heard her with more patience, and iudging by her temperate discourse and modest countenance, that she spake not idly, in the end he resolues to present her to the King for his discharge. So she arriues at *Chinon* the sixth day of May, attired like a man.

Toward the Virgin
as a Carthusian
nun.

She had a modest countenance, sweet, ciuill and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastity. Hauing spoken to the King or Noblemen with whom she was to negotiate, she presently retired to her lodging with an old woman that guided her, without vanity, affectation, babling or courtly lightnesse. These are the manners which the Original attributes vnto her. The matter was found ridiculous both by the King and his Councell, yet must they make some trial. The King takes vpon him the habit of a countiman, to be disguised: this maide (being brought into the Chamber) goes directly to the King in this attire, salutes him with a modest countenance, as if she had bene bred vp in court all her life. They telling her that she was mistaken she assured them it was the King, although she had neuer scene him. She begins to deliuer vnto him this new charge, which (she sayes) she had receiued from the God of heauen so as she turned the eyes and minds of all men vpon her.

This

A This matter being referred to counsell, it was concluded, they should take the aduice of Diuines. They answer, that in desperate diseases, the prouidence of God doth commonly raise vp extraordinary remedies, and employes women, when as men grow faint-hearted: as in the afflictions of Israel, he hath mightily vied *Deborah* and *Abigail*: The one to teach the people, the other to kill a furious tyrant: and *Iudith*, which slew that great tyrant in the midst of his army. So as necessity, which made them to seeke all sorts of remedies, caused the King to try if this Maide spake truth, but without the hazard of any thing. This *Joan* (held for a Prophetesse by many) is reported by *Gyraud*, Seigneur of *Hailian*, and sundry other French Writers, and plainly said to haue been induced to this imposture by three Noblemen, who had incited her thereto, and layed that plot, only to encourage King *Charles* to fight, despairing of his estate.

She desires of the King, that she may be conducted to Orleanse, to beginne the worke which she said she had in charge. A sword remaining in Touraine, in a place called *S. Katherine* of *Fierebois* was brought vnto her, to be armed therewith. They gaue her armes and horse, with a sufficient troope to enter the citie. *Lewis* of *Cullant*, Admirall of France, and *James* of *Rieux* Marshall, had charge to accompany her with some viduals to the besieged, and to haue a care, that all should be wisely caryed without hazard. She prepares her colours, and being armed at all points, she went to take leaue of the King, with a grace worthy of a great Captaine: beseeching him to trust in God, in whose name shee spake.

C Thus she parts from *Chinon* the twelfth of April.

Now they reckoned the sixt month of the siege, the besieged cry out for hunger. This victualling provided at Blois, is conducted by the aboue-named Commanders, with great care, as well for feare of the English (who had their centinels in all places) as for the distrust they had of this new Commander. She marched in the fore-most rancke, betwixt the Admirall and the Marshall, carying the countenance of a very resolute personage. They arrive (with this provision) safely at Orleanse, the English making no shew of arming, although she passed before their forts, in view of the armie, yet had they scarce fixe hundred men in this supply.

The power of Gods prouidence is admirable in the hearts of men, making them to yeeld insensibly to what he hath decreed. This first exploit stirred vp the spirits of the French. Orleanse begins to reioyce at the sight of this Maide, attired like a man, standing vpon the point of yeelding. This first releefe was not sufficient for so great a multitude. They resolued to fetch more viduals, and to that end would returne to Blois. But before their departure the Maiden writes this letter following, to the chiefe of the English army, and sends it by a trumpet. I haue truly set it down out of the Original, in the same words and style, both for the reuerence of antiquitie, the noble courage of this virgin, and the truth and state of the subiect.

King of England, doe reason to the King of heauen, for his blood royall, yeeld vp to the King the keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She is come from heauen to reclaim the blood royall, and is ready to make a peace, if you be ready to doe reason: yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken. King of England, I am the chiefe of this war, wherefore I encounter your men in France, I will chase them, will they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercie. The Virgin comes from the King of heauen, to drine you out of France. If you will not obey, she will cause so great a fire, as the like hath not bene these thousand yeares in France. And beleue certainly, that the King of heauen will send her and her good men at armes, more force then you can haue. Goe in Gods name into your country, be not obstinate, for you shall not hold France of the King of heauen, the Sonne of *Saint Mary*, but *Charles* shall enjoy it, the King and lawfull heyre, to whom God hath giuen it, he shall enter Paris with a goodly traine. You *William de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *John* Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* Lord *Scalus*, Lieutenants to the Duke of Bedford: and you Duke of Bedford, rearming your selfe Regent of the Realme of France, spare innocent blood, and leaue Orleanse in libertie. If you doe not reason to them you haue wronged, the French will doe the goodliest exploit that euer was done in Christendome: vnderstand these newes of God, and of the Virgin.

This letter (being deliuered to the Earle of *Suffolke*) was read with laughter. *Charles* and his Councell was scorned, as seeking remedies without reason, and transported with folly in following of these vanities. They now assure themselves of a speedy victory, seeing

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Joan sent
threats
the Eng-
lish.

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that *Charles* is vncertaine what to doe. The Trumpeter is imprisoned against the Law of Nations, ready to be burnt in the sight of the besieged: when as suddenly there was other worke prepared for them. A new supply of victuals is made at Blois, through the care of *Renold* of Chartres, Chancellor of France, & Archbishop of Rheims, a great personage in his time. The Virgin goes to field for the safe conducting thereof to Orleans, but with a greater troop then beforefor the fame of her actions, and of his new successe, had drawn together feuen or eight thousand men: like vnto a cheerefull spring, which causeth trees being dead in fliew, to sprout and spring againe. The Commanders were not greatly moued with these popular brutes, giuing but cold beleefe to the Virgins visions and promises, so as they passe another way for their greater safety. The Virgin lets them go, forbearing to speake any thing before their coming to Orleans: then she said, *You hide your selues from me, as if I were ignorant of your intentions, but you must not doubt of the performance of that which God hath decreed.* This was the 20 of April.

Orleans beleagured the second time by same.

Orleans being thus fortified both with men and victuals: the Earle of Dunois, and *Patton* of *Sainttrilles*, hold a Councell what was to be done: they call her, and intreat her to deliuer her opinion. My aduice is (saith she) that without any farther delay, we charge the English that besiege vs, for that (God being on our side) they cannot escape vs: but before we proceed, let euery man dispose of his confidence, and banish all lewd and naughty persons out of the Army. Although there were small hope or likelihood to vanquish a Conquerour, yet the Commanders resolute to accept and embrace her Councell as an Oracle from God.

The Earle of Dunois made choice of fiftene hundred strong and lusty men for the fight, meaning to begin with the fort at Bourgongne gate, called *S. Loup*. The virgin goes in the foremost rancke, with the chiefe Captaines of the Army. The souldiers encouraged by her presence, assaile this Fort furiously, being guarded by foure hundred English: neither arrowes, pikes, nor halberts, could stay the planting of their ladders. The Virgin enters the Fort first, crying, *Montjoy, Saint Denis, the Fort is wonne.* The English abandon their defences, and suffer themselves to be slaine by the French, who (seeing themselves Master of the Fort, and wearied with the execution) take many prisoners. The artillery, and munition being drawne forth, they set fire on the Fort. This chanced the fourth of May, a remarkable day, being the first fruits of the deliury of Orleans, and the generall restoring of this Realme.

Thus the Virgin returns into the Citie with her victorious souldiers. All the people followed her with cries of victory: she can hardly retire to her lodging: all the world runnes to see her, and to commend her, both men, women, and children: all cry out confusedly with a ioy mixt with teares: *Blessed be the Virgin which comes to deliuer vs.* On the other side, the English seeing their men carryed away, like chickens before the Eagle, and their Fort consumed as with fire from heauen) were greatly amazed, being in so great possibility to vanquish the French on euery side. *Suffolke* and *Talbot* make Orations to their men, to reuiue their spirits, daunted at this new and strange spectacle. But we must proceed, and not suffer the courage of the victorious souldiers to grow cold. The Virgin goes to counsell with the chiefe of the City, causing them to resolute to continue the next day, what they had so happily begunne.

The English grow amazed at the Virgins exploits.

At the breake of day, the virgins colours are carryed through the Citie: she resolues to passe the Riuer, and to take the Forts on the other side. She passeth happily betwixt the Fort of *Saint Loup* that was ruined, and the new Tower, where the furiously assailes and winnes the Fort called *Saint John the White*, and cuts all the Souldiers in peeces: from thence she marcheth to the Portreau, where the great Bastion of London was built, vpon the *Angelsins* Church. This place was valiantly disputed throughout the resolutions of both parties, but in the end it was forced. The victory was double, in vanquishing of the enemy, and in deliuiering of friends: for there were many French prisoners found therein. There now remained the *Tournelles*, and the Bastion vpon the Bridge, being the dungeon of their principall defence. The Virgin held this exploit sufficient for that dayes worke, leaving the rest vntill the morrow, to giue the souldiers breath. So the Fortresse being besieged, they prepare for the last assault.

The next day (being Saturday, the sixt of May) ended this dangerous siege, which had continued feuen moneths. The sharpest Thorne remained yet behind: the *Tournelles* adioyning

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A adioyning to the Bridge, was kept by *Glacidas* (one of the most resolute Captaines among the English) hauing well encouraged his men to defend themselves, and to fight for their liues.

The skirmish begins at nine of the clocke in the morning, and the ladders are planted. A storme of English Arrowes, falls vpon our men with such violence as they recoile. *How now* (saith the Virgin) *haue we begunn so well, to end so ill? let vs charge, they are our owne, seeing God is on our side.* So euery one recovering his forces, flocks about the Virgin: the English double the storme, vpon the thickest of the troopes. The Virgin fighting in the foremost ranks, and encouraging her men to doe well, was thorow the arme with an arrow. She nothing amazed, takes the arrow in one hand, and her sword in the other. *This is a sauer* (sayes she) *let vs go on, they cannot escape the hand of God.* At this womans voyce, amidst the found of warre, the combat grows very hot. Our men greatly encouraged by this Virgin, runne head-long to the Bastion, and force a point thereof. Then fire and stones raigne so violently, as the English being amazed forsake their defences. Some are slaine vpon the place, some throw themselves down head-long, and flie to the Tower vpon the Bridge. In the end this braue *Glacidas* abandons this quarter, and retires into the base Court vpon the Bridge, and after him a great troope of his souldiers. The Bridge greatly shaken with Artillery, tryed by fire, and over-charged with the weight of this multitude, sinks into the water with a fearefull cry, carrying all this multitude with it.

Many English drowned at Orleans, the bridge breake; king.

Thus the riuer of Loire was a Sepulchre for *Glacidas*, and all his troope, alwayes accustomed to vanquish, but when they were vanquished. An example of mans vanity, who (drunke with their victories,) cannot conceiue that the rodde of the Iudge of this world may touch them. The English lost in these three dayes skirmishes, aboue eight thousand men, and we scarce a hundred, the which was Gods handy worke. If the ioy of Orleans were great, and the Virgins honour proclaimed in this happy successe, being proofes of her true fore-tellings; if her triumphs were double: when as passing through the Citie (hauing her arme honourably hurt) she was inuironed by the Earle of Dunois, *Pothon* of *Xantrilles*, and all the most famous Captaines: the perplexitie of *Suffolke*, *Talbot* and *Scaler*, was not lesse, force-seeing the vnauoidable course of their misfortune, if they should D obolitely defend the other Forts that were towards Beaulieu, although a good part of their army remained there. So they take counsell from danger to abandon all these Forts, to retire into some place of safety, and to aduertise the Duke of Bedford of their misfortunes.

Orleans freed from the English.

The same night they gather together with great silence, about nine thousand men, and take the way to Baugency. The Orleansois are watchfull, observing their departure, prepare to charge the enemy, but the Virgin would not consent thereunto. And in truth this remainder was appointed for other victories. The Inhabitants thus freed, issue early in the morning out of the Citie, they come to the Bastions, where hauing gathered together great store of armes, victuals and baggage, they cast these great monuments of the English labours vnto the ground. They giue solemne thanks vnto God, the Author of so miraculous a deliury; and to the end this singular benefit might be celebrated yearly, they erect a monument for this memorable successe, King *Charles* the seuenth armed, and *Jane* the Virgin likewise armed, both kneeling vpon their knees before a Crucifixe of bras, kept to this day vpon the Bridge amidst the furies of our late ciuill, or rather vnciuill warres. Truly thank-giuing for so excellent a good, is due to God onely, and this memory ought to be religiously consecrated to posterity, as the first fruits of the restoring of this Estate, then halfe dead through the force and might of Strangers.

To confirme this goodly victory, the Virgin parts well accompanied from Orleans, and goes to the King to Chinon, to yeeld him an account of her commission. It cannot be spoken with what ioy this Prince beheld her, and what credit she purchased by this miraculous successe. But, *My Liege* (saith she) *this is but a beginning, we must finish the God of Heauen worke, causing you to be crowned at Rheims, and chasing your enemies out of your State.* This is the commandment I haue receiued. And so by her aduice *Charles* assembles all his forces. The Constable of Richmond (who neuer durst shew himselfe after the quarrell with *Tremouille*) is now reconciled by the Virgins intercession, and hereafter shal do very good seruice to this Crowne. *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Clermont, is now wonderfully discontented, so haue retired himselfe from the battell of *Herrings*, hauing not honourably assisted

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The English
defeated at
Largéau, the
Earle of Suffolke
taken, and
his brethren
slaine,

assisted in these exploits, in the which he had held the first rancke. But *Iohn* of Bourbon, Duke of Alençon, arrived happily out of prison from England, (he had been taken at the battell of Vernueil) to be commander of these goodly troopes, which goe resolutely to take possession of the Cities of Champagne, being all then in the possession of the English. Men possit from all parts to this banquet. Their hearts being reuiued, their countenances change, and their affaires take a new forme. They then make projects, saying: But whilst the King prepares for his Coronation at Guyen, and to be nereest his chiefest affaires; let vs suppress these English which remaine, after that great defeat of Orleans; and let vs take from them those townes which are neere about. The Earle of Suffolke was at Largéau: the towne is besieged and taken, all the English are either slaine, or taken prisoners: one of the Earles brethren was slaine in the fight, another of them drowned, and he himselfe was taken vpon the Bridge as he was flying away. *Méung* was taken by *Guy* of Lauall, and seuen or eight hundred Englishmen slaine: *Baugency* yeelds by composition.

The English
defeated at
Patay,

The Duke of Bedford gathers together what forces he can, to preserve the rest of the townes from shipwracke, lending a troope of foure thousand men to fortifie them. *Talbot* with *Thomas* *Ramseyne* haue the charge. This troope was presently subiect to our victory, and when as they find that neither men nor townes can hold out for them, they seek to retire themselves: but they are encountered at Patay, a small village in Beaufic, where all are slaine or taken, yet our mens fury being past, many are spared, both in the fight, and in prison: that the English might haue a testimony of our mildnesse. The great *Talbot* is taken and brought to *Charles*, who vseth him with great respect. *Iohn* *Falsoll* flies shamefully, and is therefore degraded by the Duke of Bedford.

This chanced the twelfth of May. We had all the tokens of an absolute victory. The Commanders slaine or taken, the field wonne, an hundred and ten Ensignes brought to our Temples, their Artillery, munition, and all other habiliments of Warre, are leazed on: and moreover, the hearts of the King and the French were resolved to end the quarrell. Behold the first fruits: the harvest shall be gathered in time, as the Historie will shew by degrees. But let vs goe to Rheims, to Crowne *Charles* according to the Virgin appointment.

The Coronation of CHARLES the Seventh.

King Charles
erwed at
Rheims,

BY this happy successe, the way was made to Rheims, although the Kings Council framed many difficulties to hinder this voyage, as superfluous, and almost impossible: for why, say they, should *Charles* be Crowned? The Law of State made him to be borne a King, and he was Crowned at Poictiers. But if (to please the people) it must of force be so, where is the meanes to effect this decree? Rheims and all the townes of Champagne, be in other mens possessions. Thus did many discourse. The Virgin answered, *We must goe to Rheims to Crowne the King. It is true, the King is the lawfull heire, but his right is called in question by the English, this maske deceiues many, and makes them disobedient: As for the meanes, leaue that to the God of Heauen, hee will provide for it.*

The Bourguignon
and
Sauoyard, in
Dauphine and
Languedoc.

This aduice preuailed, as an Oracle: all things are prepared in readinesse for the Coronation. *Charles* retyres to Bourges for this intent, as if the preseruer of the Monarchy would mocke his enemies, who called him King of Bourges in iest: for shortly after hee parts from Bourges to be proclaimed King of France. But whilst he attends there, vntill that all things may be made fit for his journey to Rheims; behold an increase of good newes to crowne his late and happy victory against the English; That the Bourguignon and Sauoyard, who would haue leazed vpon Dauphine were defeated. The particular of this discourse is: The realme being set to sale to strangers, and that euery one sought to haue his part: the Dukes of Bourgogne and Sauoy had laid a plot to appropriate vnto themselves both Dauphine and Languedoc, with other Prouinces that obeyed *Charles*, vsing in this negotiation the helpe of *Lewis* of Chaalons Prince of Orange, a man of valor & credit, especially in those countries, by reason of his principality which lay neere vnto them. The diuision of this Merchandise was thus made betwixt them three. The Bourguignon had the Viennois, neere vnto Lions, and that which depended on Lions, whereon he had cast his eye, to make profit of that goodly Citie. *Grisiuaudan* with *Grenoble* & *em*

A euen to Romans, Ambrunois, Gapenfois, Brianfonsiois, and all the Countreies of the Mountains were the Sauoyards part.

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The Orangeois (to enlarge his principality) had Valentinois, Dyois and the Baronies, where he held some land vnder the obedience of this Crowne. This portion was allotted to him for his paines. They all arme vpon this project, euen when as the English prestid Orleans must. The best houses of Bourgogne, and Sauoy, contribute to this warre, as to a fleet that goes to the East, or the West Indies: but they had not assured their venture in the Port, with an intent to haue all the profit. This league is made with great shew: the Duke of Sauoy sends five hundred Lances, vnder the command of the Lord of Vatembon, besides voluntaries, and three thousand foot. The Bourguignon (with his Mothers assistance) a thousand Lances. Many Noble men repaire thither, as to an assured gaine. There were leauied in his territories nine or ten thousand foot. The Prince of Orange assembles a goodly troope, as well of his subiects, as of his friends in Prouence, where he had a good portion and for his beginning, he seizeth vpon Enton, a towne vpon the Roine, a safe passage for Sauoy and Bourgogne: and Colombiers, a Castle of great importance neere vnto it. Having brought sixteene hundred men thither, he attends the troopes of Bourgogne, and Sauoy, which repaire vnto him daily. He puts forty men at armes into Colombiers for the guard of the place, and keeps the rest of the troopes about him with great security, fearing no enemy, in this generall amazement of the kings affaires: but the successe was contrary to this designe, for *Raoul* of Gaucourt, Gouverneur of Dauphine, resolves in this extremity, who (attending no succours from the King, being wisely engaged, and in great danger,) doth husband such forces as he could gather together within his government, from Lions and Viarez, Countreies that were vnder the French obedience. *Imbert* of Grosse, gouernour of Lions, and Marshall of Dauphine, *Iohn* de *Lewis*, Baron of la Voute, the Lords of Ioyeuse, Turnon and Crusol (great men in the Countrey of Viarez) did their best deuoir: the Nobility of Dauphine (renowned awayes for their fidelitie and valour) assisted as much as could be desired in so great a necessity. The Baron of Maubec is noted above the rest for his well deserting. *Don Rodrigo* de Villandras a Castilian was there with a goodly and valiant troope.

The Lord of Gaucourt resolves to charge the Prince of Orange with this troope, giuing him no leisure to assemble the body of this army, the which increased daily. So (without any further delay) he besiegeth Colombiers, and takes it by force, before the Orangeois had any intelligence of his approach. Having this good successe, hee would giue the ciemie no time to take breath, but desirous to make his profit of this happy beginning, hee parts suddenly with these resolute troopes to draw the Prince of Orange to fight: who was then parted from Enton, hauing intelligence onely of the siege, but not of the taking of Colombiers, beleeuing confidently, that the very brute of his forces would make our men to hide themselves: but hee was deceived. Hee had foure thousand men with him, and Gaucourt had about two thousand, yet (notwithstanding his small number) being nothing amazed, hee charged and defeats them. The neer nesse of Enton saues many. There were five hundred slaine vpon the place, and two hundred of the bravest souldiers taken prisoners. The Prince of Orange hauing recouered Enton, passeth the Roine in a Boate, and saues himselfe. The common report is that he passeth this violent streame on horse backe all armed. The people of that countrey doe beleue it from Father to Sonne, that this horse was kept and dyed at Orange, hauing a long time bene nourished there by the Princes commandement, acknowledging the seruice he had receiued of this Beast in his extreme necessity. *Monfreslet* saith, That he parted in great disorder, and was chased euen vnto Authun. *Alain Charretier*, Secretary to our King *Charles*, writes in expresse words, That hee passed the Roine at the Ferry of Enton. Hee fets downe that the booy was about a hundred thousand Crownes, besides many notable prisoners of Bourgogne and Sauoy, which came to be spoiled, thinking to doe the like to our *Charles*.

This defeat hapned the twentieth day of May, the same day that the English (which retired from Orleans) were defeated at Patay. To credit the work, against such as made their account alone without God, who seeking to rauish another mans goods vniuilly, lost their owne deseruedly. Thus God workes speedily, as may appeare by the course of so many happy exploits, liant one to another in this month of May, as a prediction of the restoring of

Preparations
against Dal-
phine and Lan-
guedoc.

The Prince of
Orange de-
feated.

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of the estate in this Realme. The Bourguignons and the Sauoirs designe being disappointed by this defeat, *Gauconr* resolves to haue this priuate reuenge of the Oranges, being the factor of this filthy trafficke. To conclude (without giuing him any respite) he passeth the Rhine with his victorious forces, and takes many places from him; the which he racks and burnes. But not ingaging himselfe farther in the Franch-Conte (where the of Chaalons haue many goodly places) he came to Oranges his chiefe towne, whereof he carries the name, as soueraigne Prince. He takes both towne and Castle, and all thare held in Dauphine vnder the Kings obedience: yet the Citizens of Orange (wonderfully affected to their Prince) within few moneths after chase the French out of the Castle, and become masters thereof, for the seruice of their prince, to whom they yeeld in. Such was the end of this enterprife, shamefull for the Authors, and shamefully prejudiciall for the intrinseque.

Amadee Duke of Sauoy (fallen from so visible a hope, to fith in a troubled water, and seeing on the other side the happy successe of *Charles*) he growes so much discontented, his whole discourse is to abandon the world, but hereafter we shall see his actions. As he came he returns in the mid-way, without effecting of any thing. Our Bourguignon stowes higher pitch, and had more then one designe in his head. But let vs now returne to our King to Bourges. The preparations for this Coronation were royall and very admirable. No great affliction, but aboue all it was beautified with great personages. There were *Antoine* of Bourbon Duke of Alançon, *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Clermont, prince of the blood, who had faithfull y and profitably accompanied the King in his great aduentions, *Arthur* of Britan Earle of Richmond, Constable of France, *Charles* of Anjou, Duke to the King of Sicilia, and brother to the Queene.

The Earle of Dunois bastard of Orleans, *Charles* of Alfort Earle of Perdrac, a younger sonne of the noble house of Armagnac, the Lord of Cullant, Admirall of France, the Lord Maistrals of France, the Lords of Boufflac, Loheac, Rieux and Faictre. The Lords of Tremouille, Laval, Chaugny, Chaumont, Lamelan, d' Aulin, Serrant, Crusol, Saint Chaumont, and many others, with *Tosbon*, *la Hire* and the virgin, excellent peeces of this generation. Many could not come in time to this Solemnity: great troopes came posting from all parts, notwithstanding the danger of the enemy, which was great in diuers places. Such was the desire of the French to assist at this wished act, loyalty remaining in their breasts, as the seed doth in the bosome of the earth during winter. But *Charles* (before he parted from Bourges to Rheims) provided for the publike safety, lest the English should attempt any thing during this solemnity. He sends his Constable into Normandy, and the Earle of Perdrac into Guienne with some troopes, and reserves ten thousand men for his Coronation, as well to make his passage through townes that should resist, as to honour the Ceremony. A very doubtfull journey yet most happy.

Thus he begins his voyage: The first citie that was summoned by his commandement, was Auxerre: they excuse themselves by reason of the truce lately obtained by *Tremouille* in intercession. A presumption very prejudiciall in the example, euen now in this first trial of obedience, vpon this same of victory, whereof none could make any question without apparant danger. Euery man did see this error, but no man durst open his mouth, for that the King did countenance *Tremouille*, euen with the prejudice of his actions. So *Charles* entred not into Auxerre, he onely tooke their words, that at his returne they should do as the rest, and furnish the Kings army with viuals for their money. From Auxerre the King comes to S. Florentin, which yeelds without any question. Troies was the next: at the first they refused, like vnto Auxerre, through the practices of such as were of the English faction: but as *Charles* prepared for the siege, behold a notable change. The choice Citizens assembled themselves, assure the Citie, and giue the King to vnderstand, that they are ready to receiue his commandements, and without attending for any more from the King, a goodly company goes forth to meet him, and to offer him welcome. *Charles* then enters into Troies, to the vnspokeable ioy of all the people, being glad to see their Princes face, after so long captiuitie. Chaalons follows him, and all the rest of the townes, with great alacrity and willingnesse.

The chiefe combat must be at Rheims, the chiefe Rendezvous of this voyage. The Duke of Chastillon and Sauenze, with their Partizans of the English faction, did what they could to hinder the Kings entry. But the good Citizens preuaile, who being stronger then

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then the English faction,) could hardly keepe the people for tearing them in peeces, being loath to shed any blood. They agree and swear by common consent, to obey the King, and to that end send him the Keyes of Rheims. The way being thus made, and the Gates of Rheims open, hee goes thither with the beauty of his Court, and is receiued with the vnspokeable ioy of all the people, who come to meete him in great troopes, the fields, gates and streets found out; *God save the King*. *Charles* accompanied with his Princes and Officers, appeares like a goodly Sunne after a sharpe Winter. But in the greatest beauty of this triumph, *Isabe* the Virgin is beheld with admiration, and loden with popular blessings.

Two dayes being spent in the preparation of the Ceremony, *Charles* was anointed and crowned King the eight day of Iuly, in the year 1429, by *Renald* of Charrres, Archbishop of Rheims, Chanceller of France: a date to be obserued, being the beginning of great good to this realme. This was the seventh year after the law of State had called *Charles* to the Crowne, whereof he was heire, but the violence of strangers restrained and held most of the French from their obedience. So this Coronation was added to confirme the generall approbation of this lawful authority, not onely in their common beleefe, but in the tongues of the French, as the sequell will shew, that this solemne publication did greatly aduance the Kings affaires against his capital enemy.

But as the Sunne, rising higher in his Horizon, increaseth both in brightnesse and heate, so the beames of the French liberty were more apparant, and the subjects deuotion to their naturall Prince kindled daily, after the long and sharpe Winter of the English command. This was a reuiuing both to their hearts, State, and manners: the image of a golden age, after the horrible tempest of a long and mortall confusion. The French did straine to receiue their King, and the King to receiue them with a fatherly loue. The Kings commandements (generally proclaimed to liue modestly with-out oppression of the people) were freely executed, and the people made the best chere they could to so pleasing guests.

This act did greatly daunt the English, all the Prouinces taking a new resolution to submit themselves vnder the obedience of their naturall Prince, as the sequell of the History will shew. But before we ingage our selues in so long a discourse, order doth command vs to obserue the state of the Church and Empire, hauing past it ouer in silence, since the year 1364, towards the end of the raigne of *Charles* the fifth. Doubtlesse we were sufficiently troubled with our owne confusions, vnder the miserable daigne of *Charles* the sixth, imbarcking our selues in forraigne stormes. We are therefore briefly to note, according to our stile, what hath happened since fifty nine yeares, in these two great bodies.

We haue left the Empire in the hands of *Charles* the fourth, an excellent Prince, but exceeding more in law and valour, then in iustice and vertue: yet he vfed the Council of *Barthol*, an excellent Lawyer, hauing gouerned the publike affaires of Germany & Italy, twenty and fixe yeares, amidst many confusions, and in the end he purchased the Empire, with the prejudice of the Empire. His sonne *Wenceslaus*, whom hee had caused to be crowned King of Hungary, and Bohemia, at the age of two yeares, hauing bought the Empire for him, he caused him to be infatled, and liued two yeares after, dying in the year 1378, hauing left a wretched successor of so great and royall a dignity, deformed in minde and body, a foole, idle, voluptuous, and a coward; hauing no other care but to wallow in the most infamous vices and finnes of drunkennesse and whoredome; nor other minde, but to doe euill and mischief; as malicious and cruell, as without valour and vertue. So (concerning his affaires and businesse) he grew contemptible: in hating of his subjects, he grew so hatefull, as in the end, the Germans and Hungarians (being weary of such a soorne,) take him prisoner: and at last, after a painfull and shamefull patience (they hauing suffered him two and twenty yeares, and a huge masse of diuers and sundry confusions, which grew by his ill and wicked government) they deprime him of the Imperiall dignity, by a common consent. And yet to shew, they bare no malice to the house from whence he was descended, they choose in his place *Jesse*, Marquis of Brandenburg, and Bauaria, the sonne of *John Henry*, brother to *Charles* the fourth, and so cousin german to *Wenceslaus*, who liued in that state but fixe moneths, and had nothing of the Empire, but that he was buried with the Imperiall ornaments of that Country.

Then *Rupert*, Count *Palatine*, duke of Bauaria, & first Elector, was chosen Emperor, after much

King Charles crowned at Rheims.

The estate of the Empire.

The disposition of the Empire since *Wenceslaus*.

1429

much controuersie and diffention, a man of small stature, but of great iudgement, vertuous, valiant, and louing the Common-weale. Hee laboured and tooke great paines to redresse the confusions of Italy, then exceedingly disordered, through the quarrells of *Calisto* Duke of Milan, the Venetians, Florentines, French, and Arragonois, vpon diuers and sundry occasions: but finding that what soeuer he could doe, he lost his labour (euen by the disloyalty of such as employed him) he suffered them to ruine and spoile one another, and retyred himselfe home, where after he had happily gouerned the Empire ten yeares) hee dyed in the year of our Lord 1410.

Sigismund King of Hungary and Bohemia, a Prince of happy memory, succeeded *Aspert*, by the generall consent of all the Germans, who loued and honoured his vertues: and although he fought against the Turke with ill successe, when as he borrowed forces of *Charles* the sixth (as I haue said) yer his losses did nothing blemish his reputation, nor his vertues, whereof he gaue great proofe in the gouernment of the Empire. But that which troubled him most, was the state of the Church, then plunged in tragical confusions, bred by the long and scandalous Schisme which diuidered it by peeces meales, through the diffention and controuersies of sundry Popes, which were chosen in diuers places, and that diuersly at one instant.

Order commands vs now to represent it, as carefully as the subject is of importance. I tremble to rip vp these shamefull and detestable wounds. I will endeavour to represent plainly and sincerely, following the steps of *Platina*, *Nacler*, and *Theodore* of Niem, who hauing remained in the Court of Rome, Secretary to diuers Popes, one after another, and managed the affaires from the beginning of the Schisme, neere vnto the end, ought to be held for an vntreprouable witness in that which hee hath seene. This Schisme continued fifty yeares: it banded all the Christians of Europe, diuided Kings and Princes, nourished their diuisions, bred and brought forth horrible scandalls, toucht their hearts, opened their mouthes and dispensed with their hands to a new faction, referred to our latter age. Sixe Popes seated in Rome one after another, had every one his opposit in Auignon, with the same name or title, and in the possession of the same authority. Three Popes at one instant in three severall places. Foure Councils were called to remedy these confusions, being generally detested of all men, both great and small, seeing the Popes (who had so long contended with the Emperours, vntill they had chased them out of Italy) contend now among themselves: and this was the cause of the Schisme.

Wee haue said, that the vnfortunate successe of the voluntary quarrell moued by *Antiface* the eighth, against King *Philip* the faire, ministred occasion to transport the Pontifical sea from Rome to Auignon, where hauing been vually resident 74 yeares, and the Pope chosen out of the French Nation, *Gregory* the tenth a Limosin, grew desirous to goe to Rome, and to transport his Colledge thither, consulting for the most part of French Cardinals. After his death, (being to choose a new Pope) the Clergy and people of Rome being vnitied, protest vnto the Colledge, that they will haue a Roman or an Italian, and no French man. If they doe it not willingly, they threaten force. The French are the stronger in the Conclau, being thirteene against foure. But what could they doe against the mutiny of a multitude armed with fury? To consiure this storme, the French and Italian Cardinals agree to name an Italian Pope, with whom the Pontifical dignity should be left in guard, vntill they might choose one by a free election of the whole Colledge.

They all consent to choose *Bartholomew* of Naples, Archbishop of Bary in Apulia, a learned man, graue, and modest. The reputation of his vertues made them proceed to confirme him in the election: so as all by a generall consent, (especially *Pope de la Lune*, and the Cardinal of Saint Agreue in Viarez) crowne and adore him, for a final conclusion of his Popedom assuring themselves that he would continue vertuous, as he had formerly begun vertuously. But honours change manners. Two dayes were scarce past after this ioleme reception, but this *Bartholomew*, (who shall now be *Urban* the sixth, in changing his degree and name) did also change his humors and manner of life. He which was accustomed to humble himselfe to all men, doth now braue all them which had newly raised him to this dignity. He threatens to keepe them vnder, and checks them with reproachfull words. *Otho* Duke of Brunfwick (husband to *Jane* Queene of Sicily and Naples,) comes to congratulate his election, and for a proofe of his great humilitie, (as *Urban* called for Vrine) *Otho* takes the Cup from his Taster, and kneeling

A before the Pope presents it vnto him. *Urban* takes it, leaving him on his knee with a frowning countenance, without speaking any thing. This insupportable arrogancy displeased the whole Colledge, but especially *Queene Isabe*, (holding this disgrace done to herselfe) and made *Urban* so odious, as they all resolute to depose him, and to choose another Pope: whereunto *Jane* doth promise her assistance. They all ioyntly resolute to retire themselves quietly out of Rome, into some place of liberty. So vnto colour to auoide the heat of Summer, they take their leaues to goe to Anagnia: where hauing sojourned some weeke, they goe to Fundy, a Citie in the Kingdome of Naples, a fit place to enjoy their liberties vnder the Queenes protection. Then began they to plant their battery against *Urban*. They set downe for the ground of their right, that the condition specified in the election of *Urban*, should be available to those that did choose him, to declare him incapable of the dignity whereof hee shewed himselfe vnworthy: and (to obserue all formalities) they cite *Urban* before them, and write vnto the other Italian Cardinals, that their meaning is to name an Italian: A meanes to draw them to increase their number.

Being assembled, they depose *Urban* by the pluralitie of voyces, and being to choose another, at the same instant they aduance Cardinal *Rupert* of the noble house of the *Eagles* of Geneva, and call him *Clement* the seventh. This bred a great alteration both at Rome & in *Urban*'s minde: for Rome is presently abandoned, and *Urban* so amazed as he knows not what to do. Behold two Popes in one chaire, which is too little for them both, seeing the world will not suffice them: for in choosing *Clement*, they found no more clemency, then vrbanity and ciuill conseruation in *Urban*. *Clement* yeeling nothing to the wiles of his competitor: an ambitious man, wilfull, audacious, sumptuous and poore, hauing nothing rich but the heart, putt vp with the greameffe of his house. These two doe worthy exploits, especially *Urban*, whose name the people changed, and for *Urban* they called him *Zurban*: that is, a troubler of the world, to note his barbarous and fierce nature, Jouing troubles and confusion.

And that which made a way to this mischiefe, Kings and Princes (who should haue employed their authorities to quench this fire) were nothing affected therunto: for the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, died soone after the breeding of this Schisme, leaving an insufficient successor. France and England were too farre engaged to determine their own quarrels by the sword. As for the particular of France, during the imprisonment of *John*, the infirmity of *Charles* the sixth, and the halfe shipwracke of *Charles* the seventh, what helpe could the French bring to these confusions, being almost drowned in their owne? In the beginning *Clement* had all aduantages over *Urban*. The authority of the ordinary and ancient Colledge, Canonically chosen, followed by the Court of Rome, and the Castle Saint Angelo, by the which he might enter the City. All the French, the greatest part of the Italians, many Germans, all the Spaniards and English which were at Rome, repaired vnto him, and consequently all these Nations followed him. France, Spaine, England, with a part of Germany and Italy. There remained the Hungarians, and some Germans, who for feare of the affaires at Naples (not daring to trust themselves in Anagnia) were forced to continue in Rome, a leuaine which shall soone cause great diuisions. *Urban* as much daunted in aduersitie, as hee was putt vp in prosperitie, humbles himselfe to all men: hee weepes and deplores his misery, and craues aide of euery man, promising all fauour if they did helpe to restore him. There is neither Hungarian, German, nor Italian, which belong vnto the Court, but hee sues vnto him. By their aduice and direction, he flies to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, and to *Lewis* King of Hungary, intreating them to be mediators to the Colledge of Cardinals, who were discontented with him. But *Clement* (growne ouer-proud with this first successe) gaue him meanes to repaire his estate. He hath a designe to surprize Rome by the Castle: but as *Bernard* *Cazal*, with a troope of Neapolitans would haue seized vpon one of Rome Gates, hee was valiantly repulled by the Inhabitants.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, and *Lewis* King of Hungary, sent their Ambassadors to *Clement* and to the Colledge of Cardinals, to treat an accord. *Clement* vseth them without clemency, he checks them, puts them in prison, and in the end sends them away with many indignities. This affront moued *Charles* and *Lewis*, to asby their meanes both Germany, Hungary, Poland, Denmarke, Sweden, Norway, and Prusse, were all affected

The estate of the Chu. ch.

A horrible Schisme.

The cause of this Schisme.

1429
The prise of
Pope Urban
the sixt.Pope Urban
deposed and
Clement chosen.Clements dis-
position.Pope Clement
vseth the Em-
perors Ambas-
sadors disgrace-
fully.

1429

Pope Urban
makes a new
Colledge of
36 Cardinals.

Clement for-
ces declared
by the Ro-
mans.

affected to *Urban*s fashion. *Charles* was a spectator of this first Sceane, and dyed 3 months after, leaving upon the Stage dangerous Actors against *Clement*. *Urban* being thus fortified, grew high-minded, and for a mark of his authority, he creeds a new Colledge of sixe and twenty Cardinals, all created in one day, being Italians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, and other Nations that favoured him, to haue a support of this authority in all parts. *Clement* works likewise, & to haue his reuenge, (for that he could not seize upon a gate of Rome) he resolved to send an army to field, to vex the Romans, and to force them to obedience: but the successe of this designe was not answerable to his desire, for hauing sent the Lord of Montjoux his Nephew with goodly troops furnished by *Queene Iane*, the Romans, led by *Alberic* of Barbiane, defeated this army, and tooke *Montjoux* prisoner, whom they beheaded, as a disturber of the publike quiet, and so they chase the French out of the Castle Saint Angelo.

Clement finding himselfe nothing safe at Fundy, meanes to retire to Naples, but the Neapolitans would not receive him, notwithstanding the *Queenes* persuasions: and so he passeth to Avignon, whither he brings the Pontificall sea, for the second time, as *Clement* the first had done at the first. It was in the year 1384 that the Popes second sea was planted in Avignon, sixe years after that *Gregory* had retired himselfe. *Clement* frustrated all hope of his return to Rome, faints not in these first difficulties, finding himselfe in a place of safety, where he might command at pleasure, being proud by nature, by reason of his great birth, and by his forces united in two great Kingdomes. So every one armes for a sharpe encounter, according to the forces they could raise. First, either of them provides his battery of excommunication. *Clement* the seventh cites *Urban* before him and his Colledge of Cardinals canonically chosen, with his Cardinals unlawfully elected by him who had been depofed from the charge which had been given him but to keepe; declaring all that he had done, or should doe, to be of no force. *Urban*, on the other side, counters *Clement* with the like excommunications. Hee declares him Antipope, a Schismaticke, and an Hereticke, and all them that should follow him, guilty of high-Treason, both against God and man. Their goods, honours, liues, bodies, and soules confiscate.

The cruelties
of Popes.

This first point performed, they come to the effects. *Clement* makes search throughout all the Territories of his obedience, for those of *Urban*s faction, whom he imprisons, condemnes, and kills with sword, fire, and water: many are strangled, massacred, drowned and burnt with extreme cruelty. *Urban* shall doe no better, but he proceeds by degrees. Hee makes his peace with the Florentines, Perusins, Milanois and Geneuois: the Venetians only he could not win. The Emperor *Charles* the fourth being dead, he could not preuaile much with *Wenceslaus*, an unworthy Prince: but he made his profit of *Lewis* King of Hungary, a capital enemy to *Joane* Queene of Naples, the soweraine object of *Urban*s choller, whom he sought to ruine, as the sole motive of all his crosses. But amidst the disorders of these confusd passions, the diuers effects of Gods providence are remarkable, who draws light from darknesse, and order from disorder, in such sort, as it is most commonly unknowne to man, but always iust and admirable in his iust effects.

Urban proceed-
ing against
Joane Queene
of Naples.

Urban (presuming that the force of Hungary would fortifie his proceedings) doth excommunicate *Joane* Queene of Naples, declares her incapable of the Crowne, & calls in *Charles* of Durazzo, of whom we haue made mention. But who sees not, that this belongs properly to the history of Naples, whereof we intreat accidentally, matters being tied together by a necessary union. In the end *Joane* lost both goods and life, through the power of *Charles* of Durazzo, who remained absolute master of the Realme of Naples, by the death of *Lewis* of Anjou, whom she had adopted, but *Lewis* thinking to reuenge her death, lost his owne life, and drew France into great mileries, whereof this vnseasonable adoption was the leuaine. Behold the end of the first *Joane* Queene of Naples, who shall be soone followed with a second *Joane*, to continue our voluntary languishing in Italy.

Pope Urban
discontented
against Charles
of Durazzo.

But the end of this *Proserpina* was the beginning of a second trouble, through the ambition of *Urban*, the which hauing no limits, transported his spleene against *Charles* of Durazzo, whom he had drawne out of Hungary. He is not satisfied that *Charles* should doe him homage, but he will haue some places in his absolute power, and that *Charles* should inuest his Nephew *Battilo* (a man of no estimation, hauing nothing rare in him but his extraordinary vices) in the principalltie of *Capua*, and the Duchy of Durazzo, seeking to get the same footing in the State, as he might dispossesse *Charles* at his pleasure.

DURAZZO,

1429

Charles goes
with an Army
against Pope
Urban.

The Popes
nephew de-
fiant and
take in.

Pope Urban
truly against
his Cardinals.

The French
copy writes it
lose.

Urban dies
miserably.

Pope Boniface
exceeding co-
uetous.

DURAZZO, being loath to labour for another man, excuseth himselfe to *Urban*, who takes no excuses for payment, but cireth him before his Consistory, the meaning, that if hee appears not at the day prefixed, he will proceede against him by excommunication. *Charles* who feared more the losse of his new purchase, then the lightnings of *Urban*, makes him vnawares a prisoner, hauing placed many souldiers about him for his guard. *Urban* seeing himselfe braued by *Charles*, even within Naples, complaines of this affront, and by his sufferance, he retires to Nocera, from whence he sends excommunications against *Charles*, who laying aside all respect, opposeth a goodly army, and comes to besiege *Urban* with Ensignes displayed in Nocera. He sends a trumpet to aduertise him that he was come according to his assignment. In the meane time he takes information of *Urban*s abuses (being known and detested of all the world) and moreover he tryed the opinions of the Cardinals, to censure and depose *Urban*: who being aduertised herof, was so moued, as (not able to be reuenged of *Charles*), he imprisons 7 Cardinals (the most sufficient of his Colledge) without any other iust matter to charge them with, but that they were the learned, eldest and of greatest courage; and to make tryall of his forces, he sends his nephew *Battilo* against him with a troope, which this great Capaine suffered to be ouerthrowne, and himselfe to be taken. This successe daunted the courage of *Urban*, and enforced him to crauelease of *Charles* to retire himselfe: the which he easily obtained, by the intercession of the Seignurie of Genoa whither *Urban* pretended to goe. Departing from Nocera, he led with him these Cardinals prisoners, and delirous to be rid of them, hee caused one to be slaine upon the way, pretending that he was sicke, and abandoned his body: he caused five others to be sewed vp in sacks, and to be cast into the sea, as he passed to Genoa. Being there, he commanded three others to be apprehended (being zealous that they had intelligence with the rest) and in the presence of all the people, hee causeth them to be knockt on the head, and then he dries their bodies in an Oven, and preferred them in chests, the which he caused to be caried before him upon moles, when as he did ride: and for a mark what they were, hee set their red hats upon the chests. The originall notes this extraordinary cruelty in Pope *Urban*.

At this end *Charles* dies in Hungary, but *Urban*s spleene continues against his children. He had left two, *Ladislaws* & *Joane*, who by the vertuous protection of their mother *Marguerit* kept both themselves and their estate out of his hands. *Urban* sleeps neither day nor night, thirsting continually after their ruine. And for that he found by *Charles*, that the Hungarians feared not his spirituall lightning, he grounds his designs upon temporal armes: and knowing they are not to be raised without money, hee likes the meane to leauie a great masse. To this end he ordaines a Iubile, as a solemne feast for all Christendome, and to draw more people therunto, he sends new indulgences and pardons into all parts vnder his obedience. A deuice to get money, the people being peraued by his Buis that it was the onely meane to purchase Paradise, and to auoide the paines of Purgatory. He also challengeth the right of first fruits, which giues the first yeeres reuerenues of all benefices to the Pope, and so continues vnto this day.

But as he gathers together this money with a wonderfull greedinesse, behold hee falls from this moile and bruisteth himselfe. The worke of heauen, and wearable to his insolent ambition, who soaring too high, makes him fall low: dying when his hatred was greatest to ruine his enemies. He languished seuen and twenty dayes in the bed of death, dying by degrees, suffering the paines which hee caused his poore Cardinals to endure: not able with his death, to wipe out the immortall hate of his detestable life, disgraced by all Writers. Thus *Urban* the sixth, the first guidon of Schisme, dyed in the eleuenth yeare of his Popedom. In whose place *Peter Thomace*, named *Boniface* the ninth, is chosen Pope, successor to *Urban*s couetousnesse, as his life and death doth witnesse. *Niem* obserues a memorable act. *Boniface* lying at the point of death, some one (to comfort him) said that hee should doe well. A brutish custome, as if to speake of death to a sicke body, were to pronounce the sentence of a Iudge, to deliuer him into the executioners hands. I should doe well (saith he) if I had money, and yet he had full houses, hauing then but ten houres to liue. So he dyed the tenth yeare of his Popedom, not lamented to any, but he liued too long, and by his impudent couetousnesse opened the gate to all impunity of sinne.

Innocent the seventh, succeeded in the place of *Boniface*, no more innocent then the former, verifiying the beauty of their names by the bounty of their liues. A sworne enemy

D d 3

1429

Pope Innocent
an enemy to
the union of
the Church.
Pope Gregory
the 13th con-
tinuing dissen-
sible.

to the union of the Church, causing two Roman citizens to be put to death as seditious, for that they moved him therein, as *Platina* doth observe. He continued but two years: and into his place *Angelo Carrier* a Venecian, called *Gregory* the 12 was advanced: a subtil and dissembling man, coldly ambitious, and faintly holy, hauing no piety but in shew: so as for his crooked manners he was called *Errorius* for *Gregorius*, that is to say, a Deceiuer, drawing men into error with his goodly shew. All this was done at Rome by the Italians: in the meane time what doe our Popes at Auignon? *Clement* the 7 making profession of the same authority which the Pope did at Rome, was no better then the other, although the History notes not so many priuate acts of his excesses. In general, he was excellent in the beginning and cautious during all the time of his Popedom. He was exceedingly ambitious and wilfull, vnder colour of modesty and humility. Hee furnished him but two years. After the death of *Clement* the 7, they create a new Pope, to oppose against him at Rome, which was *Peter de la Lune*, a Spaniard borne, but hauing liued long at Montpellier to study the Law. A man of sound iudgement, learning, active, patient in shew, but in effect very ambitious, a dissembler, given to his owne will, and tyed to his profit: free from cruelty (whereof hee is not taxed) giuing free scope to couetousnesse. So greuous was the impudency of merchandize in the Church, (sayes *Niem*, and *Platina*) set to the ruin of all Christendome, that the authority of the keyes and *Aposolike* letters, were contemptible to the whole world. Truly as all diseases grow by degrees through lufes taken vnadvisedly, and bad humors which creepe insensibly into the body: euen so these miseries into the Church. All was set to sale, all sorts of benefices, especially Cardinals hats, were for them that would giue most. The reuenues, impropriations, and all things else, were sold to him that offered most: Sometimes one benefice was sold to many, and all their money fell into good hands, that had learned to receive and not to restore againe. The composition for all sorts of crimes, & whole townes were sold by the authority of the soueraigne Pastor. I write but a part of that which the Popes Secretaries haue let downe at large, and tremble to report the iudgement they make of these abominable confusions.

To conclude, all Christendome (tyred with these disorders committed by such a wicked authority to order) complained much to their Kings and Princes, who wishing a redresse, exhorted the Popes of both seas, *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, to leaue their priuate quarrels, for the generall good of the Church. *Benedict* makes great shewes to desire it: That if he must needs yeeld, he is ready to leaue the dignitie wherein the Church had honoured him, yes, his owne life. (these are his very words) for the peace of Gods Church *Gregory* speaks more coldly, yet he promises the like: but when it came to performance, they were but shifts, delays, and other deuices to winne time, and to retain still their authority, which neither of them would leaue.

In the end, at the great instance of Kings and Princes, the Colledges of Rome and Auignon agree to meet at Pisa, to find some meanes to determine of this reproachfull confusion. *Benedict* yeelds: but *Gregory* opposeeth. Notwithstanding his refusal, all meet at Pisa. Thus all assembled (whither the Emperor, the Kings of France, England, Spaine, Scotland, Portugall, Hungary, Denmarke, Sweden, Pologne and Norway, send their Ambassadors, and the Churches of the East their Deputies) hauing debated the Controuersie depending betwixt *Gregory* and *Benedict*, they depose them both, as nourishing a Schisme in the Church, and refusing to obey the Councell, whereas neither they nor their Deputies had appeared. In their place they chosse *Alexander* the fifth a Candior, held to be learned and vertuous, but he dyed within the first yeere of his Popedom. So as the Colledge of Cardinals (retyring to Bologna) created *John* the 23 in his place.

But neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* omitted any thing of their traine, scornning the decrees of the Councell. So as for one Pope, they had three, the one at Rimini, the other at Bologna, and the third at Auignon: and the last being worse then the first, shall giue a reasonable good cause of further inquiry to Christian Princes in another season, the which wee will attend by order of the History, will returne into France, to our *Charles* the seuenth, in the ioy of his Coronation, which was to him & to all his subjects a happy foretelling of the restoring of his realme, but this excellent worke was not so soon ended.

Wee must now see by what degrees *Charles* recovered the possession of the townes subdued by the English, and how he expelled them out of this realme. The second parcell is set downe by vs in the front of this discourse.

A

By what meanes and degrees, the townes subdued by the English, returned to the obedience of this Crowne, and how the English were chased out of this Realme.

1429

From the year 1429 to 1454 after the ebbing and flowing of many actions, and the accord of the Duke of Bourgonne with Charles, long debated, and in the end obtained by the meanes of the Duke of Bourbon. Paris yeelds to the King. The other Cities and Provinces of this Realme, one after another, in diuers seasons, and by diuers occasions, returne to the King, as to their head: and expell the stranger, who held the State.

To the reduction of Paris are 7 yeares, to the full restoring of the Realme 18; and in all 25 yeares after his Coronation.

THIS happy beginning of the Kings affaires, seemed to bring with it a generall restoring of his whole Realme, by the absolute obedience of all Townes. 1 Provinces. But God which gouernes Nature by seasons, and giues not haruest when as they sow the seed, he doth likewise gouerne the society of mankind by degrees, that the force of mans industry, of it selfe, may appeare vaine and nothing, and not successefull but by his grace, without whom man can doe nothing. We haue hitherto seene into what distresse the preseruer of this Estate hath drawne both the King and Realme; but in the end his providence shall appeare no lesse admirable in prefering it.

The Duke of Bedford wonderfully discontented with his happy successe, resolues to stop the course, both by force and policy. To this end hee sends to England for succours both of men and money: he leaues all he can in France, and practiseth with the Duke of Bourgonne, who was held of both parties to haue power to strike the last stroke in this equality of affaires. So as finding himselfe fought vnto by them all, he entreaines them all, giuing *Charles* secretly to vnderstand, that hee was for him, and yet hee presently takes armes for the English. A man wholly addicted to his affaires, hauing no other object but his owne greatnesse, yet shall hee effect no wonders, being now so much sought vnto.

Charles parts from Rheims, to obserue his enemies way, he passeth by Soissons, Chateau, Thierry, Prouence, Couffy in Bry, and comes to Crespy in Valois, all these townes shake off the English yoke to obey him. Bedford was at Senlis, with an army of ten thousand men, from thence he writes Letters of defiance to *Charles*, as to the viurper of the Realme. He represents vnto him at large, the compassion he had of the poore French people, so long oppressed with warre, and doth challenge him to appoint a day and place, to end this long misery, either by a peace or battell. A part ill acted by a stranger, for who could beleue these protestations, in the mouth of a stranger, against the heire of the Crowne?

Charles answers him by effects, and offers himselfe to the combat: the English Army was before Senlis, being lodged in that renowned Temple of Victory, the ancient monument of the valour of *Philip Augustus*. The French Army was opposite against them without hedge or bush, in a large plaine. The King called a Councell, whether he should giue battell. The Virgin held opinion they should not hazard these happy beginnings vpon a doubtfull combat, being sufficient to stay the enemy, in shewing him the army, without striking. So as these two armies stood two daies together in battell, looking one vpon another without mouing, although many skirmishes seemed to offer occasion to draw them to a generall fight. In the end there was a repulsed charge of some fore-lorne hopes, Picards and French, but the battels stood firme. After this countenance Bedford takes his way to Paris, to auoide the alterations which the Kings approach and prosperitie might breed. *Charles* hauing receiued the obedience of Champagne, Senlis, Creil, Beauuois, Pont Saint Maxence, Choyli, Gournay, Remy, Neuville, Mognay, Chantilly, Saint Rains, & other places thereabouts, with the homages of the Signeuries of Montmorency and Mouy, hee marcheth towards Paris, vpon promise made by the Bourguignon, to be receiued by the Citizens. Being at Saint Denis, hee not onely finds Bedford in Armes without the City, but also the City well guarded by the inhabitants, so as the Vir-

The English
seeke to restore
Charles in his
court.

The Bourguignons
displeased
tion.

Joane the virgin
disuades King
Charles from
fighting.

Disorders in
the Church.

A councell at
Pisa: to restore
the schisme of
the Church.

Two Popes
depoued, & ex-
communicated
each other.

Three Popes
at once.

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The Virgin wounded.

gin seeking to surprize Saint Honories ditch, had like to have bene taken, being for a wounded, and losing a goodly troope of her best and most resolute souldiers. The inconsiderate desire which *Charles* had to winne the loue of the Duke of Bourgogne, did much preiudice his affaires, for all Picardy held him in great esteeme, especially the great townes of Amiens, Abbeville, and Saint Quintin: but the respect he bare the Bourguignons, made him to neglect these occasions to his great hurt. Having therefore found this passage to be very perillous, he retires into Berry, and the duke of Bedford (freed from the feare of his forces) goes into Normandy, where the Constable Richmond had surprized Eureux, Aumale, Chasteaugailard, and Andely, places of importance in that Prouince.

The institution of the Golden Fleece.

But during these alterations, the duke of Bourgogne married with *Isabel*, daughter to the King of Portugall, adding this third wife to his two former deceased. The Duchesse of Bedford was at this marriage, not in regard of the feast, but for her husbands affaires. The Bourguignon conducts her to Paris with four thousand armed men, where he renews the League more strongly, (somewhat shaken through the affaires of *Isabelle* Countesse of Hainault) with his brother in law. There he made the order of the Golden Fleece; as if he had already conquered the Gardens of Hesperides, like a second *Iason*: but he determined to make violent warre against *Charles* the year following: and returning into Picardy, he tooke Gournay and Choisy, places lately subdued to the Crowne. Melun, Sens, and Villeneuve le Roy, gaue a happy beginning to this year, yielding to the Kings obedience, but the losse of the Virgin *Isane*, and the taking of *Pothon*, two of the greatest and most valiant heads of the Army, quailed all the ioy of these conquests. The Tragedie was thus acted.

The Virgin taken.

The Bourguignon hauing taken Choisy by force, hee buies Soissons of the Captaine that commanded: and to he marcheth against Champagne with his Army, with whom the Earles of Suffolke and Arondel ioyne, with two thousand men. The Virgin issues forth with a notable troope of the best souldiers, to charge the besiegers, who being too farre engaged in the fight alone, was taken by the Bastard of Vendome, and presently brought to the duke of Bourgogne. He reioyced much at this notable prize, as having conquered all *Charles* his good fortunes, and referres her as a triumph for the Duke of Bedford, whose proceedings we will now set downe.

Pothon taken and delivered.

Pothon was then taken vnadvisedly. The Archbishop of Rheims being Chancellor, with the Lords of Saint Seuer and Boufflaie, Marshals of France, being at Beauuais, he hold a yong shepheard comes vnto them, assuring them, that God had reuealed vnto him a meanes to take Rouen. They (taking the vanity of this foole for present payment) as if God had raised vp a new Oracle, in the declining of the other, by the surprize of the Virgin) arme inconsiderately, singing a triumph before the victory. The English (adversary of their departure and numbers) meet and surprize them, at Nully neere vnto Beauuais, when as they looked least for them, finding the like men newly dislodged, without order or feare, and ouercame them easily. *Pothon* struing to make head with a squadron of five hundred and twenty Lances, presteth too farre in among the enemies, as he is taken: and by *Talbot* himselfe, whom he had taken at the battell of Patay, and so well intreated, as *Talbot* made him a good requital, for hauing embraced him as a brother, hee honourably gaue him his liberty, and sent him in safety to Beauuais. Thus honesty and humanity reapes what it hath sowne. A good turne is neuer lost among men of honour. An example for such manage ames honourably, in whom there is nothing more vnworthy then cruelty, especially against the weakness of a prisoner. Cruelty is fitter for theues and Cannibals, whom they call Antrophophages, or eaters of men, but courtesie becomes good souldiers, who are likewise Conquerors, winning their hearts by courtesie, whose bodies they had conquered by force.

The Virgin brought to Rouen.

The Virgin *Isane* was not so well intreated by the duke of Bedford, who hauing bought her for ready money, of *John* of Luxembourge, as the best prisoner of the army, he caught her to be brought to Rouen, being resolved to put her to death. The honour of the law of armes, and the consequence which made all them guilty, which should hereafter be taken by the French, did contradict his will: but the vnuly passion of his deadly hatred conceived against this maiden (as hauing ruined his affaires in France) prevailed above reason. And hauing no colour to put her to death, as a prisoner of the warre, he resolves to

make

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A make her a prisoner of Iustice: but the Magistrates would not heare of it. Vpon their refusal, he hath recourse to the Diuines. And as the Oracle *Apollo* spake, according vnto the money that was giuen, sometimes for *Philip* of Macedon, sometimes for the Athenians; so the Diuines (being pensioners to the English in this act) made their diuinity English.

Condemned for a heretic and burnt.

After they had grauely consulted and resolved on the matter: they declare *Isane* to be against kinde, hauing abused her sex, bearing the habit of a man, against the expresse word of God, a witch working by deuills, without the which she could not haue performed so many extraordinary deeds, nor obtained such a memorable successe, and so by consequence an Idolatresse, a schismatike and an heretike. This was decreed in the Vniuersity of Paris, with many hands to the condemnation. This conclusion (being carefully procured by the Duke of Bedford) was presented by him to *Peter Cauchon* Bishop of Beauuais, whom he requested to proceed speedily in the cause. The Bishop assembles the Deane and Chapter at Rouen, hee calls the Abbot of Fescamp thither with a new supply of Diuines for the execution of this Decree. There is nothing more easie then to doe euill. And although they were all possessed with English passions, yet could they not so soone resolve themselves against her; so as they were long in suspense, before they could condemne her, for she answered pertinently to all their accusations. In the end violence prevailed, she which (being muffled with the cloake of religion and iustice) condemned *Isane* (as guilty of the aboue named crimes) to perpetual prison: but in the end being deliuered by the Bishop to the secular power, the Duke of Bedford caused her to be burnt at Rouen, in the year 1431, the sixth of Iuly.

The siege of Compagne.

Thus she happily serued France one whole year, and was prisoner somewhat more, leauing a great griefe to those that liued then, to see her so intreated: and a memory of immortal praise to come, hauing bene so profitable and necessary an instrument, for the deliuey of our Country being almost ruined. But the wise prouidence of God had limited both her labours and her life. Hee would onely vie her in the beginning, to shew that *Charles* hath not bene the Author of the restoring of this Estate, but God himselfe, who would shame men by a maide, most worthy to be honoured by our posterity. I haue reported at once what was acted in two yeeres, being all of one subiect: not to breake off the order of my discourse in matters which follow after. And now I will return to Compagne besieged by the Bourguignon. As all the French were much amazed for the losse of *Isane*, so the English and Bourguignons were greatly incouraged to presse the siege of Compagne with greater heate. This important City (feared vpon the riuer of Oize, at the entry of Picardy) had greatly furthered the Bourguignon, who for this reason was resolved to haue it either by lone or force. He doth againe negotiate with *Charles*, assuring him of his loue. *Charles* (bewitched with the charmes of this Bourguignon) giues care to his new deuices, and (forgetting that hee had bene abused,) hee promiseth to deliuer Compagne into his hands. The Bourguignon accepts it: and the better to play his part, he draws his Portuguese to Noyon, being one of the cunningest women in the world, and most affected to her husband, as a gage of the loue he had promised to *Charles*, the which she should manage. The Lord of Flauay Governour of Compagne, had receiued severall commandements from the King to deliuer it, but he excuseth himselfe, desiring to haue a more ample warrant from the King. He shewes him the importance of the place, and the willfulness of the inhabitants, and so denying his Master honestly that which might bee preiudiciall vnto him, hee dischargeth the duty of a good seruant. Truly it is a good seruice to deny the Master when as he commands that is hurtfull vnto himselfe. This policy succeeding not for the Duke of Bourgogne, to surprize Compagne, he resolves to haue it by force: *Bedford* sends the Earle of Huntington with a thousand English Archers to fortifie this siege. *John* of Luxembourge (who was there for the Bourguignon) builds great forts to keepe them from succors, and for a reuerent he doth fortifie the Abbeies of Venete and Royaulieu. The Inhabitants were in great extremity, yet were they resolute to endure all, vnder their wife and faithfull governour, rather then to fall into the hands of strangers, whose gripes they had formerly felt. If they were fiercely besieged by the English & Bourguignons, so were they as well succoured by the French, vnder the happy command of the Earle of Vendome governour of Beauuais, & the Marshall of Boufflaie, who (hauing valiantly forced the first bastions) enter the towne, and hauing

Released by the French.

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virtualled it they issue forth, with great resolution, so as they take all the other forts, to their enemies great losse. So *Huntington* and *Luxembourg* retire with disgrace, leaving not onely that Country free, but their victuals, artillery, munition and habilliments of warre in their lodgings of Venete and Royaulieu, saving themselves with some difficulty, at Pont l'Esque, through the fauour of Noyon. The Bourguignon was so amazed, as he retired into Arthois, hauing as bad successe by force as by policy.

Our French forces being masters of the field, they recouer all the Bourguignons conquests. Choyfly, Gournay, Bertueil, Garmigny, Rellons, Pont Remy, Pont Saint Maxence, Longueil, Saint Mary, la Boyssiere, Ireligny, Vernueil, and other places, where he had gathered together all the corne and cattell of the Country, the which was restored to the poore people, to their great content. The Bourguignons pride thus taken downe (after so many victorious hopes) was a principall part of this victory. But he resolves to take his revenge of this affront. Being come to Arras, hee gathers together all the forces he can, and from thence he goes to Peronne, to attend the body of his army. His intent was to recouer what hee had lost in this last warre of Compeigne, meaning to beginne Garmigny, which did greatly annoy all that Country. Hee finds a troope of 600 men before vnder the conduct of *Thomas Tirrel* an Englishman. *Girard* of Brimeu gouernour of Rozeauents this troope with a hundred of his men. In this order they goe to the siege of Garmigny as to a marriage: but *Porbon* (who had his spies in all places, and had put himselfe into Garmigny, at the brute of this siege) slept not. Hauing therefore first to discouer the enemies countenance, hee learns that these Picards (being neere to bechoire) did hunt after haire, (whereof there are great store in those parts,) and that the troope was wholly in disorder, running vp and downe with great cries. *Porbon* embraced this occasion suddenly, and hauing drawne his men to field, hee surpriseth these haunnes, being disperfed and out of breath, hee defeats them, kills them, and in the end cries, that they should take the run aways. The Commander is taken, with most of their best men. *Anthony* of Vienne and the Lord of Hailly (being greatly lamented by the Bourguignon) were first led to Garmigny, and then to Compiegne in great triumph.

The newes hereof did greatly trouble the Bourguignon, especially when as the Earle of Vendosme went with the French army to braue him at the gates of Roze, offering him battell. He made shew to accept thereof, but hauing called a Councell, he framed a reasonable excuse, that his souldiers were not willing he should fight in the end of the year. With these affronts the year ends: and with the death of a sonne which hee had by his new spouse, whom he loued dearly, his spirits were so oppressed with sorrow for this losse, as this Prince (being too passionate) had speeches vnworthy the grauity of his person, and the greatnesse of his blood, weeping and wishing for death. Doubtlesse it comes out that heeuen which is too much puffed vp in prosperity, is easily daunted in adversity. A goodly lesson for great men (who cannot learne but by great examples) that their greatnesse doth not free them from the common condition of mankind: that they are men and must die like men. O man! whatsoeuer thou best, behold good remedies against these extremities of fortune: neither to be drunke with prosperity, nor drowned in adversity. These few succeeding years hauing nothing memorable, but an entry to the obedience of the City of Paris, which shall giue example to all the rest of the Realme. The weaknesse of parties was necessary for the making of an accord. The Duke of Bourgongne might do much, but his infinite desires had transported him beyond the clouds, without some checke. These small disgraces did greatly blemish his credit with the Duke of Bedford, who expected more from him then hee found by the effects: but that which made a breach in their loues was the sudden death of *Anne* Duchesse of Bedford, sister to *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, the gage of their cold friendship, which till then was very necessary, but after her decease it was but superficiall, although in this occurrent their league was not apparently broken. The one weepes for his wife, and the other for his sister. The beginning of this year was noised by the taking of Montargis from the French, through the notable treason of a woman, who gaue entrance to the English, and who presently reaped the fruits of her treachery. But let vs attend the year following, where we shall see a meruailous change in this miserable towne. At the same time, in recompence of Montargis, Chartres returnes to the Kings obedience. The meanes is worthy obsequation, being put in practice in our times in many places. A carter liuing at Char-

The Bourguignons distressed.

The Duchesse of Bedford dead.

Montargis taken.

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Charles yieldis to the King.

A quarrell between the Duke of Bar, and the Earle of Vendosme.

Henry King of England crowned at Paris.

Montargis taken and lost againe.

res had a brother resident in Court with a Treasurer. The familiarity this carter had to goe and come into the towne, made him both desirous, and to lay the plot of so memorable an enterprise. Neere vnto the gate there was an old ruined house, in the which there was a great vaulte filled vp with rubbish: here they lodge a hundred men: on the other side they conuay a thousand men, secretly in the night, into a house neere vnto the towne. The carter comes at the breake of day with his cart vnto the port, where his ouerthrowes it of purpose, saying that a wheele was split. While the guard labours to helpe him, shee amoueth issues forth out of these ruines, and surpriseth the port, and the next second they with such speed, as the City is won. This had beene done without any effusion of blood, if the bishop had not animated the inhabitants to fight against their King, where he himselfe was slaine with some of the Citizens. About this time, *René* Duke of Barre brother to *Lewis* Duke of Anjou, and King of Sicilia, (who shall make himselfe famous in the following reigne) receiued a great checke. Hee had a notable quarrell against the Earle of Vaudemont, pretending the Earldome: from words they goe to blowes; *René* fortifies himselfe with the forces of France: Vaudemont with those of Bourgongne. *René* being farre stronger in shew, besiegeth the towne of Vaudemont, and when as the Earle, with the helpe of his friends, would haue raised the siege, *René* draws him to fight, defying him, and promising to himselfe an assured victory. But God (the foueraine Iudge of these factions) gaue it to the Earle, and *René* remained prisoner in the hands of the D. of Bourgongne, to whom hee payed a great ranfome. In the end, by the dukes meanes yielding him his liberty, this quarrell was ended, marrying the eldest son of *René* with the daughter of the Earle of Vaudemont. But let vs reserve the rest to the following reigne.

About the end of this yeare, a solemnity was done in Paris, which carried more shew then substance. We haue said before, how that *Henry* the sixth King of England, had been crowned King of France, when as our *Charles* was crowned at Poitiers, after the decease of his father. *Henry* was but two yeares old, and came not out of England, vntill that *Charles* had beene solemnly crowned at Rheims, to the great ioy of all the French; but when as the Duke of Bedford found, how much this authentick publication advanced the affaires of *Charles*, hee caused *Henry* to be brought into France, and to be crowned at Paris, with an extraordinary Maiesty, to our countenance *Charles* his Coronation, by a greater shew of pompe. But the blood of France cannot diffemble: no man was moued thereat, no more then to see a Tragedy acted vpon a Stage. This yeare is very barren of all memorable exploits, but that this silence noted an entrance to an accord (both parties being weary of pleading) yet with great slacknesse, as we see in diseases which come suddenly, and passe away slowly: we must therefore crosse this rough way before we come to Paris. Montargis taken by the English as we haue said, was now recouered by the French, but after a diuers manner; for the English lost the towne by the Castle, and the French by the Castle by the towne, yet were they three months in winning of the Castle. Hauing taken all, they lost all by the same meanes that made them so much to gape after the castle, which was the want of money. This shameful losse grieved many of the greatest in Court, and bred a new trouble by this occasion.

Tremouille was yet in great credit with the King, hauing by this meanes a great hand in the State: they accused him to haue heaped vp great treasure, to the preiudice of such as daily employed their liues for the Kings seruice. The greater men resolute to take *Tremouille* prisoner, and to punish him like vnto *Giar*, and others before mentioned. The King was at his Castell at Chinon: *Tremouille* follows him as his shadow; but it chanced, as he was in his chamber, the Lords of Bruell, Coytiuy and Ferard, followed with forty armed men, enter and take him, not one of a hundred of that fort could escape; but fixe thousand Crownes saued his life, hoping to returne againe into credit. The Constable of Richmond grows into greater fauour then before. Thus misfortune is good for something. Bedford puffed vp with the successe of Montargis, takes Milly in Gassenois: but hauing besieged Lagny in Brye, he was repulsed: at the same time, *John* of Luxembourg (of the Bourguignon faction) is dispossessed of Ligny in Barrois, by the Lady of Comery. A disgrace which shall draw the Bourguignon to a composition so much desired, together with the happy successe of the French, in the Country of Arthois, the taking of St. Valerien in Pontieu, and the generall wauering of the chiefe towne in Picardy, tired with these confusions, being to great, as no man was assured of his person, of what party hee;

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if hee were the weaker. The Cardes were so shuffled, as an English man would become French, to take a Bourguignon, and a French man become English, or a Bourguignon to take a Frenchman. These vniking trecheries were vsual, especially at Amiens, Abbeville, and throughout all Picardy, where the warres had bene most licentious. Which outrage hath bene reuined in our miserable age, through the cruelty of these wretched warres, which causeth men to make shipwracke both of faith and honour.

This yeare had a plausible beginning, but without any great effect. The Councell of Pisa being assembled (as we haue said) to redresse the confusion of Antipopes, and to reduce the Church (diuided by this schisme) vnto vnion, sends the Cardinal of Auxerre vnto the Kings of France and England, to exhort them vnto peace. Charles protested that he desired nothing more; the English said the like. They assemble to this end at Auxerre in great troops, but at their first meeting, all this treaty was broken off, for both the one and the other, stood vpon the quality of King of France, being the fundamentall point of all their quarrell. The Duke of Bedford spake more proudly then Charles himselfe, as if the law of State (which maintained this Monarchy) had been made in England, and it should become firme land; and France changed to this Isle of Albion or of Britany: of such force error euen in matters of State, when as passion ouer-rules the light of reason. So as they all depart without any effect: They only conclude a truce, for the great want of the poore people, who could suffer no more. But this truce was a pit-fall for many, trusting the countenance of this courteous warre, which making profession to meane nothing, is more to be feared when it smiles, then when it frowaes.

John Duke of
Bourbon dies
in England.

We haue said, that John Duke of Bourbon was taken prisoner in the battell of Azincourt, whom they could neuer redeeme at any rate. This yeare he died in England, and his sonne Charles succeeded him. He had to wife the sister of the Duke of Bourgongne, but they fall to words for their rights, and so to warre. Charles takes from Philip Grancy, Aulion, Percepertuis, Mucy, l'Euefque, Chaumont, and other places: The Bourguignon had his reuenge, and besiegeeth Belleuille in Beauuillois, belonging vnto Charles. Mary Duchesse of Berry, labours to reconcile these Princes, and drawes them to a peace, the which shall soone be a meane of a generall accord betwixt the Bourguignon and France, by the mediation of the Duke of Bourbon, a profitable instrument of so good a worke. This occasion not prevented, was seconded by another, for the Duke of Bedford, after the death of his wife (being sister to the Duke of Bourgongne) marries with Jaquelin the daughter of Peter of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Pol, who was no friend to the Bourguignon: and moreover the youth and beauty of this new spouse, had so bewitched Bedford, as hee was easily drawne from Philip, whose loue he entertained with great difficulty, yet in respect of the generall cause they made a good shew, and had met at St. Omer to that effect, but this interview encreased their discontentes.

Bedford marries
againe.

In the meane time, the truce (being ill obserued on either side) is conuerted into a languishing war. Bedford makes war in the Country of Mayen by Scales and Willowby, two renowned Captaines, which besiege S. Celerin. Charles succours it by the Lord of Bueil, who hauing lodged some troopes at Viuin, (a village of small account) made it famous by a notable peece of seruice. Scales aduerted of these troopes lodged in this hamlet, hasts thither, surprizeth them, and cuts them in peeces: but the Lord of Bueil had his reuenge: for falling vpon the Conquerours, who returned in disorder, hee puts them to rout. Charlier notes it for a notable seruice, that forty lances overthrow a thousand five hundred men, which were slaine, or taken prisoners: of such force is disorder and amazement in warre. The siege of Saint Celerin being thus raised, to the great disgrace of the English, Bedford much grieved for this affront, sends the Earle of Arondel thither with new forces. It was at the same time when as Charles went into Dauphine: the fame of this notable victory, holding mens minds in suspense, so as Arondel takes Saint Celerin by force, and from thence he marcheth to Silley le Guil-laume. The Gouernour fearing to want succours, treats with Arondel; That if by a prefixed day, the French were not the stronger, at a certaine Elme neere vnto the place, hee would then yield vp the Towne, and for assurance thereof giues him hostages. The Court was troubled at this summons: all post thither, fearing to continue their shame with losse, Princes and Officers of the Crowne, the Duke of Alenfon and Aniou, the Constable of Richmont, the Marshalls of Boufflac, Rieux, and Retz: the Lords of Loheac, Grauille, and Bueil, with

The English
defeated at
Viuin.

A his good fortune. Being all come to the Elme at the day appointed, they summon the Earle of Arondel to deliuer vp his hostages and to fight with them, but hee yields vp his hostages and leaues the siege. The halt of the omitted voyage makes our men to post presently to Court. Arondel returns to the siege of Silley, and not able to take it, he surprizeth Beaumont le Vicont, but pressed with sicknesse hee retires to Mans, a Towne then vnder their obedience.

The voyage of Dauphine was performed. Charles comes to Vienne passing through Auvergne. The reason of this progresse was to settle matters in Dauphine, Lionois, and Languedoc, which Countries had serued him faithfully and profitably in his greatest afflictions. All the chiefe of those Countries attend him, and hold their Estates by his commandement. The ioy both of Charles and his subiects was exceeding great after so long and dangerous a storme. Charles did gladly embrace his ancient seruants, the Earle of Foix, Gaucourt, and Groslee, with the Nobility of Vauarez and Dauphine, who had giuen him so great testimonies of their faith and valour. All men were confirmed in their governments, no man was denyed of what he demanded, which giues them courage to doe their best endeavors in his seruice. The Statcs grant the King a notable sum of money for the maintenance of his warres.

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The French
takes armet
against the
English.

But the wise prouidence of God, who governs the work for the restoring of this estate, raised vp meanes which all the humane policy of Charles or of his Councell could not foresee, who had laboured by all meanes to win the Bourguignons loue. Hee harboured in his heart a resolute discontent against the English: to whom he imputed the cause of all E his crosses and disgraces. The Liegeios crosse him many waies in the possession of Namur newly fallen vnto him. Antwerp and Arras are discontented, and ready to rise against him. The English (in his opinion) is the author and fauourer of these discontents, and it may be did all he could to molest him, what shew soeuer he made. But howsoeuer it were, the Bourguignon (meaning to make an open breach with him) compounds all quarrels with this discontented people, intending to make a firme peace with Charles. So the yeare 1434 passeth without any great alteration.

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The English
defeated and
the Earle of
Arondel slaine.

1435

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if hee were the weaker. The Cardes were so shuffled, as an English man would become a French, to take a Bourguignon, and a French man become English, or a Bourguignon to take a Frenchman. These vnkind trecheries were vsuall, especially at Amiens, Abbeville, and throughout all Picardy, where the warres had bene most licentious. Which outrage hath bene reuiued in our miserable age, through the cruelty of these wretched warres, which causeth men to make shipwracke both of faith and honour.

This yeare had a plausible beginning, but without any great effect. The Councell of Pisa being assembled, (as we haue said) to redresse the confusion of Antipopes, and to reduce the Church (diuided by this schisme) vnto vnion, sends the Cardinal of Auxerre vnto the Kings of France and England, to exhort them vnto peace. Charles protested that he desired nothing more; the English said the like. They assemble to this end at Auxerre in great troops, but at their first meeting, all this treaty was broken off, for both the one and the other, stood vpon the quality of King of France, being the fundamentall point of all their quarrell. The duke of Bedford spake more proudly then Charles himselfe, as if the law of State (which maintained this Monarchy) had been made in England, an Island become firme land; and France changed to this Isle of Albion or of Britany: of such force error euen in matters of State, when as passion ouer-rules the light of reason. So as they all depart without any effect: They only conclude a truce, for the great want of the poore people, who could suffer no more. But this truce was a pit-fall for many, trusting the countenance of this courteous warre, which making profession to meane nothing, is more to be feared when it smiles, then when it frowaes.

John Duke of
Bourbon dies
in England.

We haue said, that John Duke of Bourbon was taken prisoner in the battell of Azincourt, whom they could neuer redeeme at any rate. This yeare he died in England, and his sonne Charles succeeds him. He had to wife the sister of the Duke of Bourgongne, and they fall to words for their rights, and so to warre. Charles takes from Philip Grancy, Auailon, Pereperuis, Mucy, Veneque, Chaumont, and other places: The Bourguignon had his reuenge, and besiegeth Belleuile in Beauuetois, belonging vnto Charles. Mary Duchesse of Berry labours to reconcile these Princes, and draws them to a peace, the which shall soone be a meane of a general accord betwixt the Bourguignon and France, by the mediation of the Duke of Bourbon, a profitable instrument of so good a worke. This occasion not prevented, was seconded by another, for the Duke of Bedford, after the death of his wife (being sister to the Duke of Bourgongne) maries with Jaquelin the daughter of Peter of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Pol, who was no friend to the Bourguignon: and moreover the youth and beauty of this new spouse, had so bewitched Bedford, as hee was easily drawne from Philip, whose loue he entertained with great difficulty, yet in respect of the generall cause they made a good shew, and had met at St. Omer to that effect, but this interview encreased their discontents.

Bedford maries
againe.

In the meane time, the truce (being ill obserued on either side) is conuerted into a languishing war. Bedford makes war in the Country of Mayen by Scales and Willoughby, two renowned Captaines, which besiege S. Celerin. Charles succours it by the Lord of Bucil, who having lodged some troopes at Viuin, (a village of small accompt) made it famous by a notable peece of seruice. Scales aduerted of these troopes lodged in this hamlet, hasts thither, surpriseth them, and cuts them in peeces: but the Lord of Bucil had his reuenge: for falling vpon the Conquerours, who returned in disorder, hee puts them to rout. Chastier notes it for a notable seruice, that forty lances overthrow a thousand five hundred men, which were slaine, or taken prisoners: of such force is disorder and amazement in warre. The siege of Saint Celerin being thus raised, to the great disgrace of the English, Bedford much grieved for this affront, sends the Earle of Arondel thither with new forces. It was at the same time when as Charles went into Dauphine: the fame of this notable victory, holding mens minds in suspence, so as Arondel takes Saint Celerin by force, and from thence he marcheth to Silley le Guil laume. The Gouernour fearing to want succours, treats with Arondel: That if by a prefixed day, the French were not the stronger, at a certaine Elme neere vnto the place, hee would then yield vp the Towne, and for assurance thereof giues him hostages. The Court was troubled at this summons: all post thither, fearing to continue their shame with losse, Princes and Officers of the Crowne, the Duke of Alenfon and Aniou, the Constable of Richmont, the Marshalls of Boufflac, Ricux, and Retz: the Lords of Loheac, Grauille, and Bucil, with his

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well accompanied to keepe it. In going along he takes Houdan, and then hee fortifies St. Denis with men and victuals, and leaues the Marshall of Rieux to gouerne it. And for that he would lose no time, he employes his troopes to take some places thereabouts, as Pont Saint Maxence, Orville and Meulan. The English had fortified Saint Ouy, to keepe the Country in alarme: Occasions are offered of daily skirmishes, and daily the English are beaten. But the long stay of this little army, and this thorne of St. Denis stirred vp the people of Paris, who loth to be so restrained, prepare a great power to force St. Denis at what place soeuer. The Marshall of Rieux, loth to engage himselfe (being in all thew the weaker) retires honourably to Meulan, without any losse. The English beat downe the defences of S Denis, being a common retreat to all men, without any more labour, either to keepe it or to recouer it.

The accord of Philip Duke of Bourgongne with Charles the Seuenth the French King.

IN the end behold an agreement made with Charles, so much expected, so vnprofitably sought after, and now freely offered by the duke of Bourgongne. The deputies of the Councell presse both French, English and Bourguignon, to end all quarrels, by some good composition. The City of Arras is allowed of by them all to treat in. The Assembly was great: from the Pope and the Councell of Pisa there came the Cardinals of Saint Croix and Cipres, with twelve bishops: for the French King there was the duke of Bourbon, the Earle of Richmond Constable of France, the Earle of Vendosme, the Archbishop of Rheims Chancellor of France, the Lords of Harcourt, Valpergue, la Fayette, Saint Pierre, du Chastell, du Bois, Chastillon, du Fay, de Railly, Rommet, Curselles, and Cambrai first President of the Parliament at Paris, with many wise and learned men, as John Tudart, Blesier, John Charetier, Peter Clotel, Adam le Queux, John Taise, and la Muir. For the King of England, the Cardinals of York, and Winchester, the Earle of Suffolk, the Bishop of Saint Davids, John Ratcliffe keeper of the great Seale, the Lord of Haverford, Ralph the Wise, the Official of Canterbury, and some Doctors of Diuinity. For Philip duke of Bourgongne, there came the duke of Geldres, the Earle of Nassau, the Bishop of Cambrai, the Earle of Vermandour, the Bishop of Leege, the Earles of Vandemont, Neuers, Salines, Saint Pol, and Ligny, besides the Deputies of many of his best Townes. The pompe was great, both on the deuote behalfe, and of the duke of Bourgongne, who intertained them with all the honour and good cheare that might be wished. But leauing these circumstances, I make haste to the principall subiect. The Kings of France and England began the treaty. The fundamentall question was, to whom the Crowne of France belonged? The English did challenge it, both for that hee was issued from a daughter of France, as also by the Grant of Charles the first who did institute Henry the first and his Successours, Heires of the Crowne, and had disinherited Charles the seuenth, whom hee tearmed an Vturer. The Deputies for Charles answered, that they ought not to call in question the ground of the Estate, which cannot stand firme without that lawfull Heire to whom the Law appoints: and therefore without proving of that which was apparent of it selfe, they came to offers for the ending of all controuersies, That if the King of England would both disclaime the title of King of France, and yield vp the Countries held by him in diuers parts of the realme, he should enioy the duchies of Guicenne and Normandy, doing homage for them vnto the Kings of France as his Soueraigne, and with those conditions which his Ancestors, Kings of England, had formerly enioied them. They stood vpon their different tearmes: their authority was limited, and possession putt vp the English. But sometimes hee refuseth that after sues. He that striueth to haue all, most commonly loseth all. One moiety in effect had more auailed the English, then all in imagination, who in the end shall find, that the Soueraigne Iudge, the preseruer of the law, and of States, giues and takes away, appoints and disappoints, according to his good and wise will: and that there is no force, nor wise dome but his. The matter was soone ended betwix the Kings of France and England: seeing right could do no good, the sword must preuaile.

Thus the Ambassadors of England, returne without any effect: those of France stay to treat with the duke of Bourgongne and his deputies, amongst the which hee himselfe

A was the chiefe, as well for his owne interest, as for his iudgement in affaires. A man exceeding cunning, who could embrace all occasions to make his profit by another, as the discourse of his life hath made manifest. But to what end serues all this mortar, and so great workmanship, to frame a building which shall bee ruined vnder his sonne, and shall bury him in the ruines thereof? It is a foolish reason which thou callest reason, hauing no ground of reason, and doest not hearken to the voice of heauen. *O fools! all thy riches shall be taken from thee this night. Man walks in a shadow, he toyes in vaine, to make his name immortal in the grave, he hunts with infinite labour and takes nothing.* As for Charles, he sought to retire the Bourguignon from all league and alliance with the King of England, and taking from him all occasions of discontent, so to engage him by great gifts and honours, as he should resolve to follow his faction, as the most profitable, knowing that his owne private interest, was the chiefe end of his designs. Matters were caried in this according to the humour of that age, the disposition of the Court, and for the honour of Charles, who must aske the Duke of Bourgongne pardon, hauing caused his father to be slaine against his faith. But was it not true? must not the crime be confessed by him that was culpable? Charles therefore resolves to send him a blanke, and the accord doth testifie that the Bourguignon filled it with so many vnreasonable conditions, as it is strange for great a Monarch should stoop so much to his subiect and vassall, but necessity hath no law.

C A president for great men, not to attempt any thing against reason, lest they be constrained to repaire it with reason, and yet to know that it is an amendment of a fault to yield to necessity for the good of the State, being a great thrift to lose for gaine. The originall sets downe at large all the conditions of this Treaty: who so please may read them in *Monfrellet*, and in the history of S. Denis. The summe is, that the massacre committed on the person of John duke of Bourgongne at Montcreau-saut-yonne, is sufficiently repaired by confession and ceremonies. Great summes of present money with goodly Siegneuries are giuen to the Duke of Bourgongne: so many assurances for him and his, as a great volume is full of these scrupulous conditions.

The Duke of Bourgongne promises more simple, that hee should declare himselfe a friend to Charles the seuenth King of France, and enemy to his enemies: that he should renounce all alliance and friendship with the King of England, and promise both his person, and all his means to expell him out of France. The performance was according to promise: Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Arthur of Britany, Earle of Richmond, Constable of France, in the name of Charles the seuenth, aske pardon of the Duke of Bourgongne, for the death of his father, and the Duke pardoned him for the loss of God. The Cardinals (in the Popes name and the Councels) absolve the Duke from the oath which he had made vnto the English: and either part sweares to maintaine the accord in that which did concerne him. So the peace was published with great solemnity, to the incredible content of all men. The King, the Duke of Bourgongne, and the whole Realme reioyced exceedingly, onely John of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Pol, would not bee therein comprehended, he shall suffer for it, and his House after him. This was the 24 of September, in the year 1435. A famous day for those things which happened in this reigne, whereof this accord gaue the first occasion. The marriage of Charles sonne to the Duke of Bourgongne, with Katherine of France, daughter to our Charles, was concluded to seale this accord. From this peace sprung a more violent warre against the English. The Duke of Bourgongne sends backe all his contracts to the Duke of Bedford, and hauing shewed him the iust reasons which had moued him to embrace the Kings amity, being his kinsman and Lord, hee renounceth the alliance of England, with a watchword, that every one should looke to himselfe. Euery man sharpens his sword, and seoures his Armes, to recouer that by force, which they could not obtaine by reason. The first fruits of this accord began to grow ripe euen in the heart of winter, for Corbeil yields presently to the King, with Brie, Comte Robert and the Castle of Bois de Vincennes. The Bourguignon employes all his friends and intelligences at Paris, hee vtieth all his instruments, meaning to set them to worke the year following: All Normandy begins to reuolt, Deepe, Fescan, Montier-Villiers, Hassen, Tancarville, Bec-Crespin, Gomusseule, Loges, Villemont, Grausille, Longueville, Neufville, Lambreville, Charles-Mesnil, St. Germaine, Fontaines, Preaux, and Blainville, obey the

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Queene Isabel
dies.The Duke of
Bedford dies.

the King willingly, chasing away the English, and receiting the French for their safety, all which was acted in two dates. What more to finish this worke, God takes away one of the chiefe causes, and one of the principal instruments of the misery, which had so long afflicted this Estate. We haue seene what part *Isabel* of Bawaria played in this Tragedy, we haue fought her after the death of her poore husband, and could not find her, for in ruth she was ciuilly dead. *Bedford* fearing the spirit of this *Medea*, seekes not onely to stay her hands, but to keepe her eyes from the managing of affaires. And for that (he had deuoured the treasure of the Realme, he constraines her to keepe a diet. Hee doth therefore sequester her to the house of Saint Pol, where she liued vntill the end of this yeare in great povertry, no more assisted by the Bourguignon then by the English. Being dead, they caused her body to be put into a small boate, and so transported by the riuer of Seine to Saint Denis, where she was buried without any pompe, like to a common person. A light put out, whose fauour doth yet offend posterity.

In this yeare also died *John* of England, that great Duke of Bedford, called Regent of France, who hath noted many blacke pages in this volume, and so much terrified our Ancestors. Having seene the former accord, and felt so sudden effects in Normandy, fearing the rest would follow, he drowned himselfe in sorrow, & knowing no means to auoid this storme, he dies at Rouen the 15 of December, leaving to King *Henry* the sixth, a bottom very hard to vntwist, and to his young wife (being sister to the Earle of St. Pol) a cause of mourning, the which continued not long, for the married loon after against the will of her parents, with an English Aduenturer of small account giuing cause to laugh at her, being but little pitied. *Charles* being thus discharged of a heauy burthen by this accord, hath more liberty to follow his honest delight. He goes to Lions, visits Dauphine, and staves in Languedoc, a Prouince which he loues about all the rest, having found it most deuoted to his seruice. Montpellier was his abode, a place very pleasantly seated; but taking this time of recreation, he had left good Lieutenants in France, who shall soone send him newes of their exploits.

*The City of Paris yields to the King, and expels
the English.*

The English
vanquished at
Saint Denis.

THE Bourguignon prepares to annoy the English, whilest that the Constables makes way for the reduction of Paris. His intent was (parting from Pontoise) to put himselfe into S. Denis, a towne halfe dis-mantled; but *Thomas* of Beaumont Captain of the Bastile (having intelligence of this designe) preuented the Constable, and entred into S. Denis with a notable troope of souldiers. *Richmont* notwithstanding approacheth neere to S. Denis: the Centinell hauing giuen warning of his approach, *Beaumont* issues forth to the bridge, vpon the little riuer which is towards Pierre-site, where he met with the fore-runners, who hauing drawne him forth, ingage him in the battell, the which was led by the Constable, marching from the valley of Montmorency. This English troope was easily vanquished, most of them were cut in peeces, and the rest taken, hardly any one of them escapes, to carry newes to Paris. *Thomas* of Beaumont is slaine among the rest vpon the place. The Constable makes vse of this good successe: hee presently marcheth with his victorious army to Paris, which stood amazed at these approaching forces, wanting a Regent, who was lately deceased; and such as were left to command, were more fit to handle an oare, then to gouerne the helme. Now was the time for good French-men to shew themselves, whereof there were many in the City. The Bourguignon faction being now become the Kings seruants, embrace this occasion, and hauing consulted together, they resolute to shake off the English yoke, the which they had too long endured.

The Duke of Bourgongne was then at Bruges, but he had left the Lord of Lisle Adam to deal with his partisans at Paris. It is the same whom he had formerly imployed against *Charles* and his father *John*, in the murder of the Kings seruants. He had great credit with the Parisians, of whom *Michael Lailler* was the chiefe Tribune. He discouers by him the peoples affections, being resolute to submit themselves to the King: of whom they craue only a generall abolition of what was past. This gentle demand being brought to Pontoise to the Constable, and easily granted, all prepare for the effects. That quarter neere the Halles gaue the first signe of the French liberty at Paris, by the meanes of the Curate

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A of Saint Eustace: and all Saint Honories street ioyes in this hardy resolution. In the meane time the Vniuersity beyond the bridge doth the like. *Lewis* of Luxembourg, Bishop of Therouenne Chancellor for the English, the Bishops of Lisieux and Meaux, the Lord *Willowby*, with others deuoted to the English, aduertised of these mutinies in diuers parts of the City, fearing some sedition, retire toward Saint Anthonies gate, hauing carried all their best furniture into the Bastile, and forsake the houses adioyning. All being thus prepared at Paris, the Constable of Richmont, guided by *Lisle-Adam*, parts from Pontoise, and comes to Saint Denis in the night, where hauing rested some houres, hee marcheth early in the morning, accompanied with the Earle of Dunois, (a bastard of the house of Orleans) the Lords of Suze and Bueil, with a great company of resolute souldiers: approaching neere the City, *Lisle-Adam* with a choise troope goes before St. Iagues gate, the appointed place for the Rendezuous, where he finds all in a readinesse, so as *Lailler* hauing planted ladders for him at the lowest part of the wall, he mounts with his troop. Being entred the city, the people of that quarter (who were assembled for his coming) begin to cry, *A peace, a peace, God saue the King, and the D. of Bourgongne*. *Lisle-Adam* being ioyned to the chiefe of the City, goes directly to the gate, the which was set open by the captaine of that quarter, and the Constable, who was before it with his troopes, entred in good order. Then the people redoubled their cries. They all stand at a gaze, being aduertised of this entry, and exceeding glad to see themselves ready to recouer their ancient liberty; they prepare to march where they should be commanded to expell the English. All run to the Bastile. The Tournelles are presently seized on, and all approaches vnto the Bastile are soone won. Such as were within, at the first made some shew of defence, but as all things were prepared to force them, they demand a parlee, and agree to depart with their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the towne beneath the Loure, to imbarke vpon the riuer of Siene, and so to passe to Rouen. Then could not wel haue passed through the city. The people aduertised hereof run to the wals, and cry out with great shoutes, bayting the English like dogs, whom a little before they had feared and honoured as their masters. This hapned the 27 of February, in the yeare 1436. Thus Paris returns to the obedience of this Crowne, hauing passed seuentene yeares vnder the government of the English: which made the fatherly command of their King more pleasing vnto them, and them more willing to obey him, hauing tasted the imperious command of a stranger.

The Constable
is receiued into
Paris.

Charles aduertised of this happy successe, parts from Montpellier, and returnes slowly by Auvergne, to giue the Parisians time to prepare for his entry, the which was performed with great pompe, fixe months after the reduction of the City, but with so extraordinary an affection of the people, as drinking after a great thirst. All the townes within the Realme had followed this example, if *Charles* had embraced this goodly occasion, all being drawne vnto their duty by a naturall instinct. He was of a mild spirit, playable to all winds, flying toyle, but patient when he had vnderaken it. We haue hitherto seene him constant enough in his afflictions, although the weight of blowes so often doubled, had made him senselesse, so as hee bare his crosses with lesse feeling, as a mortified member doth the razor or a corasue: but prosperity had so reuiued his spirit, as he recovered himselfe and returned to his owne disposition. He wanted authority to command well, and iudgement to make choice of his seruants, for he often embraced and rewarded vnecessary men, and put backe such as were profitable.

The Kings en-
try into Paris.

This proceeding discontented such as (seruing him faithfully) did see themselves contemned. These discontents gaue them liberty to speake, and doe things, which offended the King, experience reaching, that these tractable humors are as soone moued as pleased; and about all, are suspitious and cholerike: for impressions creeping into these weak spirits, makes them to fall into another extremity of vnmeasured passion. We haue seene the like in the life of *Lewis* the Gentle, but we shall not find the like exceffe in our *Charles*: yet shall we see that by the like indiscreete facility hee disordered his owne affaires, discontented his blood, grieved many of his seruants, filled his life with languishing in the prosperity of his affaires, to cast him headlong (in the midst of his greatest triumphs) into the gulfe of a fearefull graue: what we are to represent in this discourse, shall bee the Commentary of this truth.

As soone as the Spring appears, the Duke of Bourgongnes army goes to field to be-

1436

The Bourguignon at empts Calais in vaine.

The Lords of Croy defeated by Calais.

The Dauphin interests the English court.

Factions in Handens.

The Duke of Bourgogne in danger of his life at Bruges.

siege Calais, it consisted for the most part of the communities of his estates. He easily engaged them in this warre, both by his authority and the shew of profit, to haue a towne so convenient for trafficke. This army had scarce continued in field ten daies, but they took homeward to their houses, shops, and fields: besides, the English wrought them vnder hand, and sent a great supply to defend Calais. This humor did so possesse this armed multitude, as the Bourguignon had no power to hold them. All passe away like to a violent streame, and this his designe came to nothing, although he chased in vaine, like vnto the Persian that threatened the tempest, and whipt the Sea. So all enterprizes succeeded nor. The Duke of Bourgogne being thus retired, the English hath his reuenge of his affront, and spoiles the marches of Boulogne, and Grauelins, to the great losse of the Country. The Lord of Croy fought to make head against the English, being followed by a goodly troope: but hee was defeated, and saues himselfe with difficulty in Ardes. The Flemings stirre at this losse, and march vnder the Duke of Bourgognes command, but they returne with shame: for Calais was referred for another season. Wee haue said that Charles had a sonne named Lewis, borne in the midst of his greatest crosses, the first year of his reign; in the year 1433. Being thirteene yeares old, hee married him to *Marguerite Stuart* the only daughter of *James King of Scotland*, a Princess of excellent vertues, and a gage of the faithful seruice which Scotland did to this Crowne in her greatest dangers, who suuiued not much this felicity of France. Charles was desirous to returne to Montpellier: where hauing called an Assembly of that Province, he heard many complaints of the outrages his souldiers had committed, running vp and downe the Country in great disorder. The best souldiers were guilty of these inuencions for want of pay. *Rodrigo de Villandras* an Aragonois, (who had faithfully seruied the King) was in disgrace, and banished with his troope, but being toynd with *Pothin Galcony*, and hauing taken some places from the English, hee made his peace with Charles. This confusion was not alone in one Country, but generally disperfed throughout the Realme. A troope of 2000 horse led by *Anthony of Chabannes*, *Blanchefort*, *Guader* of Bron, *Floquet* and other renowned Captaines, parting from Normandy, passe through the Countries of Vincou, and Pontthieu, by Dorlens, Oruille, Bray, Cappy, Lions in Sauters, and enter into Cambrey, from thence they lodge at Solames towards Hainault with infinit spoile, eating and ranfoming all after a hostile manner. *John of Croy* the Bailiffe of Hainault sent troopes against them, but they were defeated: they were called the flauers or fleas.

In the end through Charles his many commands, they come into Champagne, where hauing remained some time, they were employed to take Chasteau Landon, Charny, and Nemours, and from thence they were led to Monfieu faut Yonne, where there was maruelous siege, being well assailed and well defended: but in the end the Towne was taken by force, and the Cattle by composition. Charles was at Bray, and the Dauphin commanded at this siege. Hee made faite warres with the English, who thanking him before the King his father, yielded him these first fruits of his authority in the view of the whole army, who honoured him afterwards as the Sonne rising, whence grew the jealousies we shall hereafter speake of. The Mignons of Court which were then in quart, gaue a great occasion: *Christopher of Harcourt* Lord of Chaumont, and *Martin Gouge* Bishop of Clermont, men that had no good in them but to doe ill. The Duke of Bourgogne had much trouble this year: the English had sowed great diuisions in his chiefest Cities. Bruges stirred vp strange mutinies against him, whereas he was in danger of his life: *Lips-Adam* chiefe Captaine of his Guard is slaine. A popular man whom wee haue seene to command the Parisians twice, once against the King, and another time for the King, he presumed in like sort to gouerne them of Bruges, but they reare him in peeces, as the Gantois had in former times massacred *Artenille* their Tribune.

A multitude is a dangerous thorne, which cannot bee handled without pricking. Gant followed the example of Bruges, but in the end all was pacified, with the losse of the most seditious, to the content of the same people, who deuoure him they did adore. After these seditions, Philip returnes to warre, he besiegeth Croy (a place very important for the free trafficke of his Countries) but after great paines and charge, it proved all in vaine.

A man vnfortunate in warre, but in Councell hee commanded with an imperious

A grauitie. But (amidst the generally) shall I omit this particular obseruation, profitable for the example? That great Captaine *La Hire* passing neere vnto Clermont (a towne then subject to the English) was there honourably received by the Lord of Anemont Gouernour of the towne, and (for that he trusted *La Hire* much) he suffered him to enter with his men into the rauenin to eat a banquet. *La Hire* embracing this occasion, makes him his prisoner, and takes the place. *Anemont* had his reuenge in time, by means of the Lord of Mouy: he enters Beauuais, where *La Hire* was Gouernour, goes vnto him to the Tenist Court, takes him and leades him away prisoner in view of all the Inhabitantes, and makes him to yield both his ranfome and Clermont againe, notwithstanding Charles his letters to the Bourguignon: but in the end they are good friends. This discourtesie is alway requited with the like, leauing a long repentance for him that is the author of the iniury, how braue and cunning sooner he be; God punishing iniquity in due season, when as men thinke least of it, and by meanes least apparant. The warres had wonderfully vnpeopled France, but this scourge was not sufficient. The whole country lying waste, (not able to be tillied by reason of the daily incurfions and ordinary spoiles of both parties) there is a great famine. That which was usually worth but five pence, was sold for five shillings and six pence, or more. The people being famished, sought bread where they might find it, being forced from their houses by raging hunger, they disperse themselves in the fields and townes: in the one to find some fruit among the trees, and in the bushes, to haue some hearbs or rootes: in the other to get some morrell of bread, or some garbage, to fill the panch with any thing they could meet withall. So their bodies filled with bad meats, were likewise infected with bad humours, falling into diuers languishing diseases. In the end all turned to a plague, so horrible, as all these poore creatures famished and weakened with diseases, were like vnto dry wood in a great flame. Thus one plague bred another, and that miserable plant of Vwarre, brought forth two branches of misery to our wretched country, famine and pestilence. These afflictions disperfed throughout the Realme, rained chiefly at Paris, the solemne Rendezvous of this languishing people. There was nothing to be seene but lamentable troopes of people pale and leane, of all sexes and ages, either running in the fields, or vp and downe the streets, or laid vpon dung hills, or dead in the market places, a most horrible spectacle to behold.

There dyed threecore thousand persons in Paris. All the principall men abandoned the Citie, except *Adam* of Cambray the first President, *Ambrose* of Lore the Prouost of Paris, and the President of the Accounts, whom God preferred in this contagion, to eternize their commendable memories for euer, hauing secured the publike in necessitie; without whose couragious resolution the Citie had easily fallen into the hands of the English, who watched for all occasions, and made daily incurfions from Mantie euen vnto the gates. The Champian country being abandoned, Wolves left the Forests without feare, & hauing made their prey vpon the remainder of this miserable people, they came to the gates of towres, and euen into the streets. This horrible spectacle hath bene seene at Paris, in the Theater of the world, in the most populous Citie of all others. So one misery drew on another, and these afflictions continued two whole yeares, vnto the year 1439, whilst the contention of Anti-popes increased the fire of Schismes in Christendome, as we shall heere in due place.

Amade or *Amé* Duke of Sauoy caried himselfe as we haue said, during the calamities of France: in the end of this year he shall shew a strange alteration of humor, to the great amazement of all the world, for being in his Castle of Thonnon, (a towne seated vpon the Lake Leman) he retires with a small traine to Ripaille, where he had an Abbey of Monkes of Saint Maurice, and hauing imparted his desire but to two of his most confident seruants, (hauing bound them to keepe him faithful company) he takes vpon him the habit of these Monkes, that is, *A gray frocke, a long cloake, a gray hood, a short cornet, and a red bonet vnder his hood, but vpon his gray frocke he wear a great girde of gold, and vpon his cloake a crosse of gold.* Hauing thus changed his habit, his meaning was not to change his degree, nor to leaue the world, but vnder the colour of this habit, his intent was to aspire higher, as the course of his life will shew. Being now retired to Ripaille, he calls a parliament, and shewes them his intention in this new course of life; That being weary of the world, where there was nothing but toyle and trouble, hee would sequester himselfe, to dedicate his life wholly to the seruice of God: But to the end he might

1437
Two strange spectacles.

A lamentable spectacle in Paris.

The Duke of Sauoy becomes a Monke.

1438

Death of great
Princes.Charles son to
Philip of Bour-
gogne mar-
ries Katherine
of France.Artificious
practices to
take Calais.

provide for the government of his estate, he declares his eldest son Prince of Piedmont, and *Charles* his youngest, Earle of Geneva, & he himselfe remains Duke of Sauoy, although he had vowed himselfe to the Order of Saint *Maurice*, and without altering of any thing he reserves to himselfe the sole and souveraine authority of all his estates. Having thus published his intent, he retires with his Monkes to Ripaille, into one quarter of the lodging the which he had built apart, accompanied with twenty of his favourites in Monks attire: but not living like unto that profession, for leaving them their water and roots, he qualified this solitary life with the best cheer he could get from Chambery or Turin. This year is likewise memorable by the death of three great Princesses: of *Katherine* Queene of England sister to *Charles* the seventh, the mournfull leuaine of our long miseries: of the old *Queene*, daughter to the King of Navarre, Mother to the Princes of Britanie, the Duke and Constable: and of the old Countesse of Armagnac, daughter to the Duke of Berry, and Mother to the Duke of Sauoy, the Earle of Armagnac, and the Earle of March. All dyed almost in one day, having scene the strange tragedies of France acted during their liues and vpon their children; and in their ends, seeing no end of miseries. As the fury of fighting grew cold, so the warre was turned into trafficke. There was no towne but the Gouernor kept it for him that would giue most: and *Charles* had it more expedient to haue a towne or place for money, then to besiege it with great charge, to the oppression of his subjects, and with a doubtfull euent. Montargis had cost either party much money to take it and to recover it againe: *Charles* buyes it of *France* of Surienne an Arragonois vnder the English pay, for ten thousand Crownes. He bought Dreux (the which he could neuer yet obtaine) for eightene thousand Crownes of *William* *Bronillart* of Beaufe, a filthy trafficker, worthy of that confused time, but vnworthy of all good order and all royall authority. The which being laid open vnto *Charles*, he resolves to vie an honourable force, and to spend more money to get more honour. Sole besieger Meaux and takes it victoriously, these were the first fruits of this new year. In the month of May, *Charles* the onely sonne of *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne comes to Tours, where King *Charles* was resident, and takes *Katherine* of France his daughter to wife, according to the Treaty of Arras.

Having conducted her through his Fathers Countries to Saint Omer (where the Duke attended him) he solemnized the marriage with exceeding great pompe, the which did nothing increase the loue of these Princes allyed, nor the happinesse of the marriage, the which was of small continuance, and lesse loue betwixt the parties, as the course of the history wil shew. In the meane time the Bourguignon hath still two things to his bowe: Although he had renounced the alliance of England, yet had he not left all his intelligences, the necessity of their neighbourhood giuing them still occasions to conferre together. And as he was alwayes watchfull of his profit, so had he a good gage in England to settle his affaires, in retiring *Lewis* Duke of Orleans out of pylon, being taken at the battell of Azincourt. He caused *Charles* to entertaine a treaty for a tuce with the English: the first grounds were laide by the Duchesse his wife, a cunning Princeesse and carefull of her husbands good. The Cardinal of Winchester comes to Grauelin to that effect, yet this was but to lay the first foundation of the work which shall be finished in due season. *Wesley* made mention of *John* of Luxembourg, who would not be comprehended in the treaty of Arras. *Philip* made great shew to be displeased with him, and Luxembourg likewise to be his enemy, causing his men to be slaine with great violence. *Philip* treats with him vpon complaint of them that were wronged, and all is pacified. The cleere sighted did easily find that this was the Bourguignons policie, who seemed to be in choller against him to gratifie *Charles*, being much displeased with Luxembourg, who played the petty king with his Master, but he shall not cary it long, for he dyed soone after, and the Bourguignon lost the whip he held ready for all euents, and the children of Luxembourg stood in need of the Kings fauour. But now the Bourguignon flies to another practice. He desired implicitly to be master of Calais, and seeing that force could not prevail, hee meanes to trie policy. Some of his subjects perswaded him that in breaking a Dike, they should let in the sea, and to drowne the towne and country about, whereby they should force them to obedience. He beleues this imagination, and employes much paine and cost to effect it. But this fancie of a flood, vanished away like vnto the Flemish army at the first siege, whereof we haue scene the fruitlesse issue. So this fantastical flood proued ridiculous. But the Duke to

A shew that he had done some-thing, caused the bridge of Milay to be beaten downe, and some small Dikes, which onely watered the Country.

The beginning of this year laide the foundation of great matters for the restoring of out estate, the which doth draw on daily by meanes not fore-seene, and without the wisdom or care of *Charles*, who was chiefly interessed. After the reduction of Paris, all the townes in general were resolved to free themselves by force, if the King had bene to affected, but finding his minde inclining rather to peace, they beseech him to finde some meanes to compound with the English, & not to languish longer in the ordinary offes of a lingering and preiudicial warre. The Duches of Bourgogne for her husbands priuate interest, layes the first stone, treating for the deliuey of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, as wee haue said. This first act was seconded by the request which the Prouinces of the realme made vnto the King, the which ministred occasion vnto *Charles* to call a generall Parliament at Orleans, whither not onely all the Citizens sent their Deputies, according to the custome, but all the Noblemen which came not in person sent their Agents: for the subject was to treat of a generall peace, and if it might not be effected, to let some order for the men of warre, for the ease of the poore people, who could endure no more. The King was there in person accompanied with these Noblemen, the Earles of March, Bourbon, Vendosme, and Richmond Constable, and the Archbishop of Rheims being Chancellor of France. The Agents of the Duke of Orleans, of the Duke of Bourgogne, and of the Earle of Armagnac assisted, with the deputies of Paris, Languedoc, Dauphine, Guienne and other Prouinces subiect to the French. The Chancellor (a wise and eloquent man) did set downe at large the miseries of warre, and the inestimable good of peace: but what better Commentary then the feeling of our-past miseries, and the visible demonstration of our present calamities? It was decreed that in regard of a generall peace they should make all necessary pursuit with speed. As for the ordering of men of warre, they should presently take some course to auoid confusion hereafter. The Lord Chancellor and the first Presidant were chosen to negotiate this treaty with the English, through the meanes and fauour of the Duke of Bourgogne, as hauing laide the foundation: and presently a decree was made for the government of souldiers both of horse and foot, and to discharge the army of hangers on, the which did but incommber, to the great oppression of the poore people. This was the institution of the Franke-archers. The first day of May was appointed by the common consent of both Kings to meet at Saint Omer, but the King of England was aduised by the Duke of Yorke his Vncle (who had succeeded the Duke of Bedford in all his authority, although the name of Regent was not giuen him since the Kings Coronation) that he should stand vpon tearmes, as hauing no need of peace, but onely moued with compassion of the poore people, and therefore he failed in the assignation. But there fell out an vnexpected occasion to *Charles*, which not onely brake off the course of this businesse and all others, but had well-neere plunged France into greater misery then before. The King was gone to Angiers, where hee had

E intelligence of the taking of Saint *Susanne*, for his seruice, one of the most important places of the Country of Maine, and of his losse at the siege of Auranches, which was ill attempted and succeeded worse: when as stranger newes made him lo'e the pleasure of this gaine, and forget the bitterness of his losse. He was growne wonderfull wayward and suspicious, inclining visibly into two extremities: being too familiar with some of his domestical seruants, and too seuer to his Princes and chiefe Officers: either hee should not haue married his eldest sonne *Lewis*, Dauphin of Viennois so soone, or else hee should not haue vsed him like a childe. But *Charles* over-look him with a sower countenance, as if he had been vnder the rod. All this was done of purpose, practised by his secret Councillors to keepe great men from attempting against him vnder the name of this young Prince, to the preiudice of his royall authority: but what hee feared chanced. The Earle of March a Prince of the blood, had the charge of the young Dauphin, a Prince whom *Charles* trusted, being both wife and temperate: *Lewis* of Bourbon Duke of Alençon, Godfather to *Lewis* was not so familiar with *Charles* as he was accustomed.

The Duke of Bourbon was not altogether in so bad tearmes, yet was he not so great in the Kings fauour as he desired, grieving that such base men should haue countenance. These two Princes must lead the dance: if their desigae had succeeded, many would haue joynd; but now they would be lookers-on onely. At this time the Princes had men fit

Charles calls a
Parliament
at Orleans etc
treat of a
generall peace

The Princes
of the blood
discontented

1439

Make a league
to aduance
the Dauphin.

to execute their designe, the Lords of Chaumont, Bauciquart and Prye, with many aduenturers, theues, and such like. *Tremouille* hauing some notice of this plot, offers him selfe vnto them and is entertained: a matter as wisely performed by them, as rashly done of him. The proiect of these discentented Princes was, to settle the Dauphin, the hereafter all things might be done by his authority, being ruled by the aduice of the Princes of the blood, and so in effect they would haue King *Charles* gouerned by his sonne.

For the execution hereof, they first feize vpon the Dauphin, who was an assistant himselfe, to be freed from the Earle of March his gouernor. He was lodged in the Castle of Loches in Touraine, gouerned with great respect, who seeing of age, married, and of a kindly disposition, gaue him great liberty: he might goe abroad at his pleasure, where he found the bastard of Bourbon, *Anthony* of Chabanes, with other Capitaines aduencurers, who conducted him honourably into Bourbonnois. The same day the duke of Alençon feized vpon Niort, and by his commandement *John de la Roche* tooke Saint Maxen. The duke of Bourbon hauing the Dauphin in his power (a Prince full of youthfull courage) hee caused him to write to the Nobility of Auvergne, and to the duke of Bourgogne praying them to aide him in his designes, which was to haue more liberty to gouerne matters of state hereafter, for the better satisfiing of men of honour, whom he desired (to his great griefe) kept backe by certain flatterers which possessed the King his father, to the great prejudice of the whole realme. These newes being brought to *Charles*, he presently sent to the duke of Bourbon to returne him his sonne, and to the duke of Alençon to deliuer his townes of Niort and Saint Maxen; and to them both to come and yeeld an account of their innovations: who fusing by their answers that they excused themselves and sought delays, he resolves to come to the effects, and to suppress this mischief in the breeding. He was well serued at this time.

The duke of Bourgogne lets the Dauphin vnderstand, that all his meanes are at his commandement, so as it be not against his father, but he aduised him to goe vnto him, and not to aggravate one error with another, being most certaine that the thorefter errors are the best. He aduised the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon not to attempt a thing of ill fame, whereby they should get neither honour nor profit; and to free themselves freely vnto the most honest excuses they could deuise. The Nobility of Auvergne protest vnto the Dauphin by the Lord of Dampmartin, that in all things that were in their power they would doe him seruice, except against the King his father. The Inhabitants of Saint Maxen (seeing the Castle seized on by *la Roche*) assemblé and intrench themselves in the gates and towers of the towne, and aduertise the King thereof, offering to doe as it should please him to command. The King was at Poitiers. This aduertisement was brought him as he dined: whereupon he presently dispatcheth his Admirable of Coigny and the Lord of Varrenne, Seneshall of Poitou, to these good subiects of Saint Maxen, and the next day he follows himselfe. The Castle was presently besieged, battered, and forced, and the heads of such as were taken, paid for *la Roche* folly, who escaped in the night, vnder colour that he would seeke counsell and succour. *Mont-richard* being taken by the Princes at the same time, obeyed the King. The Earle of Dunois a bastard of the house of Orleans, who was of their faction, leaues them presently, and follows the King. This was the end of this year, and shall soone be the end of this shurly-burly, ill attempted and worse executed. The Princes had seduced many townes in Auvergne, notwithstanding their first protestation; but for that it belonged to the duke of Bourbon, it could not be, but many of his subiects and private seruants must make some shew of obedience, especially in the Dauphins presence, and at his intreaty. *Charles* resolves to march thither with all speed. He had eight hundred men at armes, and two thousand archers, and had provided for their lodgings as they marched without offence to any. And for that it was likely the English would make his profit of our domestick confusions (seeing the Princes of the blood presume to attempt against the head of their house, and to set the sonne against the Father) *Charles* prevented it with such dexterity, as all the frontiers against the English were very well fortified. Hee had intelligence also that the men of warre being generally discontented for their pay, and grieved that the King to exclaim against their disorders, vpon his subiects complaints, would be easily drawne to the league: He therefore sent for them whom he might most suspect, and ingaged them in his seruice, the Vice

The Duke of
Bourgonie,
aduerses the
Dauphin
letter.

S. Maxen taken by the
league and re-
couered a-
gaine.

Seeing Charles
yete with an
army against
the Duke of
Bourbon.

A of Loumeigne, the bastard of *Faix* and *Halezard*, valiant Capitaines, and well-beloued of the aduentering souldiers. This done, hee sends *Perbon*, *Floques*, and *Arsoy* with his roopes; and follows himselfe without any stay, being accompanied with the Earle of March, the bastard of Orleans, the Constable of France, and many Noblemen with a well ordered traine.

The Townes of Chambon and Euon being fortified by the Princes, were easily taken by *Perbon*. They were in danger of their liues through their resistance; but by the Constables meanes their peace was made for sixe hundred crownes of gold, which then made a hundred markes of silver. These places being reduced to obedience, *Charles* came to *Ebrulle*, which yielded; from thence he went to *Aignepersé*, and *Curset*, the which likewise obeyed, notwithstanding the perswasion of the Princes. *Charles* rested and was taken at the first assault: the spoile was great; the troops remaine there fiftene dayes; whilst that *Charles* takes *Escurels*, with five or sixe other Forts fauouring the discontented Princes. The duke of Bourbon was at Saint Porcain; where hee had ingaged the Dauphin to feize vpon the townes of Auvergne. *Tremouille* was there also, who had brought an hundred lances to the Princes, with a thousand vaile hopes of his great meanes; but hearing that the King approached, (being armed with right and force) they aske counsell of their wounded consciences, which aduised them to flie into Bourgogne. So parting from Saint Porcain, they come to Moulins; and from thence they take the way of Saint Desir to passe into Bourgogne; but hauing intelligence that they could passe no further; and that the duke of Bourgogne had preuened them, they returne attainted to Moulins, finding their affaires to succeed but ill. *Clermont* and *Montferri* could neuer be drawne from the Kings seruice, notwithstanding all the perswasions of the Princes, *Rions* followed their faction and was soone reduced to the Kings obedience. *Charles* being ariued at Clermont calls an assembly of the Estates of Auvergne, seeing the importance of this action by the Bishop of Clermont. The whole country is presently at the Kings deuotion, offering freely to imploy their bodies and goods for his seruice.

But not relieing mildnesse with his force, *Charles* thought it good that the Earle of Eu should treat with the Princes, who in the end resolve to attend vpon the King at Clermont. The Dauphin remained at Moulins; and the dukes of Bourbon and Alençon vnderooke the voyage vnder his Maiesties safe conduct; they caried with them *Tremouille*, *Chamont* and *Pry*, whereof *Charles* being aduertised, he sent to countermand them, not meaning these three should be comprehended in the passport. The Princes hauing spoken with the King, and drawne matters to some good accord, they promise to bring the Dauphin to Clermont, and to pacifie all by this interview, but this young prince did disdain the refusal his father had made of his three seruants, as he protested he would not goe vnto him, but would rather hazard all. This humour made him to faile in the assignation; and *Charles* was retolued to vie force. He theretofore sends his Vant-guard, which besiegeth and takes Vichy, Curset, and Varrennes obey presently without contradiction. Saint An must be forced; but in the end it obeys. So doth Rouen, Chartier, Pécier, and all the places of Rouannois. This successe did mollifie the hearts both of the Dauphin and princes, to draw them vnto reason: so as hauing (by the mediation of the Earle of Eu) perswaded the King to like of their coming, they went to Curset. *Charles* was very milde to his sonne, and at the first gaue him good entertainment, but when hee saw this young man fully bent to haue *Tremouille*, *Chamont*, and *Pry* (his good and faithful servants) receiued into fauour, and boldly to say vnto him, That he must else returne, being ingaged in his word and honour: he said roughly to him, Lewis, the gates are open, and if they be not big enough, I will cause fixetwene or twenty fadomes of the wall to be beaten down, in passe where you please: you are my sonne, you cannot tye your selfe to any without my leave, but if you will goe, you may depart: for by the helpe of God, we shall find some of our blood, which shall helpe us better to maintaine our honour; then you haue yett done. So the accord was made without comprehending of these three. The Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon sweare to serue the king, and yeeld vp Loches, Corbeil, Bois de Vincennes, Saucerre, Sancerres, Brié, Conre-robert, and other places which they held: The Dauphin remanins with his father, who changeth all his traine, except his Confessor and Cooke. But all this is but counterite, you shall soone see other broiles. This phrensie of state bred in the Kings

1440

The Dauphin
comes into Berge
to see great

1440

Kings house against the King himselfe, was by our Ancestors called the Praguerie. Nine months of this year being spent in these garboiles, *Charles* returns to Tours, to provide for the raising of the siege of Harfleur, where the Earle of Somerset had laine long; but it was in vaine, for the towne was taken in the end, after a long and painefull constancy of the Inhabitants, who could not be relieved in time by reason of these home-bred troubles: and yet there was a second mischiefe; the Lord of Gaucourt gouernor of Dauphin (a worthy seruant to the King) returning from the siege, and causing some of his baggage (which was scattered from the troope) to retire, he was surprized by a company of English, and led prisoner to Rouen, to the great griefe of *Charles* who loved him, having giuen good testimonies of his loyalty in his greatest extremities.

But in exchange *Charles* takes Conches and Louviers, (townes of importance in Normandy) from thence he came into Champagne, to suppress a part of these adventuring theuees, who had surprized some places in this Prouince, Musse l' Euefque, Montagu, and others. The Kings army (led by the Constable) takes them, and razed them by the Kings command, pardoning most of these treacherous Capitaines, among which were the bastards of Vergy and the Lord of Commercy: but hee caused *Alexander* bastard to *John* Duke of Orleans to be drowned, a notable theefe, who (having following the discontented Princes) had spoken unworthily of his Master. This execution of Iustice is memorable vpon one of so high a birth, being followed the same year with the exemplary death of *Gylo de Rais* Marshall of France, issued from a great and famous house, who being found guilty of Negromancy and Sorcery, was condemned by the Court of Parliament of Britany, and burnt at Nantes with some of his seruants, culpable of the same crimes. Hee was honoured for his valour, but neither his armes nor his blood could stay the hand of Divine Iustice, meritoriously executed by this iust decree of the Magistrate. Private actions worthy to be registred in the history, to shew that the greatest cannot flee the hand of God, after they haue long abused his patience. But the treaty of peace betwixt France and England, being discontinued about a year, was againe renewed by the industry of the Dukes of Bourgongne a Portuguese, but most affected to the quiet of the Realme, and a very sufficient woman, who had great credit with her husband. She follows it so wisely, as in the end the two Kings sent their Ambassadors to Calais. On *Charles* his behalfe were the Archbishops of Rheims and Norbon, and the Earle of Dunois bastard of Orleans. For *Henry* King of England, the Cardinall of Yorke, and the duke of Exeter, who brought with them *Charles* duke of Orleans, being so long kept prisoner in England.

This poore prince (after the languishing of so long a prison) was exceeding glad to see some means to returne to his house, having felt the ayre on this side the sea, and imbraced the Earle of Dunois, one of the branches of his house, who had so faithfully serued him in his afflictions: but he grieved to see himselfe presently caryed backe into England, for that they could not agree vpon the fundamentall points, the English being resolute not to leaue one foot of that which they held in France. And although the King were content they should freely enjoy what they possessed, so as they held it as they had done in times past of the Crowne of France by homage: yet would they not yield in any sort, being loth to relinquish their pretended souerainty. But hee refused which afterwards doth sue. At this time they were enforced to crye with this resolution, that without infringing any thing of the treaty begun, euery one should goe home, and consider of his affaires, to assemble againe when need should require: the which either part desired. And this is all could be done for the generall. They proceeded farther for the duke of Orleans: but as in these trafficks such as hold the possession doe commonly use policy, the stronger giuing law to the weaker, so in so precious a matter as life, the English must be sued vnto, making no hast to deliuer him, for that they drew great profit yearly for the pension of this great Prince. Moreover, *Charles* had no great care of his deliuey: for that some malicious spirits had searsoned him with some bad impression against this poore Prince, perswading him, that his long imprisonment was not without some mystery, and that it hatched some mischiefe against the King and his estate. The which being miserable for a great person, gaue all men a iust cause of compassion. But notwithstanding all these difficulties, yet must this prince (one of the goodliest plants of this Crowne) be now deliuered, to leaue a successor for the realme of France: and God, who would honour his race with the Crowne, had prepared an admirable meanes for his deli-

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1440

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A notable example for all men in many respects: a prison of five and twenty yeares, was a great affliction to a prince borne to command, and yet captiue to another. The losse of all his goods gaue him a sufficient occasion to resolve to perpetual misery, and to leaue it for an inheritance to his posterity. In the end, (lander, a most cruell sting to a generous minde, which hath honour for his assured treasure, had been able to suppress him. But God, who gouernes the rood wisely, giues him liberty, goods and honour in due season: in despite of this deuillish enuy, which seeking to afflict the afflicted, and controuling aduersitie as well as prosperity, is then corrected when it seeks to correct another: but God doth neuer send helpe too late.

Philip having resolved to doe this good turne for the Duke of Orleans, and to withdraw him out of prison, compounds for his ranfome with the King of England, for three hundred thousand crownes. He giues his word for it, and payes it, and so *Charles* Duke of Orleans being honorably conducted, comes first to Calais, where the money being paid, he comes free to Granelou to the Duke of Bourgongne his deliuerer, who receiued him with all the shewes of loue he could desire. He was taken at Azincourt, in the year 1415, and was deliuered in 1440, the 25 of Nouember, by the means of his son that had slaine his father, and had done all he could to ruine his house. Being come to *Philip*, (having thanked him for this good office, and protested to hold him for his father) he swears a perpetual league with him, the which is confirmed by the marriage of *Mary* of Cleues the neece of *Philip* with the Duke, and then he wears to the treaty of Arras, except the Article of the murder committed on the person of *John* Duke of Bourgongne, whereof hee was innocent: and for confirmation of this solemne league, he takes the order of the golden fleece, from the hands of *Philip*, and is admitted into the number of his Knights. Besides two great enemies are become great friends by so memorable an occasion.

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F f

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1440 the one *Eleanor* which was married into the house of Navarre, of whom is issued *Isabeau* Queene of Navarre, mother to the good and valiant King *Henry* the fourth lately murdered. This yeare shall be full of Warre, and successefull for *Charles*; yet in the end it shall minister occasion to enter into the former treaty of peace, which having begun the yeare before, and little advanced, shall be ended in the following yeares; after another manner then the English expected. *Charles* (seeing that the King of England by his cold delays, fought not onely to make his conditions better (being fought vnto) but also to draw him into some inconuenience, he resolues to armes.

(The memorab
le siege of
Pontoise.

The English had taken Creil vpon Oize, and could not be dispossessed of Pontoise, a towne of importance for the necessitie of Paris. The King resolues to take them both. The Admirall of Coitiuy besieged Creil, and forceth it in the Kings presence. Thus the way is made to Pontoise where the siege was memorable, being well assailed and well defended, but in the end it was taken by *Charles* for the good of France. He lodgeth at the Abbey of Maubuisson, accompanied with his sonne the Dauphin of Viennois, *Charles* of Anjou, the Earle of Clermont, the Constable of France, the Marshalls of Lohéac and Soignie, *Lewis* of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Paul and of Pigney, who brought vnto the King a goodly troop of men from the duke of Bourgongne, with them of the City of Tournay, who sent a gallant squadron of their citizens. Thus vnto brought both French & Bourgongnons vnder the same Ensignes, against the common enemy of France. There were also the Earles of Eu, Albret & Vaudemont, the Vidame of Chartres, the Lords of Chastillon, Tancarville, Joigny, Mornell in Bry, Bueil, Mouy, la Tour, Angell, Longueval, Moyencourt, Suzé, Chabannes, Flauay, Saint Symon, Mailly, Penefac, Blanchefort, & those braue Captaines, *La Hire*, *Porbon* and *Flequey*, with an infinite company of the Nobility, who added their valour to the number of the souldiers which they had brought vnto the King. The City of Paris sent a goodly troupe, so as *Charles* had twelue thousand fighting men. At the first approach the Bastion vpon the Bridge next to Maubuisson was taken by *La Hire*, on the other side against the Abbey of Saint Martin, they make a bridge with a great Bastion, where they lodge three thousand Archers, yet the towne was not so straightly besieged, but *Talbot* sent in both men and victuals.

The Duke of
York goes
with an army
to relieve Pon-
toise.

Whilst that *Charles* stood discontented with this error, behold a greater brauado, for the Duke of Yorke (Lieutenant general for *Henry* K. of England) comes to Cency & Hocouville, places very neere to Pontoise, with a goodly army of 8000 men, & sends his Heralds vnto *Charles* to offer him battell. *Charles* (who by the aduice of his counsell would not commit this successefull beginning of his affaires to the hazard of a battell) returns them with no other answer, but that he should haue his belly full sooner then he liked. The riuer of Oize was betwixt both armies. *Charles* resolues to keepe the passages from Pontoise to Beaumont; and the duke of Yorke to passe the riuer in despite of the French, and to this end he caused many small boats of leather, wood & cords to be brought, with other stuffe fit to make bridges. The bridge of Beaumont was guarded by the French, but the English passe at an Abbey beneath the bridge, and with such danger in their artificiall boats, as ten resolute men might haue stayed a great army, but the silence of the night so fauored their passage, as a great part of the English army was past before our Sentinels had discovered them. Then was there no remedy but to aduertise the King of the enemies passage.

Charles retires
from Pontoise.

The duke of Yorke (hauing thus happily passed the riuer, and rested his souldiers that night (marcheth in goodly order towards *Charles*, meaning to charge him: *Charles* takes counsell of his feare covered with this resolution, not to hazard a general battell, but he was likely to haue fallen into another inconuenience, for without attending of the enemy, he puts all the weightiest of his carriages into the fort of Saint Martin, vnder the guard of *Charles* of Anjou, and the Admirall of Coitiuy with two thousand men, and with them *La Hire*, *Roubaix*, *Esouteville*, with other resolute Captaines: and so leauing his lodging of Maubuisson he retires to Poissy. The duke of Yorke takes vp his lodging at Maubuisson, being abandoned, and makes a shew to attempt the fort of Saint Martin, but hauing tryed it in vaine, he takes his way to Poissy, & lodgeth before the towne in view of the King and his army. There were some skirmishes without any great successe, *Charles* continuing his resolution to hazard nothing, and Yorke his proiect to victuall and saue Pontoise. So the English retires to Mante, to send refreshings from thence to the besieged; but this great brauado came to nothing. The beginning was dishonourable for the King, but the

end

A end was both happy and honourable. Being retired to Saint Denis, and hauing sent the Constable vnto Paris, he resolues to send to Pontoise, and to winne it or to die. The reason was, that this his retreat or rather flight was so infamously spoken of by the greatest in Court, and so odious to the Parisians, (who had defraid a great part of the charge at this siege) as it was to be feared they would make some mutiny against him, if the successe were not good. His spies did likewise assure him that the Princes of his blood (especially since the returne of the Duke of Orleans) were resolved to make some extraordinary assembly, and to admonish him touching the government. It chanced then that the Earles of S. Pol and Vaudemont (notable partisans of the Duke of Bourgongne) left the King, when he had most need of succours, and they of Tournay were of the same party. He had the Dauphin with him, whom he caused to watch diligently both day and night. But how could he doubt that these tricks came not out of the Bourgongnons budget? Choller banished feare, so as being resolved to repaire this error, and to prevent his enemies practices, he runnes to Pontoise (for he was but ten dayes away) and giuing the Duke of Yorke no leasure to releue the besieged, he resolues to take it by force. This indignation succeeded happily. He caused three assaults to be giuen on three parts, and at the first he wonne our Ladies Church which is without the towne, whereby he might greatly annoy the besieged. He tooke this quarter for himselfe, accompanied with the Earles of Marche, Albret and Tancarville. The Dauphin was at the Port Fische ioyning to the riuer of Oize, C with the Earle of Maine, the Admirall and the great master of the Crossbowes. On the other side of the Battery was the Constable, the Marshall of Lohéac, the Lords of Mouy, Tournay, Suzé, Serran, Sanzay and the Vidame of Chartres.

Pontoise taken
by assault.

The Cannon being planted of all sides, and a reasonable breach made, the French enter furiously, and the King with the first (of such force is resolution in a great Prince,) to animate a whole army, as the head giues life to the whole body. The English were consumed like to straw in the fire, and five hundred were slaine at this entry, and foure hundred taken prisoners. The Inhabitants were spared (by the careful command of *Charles*) who acknowledging the happinesse of this victory to come from God, goes to giue him thanks, offering him the first fruits of this victory: for without doubt if he had failed, his enemies D were ready to conspire against him.

He calls together all the Princes, Noblemen and Captaines of the army, hee thanks them for the good and faithfull seruice they had done him in this notable occasion. Hee makes the Lord of Jalongs Marshall of France, and many Knights. He called for him that first entered the breach, commends his valour, and rewards him with an honourable pension. But why hath the History concealed this honest mans name, his reward had bene immortal? Such was the issue of the siege of Pontoise, remarkable for many circumstances, but then very considerable for the Kings affaires, who had an honourable reuenge of the English brauado. But as one good hap follows another when it pleaseth God, so *Charles* received many good aduertisements at the same instant.

E The English drew together many garisons in the country of Maine, from Mans, Fresnoy and Mahinne la lulez, and had sacked Saint Denis in Anjou. The French which were in Sable, Laval and Saint Sufance, led by the Lord of Bueil, meet them laden with spoyle, and very ioyfull, they charge them, defeat and kill them, leauing foure hundred vpon the place. *Peter* of Breze issues out of Conches and surpriseth the English at Beaumont le Roger: sleeping without feare, he awakes them with the sword, kills them & takes the towne. *John Flequey* doth likewise about the same time take Eureux (a towne of very great importance in Normandy) the meanes is memorable, a fisherman makes a hole in the wal, whereby he enters in the night, and becomes master of the towne. But in exchange they receiue a checke. The Captaines and souldiers which had taken many prisoners in Pontoise, had compounded with an English Captain for their ransom, who had taken the debt vpon him. The prisoners were kept at Cornille, a Castle neere vnto Chartres. While they expected money, this Mediator hauing free liberty to go and come, obserues all the passages as well, as he soone finds meanes to pay all these ransomes, for one morning he surpriseth the place, frees the prisoners, and takes all them that had them in guard.

The Parisians honour *Charles* at his returne, whom they were ready to deuour, if the successe of Pontoise had not bin good. The duke of Bourgongne sends his wife vnto him for many respects, who returned with no great satisfaction: and *Charles* duke of Orleans

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(who had not yet seene him since his returne from prison) comes vnto him with a good Army: the King receiues him very graciously, and allowed well the excuses of his long delay, and to crosse the Duke of Bourgonne, he giues his cousin of Orleans towards the payment of his ransom, a hundred and fifty thousand franks: a very great some in those dayes, the which was not giuen for nothing in so great a necessitie of the Kings affaires. *Louis* of Luxembourg and the widow of *John* of Luxembourg, partisans to the Bourgonne, doe homage to *Charles*, and yeeld the towne of Marle vnto him: these be fruits no doubt of the victory at Pontoise. In the meane time the Princes assemblèd at Neuers, the Dukes of Bourgonne, Bourbon and Alençon, with the Earle of Vendosme. The Duke of Britany sent his Ambassador, not able to come himselfe, for that he was not yet in the Kings good fauour.

There were for the most part priuate discontents, tending to euery mans priuate interest. As not to be maintained in their degrees, to be called to Councells, respected in their aduices, honoured in their charges, payed their pensions, and eased in their lands. But the zeale of the publike good shadowed all with a shew of iustice, peace, order, and releefe of the people: *that it was fit the King should proceed more speedily in the treaty of peace with the English, the which had been too coldly followed. That he should supply his Parliaments with good and sufficient men, and thereby provide for the offices and not for the persons, that by their faultfull deligeance suites might be shortned, and speedy iustice administered without delay, or respect of either of the parties. That he should provide for the ease of the subiect overcharged, rule the Countreys, prevent robberies, ransoms, and extorsions, the which were daily committed vnder too apparent an excuse, that the iusticiary was not payed. That he should giue honours without respect of force-paied dignities, and declare all his subiects capable of offices and dignities indifferently, not remembring what was past. That he should haue a competent number of grane men in his great Councell worthy of that charge, and not to commit the government of the affaires of the Realme to two or three, as had beene done in former times. These are the chiefe points of their demands, drawne word by word out of the Originall.*

Charles was nothing pleased with these assemblies, made both in his absence and without his priuie, whereby many inconueniences must ensue, all being done without his authority. But being taught by his owne experience, he digested this kind of affront quietly. Doing both to alter any thing at such a season, when as he had no need of new enemies: and hauing either excused what had beene done, or contemned euery priuate person, he proceeded to the principall, which was the establishment of the affaires of the Realme. The disorders of men of warre were insupportable, the which must be reformed, but that which troubled the King was the siege of Tartas, remarkable by this circumstance.

Tartas is a towne in Gasconie belonging to the house of *Albret*. This towne was besieged by *Capitall de Buch*, a great Noblesman of that country, and of the English faction. It was concluded for the extreme necessitie of the country, that there should be a surrende of armes, and liberie of free traffike in that Prouince, vntill Midwinter following, vpon condition that if the King did not succour the towne by that day, it should yeeld to the English, or else the French should remaine in free possession without any controuersie. And for assurance of this treaty, the eldest sonne of the Lord of *Albret* should remaine in hostage. The matter was of great weight, being not only a question of the losse of a place of great importance, but of the Kings reputation, who leaving his subiects, was in danger to be abandoned by them, and so to lose all Gasconie, where the English had gotten many partisans. *Charles* providing carefully for his affaires, giues two blowes with one stone, whereby he strooke both the thewes and the English. He armed with exceeding speed, hauing drawne together foure thousand horse, eight thousand archers, & eight thousand other foot. An infinite number of great personages, and voluntary Noblemen posted to this iourney, as to a solemne assignation whereon depended the quiet and honour of France. The Dauphin did accompany him in this voyage, *Charles* of Anjou Earle of Maine, the Constable of Richmond, the Earles of March, Eu, Castrès, Foix and Lomaigne the eldest son of the Lord of Armagnac: the Lords of Albret, Gaure, Cominge, Estrac, Tartas, *Tancrède*, & *Montgazon* the eldest son to the Earle of Boulongne & Auvergne, and *Philip* of Culant Admirall of France, with an infinite number of gallant Nobility. Thus *Charles* parting from Paris, comes first to Saumur, whither *John* Duke of Britany sent his Ambassadors, to offer him homage and men. Siame, to haue so often left him in

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Behold *Talbot* comes out of England into Normandy with two thousand men, and the Duke of Yorke hauing leued men in the country it selfe, & places of their obedience, goes to field with foure thousand men. With these forces he thinks to take all that *Charles* held in that Prouince, where he had left the Earle of Dunois and the Vidame of Chartres for the guard of those place: but this enterprise had small successe. *Talbot* besieges Conches, and at the same instant the Earle of Dunois Galarodon a place holding for the English, to cause a diuision. *Talbot* hauing taken Conches, the Earle leaves Galarodon, hauing no reason to hazard his small troope against so great forces, and puts them into Garison, making a defenseless warre, attending the successe of Tartas. *Talbot* fearing that Galarodon should be surprized by the French, doth raze it, and this was all.

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The sharpe Winter hindring the course of the riuier of Garonne, for the victualing of the army, made the siege long and difficult, and gaue the English meanes to recouer S. Seuer and Acqs, not very well guarded: but the Earle of Foix winnes Saint Seuer againe, and the Earle of Lomaigne Acqs. A great number of the Nobility of the country (forced to make a good shew during the English command) submit themselves to the King, as the Lords of Poiuols, Raufan, Roquetaillade & Pelegreue. Thus *Charles* hauing made the Lord of Coitivy, Senechal of Guienne, gouernor of that conquered country, he makes his return into France. Being at Montauban he lost those two great captains so famous in his reign, *Patton* and *la Hire*, more rich in vertue and honour then in substance: yet *Patton* was master of the Kings horse, and his son was Marshall. *La Hire* left for his chiefe wealth the immortall memory of his loyalty and valour, the which he happily employed in the

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great

The Prince
admonitions
to the King,
and their de-
mands.

Tartas releued
the King
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The death of
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greatest necessity of this Crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetual memory of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and makefo great profession of honour. And with what title were these most honoured, for their vertues or for their Castles? A happy exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hatefull that loues it, with the pleasing smell of immortal praise. And vnproueable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which loucheth gold more then honour.

So Montauban was a tombe for their bodies, and the whole world the Epitaph of their praises. At that instant and in the same place, *Charles* ended the controuersie of the Earldome of Cominges. *Isane* daughter to the Earle of Cominge and Boulogne (married at the first to *Iohn* duke of Berry, sonne to King *Iohn*,) was after his decease married to *Mathew* Earle of Castel-bon, of the house of Foix. She had one daughter by this *Mathew*, but for that there was no good agreement betwixt them, she makes a Will to bridle her husband, that by vertue of the authority of a father, he should not enjoy her liuing, instituting King *Charles* the seueneth her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heires. In disdaine of this Testament, *Mathew* much younger then she, and who had not taken her but for her crownes, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of fourescore yeares.

The daughter of *Isane* of Cominges being dead, the Earldome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Isane* the lawfull heire. So *Charles* was bound by a double bond to defend the gray heires of this old woman, against the insolvency of her cruell husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of Foix and Armaignac his cousin (having already seized vpon some townes of Cominges, and playing the petty King, during the confusion of times and the neighborhood of the English, thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeare at Tholousa (whereas then he established a Parliament for all the Countreies of Languedoc, Foix, Cominge, Gaure, Quercy, Armaignac, Elitrac, Lomaigne, Magnac, Bigorre and Rouergue) *Mathew* deliuered *Isane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Court of Parliament (the which they note to be the first of this solemne assembly) that *Isane* should liue in free liberty out of *Mathewes* power, and should enioy the moiety of the reuenues of Cominge, & the rest should go into the Kings cofers. The Earle of Foix & Armaignac yielded vp the townes of Cominges which he had vsurped, and was adiourned vnto Paris, to yeeld an account of many rebellions whereof he was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Bernard* by the grace of God, Earle, &c. A marke fit for souerainity, the which appertains not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus *Charles* remembers lawes in the heate of warre, but it requires another Comissioner to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Isane*, who being conducted to Poitiers, liued not long in this liberty. *Charles* being returned to Poitiers about the month of March, resolues to employ his sonne *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to draw him from such as would seduce him. He gues him the gouernment of those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Suze and Seine. For the well employing of this new authoritie, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon another. Deepe was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great annoyance to Rouen: for the freeing whereof the duke of Yorke doth beseege it, raising forts to keepe them from all reliefe. This siege had continued nine months, very tedious to the besieged, when as behold the Dauphin accompanied with the Earles of Dunois, and Saint Pol, and the Lord of Gaucourt, assailes these forts and forceth them, kills three hundred English, and many Normans, either by the sword or water, and so frees Deepe.

This occasion was followed by another, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Isane* Countesse of Cominges dies at Poitiers, loone after she had tasted the aire of liberty, and the good cheere which *Charles* made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of Armaignac seizeth vpon the townes of Cominges, Duret, Lile in Dodon, Samathan and Lombres, and preparing to warre, he leaues troopes in Arragon, by *Salezard* a Captaine of that country, causing *Iohn* of Lescun a bastard of *Armaignac* to invade the Kings territories. This excheit might haue proued very preiudiciall, when as *Charles* sends *Lewis* his sonne into Languedoc, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischiefe in the breeding. Being arriued at Rouergue, all yeelds vnto him. Euery thing is opposit to the Earle of Armaignac, The Earles of Perdicac and la Marche, the chief supporters of his insolvency,

The Parliament of Tholousa erected.

Deepe besieged by the King, and relieved by the Dauphin.

1444

A insolvency, leaue him in the plaine field. *Salezard* doth likewise abandon him: of such force is a royall master against a bad cause.

The Earle of Armaignac (seeing himselfe thus abandoned) shuts himselfe into Lisle-Jordan, to dispute his pretensions with more aduantage, but he thrusts himselfe into the toyle, for he was taken by *Lewis*, and led prisoner to Carcassone. These happy exploits did greatly recommend the Dauphins iudgment and valour, whom all men held worthy of a great command. *Charles* having commended him for so well doing, would haue sent him backe against the Earle of Somerfet, who had raised a great army on the frontiers of Normandy & Britany, the which was like vnto a fire of straw, for hauing taken la Guiche by force, hee left it as soone for money, and so retired with his army without any other exploit. The heat of the English grew more temperate touching the chiefe points of their affaires. They stood vpon tearmes in the two first fruitlesse assemblies made for peace: but now they seeke the King. The Earle of Suffolke writes vnto him that he hath commendement from the King his Master, not onely to renew the treaty of peace discontinued, but also to finde meanes to marry him in France, hee receives a fauourable answer from *Charles*, and vnder his safe-conduct comes to him to Tours. *Charles* continued still in an humour to loue peace, and to seeke it, but the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord *Rosse* had no charge but to treat of a generall truce, the which they concluded for a yeare and a halfe: but this shall bee a goodly occasion to send home the English. After a shower comes a sun-shine, and euen experience teacheth, that after a great rain comes a long drought. Now we shall see nothing but truces, one after another, mariages and alliances, during foure yeares, which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeares.

This truce being made, they must now seeke warres elsewhere, so fruitfull is our vanity of change, so as we cannot liue without suffering or doing harme to others: when as they treated of this truce, it was demanded by the Ambassadors of both Kings what their men of warre should doe? This truce (say they) will be more chargeable vnto vs then warre, for they must liue: They haue not bene accustomed to worke, and yet they will make good cheere, neither can the poore people endure any more. Moreover, if they haue no worke, they will fight with themselves: wee must therefore calme this storme, and send them to such as loue vs not.

This was the cause of the war in Suifferland, whereof *Lewis* was generall, leading both French and English vnder the same ensignes. *Mathew Gouches* was Colonell of the English forces, for the King of England, vnder the Dauphins command. Hee entred with his army into the territory of Basil, and the Country of Elsas, betwixt Basil and Strasbourg, one of the goodliest and most fertill Prouinces of Germany, they terrified Metz, tooke Montbeliard, and filled all those Countreies with feare and combustion. The mortuities of this extraordinary enterprize, may well bee observed by that which I haue said: but these causes were farre fetcht, and not to be imbraced by two Kings, who but euen now tormented one another, especially by *Charles* who hauing suffered so many crosses, should haue horror to cause others to feele the like without constraint, yet he found a pin for all these holes. *Charles* would haue his sonne take Montbeliard, to be reuenged of the Gouernor, for the wrong he had done him, spoiling his Country as farre as Langres in his greatest necessity. He assailed the Suisses (and namely them of Basil) being fauourers of *Eugenius* against *Felix* his competitor, that is to say, against that *Amedee* D. of Sauioy, who had so crossed him in his affaires, whom he could neuer loue what shew foucer he made in policy. And for that Germany, and that quarter neuer vnto Suifferland supported *Felix* against *Eugenius*, he therefore hated them. And to gratifie *René* King of Sicilia, who had a priuate quarrell against the City of Metz, he turned his forces against it. But what meaning foucer *Charles* had herein, hee imbraced this voluntary war with an incredible affection, as if it had bene to defend the heart of his Realme. He himselfe came to Elspinal, and hauing sent his army before to Metz, hee continued the siege nine months, vntill the Citizens had paid 200000 Crownes for the charges of the warre, and acquitted King *René* of 100000 Florins of gold, which they had lent him in his necessity. *Lewis* the Dauphin parting from Montbeliard ruines Portenrue, in disdaine of the Bishop, a great solicitor against *Eugenius*, and from thence he enters into the territories of Basil with this goodly and flourishing army, tyed together with so many seuerall strings, hee

The Earle of Armaignac taken by the Dauphin.

Agencill truce.

The French and English sent to war in Suifferland.

1442

greatest necessity of this Crowne. Names in truth most worthy to be consecrated to the perpetuall memory of posterity, for a president to such as manage armes, and make so great profession of honour. And with what title were these most honoured, for their vertues or for their Castles? A happy exchange, to change perishing gold, which oftentimes makes him hatefull that loves it, with the pleasing smell of immortal praise. And vnsupprovable ambition amidst the reproches of this golden age, which loucht gold more then honour.

So Montauban was a torable for their bodies, and the whole world the Epitaph of their praises. At that instant and in the same place, Charles ended the controuersie of the Earle dome of Cominges, *Isane* daughter to the Earle of Cominge and Boulogne (married at the first to *John* duke of Berry, sonne to King *John*,) was after his decease married to *Matthew* Earle of Castelbon, of the house of Foix. She had one daughter by this *Matthew*, but (for that there was no good agreement betwixt them, she makes a will to bribe her husband) that by vertue of the authority of a father, he should not enjoy her living, insinuating King Charles the seventh her heire, in case her daughter died without lawfull heires. In disdaine of this Testament, *Matthew* much younger then she, and who had not taken her but for her crownes, kept her prisoner, an aged woman of fourscore yeares.

The daughter of *Isane* of Cominges being dead, the Earle dome belonged vnto the King as lawfull heire, by the donation of *Isane* the lawfull heire. So Charles was bound by a double bond to defend the gray heires of this old woman, against the insolvency of her cruel husband, who finding himselfe supported by the fauour of the Earle of Foix and Armagnac his cousin (having already seized vpon some townes of Cominges, and playing the petty King, during the confusion of times and the neighborhood of the English, thought all things to be lawfull. The King adiournes them both to appeare at Tholouza (whereas then he established a Parliament for all the Countreies of Languedoc, Foix, Cominge, Gaure, Quercy, Armagnac, Estrac, Lomaigne, Magnac, Bigorre and Rouergue) *Matthew* deliuered *Isane* his wife into the Kings hands, and it was decreed by the Count of Parliament (the which they note to be the first of this solemne assembly) that *Isane* should live in free liberty out of *Matthew*'s power, and should enjoy the moiety of the reuenues of Cominge, & therest should go into the Kings coffers. The Earle of Foix & Armagnac yielded vp the townes of Cominges which he had vsurped, and was adiourned vnto Paris, to yeld an account of many rebellions whereof he was accused, especially for that he set in his titles, *Bernard* by the grace of God, Earle, &c. A marke fit for foueraigny, the which appertaines not to Seigneuries subiect to this Crowne.

Thus Charles remembers lawes in the heat of warre, but it requires another Commission to execute this decree by force of armes, after the death of *Isane*, who being conducted to Poitiers, liued not long in this liberty. Charles being returned to Poitiers about the moneth of March, resolues to imploy his sonne *Lewis*, both to fashion him to affaires, and to draw him from such as would seduce him. He giues him the government of those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Suze and Seine. For the well imploying of this new authoritie, there were two goodly occasions presented one vpon another. Deepe was reduced to the Kings obedience, this was a great annoyance to Rouen: for the freeing whereof the duke of York doth besiege it, raising forts to keepe them from all reliefe. This siege had continued nine monthes, very tedious to the besieged, when as beheld the Dauphin accompanied with the Earles of Dunois, and Saint Pol, and the Lord of Gaucourt, assailes these forts and forceth them, kills three hundred English, and many Normans, either by the sword or water, and so frees Deepe.

This occasion was followed by another, which chanced in a manner at the same instant. *Isane* Countesse of Cominges dies at Poitiers, soone after she had tasted the aire of liberty, and the good cheere which Charles made her. Vpon the report of her death *Bernard* Earle of Armagnac seizeth vpon the townes of Cominges, Duret, Lile in Dodon, Samazhan and Lombres, and preparing to warre, he leaues troops in Arragon, by *Salezard* a Captaine of that country, causing *John* of Lescun a ballard of Armagnac to invade the Kings territories. This exccesse might haue proued very preiudiciall, when as Charles sends *Lewis* his sonne into Languedoc, with a thousand horse, to quench this mischief in the breeding. Being arriued at Rouergue, all yeelds vnto him. Euery thing is opposite to the Earle of Armagnac, The Earles of Perdiac and la Marche, the chiefe supporters of his insolvency,

1444

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After a shower comes a sun-shine, and even experience teacheth, that after a great rain comes a long drought. Now we shall see nothing but truces, one after another, marriages and alliances, during foure yeares, which is a preparatiue to a ciuill peace for about a hundred yeares.

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The Parliament of Tholouza erected.

Deeppe besieged by the Duke of York, and the Lord of Gaucourt.

The Earle of Armagnac taken by the Dauphin.

Generall truce.

The French and English sent to war in Suisseland.

1444

The Suffolk
6. did maliciously
and are deter-
red.

hee incouraged 4000 Sniffes, being resolute to defend their Country. The greatest part of them were cut in pieces, but they sold their lives deere, for the Germane Historicks report, that we lost about 5000 men, although we had the victory.

The Emperor *Frederick* the third, (a Prince which otherwise loved peace) vpon the complaints of the Cities lying alongst the Rhine, caused them to arme: so his *Lewis* returned into *Lorraine* learning to be too far engaged in an enemies Country, whom he had incensed against reason: yet *Frederick* sent his Ambassadors to *Charles*, to renew their ancient alliances. So this cloud of people eaters passed, falling vpon diuers quarters like a shower of hail in a field of ripe corne, leauing nothing memoriable but a notable example of rashnesse, making a warre which was neither necessary nor iust, assisting quiet and peaceable people without any occasion. Whilest that France and England made *Switzerland* to weede, *Henry* the first King of England, married with *Marguerite* of Aniou, daughter to *Rene* Duke of Aniou, and of *Lorraine*, and King of *Sicilie* and *Naples*. The Earle of *Suffolk* fetcht her from *Nancy*, where *Charles* was resident, whilest that his army assisted these poore people. He leasted and conducted this Princess as his owne daughter, even with teares of ioy: but this ioy was suddenly conuerted into heauinesse, by the death of the Dauphins with his daughter in law, whom he loued dectoly for her vertues, which made her amiable to all France. She was one of the chieftest in this great solemnity, from the which she went to the bed of death: her death was the sepulcher of her Mother, the widow of *James* King of Scots, who was come to see her: and whilest her funeralls were making, her sisters came from Scotland to attend on her, nay rather to descend with her into the graue, if the humanity of *Charles* had not reuied them, giuing them honest meanes to maintain their estates in France. Thus passeth the Ocean of this miserable life, in the which there is more cause of mourning then of ioy, both in great and small. The marriage likewise of England, wherein were so great theues of ioy, shall end with a lamentable Tragedy, as we shall see hereafter. The truce was so pleasing to both Realmes, that before it was expired, the Kings of France and England renewe it for five yeares more, in hope of a perfect peace, promising by their feuerall writings published generally, to meet together within like months in some conuenient place, to continue this peace so generally desired of all their subjects. And to confirme the assurance of their promises, the English deliuer Mans to *Charles*, with all that he held in the Countie of *Mayen*: but all is put into the hands of King *Rene* his father in law. *Francis* Duke of Britany doth homage to the King for the Duchy of Britanie and the Earldome of Montfort. This was at *Chinon*: but some months after there chanced a tragicall disaster in that house. *Francis* suspecting that *Cythes* his brother would deale treacherously with him, by the too familiar correspondence he had with the English, caused him to be put in prison, by the Councill and care of *Charles* who had sent him 400 lances, vnder the command of the Admirall *Cutney*. But they dealt worse with him, causing him to die in prison for hunger. The history of Britanie describes this accident very plausibly, but it is true that *Cythes* dyed being prisoner with his brother *Peter*, who suruiued him not long after, having a great remorse for this tragicke accident. In the rest of this yeare, and the three following, there is nothing memoriable, but the pursuits which *Charles* made for the re-union of the Church. But not to breake off the course of our history, which is properly to treat of that which concerns our estate, we referre it for a more conuenient place. A worke in truth notoriouly of a great Monarch, but of a peaceable time, that in the peace of the state, we may see the peace of the Church. The souldiers insolency was nothing abated by this voyage of Germany. They reurne more fierce then before against the poore labourer. *Charles* made new orders to restrain them, causing them to be deducely obserued: but the overweening violence of the English increased dayly, not onely by the negligence, but by the command of such as had the charge. The Duke of *York* being called home into England, the Duke of *Somerset* succeeded him, a proud man, who thinking to do better then the rest, did absolutely ruine the English affaires in France. Hee dispensed with his souldiers in all their villanies, and kept them ready to breake the truce, vpon any profitable occasion. In the meane time the souldiers ordinary practice was to stand in Sentinell, to surprize some good house in the Country, being ill guarded: to rob it, spoile it, and carry away the prisoners by unknowne waies. To this end they had their spies, their guides, and their retreats. The fields were full of robberies, by men disguised in strange and fearful

habits,

1445

Francis, 6. was
pursued by the
English during
the truce.

A habits, being masked when they espyed their prey: and therefore they called them counterfeit faces. But to draw men into danger, they marched like pallengers, expecting the commodity to surprize them. There is heard nothing but complaints of violence. All the pursuits which were made to repaire the breaches of truce, did but increase the paine and charges of the interestted.

But of these small disorders committed by the souldiers, there grew so great an inconvenience, as in the end it filled vp the measure against the English, being hurt & detected of all the French for their pride and insolency. Pougues a Towne of Britany vpon the confines of Normandy, then very rich and populous, being without guard vnder the assurance of the truce, was easily surprized by *Francis* of Surienne, called the Arragonois, a Knight of the order of the Garter, and a great Captaine vpon the marches of France, obeying the English. The towne being surprized by him, (being accompanied with fixe or seuen hundred souldiers) suffered all the miseries that might be. They kill, spoile and sacke, rauth women, rob Churches, take prisoners, and from thence they run into Britany, and fill all full of feare and combustion. The Bilton appeales to the King, and doth complaint to *Henry* King of England, and to the Duke of *Somerset* his Lieutenant in France: they presse them to repaite so notable a breach, else they would seeke a meanes of reuenge. But they receive nothing but words, disowned by mouth, and aduowed in effect: for *Somerset* causeth *Saint James* of Beueron to be fortified, contrary to the treaty. *Charles* receiuing these bare answers from England, sees which way the chance would fall, and that the game would not passe without blowes, yet he restrained his men with great modesty, holding it for a maxime, that he must vse no force: But when as moderate remedies can take no place with men not capable of reason; then to oppose force against the inuiolent passion of his enemy. I read with ioy in the Originall, that *Charles* contained himselfe, and was forced to this last waite, *To haue God on his side, and the wrong on his enemies*. To conclude, this moderate proceeding did so iustifie the good cause of *Charles*, as it was continued with a happy euent: not onely to abate the pride of the English, but to expell them out of the whole Realme: as the iust iudgement of God purged their arrogancy in this attempt, by the breach of publike faith: the vndoubted ruine of humane society, which hath no certaine foundation, but in perfect faith. Here endeth the yeare, but the controuersie shall begin more hotly by iust armes, accompanied with a victorious sentence, the which the Iudge of the world shall pronounce against the pretender of this Estate.

Normandy reduced to the Kings obedience.

THE Duke of Britany first interestted by the English, began first to resist him: but *Charles* is drawne to force by constraint. The Ambassadors of France and England, were assembled at *Louiers*, to redresse the breach at Pougues, when as behold Pont de l'Arche (a towne vpon the river of Seine, foure leagues from Rouen) is surprized by the Lord of Brez, for the Duke of Britany. This troubled *Somerset*, who presently sends to make complaint vnto the assembly. *Charles* makes him answer, that it is a requital: but if he will render vp Pougues, and the goods that were stolne, valued at sixtene hundred thousand Crownes, hee should haue Pont de l'Arche againe. The which being disdainfully refused by *Somerset*, *Charles* protests by his Ambassadors in open assembly, *That if warre followed (which God forbid) the fault should not be his*, causing an authentick act to be taken by certaine Apostolicke and Imperiall Notaries, for his discharge and iustification. Seeing therefore that this mild course was scorned by his stout enemy, hee relucet to haue his reuenge by force of armes. To this end hee combines with *Francis* Duke of Britany, to make warre against the English their common enemy, vpon condition the Briton should not treat with him without his leaue. A very needfull restraint, hauing often failed, as wee haue seene. All prepare to warre, in euery place where the English had any footing in Gascony, in Normandy, and in all other parts where there was any remainder of their ancient Conquests.

Guienne shall begin the game: but it shall end in Normandy, to make perfect the French obedience, whereof it offers these first fruits to *Charles* in the beginning of this yeare, as to their lawfull King. Cognac was surprized for him by *Yerdan* a Gascon, but

the

And as
longer for
years.

1446
1447
1448
The cruelty of
the Duke of
Britany against
his subjects.

1449

The exploits
of the French
in Guienne &
Normandy.

Townes in
Normandy
yeeld vnto the
King.

the manner was notable. *Montot* an English Captaine was gouernour of the place: A he was absent when the towne was taken. *Verdun* keeps the gates carefully, that no intelligence might be giuen vnto him, so as he comes to the gates without knowledge of any thing, but hee found some which added him vnto their prize, being taken prisoner, whereas before he was a gouernour. The same day *Saint Maigrin* was taken by *Alliac* likewise a Gasccon. The newes of Cognac and *Saint Maigrin* were scarce brought to *Charles*, when as the Lord of Mouy giues him intelligence, that he had taken *Gerberond*, and the Bailiffe of *Eureux Couches*, with great slaughter of the English. Complaints are presently made by the English, *Talbot* is the messenger: *Charles* lets them know that they are in the fault, seeing they began first: yet hee offers to yeeld all that had bene taken by his commandement, according to the law of reprisals, so as they would deliuer what they had taken, and suffer his friends and allies to liue in peace. *Talbot* answering, that he had no such charge, *Charles* lets him vnderstand, that hee would redresse it by lawfull force: that he did vnwillingly enter into war, yet would he soone shew the English, that his mildnesse had a sting: and so he goes to field with a goodly army. There were three chiefe dens for theues, the Rendezuous of all the English robberies in those parts, *Verneuil*, *Manne*, and *Loigny*. *Verneuil* (an infamous place for our deteat) was first taken: a Millar gaue them entry by a hole in the towne wall, by the which the water did run to his mill ioyning to the wall. The towne began, and the castle followed: a strong tower diided from the cast held out some daies, but it yeelded when as *Charles* arriued. *Manne* C yeelded in view of the army. *Loigny* was surprized by *Scalado*, but the English intrenched in the safe Court, fought it out resolutely, and lost both liues and goods. *Vernon* a towne vpon *Seine* yeelded of it selfe, by the voluntary obedience of the inhabitants. *Ponteaudumer* was forced by the Earles of *Eu* and *Saint Pol*, where as many English men were lost. But *Lizieux* by the graue aduice of their Bishop yeelds voluntary obedience, and auoides the miseries of the vanquished. *Louiers* did the like, and *Gourmay* was sold by an English captaine that held it. *Eiffay* was taken by a gentle stratagem of the Duke of *Alanson*. The Captaine accompanied with the souldiers of his garison, was gone for to fish a poole, while he seeks for fish he is taken himselfe, and his Lieutenant deliuiers vp the castle to the Kings seruice. *Felcampes* is taken by the Abbot, having intelligence with the Monkes: and at the same instant a ship arriues out of England, being ignorant of this losse: the French suffer them to land and take them all prisoners. *Harcourt* makes shew to resist, but yeelds by composition after the siege of eight daies. The army marcheth against *Neuf-chastell* of *Nicourt*, and takes the town by force, the castle yeelds by composition. The Earle of *Clermont* was desirous to recouer his chiefe house where of he carried the name: his subiects gaue him entry into the towne, and so by the towne he wins the castle. *Saint Leo* at the sight of the army demands and obtains a good composition, with all the neighbour Castles. *Carenten* yeelds after three daies, and *Pont d'Oue* is taken by assault: *Confances* and *Gouray* by composition. *Alenfon* freed it selfe from the English, and yeelds to the mild command of their good Prince the Duke of *Alanson*, who shewed his mercy euen to the English being vanquished, to whom he gaue both life and goods.

Rochequien was yeelded vp by the Captaine of the Castle, who of an English man becomes French, by the perswasions of his wife, who was a French woman. *Chasteau-gillard* a fort of importance vpon the riuier of *Seine*, endured a siege of fixe weekes, but the presence and good fortune of *Charles*, made him master of the place. *Gisors*, so famous for the English quarrels, was yeelded to the King by the Captaine, who likewise came to the Kings seruice, and in the end *Valonges*, a place of importance, the which heretofore shall come in question by a famous accident.

As the Kings Army made this progresse in Normandy, so it increased daily by these new conquests. *René* King of Sicily, and the Duke of Britany, arriue with goodly voluntary troops, and some townes newly reduced to the Kings obedience, with an infinit number of good souldiers: but aboue all, the Court was goodly, by the multitude of Noblemen, who went not onely to honour the Kings good fortune, but caried by an inward instinct of his right well gouerned, (as it were by a celestiall guide) did runne to an assured victory, and to the possession of an heires lawfull right. The Dukes of *Bourbon*, *Alanson* & Britany were there, with the Earles of *Richmont* Constable of France, of *Mayen*, *Eu*, *Saint*

1449

A *Saint Pol*, *Dunois*, *Caftres*, *Tancarville*, and *Dampmartin*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and *John* his brother, augmented the traine of King *René*. *John Inuencel* of *Vrims*, Baron of *Treignell*, and Chancellor of France was there, having succeeded *Renauld* of *Chartres* Archbishopp of *Rheims*, being lately deceased. The Lords of *Culant*, *Bueil*, *Montgasccon*, *Blainville*. *Prefigny*, *Brion*, *Prally*, *la Bouffiere*, *Monter*, *Aigreuille*, *Malicornne*, and *Han*, with an infinit number of the Nobility.

Charles resolved to embrace these goodly occasions, finding (by the obedience of so many Country townes) the way laid open to *Rouen*, the capital City of that Province: hee determines to besiege it, and all with one consent aime at this goodly marke, as the chiefe of the Kings affaires. But it chanced through the providence of God, that whereas there seemed greates difficulty, there it proved most easie, by the loyalty of the French, who cannot deny their Prince. The combat was ciuill, managed more by counsell than by force. The City was much at the Kings deuotion, yet were they kept in awe by the English forces, being masters of the strongest Forts within the City. The Duke of *Somerfet* was there present with authority. *Talbot* must imploy all his valour: but neither force, forts, authority, nor valour were of any force, for that God hauing determined to restore this estate by the means of *Charles* the seuenth, inclined both hands and hearts to his decree, the which no mortall man can preuent.

The King being at *Pont l'Arche*, had certaine intelligence from the best Citizens of *Rouen*, that the whole City was resolved to obey him: desiring onely to bee supported by his presence and forces: vpon this aduice hee causeth the Earle of *Dunois* to march, and to shew himselfe vnto the Citizens: who send a Herald to summon them to yeeld their obedience vnto the King, whom the English were like to haue torne in peeces. No Citizen dares shew himselfe vpon the walles: all is filled with enemies. The English had seized vpon the wals, so as no man within the towne durst approach. Having thus marched about the towne in good order, fearing no lesse the lightnesse of the peoples humour, then the Winter which approached (being then October) hee resolves to retire, *Charles* and his Councell distrust these popular humors, as not able to draw the City to yeeld he therefore thinks it best to lodge his army about it, and to seize vpon the passages of the Citizens chiefe houses, being the best means to draw them to reason. The which was speedily put in practice. The troopes were scarce lodged in their quarters, when as *Charles* lying at *Pont l'Arche*, had intelligence that his seruants had seized vpon two towers, by means whereof they had a quarter of the City. Whereupon the Earle of *Dunois* shewes himselfe presently with the army before the City, and diuides his troopes according to their quarters. The brute of those forces is great vpon their approach: they haue aduice to march, the which they doe resolutely, being set in order, full of generous resolution, as in the Kings presence. The Ladders are set to the wall, and they beginne to mount, all prepare to follow, forty of our men get vp the wall, when as the Lord *Talbot* arriues with three hundred desperate English, who hauing cut the Citizens in peeces, charge our men that were engaged, some they kill, the rest leape from the wals, and few recouer the place from whence they were mounted. The King holding the City wonne, comes to *Darnetall*, when as the Earle of *Dunois* returns to aduertise him of the hard successe of this popular brag, so as all held it for winde and smoake.

In the meane time the Citizens slept not, the little blood of some that were slaine for all the rest of the Citizens on fire, who resolved to vnmask themselves, and to speake plainly to the English. The whole City is incensed by means of the magistrates, euery man prepares his armes against these strangers. The Archbishopp of *Rouen* (a name which the historie owes to the truth and honor of the French loyalty) was a good seruant to the King, and had great credit with the Citizens: so as the whole City assembles with him, and by a common consent all resolve to returne to the Crown of France, as to their beginning: *Somerfet* and *Talbot* run thither with fifty men, but what is that against a multitude? The Archbishopp acquaints them with the Citizens resolution, who in their presence depute the Officiall to goe vnto the King.

The summe of his Ambassage was, that his Maiesty should grant vnto the Citizens of *Rouen* a generall abolition of all that was past, and leaue for the English, and all others of their humour to retire without danger, offering him their obedience as to their lawfull King: that he should come when he pleased, where he should finde the gates as open as

The King
senda his ar
to Rouen.

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their hearts. This resolution deliuered boldly in the presence of *Somerfet* and *Talbot*, amazed them much, their courages were danted. And what could their weake authority do against the whole body of a City, fortified with the Kings approach, his army, and his right? Thus the City of Rouen sends deputies vnto the King, and obtaine all they demand, who being returned with this good answer, all are satisfied but the English, who keepe the walles, towers, bridge, castle and palace: all this must be fought for. They prepare for force, the people doe the like, all the streets are filled with armed men to force the wals.

The Citizens send againe vnto the King, beseeching him to approach with his Army with all speed, to take absolute possession of his City of Rouen. Attending the Kings answer, the Citizens doe happily win the walls, the towers, and the gates: all that belongs to the City obeyes the King, the English with great difficulty recouer the bridge, Castle, and palace. But they enjoy not these forts long: for the Citizens besiege the bridge and win it, and now the army comes downe the hill. The Citizens at the sight thereof, *God save the King*, all brake out into ioy and triumph. The army enters the City, to the peoples exceeding ioy, attending the King. In the meane time St. Kathernes fort is besieged, and yeelded to the Earle of Dunois: *Charles* lodged there whilest the City is freed from strangers: the castle yeelds, the palace only remains: *Somerfet* and *Talbot* are there, they are men of action, who had wherewithall to fight for their liues: but how can they hold out, all being disposed to an accord?

Charles being wholly inclined to clemency, doth willingly see *Somerfet* and *Talbot* at St. Kathernes fort, who receiue a law from his victorious hands, yet would hee not admit them with conditions like vnto the Citizens: but he giues them leaue to retire with their liues and goods vpon these conditions, That they should leaue their prisoners and armourie, deliuer vp Arques, Caudebecq, Tancarville, Lille-bonne, Honne-fieu, and Montreuil, they should pay fifty thousand Crownes presently, and discharge their priuie debts in the City before they departed: for assurance whereof they should leaue *Talm* (the flower of all their men) with five other hostages such as the King should demand. So *Talbot* remains for a pledge. After ten daies (all articles agreed vpon being performed, except Honne-fieu) all the hostages haue leaue to depart, except *Talbot*, who staid vntill Honne-fieu is deliuered. But *Talbot* must haue more time to taste the bounty and demency of our King, and the French courtlesie. Thus *Charles* enters Rouen with great pompe, but the peoples ioy exceeded the statelinesse of his traine. Their shouts drew the Trumpeters and Clarons, all cry, *God save the King*. This poore people (greedy to see their Prince, after so long and cruell a seruitude) weepe for ioy, men and women, young and old, all run; many bon-fires are made, but the fire of publike deuotion burne more cleare. This was the tenth of Nouember in the year 1449, a notable date for so singular a deliuerance. There yet remained some townes in Normandy to conquer. *Charles* loath to lose any opportunity, or to giue the enemy any leasure to bethinke himselfe, would scarce allow of any time for the publike ioy and content of his good subiects, but goes presently to field with his army.

Honne-fieu would not obey the Duke of Somerfet, the which hee most deliuer vnto the treaty: there were fiftene hundred English, resolute to defend the place, but after fiftene daies siege they yeelded vpon honourable termes, their goods & liues being saved. *Charles* for an increase of the good cheare he had made vnto *Talbot* during his imprisonment, giues him his liberty without ranfome, with meanes to retire himselfe into England and great gifts; but hee shall make him no due requitall of this good and honourable entertainment. Fougères, the subiect of this last warre, and the chiefe cause of his good successe, returns to the obedience of the Crowne, through the valour of the Duke of Britany: and Bellem with the castle of Fresnay, by that of the duke of Alanson. As these things succeeded happily for our *Charles*, so all went crose in England. The Earle of Suffolke governed *Henry* the sixth quietly, being a young man, and of a weake spirit. As all the affaires of England depended vpon this Earle, so did the reproaches. The Duke of Somerfet (a Prince of the English blood) very ialous of his credit and reputation, and ashamed to bee blemished with these losses in France, laies the chiefe fault vpon Suffolke, and others that had the gouernment, and so incensed the people of London against them, as the Londoners transported with choller for so great a losse, meaning

King Charles
desires honourably with
his army.

The estate of
England.

1450

A to punish the offenders, fall vpon the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Keeper of the priuy Scale, and kill him in a mutiny: they intend the like to Suffolke, it (by the fauour of some of his friends) he had not bene put into the tower of London, to yeeld an account of his actions. *Henry* (who loued him dearely) takes him forth, and sent him into France, for his better safety. But it chanced that Suffolke seeking to auoid one danger, fell into another, where hee made his last shipwracke: for being met by Somersets people, being his capitall enemy, he was taken and beheaded, his head and body were sent to London, and those cruell spoiles set vp to publike view, in places most frequented. In the meane time, all England troubled for the losse of Rouen, and the greatest part of the Prouince, B resolves to hazard all, to saue the rest of their conquests in France. They had yet in Normandy the Townes of Caen, Vire, Auranches, Saint Sauueur le Vicont, Falaise, Damfront, Cherebourg, with the strong places of Tombelaine and Briquebec, and a great part of Guienne. With this remainder the English imagine to recouer the possession of what they had lost. So *Henry* sends speedily foure thousand men, vnder the command of *Thomas Tirl*, one of his most renowned Captaines. Being landed at Cherebourg, without any losse of time, he besiegeth Valonges, a strong place and of importance. At the brute of these forces, all the English garisons assemble, to augment his army, and to fortifie the siege, so as being together, they make about eight thousand men. Our army was lodged in diuers places to refresh themselves since the siege of C Honnestun, the season being wonderfull moist in the thaw of the spring, when as newes came to *Charles* of the landing of the English, and the imminent danger of the besieged, the losse whereof were a foule blemish to his victory. To prevent this, he presently sends the Earle of Clermont with sixteene hundred lances, whereof the Earle of Castris, the Admirall of Raiz, the Seneshall of Poitou, and the Lords of Montgafcon, Courran, and Roubauc were the commanders. The English army was lodged at Fournigny, a village betwixt Carentan and Bayeux, in a place of aduantage, to keepe themselves free from such forces as they might doubt should bee sent from the King, being then in the Country. *Mathew Gooch* an old English Captaine, came vnto him with a thousand archers. The English being thus fortified, set their backs to a riuer, being flanked with diuers Orchards and Gardens, before them they make trenches to hinder their approach, and in this fort they attend the enemy.

The neareness of *Charles* made them to imagine our French to be more in number then they were; for this troope did not exceed sixe hundred fighting men, whereof an hundred only, commanded by *Jessery* of Courran, and *Isachim* of Rouault, charged the English vanguard, and hauing slaine three or foure hundred, put the rest of their army in disorder: yet the Earle of Clermont seeing the danger he was in with his troope, if the enemy had discovered his aduantage, hauing so great an army against his small forces, sends presently to *Charles* for speedy succours. By good hap as the messenger came vnto the King, the Constable of Richmont arriues from Britany, who marcheth presently, not giuing his E soldiers any leasure to breath, exhorting them to go courageously to an assured victory. His coming brake the stroke, and swayed the victory. He had 240 lances, and 800 Archers, and with him *Tamies* of Luxembourg, the Earle of Laual, and the Lord of Loheac Marshall of France, with the good fortune of *Charles*. He arriues euen when as the Earle of Clermont was far engaged in the fight, the English had taken two Culierins from him, and in despite had passed Saint Clements Ford, preparing to discharge these Culierins: when as behold the Constable comes with his troope with a victorious countenance, who at his first approach wins the bridge vpon the riuer. The English are amazed, especially when they see *Mathew Gooch* (who was somewhat retired from the body of their army to succour at all euents) take the way to Bayeux. The Constable makes his profit of F this sight, who without pursuing them, chargeth their dismayed troopes.

Thomas Tirl puts himselfe in defence with the fauour of the riuer, the orchards and gardens: but the Constable commands some of his horsemen to leaue their horres. The Earle of Clermont enuirones the enemy on the other side: the English being charged of all sides feeling the weight of their blowes, giue way, leaue their armes, and suffer themselves to be slaine, and taken to mercy. The courtlesie of the French spared many in this ouerthrow, there were more taken prisoners then were slaine. They buried in three pits 3774 carcasses, by the report of the Heralds, Priests, and good men that were there. This

The victory of
Fournigny
against the
English.

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loffe did likewise burie all the conquests which the English had made in Normandy. A The Commanders of the army were prisoners, *Tirel, Norbery, Orient, Kirqueby, Warberton, Angel, Alengour, Vaquier, Calleville*, and a great number of English Nobility, armed with coats of armes: all are led to Charles with their ensignes. An honorable spoile to his triumph, but a perpetual ignominy both to the runners away that saved themselves, and to the cowards that were taken prisoners. This absolute victory cost France but eight men to the end they might do homage to the great God of armies and victories, who by this memorable overthrow made way for our restauration. I read with ioy the warrant of the Originall. And therefore wifely men doe say, that the cause of the French mens victory, and by his divine power the English were overcome. This victory was given vs from heauen, the 19 of April in the year 1450, and thanks were given vnto God throughout the realm. A solemn procession was made at Paris of 14000 yong children, from the age of seuen to ten years, carefully chosen out, to the great content of the people, going from S. Innocents to our Ladies Church. This notable victory of Fourmigny, did loone after cause the rest of Normandy to yeeld: Vire yeelds by composition, the which was granted to 4000 lazces, who might well haue contended for their liues.

his Majesty
yeelds vs
Charles.

Auranches stood the longer vpon teares, through the resolution of 500 voluntaries, but in the end they departed with their liues onely, and a white wand in their hands. The strong castle of Tombelaine guarded by a hundred English, yeelded two daies after. Bayeux resolves to fight it out, all prepare to armes. After the ordnance had made a great breach, and the myne ready to play, Charles fearing the sacke of his subiects, as well as of his enemies, would not suffer his men to attempt so dangerous a matter, and the souldiers on the other side cry out to be led vnto the breach. But in the end they march without command, and are twice repulsed, yet *Matthew Gooch* (being amazed at the fury of these desperate men) demands a parlee, the which is granted by Charles, but hee obtained life onely, and a white wand for euery souldier: to some gentlemen of make a horse, and to poore families some carts to carry them. A pitieous spectacle, to see 4000 women crying their children either in their armes or in their cradles, leauing all their goods and mouebles behinde them, and hardly carrying a poore clout for their greatest need. *Somewere comes to him that spoiles, for he shall be spoiled: that makes another weeper, for he shall haue time to weep.* Yet Charles caused this troope of nine hundred men being disarmed to be safely conducted with the rest to Cherbourg, a place which they had demanded for their retreat. Bayeux being thus yeelded, the kings army marcheth to St. Sauueur le Vicone, the which yeelds without battery. They had a good composition for the number of men of warre that were in it, being five or sixe hundred: they grant them their liues and goods, retiring to Cherbourg. Charles was loth to lose his men vnconstrained, for that there remained yet some places of strength.

The composition
of Caen.

Caen (a goodly and populous City) was besieged with great preparation, but to what end should I consume time in the priuate report of assaults, seeing wee haste to the victory? A great peece of the wall being beaten downe, and our men burning with desire to runne to this honourable breach, *Robert de Vere* being Gouverneur, demands a parlee, hee held the Castle, (being one of the goodliest peeces in France) with foure thousand souldiers. So by the commandement of Charles, the Earle of Dunois yeelded them an honourable composition, to depart with bagge and baggage and their armes, except the Artillery: the prisoners were set at liberty, and all that the Citizens might owe vnto the English was discharged, to the benefit of the debtor. All depart the fift of Iuly and are conducted in safety according to the accord, and the King makes his entry two daies after.

Falaise is besieged in the meane time, and yeelds the one & twentieth of the same month. Fiftene hundred English of their best souldiers, obtained a good composition to depart with bagge and Baggage. Donfront guarded by fiftene hundred franke Archers yeelds vpon the like composition, the second of August following. Cherbourg (one of the strongest places of Europe in those daies) was the conclusion of that account, and the crowning of this happy worke. It was guarded by 2000 desperate aduenturers, who (wonderfully grieved with so many misfortunes) would be buried in the ashes of this last loffe: but *Thomas Gamel* Governor of the place preuailed more then their obstinate resolution, shewing that they had discharged their duties to their Country in being the last

1450

A to fight. But nature swayd most with *Gamel*, for hauing his son prisoner with the King, he would not lose himselfe with his sonne. The accord was made absolute for his souldiers & his son, and vpon this accord he leaues the towne, and retires last into England, to admonish *Henry* to provide for Guien, where the whole burthen of the warre would fall. So the 12 of August in the year 1450, Normandy (one of the goodliest and richest Provinces belonging to this Crown) was reduced to the kings obedience, in a year and fixe daies, hauing remained in the possession of the English thirty yeares, and so kept by them, as it is a miraculous worke of God they were so easily dispossessed. But leauing Normandy, lets come to Guienne, to finish the restoring of this Estate.

B

Guienne returns to the Crowne of France.

Guienne had begun her last feats of Armes by the taking of Cognac and S. Maigrin, as we haue said, whereas the warre continued coldly during that of Normandy. But Charles after the happy conquest of this Province, bends all his forces to driue the English out of Guienne, the which hee had enioyed by a lawfull title above a hundred yeares. Charles assembles his great Councell with the chiefe of his Prouinces at Tours, for the performance of this voyage of Guienne, and to finde meanes how to maintaine his Army. This done, hee gives the gouernment of Normandy to his Constable, and settled *Peter of Brezay* at Rouen, for the well presteruing of that which he had happily gotten. And to bee the nearer to his affaires, hee resolves to remaine at Taillebourg for all occurrences. Hee had then a small army in Guienne, vnder the command of the Earle of Foix, who had not only kept the enemy in breath during the warres of Normandy, but also had won part of the Country, by the taking Mauleon in Sole, and Guisans.

The King of
England had
a lawfull title
to Guienne.

Charles gives the command of the army to the Earle of Dunois and Longueville a baron of Orleans, but the Earles of Ponthieure and Perigord, haue another part, to molest the English in diuers quarters, yet these three armies shall make but one body vnder this Lieutenant generall to his Maister, when the necessity of his seruice shall ioyne them all in one. The Earle of Ponthieure did happily begin the conquest of Guienne, in taking of Bergerac, the which was well defended: and then Genfac, Saint Foy, and Montferand, and their dependances, by the terrour of his victorious armes. Our braue Gacons did not lesse on their side. About the same time *Amanion d'Albret* Lord of Orual was in garison at Tartas a towne of good presage, being the beginning of many blessings which God gaue vnto France. He had scarce fixe hundred men at armes, and some good footmen of the Country: but he was well accompanied with *Tolence, Robin, and Epinasse*, wise and valiant Captaines, and with his generous resolution, the hereditary ornament of his noble House. He shewed by the effects, that we must not number the men, but weigh their valour, for with this small troope hee prelumes to braue Bourdeaux euen at their gates, and gives a law vnto the Country of Medoc, making not onely the whole Country to contribute, but also to bring their commodities to Tartas. The Bourdelois (to free themselves, not onely from these brauadoes, but from their ordinary toyle and charge, thrust on by the authority and command of the English, who were then their superiours, leauy eight thousand men vnder their Maiors command. The Citizens promise themselves an assured victory, but this troope incounters them, defeats them, kills and take them prisoners. The neere retreat preferred many, but there remained two thousand vpon the place, and the victor led two thousand two hundred prisoners to Tartas, the which were taken like flares in a net, from whom hee drew great ranfomes, with the honour to haue vanquished a great multitude with few men. This only was memorable during that year.

Three French
armies in
Guienne.

The next shall bring vs in an absolute victory of all that held in Guienne for the English. Charles hauing given some respite to his Nobility and men of warre, appoints the fift day of May to the field. The army was very faire: the Earle of Dunois had the chiefe command, (as we haue said) the which did not hinder *John* Earle of Angoulesme (brother to the Duke of Orleans) from ioyning with the Army, with a goodly troope of the Nobility: as the Lords of Taillebourg, Pons, Roch-faucault, Rochecouart, and d'Albortere. Duke Charles his brother, was then in Italy for his preluate affaires, whence he shall retorne with another traine when hee shall be King.

G g 2

Philip

1453

Philip Duke of Bourgne was much troubled, in pacifying a mutiny of the *Gantois*, who molested him, when he had most need to succour France, in the conquest of the two Prouinces, whereof we now speake. To auoid tediousnesse in the priuate relating of all these sieges, the Kings army did first attempt Montguyon and takes it: then the Earle of Ponthieure arises with his troopes, and ioynes with the Earle of Dunois the Generall, and so the army (being increased both in men and courage) besiegerh Blaie, one of the goodliest fortresses of Guienne, a towne seated at the mouth of Dordonne, and enriched with a goodly haue of the sea, the which was well assailed and well defended, but in the end the towne is taken by force, and the castle by composition, although the Citizens of Bourdeaux laboured to releue it with a fleet of fine armed shippes.

Bourg was added to this victory of *Charles*, and in this amazement Liborne (being summoned to yeld vnto the King) obeyes without any contradiction. But their chiefe force was prepared against Fronfac: and in the meane time the Earle of Ponthieure besiegeth Castillon, a towne in Perigord, seated vpon Dordonne, (the which shall be famous in the warres of our time) and takes it by composition. Saint Million by their example yelds obedience. In the meane time all march to Fronfac, (a place renowned since *Charles* *magne*, and one of the strongest forts of Europe) being beleagured of all sides: as all prepare for some great force, they within demand a parlee. Their request was to haue a trespasse till Midsummer, if they were not succoured by that day, they would yeld the place, and submit themselves to the kings seruice, and employ all their means to draw Bourdeaux to obedience. These offers pleased the Princes and the Earle of Dunois being Generall. The day being come, no succours appeare, and so Fronfac is yelded vnto the King, to the incredible content of the whole Army, which expected great resistance from this invincible fort.

If the Earle of Dunois preuailed well on this side the river of Garonne, on the other side the Earles of Foix and of Armagnac failed in no point of their duties: hauing taken Rion, they ioynly besiege Acqs a towne of importance in that Country. These happy exploits performed in lesse then two monthes, did as much encourage the French as it did daunt the English, who could not keep the townes (which yet held for them) from seceding of the French, and much more in the champion Country hauing more liberty. So as the Nobility together with the townes, resolute to expell the rest of the English, that the King might be wholly obeyed. Onely Bourdeaux and Bayonne remayned: the most important townes of that Prouince, whether the whole force of this royall Army doth march, but the Citizens of Bourdeaux (loth to be forced) resolute to obey. Being thus affected, they treat and make a profitable accord, as it is set downe at large in the Original. Their freedoms and priuiledges were confirmed vnto them by *Iohn* Inuental of Vitis Chancellor of France, they brought their keys to the Earle of Dunois, (as Lieutenant generall to the King in his army) and receiued the French into their City with exceeding ioy, the first day of August, to the great griefe of the English, who see themselves expelled out of the whole Realme, but they shall yet make a new attempt.

The oath of fealty was authentically made to *Charles* the 7. both by the citizens of Bourdeaux, and by all the Estates of Burdelois as to their King and lawfull Prince, renouncing the English. The Nobility held vp their hands first in this oath, and namely, the Lords of Epipharre, Montferand, Duras, Rolan, Pucelos, Lanfac, Lifle, and Anglade, amongst the which how many proud peritured? The Archbishop also did take the same oath of homage and fealty to the King, with *Gaston de Foix*: onely *Capitall de Buche* would not take the oath for his person, but he submitted all his lands to the obedience of the Crowne, an error which shall be preiudiciall to the whole Prouince. Thus all Guienne was made subiect to the Kings obedience, except Bayonne: for the reduction of which towne (being needlesse to keepe together so great an army,) every Nobleman was commanded to returne to his house, and that the Earle of Dunois should continue there to employ the forces of the Country at this siege. So the Princes of the blood depart, accompanied with twenty thousand men, whom they dismiss euerie one into his Country. The Earle of Foix ioyned with the Earle of Dunois, and they besiege Bayonne: the siege was long, painfull, and dangerous: the which might haue bene more easie and speedy by means of the army which was ready. But in truth the niggard spends more then the bountifull man in euery degree: yet in the end Bayonne submits to the obedience of

A the Crowne vpon these conditions, That the townsmen of Bayonne should deliver *Iohn* of Beaumont their capitaine into the Kings hands, with their owne persons and their goods to be at the Kings will and discretion; and to repair their disobedience, and to purchase the Kings fauour, they should pay forty thousand crownes, whereof they are bound by the Earle of Foix, Generall of the army. This accord was confirmed by the entry of the said Earle into the towne, who took a solemne oath in the kings name. *Charles* tortures the inhabitants halfe their fine, and confirms halfe their priuiledges. The three Estates of the Country of Burdelois send their Deputies vnto the King, who was then at Taillebourg, to confirme their oaths, and homages already taken by his Chancellor: and the King likewise doth ratifie their priuiledges, and receiues them into fauour, so as Guienne seemed to bee reduced to the Kings obedience, to the incredible content of the whole Realme, and so this year ended with an vniuersall ioy.

But seven or eight monthes were scarce spent in this publike ioy. (such as the French might haue in euery corner of their Country, inioying peace, the which they had not tasted these hundred yeares, and which in outward appearance there was no hope to recover, the English and Bourguignons hauing taken such firme footing in all parts) when as beheld, a great surge which seemed to expose France to the mercy of a more horrible and dangerous storme. For *Talbot* comes to the gates of Bourdeaux, with goodly troopes of English, where he was receiued, and tooke the Seneshall of Guienne prisoner, being *Gouernour* of the towne, with *Iohn de Foix* Deputy Maier of Bourdeaux; and in a manner the same day, the Nobility which had giuen their faith vnto the King, (noted before by their speciall names) deliuered all the chiefe places of the Country to the English. Fronfac, Colceures, Castillon, Chasseau-neuf in Medoc, Cadillac, Langon, Saint Macaire, Liborne, and Saint Million. And after *Talbot* (who came but to discover) there arriued the next day in safety, foure thousand fighting men from England with fourescore shippes laden with meale and salt meates, to victuall the Towne. The amazement of this losse was as great, as the ioy had bene of gaine. *Charles* was then at Tours: the Earle of Clermont (sonne to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon) was gouernour of Guienne. He commands him to haue a care to the preservation of the rest of Guienne, and presently hee sends sixe hundred men at armes, vnder the command of three Marshals of France, and the Lords of Orual and Rouhault, who were then nere the King, and sends for the rest of his forces with all speed. But whilst that all prepare to repair this losse, may wee not examine the motiue of this great and sudden change? Some new Writers accuse the ill vsage of the French to this people newly conquered, which made them to wish for the English, being more mild and temperate Lords: others blamed the negligence of our French, vsfit to keepe that which they had so valiantly gotten. But who is he that can find this first cause truly noted, hearing the whole History speake and representing the discontent of the French nation against the government of the English? And why did the King dismisshis army, but to ease his people, euen with the prejudice of his owne affaires?

As for our negligence in keeping of that which we haue gotten with much paine, it is too well known by memorable examples: but seeing the affection of the people of Burdelois had been confirmed by many proofes, in this voluntary obedience, to what end had it serued to put them in fetters, as a people vanquished by armes, and force them to obedience? But to find out the causes, we must examine the effects: *L'Esparre*, *Montferand*, *Duras*, *Anglade*, *Rolan*, and other specified in the Register of the oath, will be found straight waies resolted in these places. *Capitall de Buche* protested openly, that he was not the Kings seruant, so as hee might without reproach cary armes against him for the King of England his master: He might remaine peaceably within the Country, inioying his houses, being vnder the Kings protection, and so make his trafficke for the English at his pleasure. *Iohn* King of Nauarre an Arragonois both by birth and humor, was an enemy to *Charles* for two respects, as hauing married the heire of Nauarre, and with that marriage the quarrels & hatred of that *Charles* which was Grand-father to his wife, who had so much troubled the reignes of *Iohn* and *Charles* the 5. and as an Arragonois, by reason of the quarrels of Naples, against the house of Aniou. These were two instruments to moue many mens mindes. It could not otherwise bee, but the authority and command of two hundred yeares, had purchased England many seruants, and such as had alwaies held the English

Bourdeaux makes a composition and yelds.

All Guienne surrenders vnto King Charles.

The King of Nauarre an enemy to King Charles.

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party against France, and were not reclaimed to the Kings obedience but by force, could a not beleue that they had any such part in the Kings fauour, hauing brought nothing to his seruice but necessity and constraint. These men being wonne, doe animate, or rather force the people, making themselves the strongest, in places where there were no guardes, whereof they were not only wearied, but plunged in the trust and assurance of a profound peace. Who seeth not then, but this made the way more easie for these disloyall traitors, to surprize those townes which they had deliuered to the English? but from whence fouer the mischief came, this was the remedy.

Talbot was the Kings prisoner; as we haue said, at the taking of Rouen; Charles had shewed him all the fauour a man might hope for of so great a Monarch: he gaue him his libertie without ranfome, and had honoured him with goodly presents: yet he is become head of the English army, which were effected eight thousand fighting men, and marcheth directly against the Kings army, which made hast to recouer what had been lost, and to preferue what remained. Castillon was become English. The Earle of Ponthieure, with the Admirall and Marshalls of France, besiege it, attending the King, who came posting to quench this fire. Talbot makes haste from Bourdeaux with the choicest of his men, bearing an assured victory in his conceit, being ignorant that he went to seek death. At the first charge our men begin to wauer vpon the braucariuall of Talbot, but they gather themselves together againe, with great resolution, to stay the course of this streame. Talbot on the other side, encourageth his men as going to a banquet, and not to a battell, he beates out the heads of pipes of Wine, to make his men drinke, himselfe being drunke with presumption, and making his Souldiers drunke with the vaine hope of victory; being mounted vpon a little Nagge, but followed by sixe or seuen thousand men, they come to fight. The combat was fierce, but the English are repulsed, scattered, and ouerthrowne. There were two thousand slaine vpon the place, and amongst the rest, Talbot was ouerthrowne from his horse and slaine; with his Sonne. The Earle of Candall (sonne to Capitul de Buche,) Montferand and Anglade are taken prisoners: Elsparre escapes for another time. In the end Castillon yeelds at discretion. Saint Million and Liborne returne to the Kings obedience, to the great content of the inhabitants, being surprized to their griefe. Charles did also warrant them from all losse in this repulse. Cadillac, Langon, Villandras, and Saint Maquaire, shake off the English yoke at one instant, and open their gates with their hearts. The Kings army goes from thence to Bourdeaux, being full of Englishmen, but fuller of feare, seeing the English loth to buy it so deare as Talbot had done: so as they suffer the French to wander at their pleasure vp & downe the Countrey of Medoc. This victory was due to the presence of Charles, who being arrived at Frontac, (the which was held a place inuincible by force) it yeelds as vanquished. The English haue their liues granted them, with a white wand, through the bounty of Charles. He doth not to treat the resolted French, for the captaine of Cadillac being taken, is beheaded for an exemplary punishment.

From thence he comes to Bourdeaux, (the which was the chiefe place of his affaires) but the multitude that came vnto his seruice was admirable, they came from all parts (knowing that the King was present), so willingly doe the French obey their Prince. There were 4000 English remaining in the towne, and as many of their faction, being drawne together from diuers parts of the Countrey: the siege continued two months, Charles had built vp Bulwarke to stop the entry, and to encounter the English defences; but there were no memorable assaults. The sicknesse which increased in the kings army, hastened the composition for the City, the which he might haue forced, but that he desired to spare the blood of his subiects. The composition was thus made: That all the English should passe into England with their goods: that the Citizens of Bourdeaux should be all in the Kings protection, taking a new oath, neuer to rebell against him their Soueraigne Lord.

And for that some of the Countrey, and of the City of Bourdeaux, had drawne in the King of England, contrary to their oath, the King (pardoning the greatest number) should cholewenty at his pleasure, to banish them out of the Realme, their goods remaining forfeited to the Crowne: of this number were Capitul de Buche, and Candall his sonne, Durvas, Anglade, Rosan and Elsparre, who in the end lost his head, being found guilty of a true treason, a year after this pardon. The Citizens of Bourdeaux renew their oath of fidelity,

The English
defeated, and
Bourdeaux
slaine.

Bourdeaux
besieged,

And yeelded
by composition
to the King.

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A lity with teares, and receiue a great garison to prevent all surprises: they build two strong Castles to that end: one towards the Sea, called Castell Trompette, another towards the maine, named Castell du Ha. The Earle of Clermont, gouernour of Guienne, remaines in the City, to settle the Kings authoritie. Charles caried this true commendation in the recouery of his losse, to haue doubled his army by the good order which he caused to be carefully obserued, and by his victory, in vanquishing his enemies, not only by force, but by clemency, and his subiects by loue and mildnesse. So as both the treachery of these disloyall, and the rashnesse of his enemies with their new attempts, were pates due to this victory, so much the more admirable, for that he doth vanquish, when as hee seemed vanquished: he wins, when as in shew he was lost: and forced as it were to warre for the desire he had of peace, he reaped the fruit both of warre and peace, in fighting valiantly, and vying the victory modestly, to the eternall memory of posterity.

Charles returns from Bourdeaux to Tours, hauing happily finished his doubtfull action. But oh the inconstancy of this world! England which had so much troubled vs, takes occasion to trouble it selfe, for the losses which they supposed to haue made of that which they had taken from vs: and as affection is wayward and often blinde, so it sowes dissention vpon strange subiects. The Dukes of Yorke, Somerset, and Gloucester, accuse one another, and make factions within the Realme. Richard Duke of Yorke (being a branch of the blood royall) pretended the Crowne to belong more iustly vnto him, then vnto Henry, the sixt then reigning; but contemned, by reason of his great losses, and of his natural defects. Somerset being fauoured by the King (as the ring-leader of his faction) was pursued by Yorke, and so cunningly, as the Londoners (hating him as the cause of all the losses in France) put him in prison; but in the end hee was freed by the Kings authority.

Troubles in
England.

This dissention burst out into open warre, vnder the names of two factions, Lancaster, from whence King Henry was descended, and they wore the red Rose for a mark; and Clarence from whence the Duke of Yorke took the beginning, bearing the white Rose for a distinction. This ranchor of parties hath bathed all England with the blood of her subiects: two yeares shall not passe after the losse, but Somerset shall die in a battell, and King Henry the sixt (who had caried himselfe as King of France) shall be prisoner: and where as he fought to ioyne the Crowne of France to that of England, he shall lose that of England, both for him and his: teaching vs that we must neuer thinke to doe harme to another, but we shall receiue our share againe, and not to despaire in our greatest afflictions. The beginning of this raigne did represent vnto vs a ruined Realme, and this end restores it to her first beauty. Thus was this Realme restored; from the which the English were quite expelled, except from Calais, and the heyre recouered the possession of his right, the which his successors enioy vnto this day.

The meanes of this singular deliuerance, is worthy to be obserued, vnder the conduct of the first mouer, the which the wise acknowledge to be in the prouidence of God, the Soueraigne of Soueraignes, and the preferuer of States, whereby he maintains the society of Mankind. Truly in the course of these ordinary meanes which we seeke after, Charles holds the first place, being both capable of counsell, and full of resolution to put in execution. Hee was assisted by great personages in the gouernment of his affaires: And for the warres, he was furnished with two Constables, which trusted him faithfully, the Earle of Boucquan in his aduersity, and the Earle of Richmond in his prosperity: of two Chancellors, worthy men, & fit for the time: Renald of Chartres Archbishop of Rheims, and Iohn Tournai of Vrsins, Baron of Treignel, the one for the beginning, the other for the end of his affaires: And for Warriours, hee had as resolute and happy Commanders, as might be found in any Raigne, of whom he had great need. But from all this wee must attend vnto the soueraigne cause, who hath shewed vs the rod, and cast it into the fire, when as it pleased him: that by the example of our Ancestors, we may more perfectly obserue the causes and remedies of our difficulties.

Now we draw neere vnto the end of this raigne: but before we conclude, we must obserue the estate of the Church, and finish the discourse of the Schisme, whereof we haue shewed the beginning and proceeding. We haue made relation of this inexcusable confusion, vntill the Councell of Pisa, which (supposing to reforme the scandalous disorders of two Popes being enemies, Gregory and Benedict) advanced a third, which was Iohn the

Councell of
Constance.

23. so as at one time there were three Popes; *Iohn* at Bologna; *Gregory* at Remin (not able A to be resident at Rome) and *Benedict* at Auignon. This multiplicity of Popes bred disorder, to the great scandall and preiudice of all Christians. So as *Sigismund* (not able to cure this infirmity of the minde, by force) resolved to haue recourse vnto the authority of the Church: and to that end hee passed through France, England, Spaine and Italy, perswading all Kings, Princes, and Potentates, to hold a Councell at Constance, whither the Emperours of Constantinople and Trepiſonde, with the Churches of Greece sent their Ambassadors, and all Christian Nations assisted, to the end this Councell might be oecumenicall and vniuersall. In this Councell, *Iohn* the 23 (being accused and found guilty of grievous crimes) was first deposed and then imprisoned: *Gregory* the twelfth, and *Benedict* the thirteenth, were likewise deprived, and *Otho Colonne* a Roman Gentleman, was chosen Pope by the Councell, and called *Martin* the fifth. This decree of the Councell, was accompanied with great and generall complaints, by reason of the compact estate of the Church, which had exceeded farre in some places. *Saint Bernard* had begun in France, as doth appeare by diuers places of his writings, and by bookes written vpon this subiect. But many of his disciples had followed him in great numbers, *Gabriel de Roquetaillade*, *Thomas Conest*, and *Nicholas Clemangis* had filled all France with these complaints. But in England *Iohn Wiclif*, and in Bohemia *Iohn Hus* had perswaded men with greater vehemency: for Bohemia was ready to disclaime the Popes authority. *Iohn Hus* teaching them not onely to leaue the abuse of manners, but the doctrine it selfe: as is contained at large in the acts of the Councell of Constance. It shall be sufficient to quote them, my stile not permitting me to let them downe at large. The Reader thus carefull to see the grounds of this Controuersie, may goe vnto the Originall, and I will obserue the effect according vnto the duty of the History. *Wiclifs* doctrine was condemned. *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of Prague came to Constance, (hauing a passport from the Emperor *Sigismund* and the Councell,) but they were condemned and burnt as Heretics. *Hus* in the Bohemian tongue signifies a Goose. *Iohn Hus* when as the Iudges had pronounced this sentence that he should be burnt, he said vnto them: I appeal from you vnto the foueraigne Iudge and preserver of all truth, who a hundred yeares hence, shall visit me of my ashes a Goose which shall not suffer himselfe to be roasted. So as *Iohn Hus* was burnt in the yeare 1417, and *Martin Lusher* began to shew himselfe in the yeare 1517.

Iohn Hus, and
Ierome of
Prague con-
demned and
burnt.

There were great complaints against the abuses of the Church, made by *Peter d'Alain* a Cardinall, and *Iohn Gerson* Chancellor of the Vniuersity of Paris, and Deputy of the French Church. The Colledge of Sorbon had giuen him great instructions vpon this subiect, but nothing was effected. They only make the Pragmaticall Sanction, to suppress the Popes authority. *Gerson* returning from Basil dyed for griefe at Lions. But this Councell did not end those two difficulties for the which it had beene called: for *Petrus de Luna*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, being deposed by the Councell, and retired into Arragon, had so incensed *Alphonſus* King of Arragon, as he supported him with all violence against *Martin* the new Pope. And the Bohemians were so moued with the death of these two personages (whom they reuerenced) as they tooke armes vnder the Command of *Zizka* a very famous Captaine, and did much annoy the Emperor *Sigismund*. *Petrus de Luna*, called *Benedict* the thirteenth, held his Court apart, dying at Laniſcole a Towne in Arragon, as *Martin* did at Rome; but this humour brought him to his graue.

The Bohemians
take
armes for the
death of *Iohn
Hus*.

After his death the Colledge made choice of *Giles Munion*, who was called *Clement* the seauenth, *Martin* dyes in the other seat, and his Colledge doth chooſe a Venetian of the family of Condelme, and calls him *Eugenius* the fourth, who finds the meanes to cause the Antipope *Clement* the seauenth to relinquish. But the Bohemian action was of more difficulty, for they spake boldly, being in armes: and *Sigismund* the Emperor prest to haue audience for them, hauing received great reproaches, for that (to please the Pope) he had violated the publicke faith, and suffered the breach of his passport. These causes made *Martin* the fifth to call a Councell at Basil, whether the Bohemians had free liberty to come: but the Emperour gaue them hostages for their surety, trusting his word no more, the which he had broken in the death of their Countrymen. There were likewise many more besides the Bohemians which desired some redresse for these visible confusions: so as it was there freely disputed of the necessity to reforme the Church, being first to begin

The Councell
of Basil occurs
against the
Popes authori-
ties.

A first with the Pope, and not to suffer the fore-passed disorders, to the great scandall of all Christians: and that (to auoid a future inconuenience, by the generall discontent of all men) it was reasonable he should submit himselfe to the censure of the Councell, whereunto he was subiect.

As the Fathers of the Councell, with a generall consent had thus concluded, and had drawne articles, that the authority of the Councell was above the Pope: *Eugenius* foreseeing the preiudiciall consequence of this Decree, reuokes the Councell assembled at Basil, for certain great considerations, which (said he) proceeded from the holy Ghost, and transported it to Bologna, to the exceeding discontent both of the Fathers and the Emperour. B They resolve to oppose themselves against this brauado of *Eugenius*, and to withstand him by the like authority of the Church, whereby he sought to ruine them. By the authority of the generall Councell lawfully assembled, they giue him an assignation to appeare before them; and in case hee disobeyes they declare him degraded and excommunicate. *Eugenius* (to calme this storme) makes shew to yeeld vnto this Decree, and promitteth to obey, yet seeking meanes vnderhand to crosse them, relying vpon *Charles* the tenth, who followed his party. It chanced also (as *Eugenius* desired) that the Emperor *Sigismund* (who was the chief opposer to his designs) dyed during these disorders: yet the Councell of Basil was not dissolued, but was resolute to continue firme. *Albert* of Austria is chosen Emperour after *Sigismund*, and succeeds him both in his desire to continue the Councell at Basil, and in the Imperiall dignity.

The Councell
of Basil inno-
uons the Pope
to appeare.

Matters grew then more violent, our *Charles* the seuenth being both to yeeld in any thing to the Emperour, hauing made a generall truce with the King of England, as we haue said, the English likewise holding with *Eugenius* sends his sonne *Lewis* nere vnto Basil, with an army compounded of French & English vniited, to nourish this notable diuision, the issue whereof was as we haue said. The Councell of Basil incensed by these bitter and violent courses practised by *Eugenius*, in the end they resolve to degrade him, and in his place they chooſe this *Amedee* Duke of Sauoy (of whom we haue spoken in diuers places) hauing made himselfe a Monk, of purpose to bee chosen Pope, amongst so many which aspired to this dignity, and was called *Felix*. But this cured not the disease: for at this new election of a Duke of Sauoy to the Pontificall dignity, all Kings, Princes and Potentates were moued (France, England, Italy and Spaine) at so strange a proceeding, and disauow *Felix*. In the meane time the Colledge of Cardinals at Rome, chooſe *Thomas Strada* Pope, and name him *Nicholas* the fifth, a man commended in histories, fit to suppress this Schisme, and to reduce the Church to vniion, being wise, modest, learned and quiet: all Kings and Christian Princes allowed of him by a generall consent. *Felix* was supported by the Germans, for *Albert* fauoured him, but he dies soone. *Frederick* the third succeeding in the Empire, a wife and a modest Prince, who (not to contradict the Germanes at first) followed their humour in fauouring of *Amedee*: but in the end ouer-ruled by a generall consent of all Christendome, he vseth his authoritie with *Amedee*, to make him renounce his Popedom. Our *Charles* doth likewise interpose his authority, and sends *Iohn Iurnal* of Vrsins his Chancellor vnto him, being well accompanied, who findes him at Lozanna, where he had made his pontificall seat with a stately colledge of Cardinals. He feared the King more then any man liuing, whom in his conscience he had moued to a iust dislike of him, when as he made a good shew, and yet betrayed him in his greatest afflictions (crosses which wound euen the very heart of a generous minde.) Moreover, *Charles* was both strong and neare at hand, to controule him, if he should continue obstinate. *Felix* stands vpon termes: but in the end, (when as the Kings Ambassadors spake vnto him of force) he grew more myld, and treated this businesse by the Kings authority, protesting that for his loue he did willingly resigne his right. Thus all obey *Nicholas*: and *Amedee* had a Cardinals hat with the title of Saint *Sabine*, and was Legate ouer his Countries, and of some part of Germany. This was the end of that feuer which so much tormented all Christendome: the reigne of *Charles* being honoured with this blessing of God, to haue been a solemne Theater both of the restoring of the Realme, and the reunion of the Church.

But alas, during these cruell confusions of the western Church, the Christians of the East (who endured much) were now vterly ruined. We left them in very poore estate vnder the reigne of *Charles* the sixth, in the yeare 1396. In fifty yeares (during the scandall of this miserable Schisme, and the willfull warres of France and England) there happened a greater

The Duke of
Sauoy made
Pope.

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The miserable
state of the
East.

greater alteration. Our Kings and Princes had laboured long in vaine to recover the ho-ly land, consuming an infinite number of men and money, and prevailing nothing. But Constantinople, the head of the Easterne Empire, remained still in state, with Greece, Macedonia, Thessaly, and a part of Natolia, whereof Trepiſonde was the chiefe of that Empire. In this weaknesse which drew neere to a totall ruine, the Christians vanity was so great as to make two Empires, the one in Europe, and the other in Asia, and then either Empire being divided into diuers parcels, held by sundry Despotes or souveraigne Lords, that among so many Masters there should be none at all. These confusions did bring in, fortifie, and wholly fettle the Turkes, who were the horrible instruments of *Mahomet*, and enemies to all Christendome. I enter not into the particular discourse of this Easterne History: it belongs not to my Subject. I onely observe the continuance of time, to shew the estate of the Church, and the Empire, with our Monarchy.

After our French had abandoned (as we haue said) this imaginary Empire of the East, the *Paleologues* seized thereon, and gouerned it diuersly, according to their passions: *Michael*, *Andronicus*, *Iohn* and *Mannuel*, hauing brought vpon the stage, both in diuers occurrences and with diuers successes, the most horrible Tragedies which impiety could deuise: to the great dishonour of the Christian name: in the end *Constantine Paleologus* giues the last acquaintance of the ancient possession of the Empire, to make a new bond in fauour of the Turkes, that his name might be answerable to his miseries. Wee haue shewed what a breach *Batatzet* had made in Hungary, making so great a slaughter of the French, when as he tooke *Iohn* Duke of Bourgogne prisoner. This beginning of a victory had in few proceeded farther and ruined Constantinople, the which he besieged, but that God (who would suffer the Christians to breath for their amendment) suppressed this Tyrant by another Tyrant: for *Batatzet* being taken by *Tamberlane*, did then suffer for his cruelty, but he left the conquest of the great Cite to his posterity, at such time as the wise and iust providence of God had decreed it: the which was fifty yeares after: for the battell wherein *Batatzet* was vanquished, after he had ouerthrowne our Christians, was giuen in the yeare 1395, and Constantinople was taken the yeare 1453, the 9 of May, by *Mahomet* thesecond, Grand-child to *Batatzet*, a fit instrument to punish the impiety, cruelty, and all other kindes of execrable dissolution which then reigned among the Christians, and euen among those which had the chiefe command.

This *Mahomet* was the sonne of *Amurath*, borne of a Christian, the Daughter of the Despote of Scruia, & instructed by his Mother in the Christian Religion, to be the more fit to chastise the Christians, who (confessing God in their mowthes and denying him in their deeds, could not be ruined by a fitter instrument and more answerable to the crime whereof they were guilty, then a Tyrant Atheist, who hauing tasted the true Religion, had spued it out, hauing no Religion, & mocking at all that carried the name of Religion. This *Mahomet* (seeking to fettle his Empire as the eldest of his house, being loath to haue any companion) caused his two brethren to be slaine, *Turfin* and *Calepin*: the one he drowned in a bason, the other he caused to be strangled. Hauing murdered his two brethren by two of his Balthas, *Moyſes* and *Haly*, hee puts these murderers to death for his brethrens blood, shedding their blood who had beene the instruments of their murders. Hauing thus settled his Empire by these solemnities, hee applies all his wit to ruine the Christians, being diuided of themselves by strange factions, and as it were inuited him to their ruine. He seisseth vpon the Empire by degrees, being called in by the Christians to decide their quarrels, and fortifying the weaker of purpose against the stronger. A politicke man, painfull, active and imperious, getting authority by his fearefull tyranny. Being seized vpon the Countrey, hauing incombred the Christians affaires, and diuided their mindes by sundry intelligences, it was easie for him to besiege Constantinople; for who should succour it? The greatest enemies the Christians had within the Countrey, were the Christians themselves. The *Ridologues* (with the Churches of the East) had had recourse to the Pope, Emperour and King of France, and by their fauour to the Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basill, one after another: but they returned with nothing but winde, despaire and mockery. Thus *Mahomet* (well assured of his enemies estate) besieged Constantinople, the which was now but the shadow of the Empire, a great mass of building, reſtifying, that the beauty of the Empire was decayed. The Emperour *Constantine Paleologus* (who resigned his authority vnto *Mahomet*) had onely a few succours

from

1454
Constantino-
ple taken by
the Turkes.

A from Genoa and Venice. *Mahomet* had two hundred and fifty ships of warre, and two hundred thousand fighting men: amongst the which the most warlike were leauied in those Countreys which made profession of the Christian Religion. The besieged seeing their estate desperate, fought to sell their liues dearly. But what could they doe? their walls being battered downe by the horrible thunder of the Turkish artillery, their port forced by their armed ships, and they themselves oppressed by so infinite a multitude. So as a general assault being giuen, Constantinople is taken by force. The City thus forced on the one side: as *Constantine* and many of his troope fought to saue themselves by a gate that was free, they were furiously pursued by the victorious Turkes, and the port being stopp by the multitude, many were smothered, among the which *Constantine* was found dead.

Constantine the
Emperour
smothered.

The Turke incensed for the losse of so many of his men, glutted himself with the slaughter of the poore Inhabitants of Constantinople, killing all indifferently, without respect of age or sexe, young and old, women and maidens, with such exceeding cruelty, as no man can write it without terror, nor read it without teares. When wee shall see before our eyes this goodly Countrey of the East, this Capitall Cite of the Empire, where the voyce of the Gospell had founded in the sacred mowthes of so many holy personages, and famous Doctors of the Church, which haue leued happily in their times, to become now the dungeon of impiety, the fountaine of error, the rendezvous of all barbarisme and iniquitie: where *Mahomet* raiseth himselfe above the Kings of the earth, and threatens Christendome proudly, hauing an Empire not onely fashioned, but also fortified with the force and power of so many Kingdomes. But alas! what speake we of Constantinople the last of our losses in the East? When we begin by Ierusalem, the chiefe Rendezvous of the Elders of the house of God, from whence the Gospell flowed, where the holy mouth of the Sonne of God and of his Apostles haue founded out: when we continue by Iury, a Land which hath long nourished the true Church, and beene the guard of the doctrine of health: when we crosse ouer this great Countrey of Asia, and from thence passe into those goodly Prouinces of Europe, Greece, Macedonia and the neighbour Nations: when cast our eyes beyond the Sea, and behold from our windowes the heavens, vnder which Africke lyes, heretofore replenished with so many goodly Churches, and enriched with so many excellent Doctors, and yet all these great and large Countreys are at this day the receptacles of *Mahomet*, where he vomits forth his blasphemies, and spoyles the miserable remainders of the poore Christian Church: where hee takes the Tide of sonnes and daughters to giue them to *Molue*, forcing them to leaue the truth: where hee hath ouerthrowne all liberty, to plant his absolute tyranny, banished all learning and euery thing that may put man in mind that he is a man.

What may wee say in comparing our felues with them? are wee better then so many that haue liued in those desolate places, making profession of the same Christian religion, and the same hope of eternall life? Are our Prouinces stronger, more fertile and richer then theirs, and our Townes stronger and better peopled? O Christians! if he be wise that takes warning by another, how much should these examples serue vs? The same way which the capitall enemy of the Church hath made to *Mahomet* to inuett him in the Empire of the East, is it not open by our common diffentions? A miserable date: the end of the warres betwixt France and England was the confirmation of the *Ottomans* at Constantinople; and the beginning of many miseries to many Nations, as we shall see in the following Reignes.

But as misery is good for something, nay rather as the prouidence of God is admirable, who can draw light from darkenesse: by the ruines of the Easterne Churches, those of the West haue beene enriched. The ignorance of all Learning was very great throughout all the Westerne Prouinces, since the rule of the Gothes. The knowledge of Learning and Sciences being banished out of the East by the Turke, came into the West, so as by a singular miracle, the West is now become East, this goodly Lampe hauing lightened the Prouinces, to bee a Herbinger to the Gospell. But the planting of the Muses is due to the Reigne of *Francis* the first, as well King of the Muses as of the French. The shipwracke of Constantinople did cast these great personages into Italy, the which haue giuen a beginning of solide and perfect knowledge to our Nations, *Emanuel Chrysoloras* an Athenian, *George Trapezondæ* or of Trebizonde, *Theodorus Gaza* a Macedonian, *Ierolme*

1482
Edward men
1482 in
1482
Printing it
1482

istofus Spartiate, Gregory Tiphernas, John Argypyle of Constantinople, Laonicus Char. A
condit an Athenian, *Marcus Masurus a Candior, and John Lascaris.* These haue begun,
but our men haue so followed, as they haue fūrmounted them in the knowledge of those
goodly professions.

Almost about the same time the Art of Printing had his beginning. Some attribute it
to the year 1440, to *John Gutttemberg* borne at Strausbourg, others to *John Faust* at
Mayence, in the year 1452. Doubtlesse it is an excellent inuention to increafe know-
ledge, although the vanity and malice of men makes it oftentimes their baude, to the
preiudice of the truth and all good manners. But hauing wandred ouer for many strange
Countries, Let vs returne to France, from whence hauing expelled the English, and resto-
red this Monarchy to her ancient beauty, by the means of our *Charles*, we must now see
the last act of his raigne and life.

*The last Act of the Raigne and life of CHARLES the seauenth, contained in
fuen yeares.*

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viewed the affaires of France by the eyes of another. As for the effect, hee reports that which all the world knew: that *James Cœur* was accused to haue robbed the King, and (to make his great trafficke in the Levant more free) to haue had intelligence with the Turke, and to haue afflicted them both with armes and counsell. These were capital crimes, and yet hee escaped for a fine of two hundred thousand Crownes, and banishment: and thereupon the Lady of Mortaign was punished, as hauing wrongfully accused him. Yet I find that more likely which the Seigneurs of Lodun and Saint Pons, Gentleman of Viuauez, dying very old, affirmed to haue heard, the one of his Uncle, the other of his Grand-father, both household seruants to the Dauphin, that the very cause why *James Cœur* was thus intreated, was for that he was too familiar with *Lewis*, as one of the instruments of his youthful pleasures. Let euery man beleue what he thinks most probable, whilst we finish this processe. The Duke of Alanfon was prisoner at Loches, whilst that *Charles* toiled himselfe to punish the Earle of Armaignac, and to recouer the Dauphin his sonne. They would haue forced this Prince to haue answered before the Constable of France, and the foure Marshalls: the which he refused, challenging the priuiledges of the Princes of the blood. So *Charles* (after that he had caused him to languish about a yeare in prison) sends for all the Princes of the blood royal, the Peeres of France, and the officers of the Crowne, to meet first at Montargis, and then at Vendosme. Hee sends this charge especially to *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, who preparing a great army to assit there, was countermanded & so by his example, not any of the Princes, & but very few of the Peeres, were present at this arraignment. But the King (meaning to proceed at what price soeuer,) names certain Noblemen that should supply their places that were absent in this action, that nothing might want of all necessary solemnities to iustifie the condemnation. To conclude, according to the forme set downe in this processe, *John* duke of Alanfon was found guilty of high treason, praftising to bring the English into the realme, the ancient enemy of this Crowne: witnesses are produced, letters auerred, and the confession of the accused: what more? Sentence was iudicially given, that he should lose his head, & forfeit all his goods, all being at the Kings good pleasure: the which neither President nor Councillor durst contradict: et *Charles* gives him his life, condemning him to perpetual prison, and his goods to his wife and children, where he continued but 10. years, for *Lewis* being King, he freed him from prison, & restored him to his dignity.

It is a hard law, when force is ioyned to a Kings command. Howsoever it were, the cleere sighted did iudge, that the Kings iudicisie was the true cause of the condemnation of this poore Prince, who had alwayes serued the King faithfully, and the King had loued him about all the Princes of his blood honoring him so much as to make him his Gossp, carrying his eldest sonne *Lewis* to the Font. This his familiarity with his Godson, and the credit the Dauphin gaue vnto his counsels, was held to be a dangerous testimony against him. Were it then iustly or vniustly that this Prince was thus intreated; who seeth not here a great proofe of the inconsistency of this world? of great friends they become capital enemies: neither blood, nor the gages of loue in so holy a thing as the badge of our Christianity, can subdue the violence of passion, the which hath no restraint; yea, even that which should be of most force to vnite loue, hath most power to breed and increase ieaiousities. A notable president in two great personages. Passion makes these two great Princes prisoners, borne of one blood, the one a King, the other capable of a Kingdom. The one is prisoner at Loches with his guard, the other at Vendosme or at Tours, in the greatnesse of his Court. This is the difference, the one endures paine forceably, the other voluntarily. But he that commits a sinne, is hee not a slave to sinne?

Charles his waywardnesse

After this condemnation, *Charles* seemed alwayes grieved both in minde and countenance, the ieaiousie which he thought to quench, in suppressing him whom hee suspected, & so increased, as in the end it was the cause of his death. Hee suruiued little about two yeares after this Tragedy, the which happened the tenth day of October, in the yeare of our Lord 1458, and the King dyed the two and twentieth day of July, in the yeare 1461, which time was vnto him a languishing prison, or rather a pining death. Doubtesse he that serues God doth reigne, and he that serues vice is but a slave: the Crownes and keepers of kings haue no exception in this. The quiet of a good conscience is true liberty: And who can haue a good conscience, but in doing well? How farre better and more honourable

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A honourable had it beene for *Charles*, to haue beene beloued and respected by his sonne *Lewis*, who being growne great, and hauing giuen many testimonies of his iudgement and valour, might well haue caled him in his greatest affaires, as *Robert* did *Hugh Capet*, being associate in the same reigne, to be honoured and serued by the Princes of the blood, especially of this his trusty friend, who had giuen him so many proofes of his loyalty in his greatest affaires, and receiued likewise from him such firme gages of his loue, and to reape the fruits of this so much desired peace, the which he had purchased for all his subiects. But if he afflicts others, he hath a good share himselfe. He makes his sonne to sit, and to beg his bread in a strange Country: he causeth a poore Prince of his blood to languish in prison: and he himselfe feelles in his soule a continuall torment of griefe, a fire of chollet and a torture of ieaiousie, trusting no man, but liuing in continuall feare; and was this man at rest? A strange torment, he hath brought peace to all men, and cannot inioy it selfe, hee hath bread and cannot eate it.

But what read I in the Originall of the manners of our *Charles*? This King *Charles* (*saith* Montfretel) after his reconciliation with Philip of Bourgogne, was of a good life and deport, but when he had recovered his realme, he changed his manners and polluted his life, in maintaining dishonest women in his Court, leaving the company of a good and loyal wife, suffering more honour and reuerence to be done to those women, by the greatest of his Court, then to the Queene: they being more richly attyred then the Queene herselfe, the which was an ill president in such a person: yet he governed his Realme very nobly and wisely, and was indued with godly vertues, maintaining iustice throughout his whole Realme. Montfretel and the History of Saint Denis, excuse the loue of faire Agnes, and here they accuse *Charles*. My duty is to quote euery part faithfully in this my Inuentory, in the which there is nothing of mine owne but the bare report, whereby it appears, that vertues are mixt with vices: and that it is more easie to beare aduersitie then prosperitie. Let the example of *Dauid* be confronted with this: Wine causeth drunkennesse, and water tempers. Sometimes age is more wake and imperfect then youth, to the end the whole honour of any good age is in man, may be ascribed to God, who is the Author thereof. Joy and griefe, ieaousie and loue, be they not contrary affections: and yet behold they are both in one subiect, D distracting him diuersly. Inconstant nature of man! who is a slave to sinne, by the meanes of sinne, which receiues the motions of diuers winds, from North, South, East and West, both fowre and sweet.

It will be now time after all this, to shew the end of our *Charles*: but wee may not omit some notable things which chanced in this season, during the ebbing and flowing of these seuen variable yeares. *Lewis* the Dauphine was resident at Geneppe in Brabant, and married with the daughter of *Sauoy*, by whom he had a sonne. The Duke of Sauoy with his wife (who was daughter to the King of Cyprus) came to visit *Charles*, and to pacifie him, with hope that he should soone see his sonne, with this new gage of loue, but all this did but ease and not cure *Charles* his infirmity. We haue said before, that *Henry* the 6. King of England, was put in prison by the Duke of Yorke, who pretended the Crowne to appertaine vnto him by a iust title then vnto *Henry*. He makes an accord with the Duke of Yorke, to free himselfe from this captiuitie, that *Henry* should inioy the Crowne during his life, but after his decease it should come to the Duke of Yorke, and to his Heires after him: and so the Prince of Wales, sonne to King *Henry*, should be excluded from the succession of England. By this accord *Henry* was released, but *Henry* his wife (daughter to King *Rene* of Sicilia) shewes her selfe more resolute then her husband, who (hauing provided for her affaires) disauowes this accord, as preiudiciall to her son, & against the lawes, which allow of no forced contract made by a prisoner: and so she armes to maintain her sonnes lawful heire of the Crowne. The Duke of Yorke likewise leaues an army to frustrate the Queenes designs. At that time the Queene did win both the victory, and the heads of the Duke of Yorke, of his second sonne, and of the Earle of Salisbury his chiefe partizan, whom she tooke prisoners in the battell, and caused to be beheaded, but she shall haue her turne.

In the meane time these troubles ministred an occasion vnto *Charles* to attempt against the English: although (transported with these home-bred discontentes) he had a troublesome enemy within himselfe, without seeking one beyond the seas. This was done by the counsell and aduice of the Constable of Richmont, who fearing the Kings humour,

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and loth to deale in these discontentes, laboured to diuert him, giuing him a better subiect to exercise his spirit. It was also happy for the Constable, that hee was farre off, being likely that ieaousie would haue brought him first in question, whom *Charles* loued not much, for the crosses he had receiued by him in the beginning. The cause which had drawne *Richmond* from Court, was honourable for him: for by the death of *Peter Duke* of Britany his Nephew, he was called to the Duchy. Being Duke he would not leaue the Office of Constable, notwithstanding all the intreaties of his subiects, being desirous to honour that charge in his age, the which had honoured him in his youth, although he enjoyed the Dukedome but three yeares, dying with the good opinion of all France, hauing satisfied it much, both with his counsell and valour.

Interprie:
gainst hag-
land,

This aduice to attempt against England, giuen by the Constable, was executed by the Normans, vnder the command of *Peter* of Brezay, Seneschall of Normandy, accompanied with a good number of the Nobility of Normandy, and fower thousand fighting men: these might doe some great exploit in a Country diuided and troubled: but God hath appointed the limits of Kingdomes; and that great ditch of the Sea is sufficient to dissiuall these two Monarchies, who haue enough to content them without attempting, gainst their neighbour. To conclude, this army lands in England, and takes Sandwich, the which they presently spoile and leaue, and so returne to Honnefleu, from whence they imbarqued, carying away store of prisoners and spoyle. Their speedy returne was chiefly to saue their liues and goods, which had bene in great danger, if they had ingaged themselves farther, for any rich spoyle.

A strange
death: is the
accident of ioy.

Charles was intreated by *Ladislaus* King of Hungary, sonne to that great *Iohn Huniade*, one of the strongest Champions against the Turke) to grant him *Magdalene* his daughter to wife, the which he did. As he prepared for this voyage, & a stately traine for his daughter, which might equal or surmount the Ambassage sent from *Ladislaus*, newes comes of the death of *Ladislaus*, (a young man of twenty yeares of age, and of a generous hope) being poisoned at Prague: whose death was the cause of many miseries, as we shall hereafter hear. Their ioy in France was changed to mourning, and the Wedding to a Funeral, to the great griefe of *Charles*. But to put him in mind of necessary causes, amidst these voluntary afflictions; It chanced that the Mother of *Joane* the Virgin (to purge the blot of infamy in the death of daughter, being condemned as a Sorceresse by the Bishop of Beauvais, to please the English) obtains a reuocation of this sentence from the Pope, & *Charles* confirms it, causing it be solemnly published to the content of all French-men, to whom the remembrance of this generous spirit shall be for ever pleasing.

The tragical
death of
Charles.

In the meane time, this ieaousie which was seld in the heart of *Charles*, is fed by the daily whisperings of his household flatterers. And now behold a strange accident: A Captaine (in whom he had great confidence) assures him that they meant to poison him: he beleeues it, and plants this apprehension so firmly in his minde, as he resolves neither to eate nor drinke, not knowing whom to trust. He continued obstinately for seuen dayes in this strange resolution, the which in the end brought him to his graue: for being obnoxious in this humour (not to eate, notwithstanding all the perswasions of his Physicians and seruants,) the passages were so shrunke, as when he would haue eaten, it was then too late: and feeling his forces to decay, he provided for his last Will, and dyed the two and twentieth day of Iuly at Meun vpon Yeure in Berry, in the yeare 1461, hauing liued nine and fifty yeares, and reigned nine and thirte, leauing two sonnes, *Lewis* and *Charles*: the first (that reigne after his father, and the second (that be the cause of new troubles in France, but not such as haue reigned vnder our *Charles* the seuenth.

His disposition.

A Prince who hath as much advanced the French Monarchy, as any King that euer commanded: for finding the Realme returned, he hath restored it: his Predecessors had planted the English in the bowels of the Estate; he expelled them, bringing in a gentle peace after an intestine war of 100 yeares. A friend to Iustice, good order, and the people, resolute in great affaires, capable of counsell, wise, courageous, happy in the execution of good counsels, and happy in seruants that haue faithfully serued him to the end of the worke of restauration, whereunto God had appointed him. But these great and heroic vertues were blemished by some vices, which were more visible in his prosperity, then in his aduersity: for affliction restrained him, but his happy successe putt him vp, and gaue scope to his humors; making him suspicious and amorous, to the prejudice of his affaires, and

A and dishonour of his person. On the one side, vngouerned loue to strange women, making him to forget the lawfull loue of his wife, and to lose both time and iudgement, whereby he blemished his reputation, both with subiects and strangers. On the other side, presumption of his good successe, made him vnpleasing vnto his best seruants; yea, euen to his house, and in the end it brought him to his graue, after a most feareful & tragick manner, leauing in his vertues, an example to be followed, and in his vices to be auoyded, with a visible prooffe in his happy successe, That God vseth weake instruments, to the end that he might be knowne to be the Author of the good worke they haue in hand, that his grace seeming strong in their weaknesse, the homage and honour of all good might bee giuen to him: for whoseuer glories, let him glory in the Lord.

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His impet-
tious.

Charles had no sooner closed his eyes, but poits fly to Geneppe in Brabant vnto *Lewis*, to aduertise him of his death. The originall notes it for exceeding speed, that through the diligence of *Charles* of Aniou, *Lewis* was aduertised of the death of his father, the very same day hee dyed. This post was speedy, yet slow in regard of the desire *Lewis* had to returne into France, and to take possession of this goodly Crowne, which attended him.

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LEWIS the eleuenth,

The 55 French King.



As it not then likely, that this so happy a Catastrophe of the latter reigne of *Charles*, should haue purchased *Lewis* as happy and peacefull a Crowne, as his Fathers had bene painfull and full of crosses? But the heires of worldly possessions (which we call the goods of Fortune, and of the body) doe not alwayes inherit the same humours and complexions of their predecessors. *Charles* was of a courteous disposition, affa-

The disposition
of Lewis the 11.

D, ble, a friend to Iustice, and capable of Counsell: hee leaues *Lewis* his eldest sonne, a Prince in truth, humble in words and shew, wise in aduersitie, painfull, a free entertainer of men of merit, curious to know all men, of a good capacity, perfect in iudgement, and very continent. But these vertues were blemished with many vices: ill-tongued, reuengefull, cruell, full of fraud, dissembling, distrustfull, variable, a friend to base people, and an enemy to great persons, yet willing to repaire the wrongs hee had done to many. But let vs impute this alteration to the multitude of his forraigne and home-bred foes, who had greatly altered the good seeds which nature had planted in him. That which plunged him into a labyrinth of troubles and afflictions during all the course of his life, was, that at his first comming to the Crowne, hee discountenanced most of the Princes & Noblemen, whom *Charles* had fauoured, preferring mean men to their places, changed (in a manner) all the ancient Officers of the Crowne, and cashiered and discharged the old Companies of men at armes, whereby such as hated him, did tax him as an enemy to all valour and vertue. *Lewis* the Daulphine at the age of eleuen yeares, was rashly ingaged by some Noblemen and others of the Realme, in the Warre called the Praguerie, against his father, who speedily suppressed it by his resolution, as wee haue seene. Being come to the age of man, hee married with *Marguerit* Daughter to the King of Scots: and as hee fell rashly in loue, so hee reaped nothing but repentance.

His wiares:

After her death (not able to beare the vnpleasing waywardnesse of his father) hee retires into Daulphine, and takes to his second wife, *Charlotte* daughter to the Duke of Sauoy, by whom he had *Ioachim*, who dyed young, *Anne* married to *Peter* of Bourbon, *Joane* the wife of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and after King of France, the twelfth of that name, *Charles* his successor, and *Francis* who dyed likewise in his infancy. In the end *Charles* going to suppress the practices of his sonne in Daulphine, and the neighbor-Provinces, *Lewis* abandons the Country, and retires to *Philip* Duke of Bourgogne, at whose charge he was entertained fixe yeares.

His children.

Charles being deceased, *Philip* of Bourgogne (to perfect this good office of Hospi-

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talitie to Lewis,) accompanied with Charles Earle of Charolois his sonne, James of Bourgogne Earle of Estampes, Adolfe Duke of Cleues, the Lord of Rautelin his brother, nephewes to the said Philip, the Earles of Nassau and St. Pol, and with many other Noblemen of the Netherlands, conducted him into France, with foure thousand horse well appointed, chosen among a hundred thousand fighting men, the which Philip had leauied vpon a brute that some Noblemen of the Country would aduance Charles the younger brother of Lewis to the Crowne. John Duke of Bourbon (the Duke of Orleans as well for his old age, as for that he mourned for King Charles decesse, came not from Paris) Peter and James of Bourbon brethren, the Earles of Eu, Vendosme, Dunois, Granpre, Philip of Sauoy, with the greatest part of the Princes, Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, goe to meet him, and conduct him to Rheims, where he is solemnly anointed and crowned by John Inuall of Vrsins Archbishop of that place, assisted by the Cardinall of Constance, the Patriarke of Antioch, the Popes Legat, 4 Archbishops, 17 Bishops, and 8 Abbots, the 15 of August, 1461, being about 33 yeares of age. Two dayes after, Philip did him homage for his Duchy of Bourgogne, as Peere and Deane of the Peeres of France: for the Earldome of Flanders as a Peere of France, and for the Countie of Artois and all other lands hee held of the Crowne. Then made hee a sumptuous and flately entry into Paris, with very ioyfull acclamations of the people, as you may see at large in the Originalls.

After many sports, Tourneyes and publike feasts, Philip taking leaue of the King, exhorts him to lay aside all hatred and spleene conceiued against some of his fathers ancient seruants, from whom he should draw as many good seruices, as they had giuen testimonies of their loyalties to their lawfull Master: to liue in loue and vnitie with the Countie Charles, and to aduance him according to the degree he held within the Realme. Lewis was no sooner installed, but the Inhabitants of Rheims minister an occasion to employ the first fruits of his forces. About Saint Remy the Collectors of imposts were slaine, and their contracts burnt in open street. The King treads thither many fouldiers disguised like Merchants and labourers, who entering secretly, and at diuers gates, become the stronger and are presently followed by some troopes led by the Lord of Mouy, who seize vpon the towne, takes 80 or 100 of the most culpable, puts them to death & suppresseth the mutiny. About the end of the yeare Lewis made a progresse into Touraine, where the Earle of Charolois coming from the pilgrimage of Saint Claude, did visit him, and the King (in reward of the kindeesse he had receiued from Philip) giues him the government of Normandy, with 36000 franks yearly pension: for the non payment whereof there will soone grow great dissensions and ciuill warres. In sooth the words of a Prince should be held for Oracles, neither should he belesse iudicious then constant in his promise. The Duke of Alencon was set at liberty, whom Charles the seuenth had restrained. But oh the vanity of man! we shall see him hereafter a prisoner, and condemned vnder his authority, who now giues him both life and liberty. Then the King gaue to his brother the Dukedome of Berry for his portion, and assigned the Queene his Mothers dowry (which he shall not long enjoy it, but dies in the yeare 1463,) in the Country of Xaintonge, with the towne and government of Rochell, Chinon, Pezenas, and other places. Then he went in Pilgrimage to Saint Sauueur of Redon in Britany, where the Duke did homage for the said Duchy, the Countie of Montfort, & other places which he held of the Crowne. But deuotion did not so much draw Lewis into Britany, as a desire to discover the Dukes affection, his Country, and Forces, whom hee held in ielousie, the which shall easily draw the Duke into the vnion of the malecontents, as we shall see; which will fall out happily for him, to disappoint the King of the prey he hunted after in Britany.

Lewis in the meane time, carelesse of Philips aduice, not able well to indure the sight of his fathers spies (whom hee accused as the motiues of his disgrace) changeth the gouernours of Prouinces, and most of the Officers both for Iustice and warre: he placeth new; being chosen out of those that had beene companions of his fortune, the which (to aggravate) they called a banishment, imputing it to them that were displaced. Moreover, he prohibited all Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, the sport of Hawking and Hunting, vnder great and odious punishments, no further then hee should permit: a second firebrand of the following combustions. Now the King of Arragon (seeking to reduce his

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A his rebellious subiects of Barzellona to their duties by force) ingageth the Countie of Rouffillon to Lewis, for three hundred thousand Crownes, whereof hee receiued fifty thousand presently, being followed with a goodly and mighty Army, to succour the said King, vnder the command of James of Armaignac Duke of Nemours. Henry King of Castill, complains by his Ambassadors of these succours giuen to his aduersary, which was a breach of the League betwixt France and Castill. The King (as well to end this quarrell, as that which Blanch the only daughter and heire of the King of Nauarre wife to the said King of Arragon, had with the King of Castill, by reason of some places in Nauarre) goes to Bourdeaux, and there concludes the marriage of Magdalene of France his siter, with Casbon the eldest sonne to the Earle of Foix, and presumptiue heire of Nauarre, who lay hurt at Libourne with a Lance at a Tournay, whereof he dyed, leaving a sonne and a daughter: Francis Phabius his successor, (who reigned but one yeare) and Katherine who succeeded him, and was married to John of Albret: when he goes to Bayonne, where the King of Castill comes vnto him, and ends all controuersies. A dangerous and fatall enteriuew: for these two great Princes, the most strictly allied of all Christendome, of ancient time from King to King, from Realme to Realme, and man to man, bound by great curses to maintaine this necessary league, the which neuer yet had any breach, they now conceiued a contempt and disdain one of another. The French of the Castilians sumptuousnesse and pride, in their words, countenance, and apparel: The Castilians of the plainnesse of the French attire, for Lewis had short garments, and of bad fuffe, the which the Spanish nation did impute to miserableness, wherewith he was neuer blemished. So as from that day, these Kings did neuer loue; but both nations conceiued such a mutual hatred one against another, as they haue left it hereditary to their posterity: and we haue felt the bitterness of this old leuaine in our late and more then vaciuall tumult. So perillous shall the enteriuew bee of our Lewis with Charles of Bourgogne (who shall hereafter come often in place) at Peronne, as we shall see.

Lewis being returned to Paris, as by the purchase of Rouffillon hee had fortified his Realme towards Spaine, so desired he to assure it on the other side, redeeming the towne lying vpon Somme, the which had beene ingaged by the treaty of Arras, to Philip duke of Bourgogne, for foure hundred and fifty thousand Crownes, with this condition, that the King should maintaine all the Officers aduanced by the Duke in the said townes: a promise without performance, for after the oath taken to serue him against all persons, at the first he tooke away the government of Amiens, of Arras, and of Dourlans from Sautenise: that of Mortaigne from Hantbourdin a bastard of Bourgogne: and the Bayliwick of Amiens from the Lord of Creueceur (whose lands he did confiscate soon after) aduancing to these offices Lannoy the Nephew of Croy, whereby he did greatly discontent the Duke, and the Earle of Charolois his sonne more, who in despite of the said redemption, did afterwards chase away the Lord of Croy, with his whole family, and confiscate their goods, they being the meanes thereof. Being retired into France, Lewis gaue him the Countie of Guennes, with the office of Lord Steward of his house. A discontent which shall hasten the Charolois to arme against our France. Moreover Lewis, to tye the Pope vnto him, (by the meanes of John Balue Bishop of Arras, (who since was made Cardinall, in recompence of so good a seruice done to the Court of Rome) sends Godfrey Bishop of Albi Cardinall of Abbeuille vnto him, to renounce all rights of the pragmaticall Sanction. So doing the Pope promised to send a Legate into France, that should giue all benefices, to the end that all the money which should be raised thereby might remaine within the Realme, and bee no more transported to Rome. But the Pope being seized of the charter of the said Sanction, made no accompt to performe his promise: and to please the Romans, he caused it to bee dragged through the streets. So as Lewis being thus deceiued, did forbid to cary any more money to Rome, nor to bring any Bulls from thence.

He made Sforza Duke of Milan his vassall, giuing him Saouonne which the French held, (a heauy motiue of lamentable warres, which followed) and receiued his homage. But whilest he labours to purchase friends abroad, hee procures himselfe intensibly mighty enemies at home, the Princes and Noblemen to whom the first places in Court, and offices of the Crowne did appertaine, seeing themselves with great indignity supplanted by these musthromes growne vp in one night, and put from the Kings fauour, they found one another

Lewis purchaseth the Countie of Rouffillon.

Whofore aduancements of Philip to Lewis.

Every five he is worth two shillings.

The Duke of Alencon instigated.

1463

The league of the common-wealth.

The chiefs of the league.

another, both by mouth, writings, and by diuers messengers: being assured of their mutual loves, they open their minds, discover their conceptions, and conclude, *To defend and maintaine their dignities.* For (say they) to what end doe wee suffer the indignities and braueries of these new vpstarts? we should shew want of courage not to apprehend the wrong the King doth vs. Wee haue armies, men, friends and money to force him to reason, seeing we are debarr'd his presence by these base people that possesse him. The chiefs were *Charles Duke of Berry* the Kings brother, *John Duke of Bourbon* who had married *Charlotte* the Kings sister, *Francis Duke of Britany*, *John Earle of Dunois*, bastard brother to *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, the Duke of *Nemours*, the Earle of *Armaignac*, and the Lord of *Albrct*. The Duke of Berry was easily drawne into this league, discontented to haue no better portion then Berry. The Duke of Bourbon had not yet received his marriage money. The Britton could not digest foure hard conditions, the which *Lewis* (hauing an army ready in case he refused) required of him: That he should no more incite himselfe, *By the grace of God Duke of Britany*; That he should coine no more money without his permission: That from thenceforth the King should leaue taxes and subsidies in Britany, and not the Duke: And that all that were beneficed within the Dukedome, should acknowledge him immediately for Patron and Souereigne. Priviledges which till then had bene alwaies expressly referred to all the Dukes his Predecessors, in the homages they did to the Crowne. The Earle of Dunois had alwaies benee the chief of the Army, and Lieutenant General to *Charles* the seventh, and now is deprived of all his Offices and dignities by *Lewis* his sonne. So euery one pretended diuers causes of complaint.

Charles of Berry must cary the bable, a yong Prince and credulous, an age which doth easily make men bold and rash, for they would vse him as the reuenging instrument of their passions. But where is the meanes to draw him from Court without ialousie? Behold an occasion is offered. After that *Lewis* had visited the townes of Picardy lately redeemed, hauing crossed Normandy and Touraine, hee passeth to Poitiers, leading *Charles* his brother with him. *Lewis* going one day to his deuotion, *John* of Rommille, *Tannequy* of Chastell (Nephew to that *Tannequy* that was charged for the death of the Duke of Bourgongne) agents for the Britton in this action, vnder colour to cary *Charles* Duke of Berry to the hunting, they lead him into Britany. *Tannequy* was discontented, for that hauing disbursed fifty thousand Francks at the funerals of *Charles* the seventh, in the absence of *Lewis*, he had neither recompence, nor any thanks of the King, and was not satisfied for the space of ten years. There remained nothing but to bee assured of *Philip* Duke of Bourgongne, who euen then had great cause of discontent: for during the partialities of England, betwixt the houses of Lancaster and Yorke, *Lewis* supported *Henry* against *Edward* (he being of Lancaster and this of Yorke) for that *Henry* had married the daughter of *Rene* King of Sicilia, and by consequence was neere kinsman to *Lewis*. In fauour therefore of this Queene, he makes a proclamation in the territories of the Duke of Bourgongne, forbidding them to aide or assist *Edward*, terming himselfe King of England. And for a greater disgrace, King *Lewis* would impose a custome vpon the salt in the Duchy of Bourgongne.

The Bourgignon oppoeth: he protests that *Edward* King of England is his ally, and that he could not deny him succors being required. As for the custome he shews forth the ancient priuiledges of Bourgongne, and intreats the King to forbear in the execution of this charge. Behold a sharpe touch, which might easily open the Dukes eares, to hearken to these malecontents: yet would he not enter, but suffers the Earle his sonne to vse all his meanes for this effect, being discontented for the government of Normandy taken from him, and his pension not payed; for the redeeming the Townes vpon Somme, and the aduancement of Croy in France. And although the passing and repassing of the Agents and factors of these Princes were very secretly performed by men disguised like religious men, pilgrims and beggers, yet could they not worke so secretly, but the King had intelligence, that the Britton had sent to practise the loue and league of the King of England, and that by *John* of Rommille, Vice-chancellor of Britany, he had made a strict alliance with the Earle of Charolois, a violent and valiant Prince. Thus the King sends the bastard of *Rubempré*, a *Capitaine*, to surprize such as he should find passing out of Britany into England, or from the Bourgignon to the Britton. This bastard

lands

1465

Ambassadors from Lewis and Philip.

Philip answer to the Ambassadors.

The wars of Common-wealth.

CONCE

A lands at la Haye in Holland, he enters the towne (with three in his company) where then the Earle was resident. Being examined of his quality, and of the cause of his landing, he makes some difficulty to discover himselfe. He is put in prison, as a pirate, sent (said they) by *Lewis* to surprize the Earle treacherously, and so to preuaile more easily with the Duke his father. This brute was dispersed through the Country, which made the King odious. At the first report of these newes, *Philip* being at Hedin, dislodgeth without taking his leave, although hee had promised not to depart without speaking againe to the King. *Lewis* (aduertised of the bastards detention, sends the Earle of Eu, the Chancellor *Morvillers*, and the Archbishop of Narbonne to Lille: they accuse his sonne of treachery and infidelity, for that hee had made a league with the duke of Britany, a friend and confederate with the English: he complains of the restraint of *Rubempré* his servant: and demands amends for words giuen out against the Kings honour: that the prisoner should be enlarged, and for expiation of the crime, that the authors of this slander should be deliuered into the Kings hands (especially *Olivier de la Marche*, one of the chiefs in the Dukes Court) to be exemplarily punished. The Chancellor who deliuered the speech, being but a blunt man, made it as bitter as hee could, and omitted nothing that might make the fact odious and criminall (for the which hee shall in time and place, be disauowed by the King and lose his office) adding moreover, that he could not conceale the cause of the Earles discontent, if it were not for the pension and government which the King had giuen him, and since taken away.

Philip answers, that *Rubempré* being charged with many crimes, was iustly taken, and in a County where *Lewis* had no right. If the informations did acquit him, he would send him to the King. That *la Marche* was of the County, and therefore the King nor hee had his competent iudge: yet if hee had done or said any thing against the honor of his Maestie, he would punish him to his liking. *Morvillers* insists, vrging that *Philip* should not deny the King, and that he should command his sonne, not to entertaine any bad conceit of his Maestie, nor beleue the slanders imposed vpon *Rubempré*. The duke replies: That till then hee had neuer denied the King any thing: and contrariwise the King had failed of his promise, in that contrary to their transaction he had fortified the Townes redeemed, with great garisons, the which hee should haue inioined during his life; taking an oath of the Nobility, to cary armes indifferently against all hee should command. That if his sonne were ialous and distrustfull, hee tooke it of his mother, who had often suspected him to goe to other Ladies: and not from him, who suspected no man. The Earle of Charolois toucht with the Chancellors speech, would haue taken the defence of his honor and the Duke of Britany: but *Philip* tearing left choller should transport him beyond reason, commands him to prepare for the next day. The night brings Counsell. The Earle hauing considered well of his plea, answers very respectfully: yet he maintains, that the proceffe of *Rubempré* would then, that his imprisonment was both iust and duly made. That hee had made an alliance and strict league with the Duke of Britany, being brothers in armes, but their affociation did nothing preiudice the Kings seruice, nor the good of his Realme, but rather their common forces should bee alwaies ready for the preferuation of his Crowne and the publicke good. As for the losse of his government & pension (whereof he had neuer receiued but one quarter) he was nothing displeased: that as for any wealth and honours, the fauour of the Duke his Lord and Father did suffice him.

Thus the Ambassadors returne nothing to *Lewis*, but threats from the Earle, who charged the Archbishop of Narbonne particularly with this speech: That within one yeare he would make the King repent the iniurious words hee had caused his Chancellor to giue him, in the presence of the Duke his father. And hauing speedily assembled a great Army out of Artois, Hainault, Boullon, Flanders, Holland, & Brabant, consisting of foure thousand men at armes, and eight or nine thousand Archers, vnder the ensignes of *Lewis* of Luxembourg Earle of Saint Paul, and afterwards Constable of France, the Lord of Rancelin brother to the duke of Cleues, *Anthony* bastard of Bourgongne, *Hantibourdin* bastard-brother to the Earle of Saint Pol, *Contai* and *Lalain* valiant and wise Knights, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, and great store of Artillery and carriages, hee enters into Picardy as Lieutenant General to the duke of Berry, taking armes to releue (sayes hee) the people surcharged with taxes and subsidies, and to re-

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The Earle of
Charolois en-
ters Picardy.He takes Nefle,
Roy and Mont-
gomer.

cover their ancient freedoms and liberties; to restore the Nobility to their honours and ancient dignities, and to give vnto the Clergy their rights and preheminences. In truth these were goodly shewes, able to perswade the credulous, and to supplant the affections of the simple.

For the first fruits of his forces, he takes Nefle (a little Castle neere vnto Noyon, in the which there was a garison) Roy, Montdidier, Beaulieu, and Pont Saint Maxence; then having passed the rivers of Somme and Oise, hee comes with little spoile of the Country, to Saint Denis, where all the confederates should meet, but they failed of their appointment. Having presented himselfe before Paris, and skirmished at the gates with some losse to the inhabitants, supported only by the companies of men at Armes of Charles of Melun, Bayliffe of Sens, of the Marshall *Joachim Rouault*, and the Lord of Nantouillet, afterwards great Master: he seized vpon Saint Cloud, where his army passed the Seine, to draw towards Estamps, and to ioyne with his confederates, whom the Kings army stayed in their march. In the meane time the Duke of Bourbon seized vpon the Kings reuenues and treasure, and of the chiefe Officers, from whom hee might draw any money. Then did *Anthony* of Chabannes Earle of Dampmartin escape out of the Bastile at Paris, whom *Lewis* held prisoner, for that he had made warre against him in Dauphine, by the command of *Charles* the seuenth, vntill he had provided such caution as he demanded for the performance of the condition, for the which hee had giuen him his life. That he should passe the remainder of his life an Exile at Rhodes. Who going through Gastoins, tooke and spoiled the Castles of Saint Forgeau, and Saint Maurice, and caried away the Captaine prisoner, which was *Jessy* the sonne of *James Caury*: hee seized vpon Saint Pourcain, and being aduertised that the King sent to besiege him by the Bayliffes of Sens and Melun, he retired himselfe to the Duke of Bourbon. This flight did suddenly draw the King vpon the Duke. The places of Bourbonois were in a manner all taken and assured: but having intelligence that the Duke of Nemours, with the Earles of Albert and Armaignac did march, and that succours came to the Duke of Bourbon out of Bourgongne, leaued by the Earle of Beaulieu and the Cardinal of Bourbon, brethren to the said Duke (the which were of more shew then profit) he willingly hearkens to an accord with these Princes, wrought by his sister being wife to the Duke of Bourbon, that they should beare armes for the King, and labour to win their confederates vnto him. A convention ill obserued, by means whereof *Lewis* had caused the siege of Rion in Auergne to be raised, the which was at their deuotion: this done, he goes towards Angers, to try if by mildnesse and good meanes he might reclaim his brother being in Britany. Not able to effect it, and hearing the Earle of Charolois approached with great expedition to Paris, he leaues *Rene* King of Sicily and duke of Aniou, and *Charles* Earle of Mayen his Vncles by the mother side vpon the frontiers of Britany, to hinder these great forces from ioyning with the Bourguignons. And lest the Parisians (abused with this goodly shew of the common-weale) should receive them, he being so farre from them, he caused his Vncles to aduance, who dislodging alwaies before the Britton, did greatly annoy him for want of victuals, and hindreth his march, and he himselfe posts to Orleans with speed, and from thence to Chastres vnder Montchery, with no intent to fight vntill hee had visited Paris, and gathered a greater power, but necessity forsooth him. The Earle of Charolois hearing of the Kings approach, marcheth towards him with the bastard of Bourbon, commanding the rereward to ioyne with the Earle of Saint Pol, who led the forward, and takes his place of battell in the plaine of Montlecherie, where they appeare at the break of day the 27 of Iuly. Having discovered the Kings army led by the Lord of Brezay great Seneshall of Normandy, he commands all his archers and the greatest part of his men at armes to leaue their horses, and euery man to plant a stake before him in the foremost ranks to withstand the fury of the horser; behind he compasseth himselfe in with his cariages, and on the flanke he fortifies himselfe with a forest adioyning, hauing reloed to fight on foot in a place of aduantage for the foot, before that all *Lewis* his troops were ioyned. *Lewis* had about 2200 well appointed Lances, besides the Nobility of Dauphine, and some great Gentlemen of Sauoy and Bresse, a great number of Archers, and other men of war, but not equal to the Bourguignon. God, who disposeth of battels, would now chastise our King, but not to his ruine.

The Earle of Charolois like a great Commander vsed a good stratagem, seeing the French

1465

A French army could not descend into the valley of Torsou, but by small troopes: for when as the forward appeared, they were not about 400 Lances, yet hee giue respite to them that were farthest off to set forward, whilst the two armies spend the time in light skirmishes and Cannon shot. Having past some foure houres, the Earle aduertised that the Parisians (being sent for by the King) might come & compass him in behind, he aduanceth first: our forward doth likewise march, but he bears them backe vnto the village, and (to dislodge them from thence) hee fires certaine houses, so as the wind driues the flame and smoake into our archers faces, who did likewise fight on foot: he forsooth them abandon the place and to recover their horses. The Bourguignons likewise mount and gallop after our runnawies, but they had recovered a long and large ditch which they found by chance in the field with a strong quick-set hedge, behind the which they breasted, whilst the enemy laboured in the pursuit: but issuing at either end in troope vpon the Bourguignons, they charge them so resolutely, as they turne their backs, ouerthrowing their own archers in the flight: some recover their cariages, and some the Forest: amongst others the Earle of Saint Paul and his brethren, the Lords of Raucourt, Haplaincourt, d'Aimeries, d'Inchy, Rabodonges, and many others. The Nobility of Dauphine, Sauoy and Bresse had the chiefe honour of this defeat. The archers thus broken, they remained at the mercy of the French. But being pestred with the baggage, some Bourguignons rallied together, turne their carts, compass them in, and beat them downe with great beetles of lead. And to increase the losse, the Earle of Charolois fighting on the right hand towards the Castle, had an easie victory ouer our men, chasing them backe about a thousand paces. But having intelligence that they were ioyned againe, and that if he passed but two arrow shoos farther he should be taken, he returned suddenly, and encounters an amazed troope of footmen flying in the village. He chargeth them, but no man turnes head, sauing onely one fouldier who strucke him on the brest with a borse-speare, but the foot man lost his life with some few others, who could not in time recover the gardens and orchards. As hee passed against the Castle, hee met by chance with a troope of men at armes, which saved themselves from the rout at the cariages: one of them in the charge giues him a dangerous wound in the throat with his sword, by reason of this beuer that was false. *Jessy* of Saint Belain, called *La Hire*, Bayliffe of Chaumont, and *Gilbert* of Grassay knew him, they presse him to yeeld and not to be slaine: but behold the sonne of a Physician of Paris, called *John Cadet* (the history in truth owes his name for so worthy an act) being big and mightie of body, mounted on a horse of the same proportion, rushes through them, and diuides them that held him. Then happily arriues the Bastard of Bourgongne, and the Earles guard, by means whereof the French reuere themselves to their ditch, where they had beene in the morning. During the which, a false brute of the Kings death had almost ouerthrowne all: for euery one began to faint. The Earle of Mayen, the Admirall of Montauban, and the Lord of Barde embracing this common belief, fly with all the rereward. *Lewis* aduertised of this amazement, takes off his helmet, shewes himselfe to his souldiers, and so assures them that he is aliae. On the other side, the Bourguignon rallies his men dispersed and wearied, ready to fly if they had beene charged. At the same instant the Count St. Paul, goes to the field and gathers together vnder his ensigne about eight hundred men at armes, and but few foot.

Behold, the two armies standing in battell one against another, mutually discharged their Cannon. The night approacheth which ended the battell: an encounter, where the notable flying on either side did wonderfully moderate the fury of the fight. The which being thus ended, the Drunk was conducted by the Scots to the Castle of Montlecherie, hauing neither eaten nor drunk all that day, and then he retires to Corbeil. The Earle keeps the field, spoile the dead, and therefore holds himselfe a Conquerour. Amongst the Kings men were knowne *Jessy* of Saint Belain, the great Steward of Normandy, Captaine *Flequeux* Bayliffe of Eureux, with many Gentlemen, to the number of foure hundred horse and but few footmen. Of Bourguignons, the Lords of Lalain, Hames, Oigny, Varenne, and almost all the Earles archers: *Haplaincourt*, *Aimeries*, *Inchy* and many others were taken flying, and brought prisoners to Paris: of foot-men there were more slaine, then of the Kings part. All which were esteemed by some, at two thousand of both sides: others held them three thousand sixe hundred: but all affirme constantly, that there were more Bourguignons then French, although *Lewis* lost more horsemen.

A famous battell for running away.

1465

In truth, the firme resolution, the constant labour, the dangerous hazards, manfully passed by the King, were sufficient motives to encourage his men to honour: and if hee had bene well and courageously followed, notwithstanding his small number, and want of artillery, the Earle of Charolois souldiers had digged their graues at Montlehrie. Three daies after the battell, the Earle of Charolois being aduertised that his confederates approached, went to receiue them at Elstamps. The Dukes of Berry and Britany, the Earles of Dunois and Dampmartin, the Lords of Loheac Marshall of France, of Buell, Chaumont and Charles of Amboise his son, all disgraced by Lewis, and put from their offices, although they had well serued the King his father. They brought with them (with the History) eight hundred good men at armes, most Brittaines, who had newly left the companies, euery one pretending some discontent. Of Archers and other men of warre resolute and well appointed, fixe thousand on horse-backe, all of the Britton charge, who assured (by some men at armes that fled) of the Kings death, promiseing him much good in conceit, in case the Duke of Berry come to the Crowne. And if at that instant they would haue giuen him credit, they should haue suppressed the Bourguignons, or at the least diminished them, verifying, That there is small loyalty, and lesse piety in men of warre.

Charles Duke of Berry having the citation of London.

On the other side, the Duke of Berry came to loath these broyles: for in open Council, hauing viewed seven or eight hundred hurt men wandring vp and down the towne he said: *How much more glad would I haue bene, if this warre had neuer begun, then to part chase my selfe riches and honour with the price of much blood.* A speech worthy of a milde Prince and not bloody: but ill digested by the Bourguignon, supposing that Charles would easily make his peace vpon the least motion made by Lewis. And to assure himselfe as well without as within the Realme, he sends William of Cluny (afterwards Bishop of Poitiers) to Edward King of England, although hee had alwaies supported the house of Lancaster, from whence he was issued by his mother, against that of Yorke. Hauing refreshed their troopes they all dislodge from Elstamps, and take the way to Saint Martin of Larcham, and Moret in Gallinois, and hauing an intent to passe riuer of Seine, the Earle employes many coopers to make pipes, hauing brought great store of stouffes for that purpose, whereon a bridge was made (for want of conuenient boates) through the fauour of the Cannon, which the Earle had planted in an Island in the midst of the riuer.

There ioynes with them John Duke of Calabria the onely sonne of Rene King of Sicily, the Prince of Orange, Thibault of Neuf chasteil Marshall of Bourgogne, and Montagu his brother, the Marquis of Rotelin, the Lords of Argueil and Thoulangeon, and with others, leading nine hundred men at armes, of the Duchy, and County of Bourgogne: Six score men at armes barded Italians commanded by Galeas and Campo-basso, four hundred Germane Crosse-bowes sent by the Count Palatine, and five hundred Swisles (the which were the first that came to our warres, a fatall and lamentable alliance for the Bourguignon, as we shall see in his place) of other footmen very few. All this great torrent of an hundred thousand men, enuiron Paris, they seize vpon Saint Maur, Pont Charenton, Conflans, Saint Denis, and other places thereabouts, they tyre the inhabitants with continuall skirmishes, euen at their gates: and shake their affections by practises and deuices. The Duke of Berry writes to the Clergy, to the Court of Parliament, to the Vniuersitie (which then was in great credit in Paris) and to the Bourgesies to euery one a part, shewing them that all these forces tend not but to the peoples ease and profit: and requires them to depute men of iudgement and learning, to vnderstand more at large the causes of this great assembly.

Ten Deputies heare their complaints, being led by William Chartier Bishop of Paris, they report it to the Council of the City, who answers: That the City shall bee free for the Princes to enter into at their pleasure, they and theirs abstaining from violence and paying their expences. Surely this would haue bene a conquest of the City of Paris: But the great Master of Nantouillet, the Marshall Touchim, and other Capitaines take view of their Forces, and by this means retaine the Parisians, who changing their mindes, are fully confirmed by the arrivall of John of Rohan, Lord of Montauban Admirall of France, with great troopes of men. O light and inconstant people! how safe is it to moue thy affections, and to make thee in an instant to applaud that party which

A which euen now thou didst abhorre. But let vs leaue them in this good humour, and see what remedy the King had for these gaboyles, attending the succours the Duke of Milan sent him.

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Lewis being (after the battell) retired from Corbeil to Paris, flatters the peoples humors, treats popularly with them, erects a priuy Councell of fixe Councellers of the Court, fixe Doctors of the Vniuersity, and fixe Bourgesies, to gouerne his affaires, according to their aduice and direction: he leaues 600 Lances in Paris, vnder the command of the bastard of Armaignac, Earle of Cominge, Master of Gilles, of Saint Simon, Bayliffe of Senlis, la Barde, Craon, Charles of Mares, and Charles of Melun his Lieutenant in the said towne. Then he goes into Normandy, to assemble all the Nobility and men of war he could: from whence he sent the Earle of Eu to haue the command of the war and of the City, followed with two hundred Archers well in order. The Earle being ariued, he sends the Lord of Rambure to the Leaguers, offering to bee a mediator for their contents vnto his Maiesty, but it was without effect.

The King hauing intelligence of the confederates trafficke with the Parisians, knowing that this people doth easily change their affections with the successe: and foreseeing that this baite of the Commonweale, would soone bewitch them, displeased also that the Bishop had without his knowledge treated of an accord, hee hastens his returne, accompanied with the Earles of Mayen and Pondichieure, and the forces of Normandy. And for the first fruits of loue to his subjects, hee confirmed all the priuiledges they enjoyed in his fathers life: hee abolished all new impositions, and retained none but the ancient and ordinary farmes of Merchandise that is sold by great: then did hee punish, either with banishment or death, such as had yielded to the reception of the heads of the League into the City. Hee doth sharply blame the Bishop, (at the insligation of the Cardinal of Alsie) to haue bene a dealer in his absence for his enemies, with an inconstant and ill-advised people: and hauing provided for the fury of the City, hee prepares to offend and defend. The Bourguignon likewise vseth all force, making great and daily skirmishes with the Parisians, sometimes chasing and sometimes chased. And hereupon comes new supplies to the Leaguers, the Dukes of Bourbon and Nemours, the Earle of Armaignac, and the Lord of Albrer (notwithstanding the former treaty) with about fixe thousand men.

Means to pacifie a people that want.

On the other side, the King received from Francis Sforze Duke of Milan, fixe hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, commanded by Galeas his eldest sonne, with this Councell of State: *That to diuide this company, he should yeeld to all conditions, and onely preserve his men.* An aduice which Lewis shal cunningly put in practice speedily. These Milanais were employed in Bourbonnois, vntill newes of the peace shall come. The Earle thus fortified, offers battell, but the King would not hazard any thing, desiring to disperse this mistie cloud without effusion of blood. And to annoy them of Conflans and Charenton, he sends foure thousand francke-archers, and about foure hundred pioneers, supported by the Nobility of Normandy, and some men at armes, who plant their clues vpon the riuers side, right against Conflans, at the English port, where they make a large and a long trench vnto the City, with a Bulwarke of wood and earth, whereon they plant many peeces of artillery, which at the first drues the duke of Calabria out of Charenton, with great losse of his men, and an extreame terror to the Earle of Charolois, who lodged at Conflans in a house belonging to his father. Two Cannon forth passed through his chamber being at dinner, and sue his Trumpeter, carrying a dish to his table. This amazement makes him goe downe with speed: he fortifies his lodging, pierceth the walles, and plants a cannon for a counter-battery.

A politician aduices.

But they must dislodge these francke-archers, and preuent the losse they receiued from the other side of the water. For the effecting of this, hee obtains a truce for two dayes, in which time he made a bridge of boats. The bridge almost finished, the francke-archers leaue their trenches, carry away their artillery, and retire to the suburbs into the Carthusians cloister. A part of the Bourguignons army passeth the water: they enter the suburbs of Saint Marceau, and skirmish, but with little losse on either side. Hereupon our Capitaines resolute to assaile the enemy in diuers parts. A page sent by night giues them intelligence. At the breake of day some horsemen charge home to the artillery and kill a Canoniere. This was in shew the effect of the pages aduertisement. All armes they

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make barricadoes and stand firme. The Artillery thunders: the Kings answers them. They send forth two hundred horse to discover: who see a troope issuing forth the City to learne the cause of this tumult, and moreover a great number of Lances in conceit and to they report that all are come forth in battell, but the day breaking they prove but shillies. So this alarme turnes to laughter. In the meane time they treat of peace, but the demands of the confederates were excessive. The Duke of Berry demands Normandy for his portion.

An encounter
between
the command.

The Earle of Charolois, the towne of Somme lately redeemed. For the better effecting hereof, the two Commanders conclude of an interuiew. The King mounts vp the water right against the Bourguignons army, accompanied with the Lords of Montauban Admiral, Nantouillet, du Lau, and few others. The Earles of Charolois and S. Pol, come to receive him. He then offers to giue his brother the Prouinces of Bry & Champaigne, excepting Meaux, Melun, and Montereau, the which he would not accept. Hee grants the Charolois his desire, dit auowes Moruilliers in certaine speeches, wherein he faith, he had exceeded his charge: & for the Earles sake he promiset to giue the office of Constable to the Earle of S. Pol. These entercoures of either side proue fatall for the King: for besides that the Princes do daily tuborne more of his men then he can draw from them: behold, Pontoise is deliuered to the Britton by *Sorbier*, commanding there vnder the Marshall *Teaching*; and to finish to notable treachery, hee marcheth towards Meulan to the same intent: but the inhabitants being aduertised, he returns without effect. There growes another vpror in Paris: the souldiers want insolently, that the citizens goods are at their free disposition: that they will take the keyes of their houses from them, and for a need will pull the chaines out of their streets. Hereupon the Prouost of Merchants calls the Capitaines of the quarters, and chiefe of the City to Councell: hee commands them in the night to make fires at all the corners of the streets, and to watch in armes, euery man in his quarter. The people stand vpon their guard, ready to attempt some great action. The King himselfe goes the round, he finds the gate of the Bastile towards the fields open, and the artillery cloyed. But oh the prouidence of God! misfortune is good for something. These vnexpected fires disappoint the conspirators practices, they hinder the approach & entry of the enemy, and saue the City. Moreover, Gisors is beleagred, and the garrison abandons it. But that which imports more, the widow of the great Senechal of Br. (gouerned by the bishop of Bayeux) then resident at Rouen, with some other Partisans, giues *John* Duke of Bourbon entry into the Castle, and so into the City. The City desiring long to haue a Duke remaining in the Country, contents to this change, and sweares to the said Duke, for the Duke of Berry. In a manner, all the Townes and Castles of the Prouince follow the example of their capitall City.

The peace of
Conflans, and
the condition.

O strange chance! The Bourguignons army was now reduced to extreame necessity of victuals and money, so as all the Noblemen dreamed only of a retreat. And yet (an admirable thing) the price of victuals was not risen in the City. So many stormes caused *Lewis* to demand a second interuiew, before that the yielding vp of Rouen should bee known to the Earle. He grants the Duchy of Normandy to his brother: restores the towne vpon Somme to the Earle: to the Britton his County of Montfort, with promise to de-fay his charges: he giues the office of Constable to the Earle of S. Pol: he promiset vnto *John* Duke of Calabria, men and money to recouer his Realme of Naples; to pay what had bene promised for the marriage of his sister to the Duke of Bourbon, with the execution of other clauses contained in the contract: to restore vnto all others their goods, offices, and dignities, which they had enioyed vnder his father *Charles*. He grants vnto the Princes, that not any one should bee bound to come in person at his summons, but should discharge their homage and duties, in sending such forces as they were bound to furnish at need. To conclude, all the publike good is turned to priuate interest. The Earle of Charolois accepts these conditions so willingly, as discoursing with the King, the vehement desire he had to see the execution of this treaty, carries him into the trench of the bulwarke of Francke-archers, by the which they entered the City. They Bourguignons hauing lost him, cry out that he was stayed. The chiefe assemblie together, they tremble, they condemne their Earle of rashnesse, alleging the inconuenience happened to his grandfather at Montereau, in the presence of *Charles* the seuench, and they begin to talke of their safety: but as they walked into the field on horsebacke, behold they discover about

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A about fifty of the Kings horse, conducting the Earle to his quarter. So euery one reuiued his spirits, and ioyfully commend the Kings loyalty.

Two dayes after the treaty of peace was read, and sworn on either side, at Bois de Vincennes; *Charles* the Kings brother did homage for the Duchie of Normandy: the Earle of Charolois for the Townes and land in Picardy; and likewise the rest that had hostages to doe. The Earle of Saint Paul took his oath for the office of Constable: the rest for the most part receiue their goods and houses. So the Duke of Normandy was conducted to Rouen by the Duke of Britany. The Earle of Charolois took his way to Amiens, and receiued homage of the inhabitants, as also of other places that were restored vnto him by the peace. Then he entered into the Country of Liege, which had rebelled of late daies against his father, vpon the first brute of the ouerthrow of the Earle his sonne at Montchery, without attending the truth. Hee pacified the Country, and returned into Brabant. This was called the peace of Conflans, which was but counterfeit, the 28 of October 1465; the which the Bourguignon had not so easily yielded vnto, he had receiued sooner that refreshing of men and money, which *Philip* sent him by the Lord of Sauerze.

It was an act of great import, for *Lewis* to disperse these Princes so cunningly: hee did well fore-see that the Charolois being far from them, and busied in his owne Countries, would hardly returne in the winter season. Moreover, he knew well the meanes (as he was an excellent plotter of factions) how to diuide the Dukes of Normandy and Britany. And in truth they were scarce arriued in their new Duchie, but all the Noblemen, Gentlemen and Capitaines, expected some preferment from *Charles* duke of Normandy, so greatly aduanced by this peace; and moreover, the Duke of Britany, who had bene farthest engaged in the charge, was little amended by the treaty: they all by a generall discontent shew a notable subiect of distrust of their new Duke: so as there is spread abroad a still rumor, That the Brittons would cary *Charles* into Britany. Vpon this brute, the Dukes seruants and the inhabitants troope together, they bunne by heapes to Saint Katharines Mount (where *Charles* remained yet, attending the preparatiues of his entry) they leade him into the City, without any other assistance, but the Clergie in their ornaments. The Duke of Britany, fearing the mutiny of this people, retires vnto his Country: and in his way hee takes some Townes in Normandy, wherein hee leaue diuers garisons.

Lewis sees vpon
his brother.

Lewis embraceth this occasion; and vpon this diuision marcheth against his brother, treats with the Duke of Britany at Argenton, to winne him from the alliance of the Duke of Normandy: hee takes from him (by the Duke of Bourbon newly reconciled) Eureux, Vernon, Louiers, Pont de Larche, and other places: and by *Charles* of Melun, Gyfors, Gournay, Chailly: and consequently all base Normandy. Caen held with some other places, being in the hands of *Lefant*, a trusty seruant to both the Dukes. *Charles* abandoned by all men, and set vpon by so mighty an army, resolues to retire into Flanders, and seeks to the Earle of Charolois, whom this diuision did much grieue: for he desired about all things to see a Duke in Normandy, the which should greatly weaken the King. But the time was vnseasonable, being buified against the Liegeois. Yet for a prooff of his good happe, he labours to put some troopes (gathered vp in Picardy) into Depee: but *Lewis* prevents him, and compounds with the Gouernor. Hereupon the two Dukes reconcile themselves, considering (but too late) that as their disention had already ruined the one, so might it easily ouerthrow the other: according to the saying, That by concord small things increase, but by discord great are ouerthrowne. In truth it is a hard matter for great men to entertaine friendship long: and for the State it is necessary to haue one oueraigne head ouer all, who by his iudgment, wiledome, and credit, may retaine the subiects in obedience.

The Dukes of
Normandy and
Britany are re-
conciled.

So the Duke of Normandy begs helpe of the Britton, being poore, overcome, and abandoned now in his aduersity, of all them that during his prosperity had grounded the anchor of their hope vpon his fortunes, and had newly made their peace with the King. The Duke of Britany receiues him, and in his fauour sends an Ambassage to the King: giuing him to vnderstand, that for the honour of his blood, and respect of his Maiestie, hee had receiued him; seeing him a fugitiue, and vnprovided of necessary meanes to entertaine his estate. Thereupon *Lewis* makes answer, that he could not dismember

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Normandy, the goodliest flower of his Diadem, from the Crowne of France, whose demesnes are inalienable. The Duke replies: That to give a portion to his brother, grounded in part of the successefull right, was an alienation of long time received in Price, seeing that many held it euen then by the same title. But they commonly say, it is in vaine to preach to them that care not to doe well. Lewis could not yeld to the pretence ment of his brother: and the Brittons Ambassadors returned with no other answer, but a bare confession, that it was reasonable to giue him some portion, and that he would consider of the quantity thereof.

Roman returns to Lewis

Thus Roman (wanting their Duke some few daies) yelds the King obedience with small adoe: who suddenly causeth many to be executed of his brother *Charles* his faction. The Lord of Esternay, taken by *Charles* of Melun, great Master, in a Friars weed, accompanied with an *Augustine*, was beheaded: yet some write that both were drowned in the river of Vre. The King offended with the entertainment which the Duke of Britany had giuen to his brother, and aduertised that *John* Duke of Calabris was dead beyond the mountaines, he calls home the troopes he had giuen him, to haue the greater forces to faile the Britton, for receiuing of his enemies, and practising intelligences within his Realme. And euen then the D. of Alençon promised to giue the duke passage through his Country, if he would enter into Normandy. Moreover, so many Ambassadors from the King to the Duke and Earle of Charolois, and from them to the King; from the Earle to the dukes, & from them to the Earle, were but to discover their humors, and vnder color of faith, to withdraw mens affections. So the duke of Britany, not able to perswade the King to realon, enters into Normandy, takes Caen, Bayeux, and Auranches: he burns Meruille and some other places, whilst that the King assembles the forces of Aniou, Poit Clou, and Normandy: and the Earle of Charolois resolves to succour his confederates, hauing suppress them of Liege and Gant. And for that our *Lewis* had been so confusedly incombred amidst the compassions of those people, let vs leaue France, to learn briefly the cause, the proceeding, and the end of these warres.

The Liegeois, hereditary and capital enemies to the house of Bourgongne, (seeing all tend to open warre betwixt the King and the Earle of Charolois) seeke the kings friendship & alliance, and they obtaine it, upon condition to enter presently into the countries of Hainault and Namur, belonging to the Duke of Bourgongne, with all acts of hostility: the King promising vnder his seale, to succour them with two hundred men at armes, (euery one hauing three horses at the least) and not to treat any accord or peace with the Duke without their content, and to comprehend them in it: putt vp with this fauour and imagined succours, they send a Herald to *Philip* being at Bruxels, with letters, desiring the Earle his sonne with fire and sword, and thereon demand an answer.

The Duke hauing read these letters, deliuered them vnto the Herald, willing him to carry them to his sonne. So he returns to Liege, but hee is presently sent backe with other letters, desiring the Duke himselfe and all his allies. And suddenly they breake into the dukes Country, they spoile, raiue, burne, and omit no outrage that one enemy may doe to another. *Philip* assembles the forces of his Country, and sends for the dukes of Cleues and Gueldres, the Earles of Nassau and Horne, the Marquis of Rothelin, and others that were neighbours to Liege. But this multitude finding the King to faile them of his promise, and that they were not able to resist so great forces, they thrust themselves vp within the walles of Liege. Then at the first and false newes of the ouerthrow of the Earle of Charolois at Montcheric, (as the passions of a disordered mind doe easily make man to beleue what hee wisheth) they take a subiect of new folly. Those of Dinan especially (a people of Liege, proud and arrogant to haue at sundry times endured seuenteen sieges of Emperours and Kings, yet neuer conquered) make a picture very like to the Earle of Charolois, and attired with his Armes, they carry it in troope neere to Bouvines in the Country of Namur: they set vp a high gybbet in the sight of the Citizens, and there they hang this Image, crying with open throat; See there the sonne of your Duke, that false traitor the Earle of Charolois, whom the French King hath, or will cause to be hanged, as you see here. Hee termed himselfe the sonne of your Duke, hee lyed: he was a villaine bastard, changed in his infancy with the sonne of the Lord of Hainberghe, our Bishop. Did hee thinke to ruine the Noble house of France? From these and such like insolent speeches, they come to deeds, armed against the subiects of *Philip*, with fire and sword,

A horrible outrage committed by them of Dinan.

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A the instruments of their horrible outrages. This was not all, the father must receiue the like disgrace by his picture, the which they carried to the dung-hill before Bouvines, and setting it vpon a peece of wood; See here (say they) the fat of the great Toads your Duke. Those of Bouvines exhort these mad men to performe the duties of good subiects to the Duke, before that matters grew more bitter. But the bearer of this good and wholesome counsell, returned without his head: they send an innocent child, with the like Letters, hoping his tender age would moue some respect, and mollifie these cruell and vnnatural minds, but in despite of the Duke and of their neighbours, they killed him most barbarously, and tare him in peeces.

B Insolent people! which haue not yet learned, That there is no vice wherof God doth more often shew his iudgements, then vpon pride. The great wealth thou hast gathered during thy long felicity, hath it so furiously transported thee beyond the boilds of obedience: and to what end is thy great wealth, but to draw thee headlong to thy ruine? *Philip* takes his reuenge by the defeat of foure thousand Liegeois, fortified within Montencat, a village five leagues from Liege. The Earle of Nassau did this exploit, but the Duke would be present in person with the Earle his sonne, at the taking and vtter desolation of Dinand. He besiegeth it with aboute twenty thousand horse, beside foot, which were in great numbers, takes it, and destroyes it, and draggeth eight hundred prisoners chained together, to be drowned in the Meuze before Bouvines: an expiation for the tyrannicall indignities they had endured by the Dinandois. Those of Liege did for this time escape the like fortune, but it was deferred. And behold another cause of indignation, which they procure to themselves. *Lewis* Bishop of Liege by resignation, and admitted to the dignity by the intercession and fauour of Duke *Philip* to the Pope, begins to preferre the most confident and trusty seruants of the said *Philip*, to all offices and dignities within the towne. The people are grieved therat, they mutiny and expell the Bishop. This reuolt against their spiritual and temporall Lord, procures the Popes Excommunication against them. *Philip* after the destruction of Dinand turnes head against them: but terrified with so sharpe a punishment, they fly to the Earle of Charolois, who is a means for their peace and pardon, paying five hundred thousand Florins of the Rhin in six yeares, and three hundred hostages for a securitie of their deeds and promises, specified by the Bishop. Thus this people restored to fauour with their Prince, and reconciled to their Bishop, were abolished of the Excommunication by *Omniphilus* a Romane Citizen and Bishop of Troyes.

Whilst that *Philip* budbues the Liegeois, *Lewis* employes his whole study to ruine the house of Britany, and to consume a truce with the English, who threatened France with a new descent during our diuisions, and hee practise the Bourguignon by all means. And to presse him to renounce his brother *Charles* and the Duke of Britany, hee takes the Liegeois into his protection against their Duke, in case hee shall hereafter wrong them: the which he doth signifie vnto him by the Constable of Saint Paul, and the Cardinal *Balue*, offering notwithstanding to renounce their alliance, if hee will likewise abandon his brother and the Briton. This brauado proceeds to effects. He sends them 400 Lances of his Odnances, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lords of Salezart, Conyhem and Vignolles, with 6000 Archers. The Earle of Saint Paul, (but without the Kings authority) led them some troopes speedily leaued vpon the frontiers of Picardy. The first act of his Tragedy, which in the end shall make him leaue his head at the Greue in Paris But it was now time for *Philip* to leaue the troubles of this world, to enioy an assured and euermlasting rest in heauen.

This inconstant and mutinous people, supposing by the decease of their Lord, to be at libertie, they breake out, go to field, recouer all the townes, chase away the garions placed by the deceased Duke: spoile and sacke the places they take by force, without any care of their ingaged hostages, who were all ready to bee sacrificed by *Charles* the new Duke of Bourgongne, to requite the madde intolencies of their Countrymen, yet hee referres the reuenge for a more famous memory. Hee parts from Louvain in armes, and well accompanied, and goes to besiege Santroin. The Liegeois (to raise the siege) issue forth with thirty thousand men, some five hundred horse, and great store of Artillery. The Duke turnes head againe, chargeth them, and ouercomes them, hee kills about nine thousand: the approaching night faues the rest. Presently after this

The Liegeois rebell againe.

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charge, the Duke (pust vp with this good successe) speakes bigge, hee writes vnto the Countable like a Rodmont, answerable to the speeches hee had with him at Louvain: *That hee beseeched the King for his sake to attempt nothing vpon the State of Britany, aduertising him of the memorable battell which hee had wonne.* After the which Saintren yeelds vpon conditions, and the tenth man is chosen out at the Dukes pleasure, and then beheded. Tongres was no better intreated: and these miserable wretches thus tithed, were for the most part of those hostages, which hee had freely sent home, vpon condition to imploy themselves to pacifie the seditious humours of their fellow Citizens.

In the end, as he turned all his forces against Liege, premeditating with himselfe of a lamentable and bloody reuenge, behold three hundred of their best Citizens come forth in their shurts, bare-headed and bare-legged, bringing the Keyes to the Duke. He enters the City by a great breach of twenty fadome, beaten downe in the wall, disarms the inhabitants, take from them their artillery which remained, razeth all the Towers & town-walles, and chargeth them with heauier imposts then euer his father had done. A worke of heauen which quencheth the fire of sedition, which began to flame at Gand: a stirring people, and second to the Liegeois in inconstancy: of whom it is commonly said: That they loue the sonne of their Prince, but not the Prince himselfe. So the Gantois bring vnto him on foot as farre as Bruxelles, the seventy and two banners of the occupatours, which hee had granted them at his entry, with all the priuiledges and letters they had simulatiously wrested from him.

Charles sent the said Banners to *Bologne la grasse*, to accompany those which his Father had in like sort taken from them: he disannulled their priuiledge of the law, whereby the people had right of fixe and twenty Sheriffes of the towne, to chooseth eury year two and twenty, & the Prince but foure: hee condemned them in thirty thousand Florins to himselfe, and fixe thousand to his officers and followers: All other townes compounded for money, and then he made his entry armed into Gand. Thither came Ambassadors to him from Lewis, labouring to draw him to consent to the warres which he pretended to make in Britany: the which notable to obtaine the Winter was spent in sending one to another: and Summer being come, Lewis enters the said Duchy, with an army of 5000 men: and at his first arrival hee takes Chantilly, and Ancenis, and after some other military exploits, hee forceth both his brother and the Duke of Britany, to accept such conditions as he would preferre vnto them: That they should renounce all alliances, and especially that of the Duke of Bourgogne: That his brother Charles, lately Duke of Normandy, should haue twelue thousand Franckes a year rent, for his portion, issuing out of some lands which should cary the title of a Dukedome or County, and threescore thousand Francks for his pension; but there is much difference betwene promise and performance.

In the meane time Charles of Bourgogne, at the instance of his allies, was already aduanced to Peronne. Then had Pope *Innocent* the second sent a Legate into France, for there E nunciation of the Pragmaticke Sanction, made by Lewis at his comming to the Crowne. The Patents are read in the Chasteler without contradiction. *Balue* comes to the Palace the first of October, to haue them in like sort published: But Master *John* of St. Romain, the Kings Proctor generall, opposeth himselfe directly against the execution thereof, notwithstanding the iniurious threats of the said Cardinall: *Replying* (saith the Originall) *that he had rather lose both his office, and all his wealth, then to doe a thing against his conscience, to the hurt of the Realme, and preiudice of the Kings dignity.* In the end, the Rector of the Vniuersity, (for then they maintayned by faithfull obedience their ancient authority) and the Deputies thereof, goe to the Legate: they appeale from him, and the effect of the said Letters to the holy Councell, the like they doe in all other places where need required. They protest the like at the Chasteler, and depart not before their opposition be registred.

Hereupon the King sends the said Legate and Cardinall with *John Ladrieche* Treasurer of France, to the Duke of Bourgogne, to signifie vnto him the accord made with his brother and the Duke of Britany, and to treat of a peace with the said Duke of Bourgogne, but alwayes tending to diuide him from them: and (for a baite) he promisseth to giue him sixscore thousand Crownes of gold, the one halfe to be paid before hee disdoleth

The Kings
Proctor generall
opposeth
himselfe stout-
ly against the
Popes proceed-
ings.

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A geth, for the charges of his leauie: and hoping to win him wholly to his will, he concludes of an interview at Peronne, by the meanes of the said *Balue*; and to this effect, the Duke writes him a letter with his owne hand, as a warrant to goe and come. And in the meane time, that Charles (busied at home) should no wayes hinder Lewis in the Warre hee pretended to make in Britany, (for he fill gaped after the conquest of that Province) he had sent againe vnderhand, to sollicite the Liegeois to a new sedition, wherunto they were too prompt for their owne good: they arme, and by stealth surpriseth Tongres, and cary their Bishop with many Chanoins (whom they hated to the death) prisoners to Liege. Yet some-what respecting the Legates presence, they were content to pull out the hearts of five or fixe of them, in sight of the Bishop, when an outrageous violence, hewing one of them into many peeces, the which with a brutish drifion they cast one at another like vnto Tennis Balls.

These two Princes liued in continuall distrust, and feared one another: for the safety of their persons at this meeting, they fortifie themselves with great forces. Lewis to free the Duke of all ialousie, comes ill accompanied, but he is followed by *John* Duke of Bourbon his brother in law, the Cardinall brother to the said Duke, the Constable of Saint *Paul*, the Cardinall *Balue*, (a man which dealt much in matters of warre and state) by *Tanneguy* of Chastel, newly receiued into fauour, and many other Commanders of troopes. Charles had sent for the army of Bourgogne, where there were many Noblemen, in former times ill intreated by the King: as *Anthony Chasteaufort*, Lord of Lau, who had escaped from *Villon*, a strong place in Auvergne, where Lewis kept him prisoner, vnder the guard of Charles of Melun, who (sauius his own head) imbrued three scaffolds with blood, with that of Charles of Loches: of *Remouet*, son to the wife of Charles at Tours: and of the Kings Proctor of *Villon* in Meux: *Poncet de Ruiniere*, of *Vrfe* (afterwards Master of the Kings Horse) three Princes of the house of Sauoy, that is to say, the Lord of Bresse, the Bishop of Geneva, and the Earle of Rhosmond, brethren, followed by many Gentlemen, Sauoyards and Bourguignons. The King seeing all these within the Towne, and the Army lodged thereabout, finds that he wrought politickely: but cunning is preuented by cunning. So the prouidence of God blinds man in his owne malice, and shadowes his eyes, to confound him in his fraudulent designs. And to increase his folly, he requires the Castle of Charles to lodge in: for that the greatest part of those that were last come, were ill affected vnto him. What then? an enemy that had a desire to crosse the policies of his aduersarie, would he refuse him this Cage, that sought to intangle himselfe in his owne snare? yet he perswades him to feare nothing. Let Princes learne not to commit themselves rashly to such assemblies, the very baits of deccits, collusions and periuities.

The newes of this second mutiny at Liege being reported vnto the Duke, he suddenly causeth the gates both of the towne and Castle to be shut, but vnder a cold pretext, That one had lost a male full of Jewels and money. Lewis seeing him selfe coopt vp, and many arches at the gate, being lodged moreouer right against a great Tower, whereas the Earle of Vermandois had once caused Charles the Simple his Predecessor to die, blame him not if hee feared. So (as an ancient said) *Malice drinks the greatest part of her owne poison.* They could not treat of a more important matter, then the life of a King of France and of his Estate. Charles doth first impart this busines to some of his Chamberlains & Groomes of his Chamber (amongst others to the Lord of *Argenton*, to whom the King since gaue this commendation, to haue beene a great helpe in this pacification of Peronne) who then tempered this spleen all they could. He holds a Councell the most part of the second day, and almost the whole night, hauiug all the desire in the world to doe the King a shrewd turne; who in the meane time practiseth with all vehemency such as hee thought might serue him: he vsurnished his most trusty seruants, being farre from his Treasure, commands to make distribution of fiftene thousand Crownes: (but the Commissary retayned a part as the King was since aduertised) he giues to some, and promisseth to others. In the end their resolution in counsell was, that Lewis his excuse should be admitted, who did sweare that hauiug sent his Ambassadors to Liege, euen when as the Duke did arme against France, the great affection he had to a final and vniuersall peace had so transported him, as he had forgotten to conteraund them. Thus promise being made to Charles of Bourgogne, to accompany him at his request in the voyage of Liege, and to

* Philip de Com-
mines.

giue

1468

A peace be-
twixt Lewis &
Charles of
Bourgongne.

giue vnto *Charles* his brother the Earledomes of Brie and Champaigne, (which the *Bourguignons* did, that at need they might haue more meanes to succour one another) the treaty of Arras and peace of Charenton were reconfirmed & tworne vpon the crosse which *Charlemagne* was wont to cary, called the crosse of victory.

Truly experience hath alwayes testified, that Princes do more wisely pacifie their quarrels by graue and trusty seruants, then by enteruiewes, from the which such as had neuer any matter to determine together, doe seldome part without mutuall dislikes and grakings, the seeds of diuisions and warre, the which may be long smothered, but at length it breakes forth. From henceforth you shall see vpon this stage a wretched people, panting yet with the *Bastanadoes* lately receiued: but not yet vanquished, and so much the more lamentable, for that their owne calamities cannot make them wise: who hauing obstinately rebelled against their naturall Prince, and indirectly embraced our *Kings* quarrell, run headlong to their totall ruine. *Lewis* was engaged by promise, and summoned to perform it. Besides the Scots of his guard, he sends for three hundred men at armes, hauing with him *John Duke of Bourbon*, *Charles Cardinall of Bourbon* and Archbishop of *Lions*, and the Earle of *Beauieu* brothers to the Bishop of *Liege*. A City then of the bignesse of *Rouen*, exceeding well peopled, seated in a mountaine Countrey, fertile, watered with the river of *Meuze*, which runs through it, but by the last yeares checke almost all dismantled, and greatly weakened of men, so as the Marshall of *Bourgongne* and the Lord of *Himbercourt* leading the forward and gaping after spoile, thought to haue entred at their first approach, before the King or Duke were arriued. *John* of *Villette* chiefe Tribune of these *Liegeois*, and other Captaines seeing them lodge confusedly in their suburbs, they issue resolutely by the old breaches, and kill about eight hundred men, amongst the which were a hundred men at armes: they hurt many, and amongst them the Prince of *Orange*. All the people were ready to make a general sally, but some Canonadoes shot into the great street kill very many, and keepe in the rest. The Tribune was hurt, and dyed within two dayes after, with some other Captaines; whilest the two Commanders arriued, and take their lodgings. *Lewis* in a great farme quarter of a league from *Liege*, *Charles* in the midst of the suburbs, where the King went to lodge the next day right against the *Bourguignons* lodging. This approach breeds a great distrust, for *Charles* doubted that *Lewis* would call himselfe into the towne, or practise something against him, or at the least haue himselfe before the taking of the towne. To be the better satisfied, the Duke doth lodge three hundred of his men at armes in a barn betwixt his lodging and the Kings, the better to obserue the Kings actions.

In the meane time, they make a good shew, and keepe good guard vntill the nine and twentieth of October, the eight day of the siege, when as *Charles* and all his men distance themselves to be the more ready the next day for the assault. During these eight dayes, the besieged gaue liberty to their Bishop to goe to the Duke and to offer him their towne and goods, desiring nothing but their liues. But he had resolved a sharpe reuenge, and retaynes the Bishop, not accepting of any offer. The Apostolike Legat had no more money credit with *Charles*, neither was he so happy as he expected. The *Liegeois* abandoned by the French despairing of all foraine succors, and of all grace with their Prince, behold a troope of fixe hundred choise men of the Country of *Franchemont* issue forth, hauing for their guides the Masters of those two lodgings where the Generals did lie. The party was well made, and the enterprise great, but ill managed; yet did they hardly faile in it. The guides should lead them secretly through the hollow rocks nere vnto these Princes lodgings, to surprisethem, kill them, or at the least to cary them away before their guards were in armes.

Moreover all the people should issue forth by the gate and breaches right againe the great street of the suburbs, and with their cries and fighting discomfort the whole army, or at the least tell their liues deare, in dying gloriously. They issue forth, kill the tentinels, and staid at a pavilion in the which the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Lord of *Craon* were lodged, where they slew some seruants with their halberds and partuizans; they charge euén vnto the grange, whereas the three hundred men at armes were in their first sleepe, the whole multitude runs thither, and troubles both Nations, some crying, *God saue the King*, others *God saue the Duke of Bourgongne*, and some also cry *God saue the King*, and kill, to slow diuision betwixt the French and *Bourguignons*.

They

1468

The King and
Duke in great
danger of their
liues.The miserable
estate of two
Princes.

A They awake, they arme and defend the entry. In the meane time succors come from all parts to the Duke, being charged by a squadron led by the master of the lodging. Hee is slaine first, and then all his company. The King is no lesse amazed, his host compasseth his house with another band. The Scots are about him, they first kill the host, and then his followers: and so the multitude recouers the towne in disorder. The two Princes talke together, and thanke God for their deliuey, and with a iust cause: for if these desperate men had neither lingred at the Pavillion nor at the grange, without doubt they had had these two Princes at their discretion: but God would reuerse ours, for the restoring of his estate and increase of his reuennues with the *Bourguignons* losse: and the *Bourguignons* for a more tragicke end. Our *Lewis* grew likewise pale with distrust, foreseeing that if *Charles* did not take this towne by assault, the burthen might light on him, and that he was in danger to be stayed and taken, being the weaker in the army. There was no hope of retyring, hee was too well guarded: and his honour likewise engaged. Thus he stood vpon thornes, yet resolute in shew, and alwayes an absolute dissembler. A miserable estate of these two Princes, who of late had so solemnly sworne a peace, and yet one could not assure himselfe of anothers faith. This desperate sally had amazed the dukes men, who (euén by the King aduice) would willingly haue delayed the assault for some dayes; but *Charles*, constant in his designe, lets *Lewis* vnderstand, that if hee pleased hee might retire to *Namur* vntill the towne were taken: as for himselfe hee would not part without seeing the issue the next morning: but *Lewis* was engaged in honour, who would neuer giue the least suspicion of cowardise; he therefore answers, that hee would take his part of the sport. The day being come, euery one repairs to his Colours, the signe is giuen by a field-piece and two shot of a serpentine, to the end the van-guard lodged on the other side should charge at the same instant. The trumpets and drummes sound, the companies approach, and all march resolutely. But when they thought to ioyne, they found no resistance. Their chiefe Commanders were dead, the most apparent being slipped out of the towne, some one way, some another; the common people were gone to dinner, thinking that Sunday would be a day of rest. So the whole army consisting of about forty thousand men, enter at both ends, and find the cloth layed: they kill at the first entrance two hundred, men, women, children, and religious indifferently: they ransack women, maids, and nunnas, spoile the City, and holy places: the Duke saues the great Church of *Saint Lambert* with great difficulty, the people flye quer the *Meuze*, and so saue themselves in the forest of *Ardennes*, and other places thereabouts; where (to increase their misery) some gentlemen (who till then had held their party) strip them, kill a number, and take the best prisoners, and by this treachery and pitious stratagem make their peace with the Duke. Many dyed of hunger, cold and sleepe: the History makes mention of a gentleman that had the palseie in one legge, and a page that had two fingers of one hand faine off. The wine was frozen in the pipes, and for three dayes was cut out with hatchets. And for the last act of this tragedy, the Duke doth place foure thousand men about the quarters of the City, to beate downe the bridge vpon the *Meuze*; to defend the houses of the Clergy about the great Church, & to preserve the other Churches from ruine, whilest that others set fire on the towne, quierthrow the walles and fill vp the ditches. Wrath and victory doe neuer forget any kinde of reuenge. And if wee shall beleeue some writers, there perished about fifty thousand soules in this warre, most cruell beyond all bounds of humanity. Learne O yee nations to containe your selues in the obedience of your Soueraignes; and not to imbarke your selues rashly in Princes quarrels: who retire themselves easily out of the mire where they leaue you engaged.

Liege is a presidēt vnto you wherein you may obtaine the iust iudgement of God; vpon a cruell rebellious people, enemy to all souerainty, both spirituall & temporall, of long time subiect to dayly rebellions, vntill their generall ruine. As we haue brought our *Lewis* to *Liege*, so let vs returne him into France. *Charles* exceeding proud with the happy successe of his designes, suffers himselfe to be sought vnto by mediators from the King for his departure: and afterwards hee himselfe moues him, as desiring to goe and cause their accord to be proclaimed and inregistred in his Court of Parliament at *Paris* (which else were of no moment) and the next yeere to meet in *Bourgongne*, and to feast one another mutually for a moneths space. *Charles* (hauing drawne a promise from the King, to confirme all he had sworne at *Peronne* yecds, but not without grudging, and hauing

The Liegeois
distrust
Lazard all.

1469

*Lewis preceeds
to the court
to see a
Lewise to depart
without
violence.*

having accompanied him halfe a league, he cansteth him to be conducted to the frontiers, by the Lord of Cordes, and Murs great Bayliffe of Hainault. A pitious spectacle to see a Soueraigne reduced to that extremity, as to humble himselfe before this vaillie but we must haue patience for seuen yeares, and then shall we see a strange alteration of fortune: and yet seuen yeares after, another Catastrophe no lesse tragical in this House of Bourgongne: and the vniuing of the said Duchy to the Crowne of France.

After the Kings departure, *Charles* enters the Countrey of Franchemont: he kills, spoiles, burns and makes all de-late: then (glutted with reuenge) hee retires into *Brabant*, *Lewis* taking his leaue of the Duke, demaunded of him capitiouly, in case his brother, who was in Britany) would not accept the portion he had giuen him; how hee would aduise him to gouerne himselfe: and the Duke answered, that if he were content, it should please him whatsoever they did. This speech was cunningly contriued by the King: for having introuled the said vnion in the Court of Parliament, and proclaimed it throughout all the streetes of Paris: he offers *Charles*, Guieu, for Bre and Champagne, his brothers neigbour hood with the Bourguignon being suspected vnto him. *Charles* refusethe it, fearing to displease the Duke of Bourgongne, who by Ambassages and admonition exhorts him to change: for if happily the King should annoy him, he might daily haue succour from Bourgongne.

Charles was in all things gouerned by another, namely by *Odet de Rye* Lord of *Lignu* and afterward Earle of Cominges: *Lewis* subornes him, and by his means winnes *Charles* to accept of Guienne, as more pientfull and rich with mutual assurances to liue together, then they depart, *Lewis* into Touraine, and *Charles* into Guienne. The Duke of Bourgongne grieved with this exchange, employes the Cardinall *Ealue*, a turbulent and peticious member in a State, and taking pleasure (as they say commonly) to put his finger betwixt the barke and the tree. An unkind man. The trust which *Lewis* reposed in this man, was the means to procure him a Cardinall hat: and to that end the King had sent an ambassage to *Pau* the 2. & lends *Fume* also, one of his most trusty seruants, to persuade the Pope to desist from the refusal he had made thereof, being aduertised of many things that did displease him: at whose vrgent perswasion a Cardinall hat was granted him: yet behold he write to the Duke of Guienne in fauour of the Bourguignon: *This change tended but to deueine, dividing him by this meanes from his friends and confederates: and by other messengers he aduertised the Bourguignon; that the peace concluded betwixt the two brethren was a bait to surpris him: the which the King desired only until his brother had custised his new Duchy, and set an order in his house. Let him therefore arme and begin first.* These letters are surpris'd, with other instructions, so as the Cardinall is arrested, and caried prisoner to Montbazon, where he shall continue eleuen yeares. *Lewis* hauing this practised this peace with the Bourguignon, comprehended the Britton therein, and giuen the Duchie of Guienne to his brother *Charles* for his portion; he had now more so mighty enemies, against whom he should employ his forces: yet would he not dismis his troopes, for there came a new task in hand. To keepe them in practice, he sends part of them vnder the command of the Admirall *bastard* of Bourbon (for *Montauban* was dead) and the Earle of Dammartin, into Armagnac. He had bene one of the War of the common-wealth, and this enterprise did alwayes sticke in *Lewis* his stomack. At the first without any effusion of blood, they make him peaceable possessor of the Country, whercof they inuest his brother, and to the yeare ended.

But let vs see the first fruits of the following yeare. To be reuenged of *Charles* of Bourgongne, hee must haue some apparant colour. *Lewis* doth vnder-hand practise the townes lying vpon the riuier of Somme: animates the Nobilitie of the Countrey to complain in the Parliament at Paris of the difficulty they had to receiue iustice, and thereupon to require the Kings assistance and fauour. Moreover, they charged the Bourguignon, that he extended his limits farther then he ought by the treaty, and vnrped the Kings rights and prerogatiues, forcing some Lords, whose lands did hold directly of the King, to doe him homage and seruice against all men. Vpon colour of these complaints, *Lewis* assembles the Estates at Tours, in the month of March and April, (the which was all hee euer held: but he calls none but his most confident seruants, who would not contradict him in any thing. For a conclusion of the assembly, the Duke is summoned to appeare

at the Parliament of Paris. Hee retains the Officer many dayes at Gant, and in the end sends him backe.

All as things were prepared to ruine the Duke of Bourgongne; behold there falls out another matter of some moment in this action. The Earle of Warwicke (hauing aboute all others supported the house of Yorke against that of Lancaster (had besides his patrimony enriched himselfe aboue fourescore thousand Crowns a yeare reuennue in rewards and Offices by *Edward* King of England, Competitor to *Henry* the 6, whom he kept prisoner at London; which *Henry* had for long ruled out of France. This his great credit draws ieaousie after it, too ordinary in soueraigne Princes, especially to the whom they haue raised vp; whereby the Earle falls into some disgrace with *Edward*. The Duke of Bourgongne, whom the Earles great authority, and the secret intelligences he had with our *Lewis* was wonderfull odious and suspect (for the Duke had married the sister of *Edward*, to fortifie himselfe against *Lewis*, not for any affection he bare to the house of Yorke, being by his mother issued out of the house of Lancaster) feeds this hatred of *Edward* against *Warwicke*, who finding himselfe forced to yeeld to the stronger, resolves to retire into France: hee leads with him *Marguerit* the wife of *Henry*, daughter to *Rene* King of Sicilia: the Prince of Wales sonne of the said *Henry* and *Marguerit*: the Duke of Clarence son in law to *Warwicke*, and brother to *Edward*, the Earle of Oxford; with their wiues and children, and many followers. In his passage he takes many ships from the Bourguignons subjects, and fels the booty in Normandy. And for a requiitall *Charles* catcheth all the French Merchants to be taken that were come to the faire at Antwerp: he complains to the Court of Parliament at Paris, of the reception the King had made of the Earle of Warwicke, threatening to fetch him wheresoeuer. But the arrogancy of his words was but the leuaine of his spleene.

Lewis giues such entertainment to the Earle of Warwicke, as hee might hope for: hee armes all the ships he can find in his fauour: by meanes wherof hee returns happily into England, and gathers together an infinite number of men, which ioyne with him from all parts: he marcheth against *Edward*, & forceth him to flee to his brother in law into Holland, being accompanied only with seuen or eight hundred men for his guard, without money, and without apparell, other then for Warre. Hee draws *Henry* out of prison, where he himselfe had formerly lodged him, and installs him againe in his royall State.

Edward (notwithstanding the presence of the Dukes of Gloucester and Somerset, sent by *Henry*) obtaines of the Duke of Bourgongne (but vnderhand and secretly, for that he would by no meanes incense *Henry*, whom all England now obeyed) succours of men, ships and money: he returns into the Realme, is receiued into London: he meets with the Earle of Warwicke, fights with him, and kills him, with his brother the Marquis *Montagu*, and cuts all his army in pieces. The Duke of Clarence (before the battell goest to his brother *Edward*, and with his owne hand slue (as some write) *Henry*, whom *Edward* had taken in London and led to this battell: this was in the yeare 1471 on Easter day. This happy victory is seconded by another no lesse famous. The Prince of Wales sonne to *Henry*, follows after, with whom the Dukes of Gloucester and Somerset had already ioyne, leading forty thousand men of his faction. *Edward* pufte vp with the prosperous successe of his first victory, marcheth towards him, fights with him, kills him, takes the Earle of Somerset prisoner, and the next day cuts off his head.

To conclude, *Warwicke* had conquered the Realme of England in eleuen dayes: and *Edward* recovered it in twenty, and remained in peaceable possession vnto his death. If the Earle had patiently attended the great forces which Prince *Edward* brought vnto him, who will not thinke but he had remained a conqueror? But he feared Somerset, whose father and brother he had put to death, and he must feele the effects of the diuine Oracle: *He that hath shed mans blood, his blood shall be shed, for God hath made man after his owne image; and all those that haue taken the sword, shall perish by the sword.* In the meane time whilst these stirres are in England, *Charles* the eight of that name, afterwards King of France, was borne vnto *Lewis* at the Castle of Amboise, a happy prop of an old decayed father. This birth catcheth the Princes hereafter to be left respected, and the King more feared and honoured, who hauing now an heyre to whom he might leaue the Crowne, bandies all his wits, to weaken his enemies, as well for his owne priuate regard, as to leaue the Realme whole and peaceable to his successor. *Charles* of Guienne liued, for shew, in good

Edward King of England and the Earle of Warwicke diuided.

Warwicke fled into France.

The Earle of Warwicke slaine and his whole arme, defeated by *Edward*.

The Prince of Wales sonne to *Henry*, defeated by *Edward*.

Gen. 9. 6. Mat. 23. 32. Apoc. 13. 10. Charles the 8, borne.

A bad disposition of the Cardinall, whom the Pope had committed to prison.

Cardinall *Balue* committed to prison.

1471

S. Quirin taken from the Duke of Bourgogne, Amiens yields to the King.

good amity with the King. *Francis* of Britany (although he had preferred the order of the Golden fleece before that of Saint *Antibel*, the which *Lewis* had offered vnto him) being loath to lose assured friends, to accept the friendship of a Prince in whom he could repose no confidence, yet he contained himself. *Charles* of Bourgogne were the garter openly, and molested the Kings subjects and friends. Moreover, *Lewis* had just cause to be grieved for the brauadoe done him at Peronne. The Nobility thrust him on, namely the Constable of Saint Paul, fore-seeing that the continuance of peace would be a great hindrance to his great Offices and pensions. He had a pay without checke for four hundred lances, of forty thousand frankes yearly, besides the fee for his Office, and allowance for many places where he commanded. Men shew most easily in a troubled warre. He offers the King to take Saint Quirin by meanes of the credit he had in the Country: most of his liuing lying thereabouts, and vaunts to haue great intelligence in the Low Countries.

The Duke of Guienne offers both his person and his meanes, with five hundred men at armes for this war, but it was the least of his desires, for he was corrupted with the insinuations of that age, in the which all great men sought to maintaine themselves with the ruine one of another. The Duke of Bourgogne takes the alarme, put the greatest forces he can to field, entertained with halfe their pay. *Lewis* suffers him to run on foure or five moneths, entreyning him with sundry Ambassages, to free him from all feare, so as troubled with that great charge in a season when as money was scant, he dislooses this army, and leaving his frontier townes vnfortified, retires into Holland. In the meane time *Arthur* of Longueval takes Saint Quirin, the Constable enters it with two hundred Lances, and takes an oath for the King. They practise Amiens: the Kings army comes before it, one part holds for the King, another for the Duke, who might haue assured it, if he had had sufficient forces ready to enter, but foure or five hundred horse (with the which he came posting) would not suffer him to hazard his person.

The Kings friends discouraging this king, double their courages and let in the Kings army. *Abbeville* meanes to follow, when as the Lord of Cordes enters for the Duke and assures the place. The Duke vnprovided of men, and doubting the intelligences which the Constable bragged of, retires with teare and speed to Arras, to hasten a leauy both of men and money. Thither (notwithstanding the promise which *Charles* of Guienne had made to the King) comes a secret messenger vnto him, with this aduice written and signed by the said *Charles*: *Labour to content your subjects, and then take no care, for you shall find friends*; but these were but iests. This letter makes the Duke breathe: he sends to the Constable, to let him vnderstand, that this warre was without desire or summons, intreating him, not to deale against him according to the rigor of his present forces. The proiect of the dukes of Guienne and Britany with the Constable, was to imbarke these two great Princes in mutual warre, in a season of aduantage for *Lewis*: that the Bourguignons necessity (being abandoned of his allies) might force him to giue his ouely daughter to the said Duke of Guienne: the which he had often promised, but without performance: whom (as *Ovid* *nemaw* did his *Hippodamia*) he promised to marry, and gaue her not to any.

So this Constable who tooke delight to nourish these Princes in feare and mutuall distrust, answers the Bourguignon: that the King had a strong and flourishing army, and great intelligences in his Counties, that he knew no better expedient to auoid this storm, then to accomplish that to the Duke of Guienne, which he had so often reiterated: which done, the Dukes of Guienne and Britany would declare themselves for him, and would succour him with their forces. But what shall the Constable get to entertaine these princes in distrust and ialousie one of another, either of them being too cunning to discover his policies? Within short time both of them (having ioyntly conspired against him) shall let his head to sale, and in the end plant it vpon a scaffold for a spectacle. The Briton writes to him in the like and more rigorous termes: suffering the Lord of Lescot to lead a hundred men at armes, Britains to the King. This proceeding caused *Charles* of Bourgogne to conceiue a great hatred in his heart against them all: but misfortune is good for something. It made them the more affected to the Kings seruice during this war, so as at this time the Bourguignons estate was in great danger, whereas by the said marriage he had wonderfully weakened the King: but man purpoiseth and God disposeth.

It is commonly said, this halfe the world knowes not how the other liues: and the ordinary

1471

Lewis having put fourteene hundred men at armes, and foure thousand franke archers into Amiens, commanded by the Constable, and other chiefe Officers of the Crowne, assembles the body of his army at Beauvais, hauing with him the Duke of Guienne his brother, *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria, the eldest sonne of *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, the onely heire of the house of Anjou, and a great number of Nobility; whereby he recouers Roye, Montdidier, Abbeville and all the Country of Ponthieu. *Charles* passeth the river of Somme, takes Piquigny, plants himselfe betwixt Bapaumes and Amiens, and keeps the field about six weeks, with a firme resolution in shew, to fight with the King if he presented himselfe.

But blockt vp within his campe, and seeing himselfe (ready through want) to be forced to yeeld at the Kings will and discretion; his Maiesties army in Bourgogne (commanded by the Dauphin of Auvergne, sonne to the Earle of Montpensier, in the which were the Earle of Cominges, the Lords of Combronde and Charente, *Master William Cousinot* and others) hauing likewise vanquished all the enemies forces, *Charles* by a letter of his owne hand, humbles himselfe to the King: he is grieved that he had so wronged him for anothers pleasure, not being duly informed of all things.

Vertue finds some respect euen in an enemy. *Lewis*, who vnder a simple bait to recover the townes vpon Somme, had not so hotly kindled this quarrell, without the great intelligences wherewith the Constable had abused him, especially in the townes of Antwerpe, Bruges and Brussels: he grants a truce for one year. This was the fourth day of May. An vnreasonable truce for the Constable (who then serued his master, without dissembling) and other horse-leeches, whom neither troubles, oppression of the people, nor the redi-oues of affaires did any thing touch, but as pleasing to the Duke as the peace of Constans. So the King returns into Touraine, *Charles* out of France into Guienne, the Duke of Bourgogne into Hainault, where he assembles his Estates, and shewes the losse he had received, for that his men at armes were not so soone ready as the Kings, and giues order to be no more surprisid vnwares. Thus the Estate is pacified, but the Duke of Guienne was no sooner returned home, but there springs vp new feedes of diuision. Here comes the Earle of Armaignac into Louot, and restores him to full possession of the Lands which the King had confiscated. *Lewis* moued with this reconciliation, sends forces and takes the lands into his owne hand, disappoints the Earle, whom he knew to be a stirring and a factious man: and euen then he resolved to dispossesse his brother of the Duchie of Guienne, as he had done of that of Normandy.

The Duke fore-seeing this storme sends often to the Bourguignon, and vnder colour to seeke his daughter, labours to bind him more firmly vnto him by that alliance. The Bourguignon hauing his heart puffed vp with as great conceits, as his person was susceptible of, but exceeding the capacity of his sense, he fed him with hope: yet had he no such meaning, but preferred her, as a most pretious iewel to be courted by many, and to serue him at need, according to diuers occurrences, both of their persons and meanes. Neither would he haue so great a sonne in Law, as the onely brother of a King of France, whom he might not rule at his pleasure, neither could he digest the words and proceedings of the Duke of Britany and the Constable. The Constable would haue the Duke of Guien beholding vnto him for this marriage, the Briton repined he should haue the honour. The King comes to crosse it, and with reason, for this alliance had wonderfully fortified his brother, who (being ioyned with the Duke of Britany) had greatly crossed the Kings Estate and his Children. Moreover, the King of England did much disswade the effecting thereof: (said he to the Duke of Bourgogne) if the King of France comes to die without children, his brother succeeds to the Crowne, and this marriage vnto it so many Prouinces and Seigneuries, the estate of England were neere her ruine.

But to what end serue these affectionate and contrary pursuits? Alasse! some one thinks himselfe found, that carries death in his bosome. But hee that reigneth in beauen Palaces, laughs them to scorn: within few monethes our *Charles* of Guienne, leauing the world, shall leaue his loues. So it is, that their vehement soliciting, extorted some verball promise, confirmed by a letter, but he had great Coriuals, who all pretended to haue the

Kk

best

1471

Corrals for
the heire of
Bourgongne.A French
cavalry
against
the
Dukes
of
Bourgongne,
Guienne and
Britanie a-
gainst Lewis.Lewis
receives
a peace with
the Bour-
gongne.Notable de-
ceit and trea-
chery.

best part in the pie: *Nicholas* Marquis of Pont, sonne to *Iohn* Duke of Calabria and *Lorraine*, *Philip* Duke of Sauoy, *Ataximilian* Duke of Austria, sonne to the Emperour *Frederick*. All these marched in equall rancke: but in the end *Ataximilian* shall be conquerour, yet not during the life of *Charles* of Bourgongne. This marriage gaue a goodly colour to these Mediators, but vnder the shadow thereof they treated of other matters. They must auoid this storme, ready to oppresse the Duke of Guienne. Behold therefore the publike Ambassadors, and priuate messengers of these three Dukes, are sentre, specifically one to another. The Lord of *Vré* and *Pencet de la Riniere*, Agents for *Charles* of Guienne. The Abbot of *Begard*, since Archbishop of *Lion*, is an instrument for the Britton to the Bourguignon, they take the King to haue praistised and suborned, what by friendship, and what by force, the Duke of Guiens seruants: to haue already defaced a place belonging to the Lord of *Estillac*, with many other things: shewing that the King would soone dispossesse his brother of Guienne, if he were not speedily preuented: that to this effect hee was armed, and ready to enter into *Xaintonge*. The Duke of Bourgongne sends often to the King touching these affaires. The King excuseth himselfe, and accuseth his brother, as hauing treated with the Earles of *Armaignac* and *Foix*, to his prejudice, seeking to enlarge his limits without his priuity, and to enter into factions with his enemies: yet he promitteth to suffer him to enjoy his portion peaceably.

This promise carries no credit, and workes lesse effect: the Dukes of Guienne and Britany insult: they presse the Bourguignon: yet that it may be done without the assistance of the English, the ancient and generall enemy of this Realme, seeing that all their common designs, tended but to the good and ease of the publike: that his assistance, with the great intelligence he had with many gouernours and Capitaines of places, did fortifie them sufficiently: pleasant people, to seeke with a bloody wound once againe to abide the common people with this baite of publike good, and to couer their priuate passions with so pleasant a shew. *Charles* of Bourgongne casts the stone and hides his arme, and the better to disguise his proceeding, he solicites the English secretly, to invade France on the one side, whilst that he seemed blind, and not to see it. But it was in vaine, the English had more willingly assisted the King, if this marriage had not allyed the 2 houses of France and Bourgongne. In the end, behold a number of Princes in great perplexity, the which is more lamentable, for that they shall trouble their heads with so many preiudiciall and extraungant conceptions: this confusion shall in few yeares oppresse them in a manner all, and *Lewis* (particularly fauoured of heauen) shall seruiue them and cary away their spoiles. They preuaile thus much, the Duke of Bourgongne (possessed with an earnest desire to recouer *Amiens*, *Saint Quintin*, and other townes vpon *Somme*) armes twelve hundred lances, three archers to a Lance, well armed, well mounted, and good leaders. What doth our *Lewis*? In truth hee had too good a iudgement to want foresight, and hee that thought to surpris shall bee surprisid. To diuert the Bourguignons leauy, he had often sent the Lord of *Craon*, and the Chancellor of *Oriole*, who (being very truist seruants) in the end conclude an absolute peace. The King yeelds to the Duke the foresaid townes, he abandons vnto him the Earles of *Neuers* and *S. Paul* Constable: the one (hauing serued the King loyally at *Peron*) had purchased the Dukes indignation, the other (hauing nourished hatred and distrust betwixt these two princes for his owne profit) had so vireconciledly echanged them from him, as they bandy ioynly to his destruction, & giues him all their lands, to incorporate them to his owne, if he could. The duke in exchange, forsakes the dukes of Guien & Britany, & their Seigneuries, to dispose at his pleasure, promising not to deale at all in the warres which *Lewis* pretended against them. A foule and dishonest traffike, made to the prejudice of so great personages.

The Duke signes and sweares this fraudulent and counterfeit peace. A blow able to amaze the Dukes of Guienne and Britany at the first hearing, to see themselves thus abandoned of their chiefe support. But he repaires it with an after-blow, and by letters of credit written with his owne hand, giues them aduice to continue their course: that his intent was only to recouer his townes vpon *Somme*: which done, he will beseech the King by speciall Ambassadors to desist from making warre against them, and vpon his refusal he will succour them with body and goods: that as the King at his pleasure had broken the treaties of *Conflans* and *Peronne*, so might hee infringe his promise and oath. As for the Earles of *Neuers*, and *S. Paul* the Constable, although he had a iust occasion to hate them,

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The Duke of
Guienne dies.Note the mis-
doings of
Princes.The Marquis
of Pont dies,
and the Earle
of Eln.

A them, yet would he remit their iniuries, and suffer them to inioy their owne, and beseech the King to doe the like by the Dukes of Guienne and Britany, suffering euery one to lue in peace and safety, vnder the Articles respectiely accorded: if not, he would succour his allies.

Craon and *Oriole* had likewise sworne for the King, leading *Simon* of *Quinchin* (a gentleman bred vp in the Dukes house) to receiue the oath of his Maiestie. But from a new subject springs a new proiect. Behold newes are brought, that the Duke of Guienne is sicke, and without hope of recovery. Vpon this aduice, the king delays the oath, finds euasions, attending the course of his disease, and in the meane time doth speedily seize vpon many places of *Xaintonge*: he doth presse *Rochel*, the which (vpon these accidents of reconciliation and sicknesse) inclines to a composition: hee withdraws many of his brothers chiefe seruants, and resolues to signe this peace, as the sundry euent of his affaires should lead him: and in the meane space hee protracts time with the Bourguignon, during the which *Charles* Duke of Guienne dies at *Bordeaux*, the twelfth day of May, by the which *Lewis* recouers the Duchy without blowes; and moreover, retaines *Amiens*, and *Saint Quintins*.

O subtil wits! both deceiuers, but not of like industry: so our *Lewis* shall more easily auoid the snare. But oh death in generall! which by the dissolution of the body & soule, doth dissolve great designs: The Britains were ready to enter, building vpon great intelligences and practices within the realme: the which without doubt had much troubled the Scare. But oh vnreasonable death in particular! how sily shalt thou serue to shadow the sly and hatefull (yet well coloured) reproches of enemies, and the murmuring of the most respectiue? A death too much neglected, but by some affectionate seruants to the deceased duke, who discover, that *Jourdain Faure*, born at *Die* in *Daulphine*, great Almoner to the Duke, and Abbot of *S. Iohn d'Angely*, assisted by *Henry de la Roche*, one of the said Dukes Kirchin, had hastened his death by so violent a poison, as with a strange and lamentable contraction of his sinewes, his haire fell off, and teeth fell out before his death. The Lord of *Leicaut* retired himselfe into Britany, leading prisoners with him these cursed murderers, where the Abbot was found one morning stark dead in his Chamber with a Thunderclap. Haueing his face swollen, his body and visage black as a cole, & his tongue hanging halfe a foot out of his month. God doing that Iustice in the twinkling of an eye, which men delayed. Let vs confesse the truth, and without passion: the veritie of the Historie doth presse vs vnto it: that *Charles* had bin an ill brother, and ought more honour and obedience to him, to whom that great Author of Nature had giuen the right of eldership aboue him, yet should hee haue bin regarded as a sonne of France, and from his infancy receiue a portion fit for the entertainment of his estate and house. Kings haue alwayes power to controule the insolencies of their neereft allied, when they forget their duties.

But howeuer, let vs obserue the order of diuine Iustice, who easily raiseth vp homebred scourges: but in the end he doth cast the rod in the fire. *Lewis* must bee measured with the same proportion he had measured his father, and *Charles* must suffer for the rashnesse of his rebellions.

This death being little lamented, makes such to speake, as had but too diligently obserued *Lewis* his speech, hearing one day of the death of the King of Castiles brother: He is but too happy (saith he) to haue lost his brother: but hatred and ill will ground their passions euen vpon needesse points.

At the same instant, *Nicholas* Marquis of Pont, heire of the house of *Aniou* (one of the above named) made sure to *Anne*, the eldest daughter of *Lewis*, abused with the great (yet vaine) promises of the duke of Bourgongne, renounced this so worthy an alliance of his souereigne Lord, for a frustratory hope, which the vassall gaue him to marry his daughter: but hee was ignorant that death the ycare following would punish this rashnesse, and preuent him from the inioying, either of *Anne* or *Mary*. A season likewise famous by the death of *Charles* Earle of *Eux*, a wise and vertuous Prince, whose faithfull seruice to France deserues this testimony: that being sonne to *Philip* of Bourgongne, Earle of *Neuers* & *Rethel*, and grand child to *Philip* the Hardy, a son of France, and duke of Bourgongne, and by consequence neere kinsman to *Charles*, yet in all these combustions, he had faithfully serued the King, and preferred the flower de *Luce* before the Red-crosse. Let vs likewise obserue the death of *Willm Chartier* bishop of *Paris*, who (after his

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The Earle of
Ponthieu.

conference with the league before Paris, in the Kings absence) was always in such disgrace with him, as after his death, *Lewis* caused his Epitaph to be changed, making mention of the bad services he had done him, during the warre of the common-weale, suborning the Inhabitants in favour of the Bourguignon. The death of the Duke of Guienne had wonderfully afflicted *Charles* of Bourgoigne, and to encrease it, he had intelligence, that the Britains would not arme, considering that he was dead for whom they should rise. In the meane time the chance was cast: he had beene at great charge, and to tume head without reticution, were a shame: but that which made him mad, Amiens & Saint Quentin were lost: he must hazard all. And first he writes to many townes: he chargeth the King to haue consented to his brothers death, and labours to draw them into armes, declaring himselfe their Protector, but no man stirres: so the small effort of his letters, sets him on fire, and in his choller he marcheth to Nefle in Vermandois: hee spoyle, burnes and makes all desolate, belicgeth the towne, batters it, and takes it: kils the greatest part of five hundred Archers, commanded by one called *Little Picard*, takes some, and amongst others the Captaine, and cuts off some of their hands. Many souldiers and townsmen flying into the Church, are barbarously slaine at the altars, embracing the Images: the Duke enters himselfe into the Church on horse-backe, and seeing these carcases; Behold (sayes he) this is goodly, I haue good Butchers: then he burnes and razeth the place.

Fiftene hundred franke-archers being in Roye, vnder the command of *Peter Aubert*, Bailife of Melun and Noion, are amazed, and at the Dukes first approach, abandon the Towne, and yeld it vnto him; *Loifes* of Balagni, Mouy, Rubempre, and others of the arrierban, with about two hundred lances compound, leauing horse and armes, euery man at armes onely hath a horse. The Duke puts a garison therein, and likewise into Montdidier. Thus he hotly pursues his conquests: but Beauvais cooled this heat. He did be leager it (being vnprouided of men warre:) the Inhabitants were commanded then by the afore said *Bilagny*, and some few men at armes, so as they were not able to saue the towne, without the present assistance of him, who doth looke and restrain the reins of his Justice at his pleasure. At their first approach, the Lord of Cordes leading the vanguard, plants two Canons against the gate, makes a great hole, but for want of munition the battery ceaseth, they come to blowes, the one to enter, the other to defend the entry, and they presse the Duke to set forward: the defendants ready to be forced, set fire on the portall, which makes the assaillants to retire. The Duke arriues, and suffers the fire to take his course, hoping in the end the towne would be his. And indeed if he had lodged a part of his army towards Paris, there had beene small hope of safety. But God had otherwise decreed, for in sight of the enemies troopes, he giues courage to the Earle of Dammartin, to the Marshals of *Isachim* and *Locheac*, to *William* of Vallieu, the Seneschals Lieutenant of Normandy, to the Lords of Crussill and Rubempre, to *Beine* and *Torey* brethren, to *Bert*, *Salcedard*, *Thenot* of Vignoles, and *Atteri* of Croy (all braue men & worthy of memory in his siege) to thrust themselves into the towne, with a good number of foot, and about two hundred lances: who at their first entry, giue their horses to the women (who take them, set them vp, and looke vnto them) and present themselves vpon the walls, encouraging the Beauuouins, and discouraging the Bourguignons. The Duke being enraged, makes all his Canons to approach, and thunder 15 dayes together: he makes a breach, and giues a sharpe assault, but well defended. Sixscore men are slaine, and 1000 being wounded, leaue the place, so as the Duke retires his companies appointed for the assault, and being frustrate of his conceited hope, prest by extreame famine, he raiseth the siege, and retires in good order, fearing a charge. But these valiant Captaines knew that the best course was to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. This was on Saint *Magdelins* day, the 26 of the siege. A small aide doth sometime great good. Beauvais wauered, and was ready to compound. But what courtseie might they expect of a passionate enemy, who breathed nothing but blood and fire? For the auoyding whereof, louing & kind dealings were of great moment, which this towne receiued of those two mighty neighborcities, Paris & Orleans, assisting the with pioneers, victuals, canon, powder, bowes, arrows, pikes, tooles, apparel, and other necessary refreshings, but especially from Orleans, with a hundred pipes of Wine, a meanes whereby the eternall prouidence preferred them from sicke, spoyle, and a generall desolation by fire, wherewith the Bourguignon threatened them, if force had preuailed. Beauvais freed, the Duke marcheth into Normandy, and presently

Beauuouins
ready to
surrender.

A presently takes Eu, Saint Valery by *Crotay*, *Rembures*, and (being the scourge of this desolate Realme) leaues in all places behind him the pitifull and cruell markes of his passage: he spoiles and burnes all the Country of Caux, Neufchâtel, of Nicourt (a good and a great towne of warre, but vnfurnished of men) Longueuille, le Fahy, euen vnto the gates of Rouen, being little annoyed or hindered by the Constable, who led four hundred Lances: whose winking serued as a Whetstone to sharpen the Kings displeasure and hatred against him, and the ieaousie of both these Commanders, hauing of purpose entertained this warre betwixt them, who cunningly smother a secret dislike, which cost the said Constable his life. Then Winter approaching, he retires into Picardy, he had no sooner turned his backe, but these brane Captaines in Beauvais, recover Eu, Saint Valery, Rembures, and so casting themselves into Noyon, they frustrate the dukes purpose, who meant to besiege it. The Bourguignons fire flames yet farther. A swarme of his partisans, led by the Earle of Rouilly, the Constables sonne, falls vpon the Country of Tonnerre, spoiles the Country, runnes as farre as loigny, and vnto Troies; burnes both Farnes and Villages, without resistance. For reuenge whereof, the Dauphin of Auvergne flies to Bourgoigne, drawing after him, where he passeth, a burning besome. Pitifull exploits of war, the witness of reuenging Spirits, and alwayes the people smartes for the error of great men. But behold other troubles, *Peter* of Bourbon, Lord of Beauieu, being at Lestore, as Lieutenant general for the King in Guienne, was surprised by the Earle of Armagnac, who was lately dispossessed of his lands: who by this meanes recouers the said towne. *Lewis* moued with this affront, causeth his army to march, and followeth himselfe in person: but the Cardinall of Arras commanding the troopes, receiues the towne by composition, makes the Earles appointment: and the better to confirme it, he breakes the Sacrament in two, takes the one halfe, and giues the Earle the other, either of them swearing this accord. Trusting therein, he abandons the Towne to the Cardinall, who brings in the army, and by some souldiers suborned, he caused the Earle to be murdered saying of his prayers, not in the Castle, but in a priuate house neere to Saint Geruais Church, and then sacked the towne.

The Constables
discom-
bling.Lestore sur-
prised.The Earle of
Armagnac
murdered by
the Cardinall
treachery.

Gods Iustice is slow, but in the end it payes home. This Earle had (vnder a false Bull of dispensation, purchased for money of *Ambrose* of Cambray, Referendary to Pope *Calixtus*) married his owne sister: and after by sundry rebellions, purchased the Kings displeasure, and made himselfe guilty of diuine and humane treason. But abhorring the Earles life, let vs likewise abhorre the Cardinals proceeding, selling (vnder the holy Communion) his blood to them that trusted in his oath. The King put many Gentlemen in prison at Loches, who had followed the said Lord of Beauieu, whom the Earle had sent home: but the chance fell vpon *John Deymer*, being quartered at Tours: who dying, charged the Lord of Saint Basil, a younger brother of *Albret*, with this treason, being nourished and bred vp in the house of Bourbon, for which crime he lost his head at Poictiers, the fourteenth of April 1473. And to increase *Lewis* his crosses, *Parpignan* (a towne in the County of Rossillon) is by treason deliuered vp to the King of Arragon, the ancient Lord, where he enters with his sonne, about the end of April. But the King had an army ready, the which hee sends thither, and belicgeth it: the French were yet masters of the Castle, by the faithfull valour of master *James* of Fou (issued from the house of Britany) hee recouers it, and giues the government to *Tanneguy* of Chastell. Thus the troubles raised by the Earle of Armagnac, and the King of Arragon, were like to fire of Straw.

Let vs obserue in the same course, the apprehending of the Duke of Alanfon, so shall we see the carriage of *Lewis*. He is accused to haue offered the sale of his Duchy, and other lands in Perche and Normandy to the Bourguignon: and then to follow his fortune, (a crime which shall put him in minde of his condemnation pronounced at Vendosme) hee was seized on by *Tristan* the Hermit, Prouost of the Kings house, (a speedy executioner of his Maiesties will) and brought before the King, who sends him to the Loure at Paris, where by a sentence giuen by the Chancellor of Oriole, the 17 of Iuly 1474, hee was condemned to lose his head, reseruing notwithstanding the Kings good pleasure, who in the end of the year 75, shall bind him vnto him the second time for his life.

The Duke of
Alanfon ap-
prehended and
condemned,
but pardoned.

Lewis hauing recouered Guienne, reduced Lestore, punished some, and pacified *Parpignan*,

1474

Where in Britany pacified.

The conditions of the articles.

piguan, he assembles all his forces vpon the Marches of Britany, to the number of 50000 men, ready to imploy them in that Country. But the Duke, by reason of the death of the Duke of Guienne, being frustrate of the intelligences he had in France, and too weak to auoid this storme that threatned him, sent vnto the King, (lodging at Pont de See,) *Philip* of Efflars, a Gentleman of his house, & *William* of Soupleinville, a follower of the Lord of Lefeur. His maiesty giues care to an accord. The duke of Britany being possessed of a wife & valiant a man as *Lefeur*, might much annoy him: For in Britany there was neither ingement nor vertue, but what proceeded from him (so saies the History.) Moreover, he had alwayes during these partialities shewed himselfe a Frenchman, and would neuer yeeld that any places of Normandy should be giuen to the English: he must therefore be dealt with. To this end the King commands *Soupleinville* to giue him the demaunds in writing, which his master made as well for the Duke as for himselfe. He doth it, and obtains them all: forty thousand Franks pension for the duke, the which was paid in 2 yeares. For his master, fixe thousand Franks pension, the moiety of Guienne, the two Seneschallships of Vannes and Bourdelois, the Captainship of one of the Castles of Bourdeaux, that of Blay, the two Castles of Bayonne, of Day and of Saint Seuer: foure and twenty thousand crownes in gold, payable in foureyeaes: the Kings order, and the Countie of Comminges: for *Soupleinville* fixe thousand Crownes, payable at like termes: twelue thousand Franks pension, the Mairalty of Bayonne, the Bailiwick of Montargis, and other small preferments in Guienne: for *Philip* of Efflars, foure thousand Crownes in reward, and twelue hundred Franks pension, the Bailiwick of Meaux, and to be Master of the waters and Forests of France: which things they should enjoy during the life of *Lewis*, who was alwayes well and faithfully serued by *Lefeur*.

Now the Briton is satisfied, and sequestred from the alliance of Bourgongne, against whom *Lewis* now turns head, but the season in the which the Duke of Bourgongne retired into Picardy, caused a truce for one yeare, ending the first of Aprill 1475. A truce which (while the Bourguignon shall giue our French leaue to breath) shall imbarke him in so many quarrels, as in the end, the most important shall swallow him vp. A truce likewise concluded to the Constables great prejudice: for both the King and the Duke hated him deadly, as the motive of these diuisions. He had lately seized on Saint Quintin, expelling the Lord of Curton, & a hundred men at armes, which he had in entertainment from the King. *Charles* had likewise many causes of dislike: he was the instrument to take *Amiens* and *S. Quintin* for the King, he sought to reduce him to that estate, as to force him to marry his daughter with the Duke of Guienne: but the chiefe ground was, that during the siege of *Amiens* by the Duke of Bourgongne, the Constable had made a road into Hainault, spoiled the Countrey, and burnt (among other exploits) the Castle of Seure belonging to *Isidore* of Launai, of whom the Duke made good account: for reuenge whereof he passed into Picardy and Normandy, as we haue seen. Moreover, he had mithey enemies both with the King and Duke, who all ioyntly conspired his destruction, and animated their masters with all their credits. So all this yeare of truce is spent chiefly in making merchandise of the Constables life. *Humbercourt* and *Ungonet* Chancellor of Bourgongne, had some priuate spleene, for in a conference held at Roie, where the Constable was employed for the King, they grew so bitter in words, as the Constable had giuen them the lye: to whom the Bourguignons modestly answered; That they did not impute this injury done vnto them, but to the King, vpon whose word they were assembled; and to their master, whose person they did represent, to whom they would make report.

In the end, at the instance of either part, a day is held at Bouuines: for the King there came the Lord of Curton Gouverneur of Limosin, and Master *Iohn Heberge* afterwards Bishop of Eux; and for the Duke, the two aboue-named. They pronounce the Constable an enemy, and guilty to both Princes, they promise and swear one to another, that the first that may apprehend him, shall put him to death within eight dayes, or deliuer him to his companion to doe his pleasure. That he should be proclaimed by Trumpet, an enemy to both parties, with all those that should serue and assist him, and confiscate all his goods, mouables and immouables. The King promiseth to giue *S. Quintin*, *Han* and *Bohain* to the Duke, with all the money that might be found within the Realme, appertaining to the Constable, and all his lands holding of the Duke, and at a certaine day

1474

The end of Lewis, King of Bourgongne, his last voyage to the King.

A day the King and the Duke should meet before *Han*, and there with their united forces besiege the Constable. But some will say, to what end serue all these voyages, and so many meetings? whereto for many plots to intrap the Constable? must the King (to be reuenged of his seruant) make an agreement with his capital enemy, who enen late had sought to take away his life by poyson, promising a Merchant named *thier* fifty thousand Crownes to effect it: who hauing imparted it to *Iohn Hardy* his seruant, sometimes in household with the Duke of Guienne, he suffered the said *Hardy* to lose his life, and to be quartered publicly at the Greue in Paris?

Lewis iudged of the future by the present, and with one stone gaue many blowes. Hee disarmed his enemy, or at the least gaue him means to transport his armes farther off, whither the great designs of his ambition did draw him, as wee shall see hereafter: and moreover, the King could hardly seize vpon the Constables person, without the dukes intelligence, for he was feared directly betwene both. Hee held *S. Quintin*, and had *Han* and *Bohain*, his owne places, very strong and neere, hee might put in men from whence and when he pleased. Hee had intertainment for foure hundred men at armes well paid, whereby he got much, in not keeping his companies full. Hee exacted a Crowne for euery pipe of Wine passing through his Country into the low Countries. Hee had five and forty thousand franks of ordinary entertainment from the Kings, very rich Siegnuries, and great intelligences both within the Realme and in the Dukes Countries. Hee was a man of action, and could both helpe and hurt much. To conclude, hee knew well that flying from the one, he should bee well accepted of the other. Moreover, the personage and the places he held, deserved a good peace, and either of the two Princes would gladly haue enioyed him absolutely, if hee had bene constant, and not dissimbling to either.

Yet for all this hee auoydes all danger. Hee is aduertised that his head is set to sale, wherupon he sends to both Princes, speaks big, and faith; that hee vnderstands all their practices, but especially to the King, That the Duke by this conuention sought onely to draw him to his party, and to put him in disgrace with his Maiesty, and this did *Lewis* apprehend most. In truth these two Princes laboured exceedingly, who should deceive his companion most. According vnto man, it is better to deceive, then be deceived. *Lewis* presently countermands his Ambassadors, giues them charge not to conclude any thing against the Constable, but to prolong the truce, so as the foure Ambassadors (who had already mutually giuen their seales, containing their resolution taken against the Constable) deliuer them vp, and returne without any conclusion. The King fearing lest this affront might force the Constable to make his peace with the Duke, and so deliuer vp to him *S. Quintin* and other Forts, that were in his power, prevents him, giuing him to vnderstand, that an enterview shall make his peace. They appoint a day and place, three leagues from Noyon towards la Ferte vpon a little river. The Constable came first, but as a confidence prickt with the feeling of his misdeeds, wants no distrust and feare, hee demands hostages. The King seemes to like well thereof. On the riuers side, they make a strong barre with grates very high: towards the Constable: there he presents himselfe, accompanied with three hundred Masters, hauing armes vnder a loose caskette. The King approacheth, accompanied with aboute fixe hundred men at armes, and amongst others *Chabannes* Earle of Dammartin, Lord Steward, and a mortall enemy to the Constable. Oh Lord *Stuard*! but for thy presence, with what colour could the Constable haue shadowed his excuses? At the first entrance hee kneeles downe, and beseecheth his Maiesty, not to hold it strange, if he appeare in armes, and thus followed, considering the quarrell he had with *Dammartin*. Then they treat together, the King grants him a generall abolition of all that was past, he leaues him the guard of *S. Quintin*, and continues him the pay of his men at armes, being before restrained of some quarters pay. The Constable promiseth to serue his Maiesty against all men, without exception, and so he opens the barre and passeth to the Kings side, who reconciles him with the Lord *Stuard*, and the next day suffers him to returne to Saint Quintin. A presumption of too hard digestion for so iudicious a Prince as *Lewis* was, to see his Officer present himselfe like a Prince that were his enemy, yea his equall in power. But all comes to one end, if wee will haue patience. The Court could not endure this manner of proceeding, and the murmuring which *Lewis* heares, makes him remember; that it is too great a presumption in a seruant to plant

Lewis reconciled to the Constable.

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plant a bar before his master, and to present himselfe vnto him accompanied with men at armes, all being his subiects and vnder his pay, and too base in him, to goe and receiue the submissiō of his Constable. A folly approaching neere to that of Peronne.

An act which shall much incense the Kings hatred against him, and breed a worme in the Constables conscience, the which shall gnaw him with continuall disquiet, doubting how to maintaine himselfe betwixt two such mighty enemies: but in the end he must fall: to reach vs, That neither our merits, nor any seruices we can doe to our Princes, should cause so great presumption, as to thinke they could not live without vs, or that wee haue means to prescribe them a law. For naturally they hate such as thinke they are beholding vnto them, and dispatch them at length that haue braued them. Good deeds are pleasing, whilst that hee which receiues them hath means to recompence them, but when they are so great, or we esteeme them so, as they are beyond all compasse of requitall, in stead of thanks wee receiue nothing but hatred and ill will. It is therefore better to bee beloued then feared.

Let vs now see what passed during the truce. *Lewis* hauing his mind free, and his body discharged of armes, hee resolves to provide for his heires. Doubtlesse the choice which he made of two Princes of his blood, did testifie, how much he did cherish his house, giuing them two precious pearles out of his Iewell house, *Anne* his eldest to *Peter* of Bourbon, a goodly Princeesse, and *Lant* the yongest to *Lewis* duke of Orleans, being yet very yong, and afterwards the 57 French King: whereunto he did not yeeld but to please the King, for she was foule and crooked. This season is likewise famous for a notable Ambassage from Arragon, touching the affaires of Roussillon. The King making the Ambassadors to iudge of the whole peece by a patterne, causeth them to see, the 20 of Aprill, a hundred and foure thousand men armed in battell, all in one livery, with red cassocks crossed with white, all Officers, Bourgeois and Inhabitants of Paris.

We haue said, this truce should proue an incomb to the Duke of Bourgongne, let vs examine the effects by the causes. At what time the King tooke Amiens from the Bourgignon, *Adolfe* that wicked and vnkind son of *Arnold* Duke of Guelldres (repining at his fathers long life)ooke him prisoner one night going to bed: and making him to march on foot without hofe, in a most cold season five Germane leagues, he thrust him in the bottomes of a tower, where as the Sun did neuer shine, but by a small grate, and there he held him 6 moneths. The Duke of Cleues, whose sister the prisoner had married, vndertakes his quarrell, and seeks by force to free his brother in law. But *Adolfe* hauing married the Duke of Bourbons sister, in the Bourguignons house finds great fauour. So the Duke of Bourgongne labors to reconcile them. The Emperor deales in it, but all without effect, vntill the Pope had interposed his authority, who commanded *Charles* of Bourgongne, vnder great penalty, to draw the old man by force out of prison, seeing his sonne would not enlarge him by intreaty. *Adolfe* on the one side, seeing so many Potentates busied in this action, and on the other fearing the Dukes forces, he releaseth *Arnold*, who in the dukes chamber, (notwithstanding the inequality betwixt the father and the sonne) offers his sonne the combat. *Charles* seeks to reconcile them, to the sonnes advantage, to whom he offers the title of Governour of Bourgongne, the Country of Guelldres with all the reuenues, onely Graue, a small towne, should remaine to the father, with three thousand Florins of rent, and so much pension, and the title of Duke. But oh impious and horrible answer! *I had rather* (sayes *Adolfe*, to those that deliuered this speech vnto him) *cast my father headlong into a ditch, and my selfe after him, then yeeld to this accord: he hath bene Duke these 44 yeares, it is now time that I were. I will willingly leaue him three thousand Florins a yeare, upon condition that hee neuer enter into the Duchy: with many other words unworthy of a Sonne. Charles* grieved at the obstinacy of *Adolfe*, leaues both father and sonne at Dourlans, and retires to Hedin. *Adolfe* to recouer the Country, disguiseth himselfe like a French-man, and passing a ferry neere vnto Namur, he is discovered by a Priest, who giues intelligence, whereupon this yong Duke is taken and carried prisoner to Namur, where he remained vntill the death of the Duke of Bourgongne, that the Ganto is deliuered him, hoping by force to make him marry with *Mary* the heire of Bourgongne; afterwards Dutcheffe of Austria, after the folly which they had made him commit before Tournay; a farall place, for the reuenge of the wrongs hee had done to his father. *Arnold* died during *Adolfe*s imprisonment, whose ingratitude had

Lewis marries
his two
daughters.

Adolfe an vn-
kind sonne.

Adolfe taken
prisoner.

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A lustily moued him to leaue the succession to the Duke of Bourgongne. So *Charles* building vpon this donation, goes with force to take possession of the Duchy. This new conquest bred new proiects, and euen then hee conceived such an imaginary power as, he the end hee sinke vnder the burthen. Hee neuer had to goodly an army, especially in hodie. The Earle of Campobasso, and *Gabot* a Neapolitan Gentleman, (the first a Greeke in disposition and most wicked, the second a very honest man,) commanded 1000 men at armes, Italians: hee had 3000 good English, and good numbers of his owne subiects, well mounted, well armed, and of long time trained vp in warre, with great store of artillery. Hee was at truce with our King, and to keepe him occupied, the English by his practice were ready to land in France. What then should hee suffer his men to lie idle without employment? Guelldres had incouraged him. The Emperor was no man of resolution, willing rather to endure some disgraces, then to be at charge, and without the aide of some Princes of Germany his power was small. These baits thrust him forwards, but the expiration of the truce might haue stayed him. Yet he obtains a prolongation of the King for sixe moneths, whereunto *Lewis* yeelds willingly. Foreseeing (as he had a more found iudgement then those which did disswade him) that this Prince sought his owne ruine: that hauing finished one enterprise, another would spring vp, and so quarrell grow vpon quarrell, which the Princes of Germany would well prevent, being alwaies united in matters which concerne the Emperor.

C So it chanced. And as in to great a proiect, he must needs wonderfully discontent the Nobility and Commonalties of Germany, so was it expedient for him, to tye some vnto him. He procures an enuie with the Emperor at Treues, and there treats of the marriage of *Mary* of Bourgongne his daughter with *Maximilian* Arch-duke of Austria, the Emperours sonne: which done, the Emperor should erect his lands and signeities in Gaule Belgie, to a royalty: hee should incorporate foure Bishopricks to this new Kingdom, whereof the royalty should appertaine vnto him, and not to the Emperor, and should create him vicar Generall of the Empire. *Fredericke* findes these demands so inciuill and vnfearonable, as hee leaues the Duke of Bourgongne at Treues, and parts without bidding him farewell. And now another occasion thrusts him on. He that had once passed the bounds of modesty, must needs grow exceeding impudent. Two contended for the Archbishopricke of Colongne, the one was brother to the Landgraue of Hesse, the other a kinsman to the Conte Palatine of Rhin, whom the aduerse faction had expelled. *Charles* was banded for the latter, and vndertakes to restore him by force, hoping to plant his ensignes in Germany, or at the least to haue some part for his charges.

He first comes to Nuz vpon the Rhin; four leagues from Colongne, supposing (that if hee took it) to fortifie it well, and then to plant another Fort about Colongne by the surprize of some towne of importance, thereby to force the towne to yeeld, and so to mount vp the Rhin to the County of Ferrete (the which hee had in payne of *Sigismund* Duke of Austria, brother to the Emperor) and so to command all that great and rich passage of the Rhin, euen vnto Holland, where it ends, thereby to deuoure Lorraine, and so without the Emperours ayde, to surpasse the title of King of Sicile and Ierusalem. But Nuz was not vnto his end. The Landgraue of Hesse had cast himselfe into it, with many of his kinsmen, and friends, to the number of eighteene hundred horse, with a sufficient number of foote, to keepe the place. The Citizens of Colongne, with their neighbors, arme sixteene thousand foote, and incampe vpon the Rhin, right against the Duke, to cut off his victuals that came out of Guelldres, and to stay the boats with their Cannon.

The Emperor, and Princes both spirituall and temporall do arme, and as the King had often solicited them, they send vnto him to make a triall of his intent. *Lewis* failes not to graunt what they demanded, promising twenty thousand men, when as the Imperiall army should be at Colongne. But he had woike at home. *Edward* King of England discontented, that *Lewis* had supported *Henry*, and the Earle of Warwick, against him; prepares (in the Bourguignons fauour) sixteene hundred masters, all Gentlemen well mounted, and the most part barded, which made a great number of horse, and 14000 Archers all on horse-backe, with a great number of foote. The Duke of Britany hauing already consented to rebellion, should receiue three thousand English, and ioyne his army with them as appeared by letters written by the hand of *Wylfe* sometimes master of the kings horse, and then

Charles begins
warre in Ger-
many.

He demands
change of some
of the Emper-
ours, who
leau s in
without bid-
ding him
farewell.

Charles before
Nuz.

The English
prepare for
France.

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Lewis seeks
for a peace of
the Duke of
Bourgonne
and is refused.Lewis procures
to be made many
enemies.The Duke of
Bourgonne
Lieutenant
executed by
the Swisses.Open warre
betweene the
Duke of Bour-
gonne and
the Swisses.

then servant to the Britton (the one letter to the King of England, the other to *Hastins* A great Chamberlaine of the said Realme) the which the King did buy of a Secretary of England, for threecore markes of silver.

In the meane time, the King treats of a peace with the duke of Bourgonne, to procure this forme, or at least to prolong the truce. The Duke excuseth himselfe vpon his word given to the English, who labours to draw the Duke from Nuz, exhorting him to accomplish the conventions, considering his great charge, and that the season fit for warre was almost spent. To this end, the Lord *Scales*, nephew to the Constable, makes two iourneys to *Charles*, who pretends by fruitfull orations, that his honour is much engaged in this siege, and that he could not rise without disgrace. *Lewis* to crosse him (being alwaies his craft-master in any action, either of war, or peace) procures him many and new enemies. It was no matter of difficulty to draw in *Rene* the sonne of the daughter of *Rene* King of Sicily, the heire of *Lorraine*, by reason of his grandmother, after the death of *John* Duke of Calabria and *Lorraine* his vncle, and of the Marquis *Nicolas* sonne to the said *John*. For the duke being dead, *Charles* of Bourgonne, desirous to wnite this Duchy to his Countie, had caused him to be taken prisoner: but he was deliuered in change for a yong German Prince, who was taken studying at Paris; and marching presently with his army, hee had easily deuoured that Prey, if the King following him, had not forced him to passe on. *Rene* therefore sends to desire him before *Nuz*, and fortified by some French troops, commanded by the Lord of Craon, he enters the Duchy of Luxembourg, spoiles the Countie, and razeth *Pierrefort*, a place of the said Duchy, and neere to *Nancy*. *Sigismund* of Austria, had in the year 1469, ingaged his Countie of Ferrette to the Duke of Bourgonne, with all the lands he enjoyed on either side the Rhin, for threecore and ten thousand Crownes. *Charles* had placed *Peter* of Hagenbac there for Governor, a wicked man, a violent extortioner, and insupportable both to the Nobility and people, who complained *Sigismund*, beseeching him to succour them against the outrages, and concussions of *Hagenbac*. *Sigismund* had been long in dislike with the Swisses, his neighbors; but by the kings means, they were all easily reconciled.

So they conclude a league, in the which the imperiall Cities ioyne, *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Colmar*, and *Slestadt*, and contribute to furnish the sum due by *Sigismund* to *Charles*, the which they consign into the hands of a banker at *Basil*: then the inhabitants of these ingaged lands, signify vnto the duke of Bourgonne, that they had freed themselves of the oath they had made vnto him. And holding themselves freed from the Bourgonns obedience, they reject his Lieutenant generals command. To suppress them, he assembles a great troop of Picards, Flemings, Henneuers and Lombards, & on Christmas day at night (a good worke on a good day) he seeks to bring them secretly into *Strasbourg*. The Citizens beate them backe, kill & take many, the rest fly to *Briancon* with *Hagenbac*. The *Briancons* arme, and are the stronger, they seize on the Governor, expell the soldiers, and then doe they speedily informe of his misdemeanours, giuing intelligence to all their allies, and demand iudges to iudge of the proceffe. They depute some from *Alsatia*, *Strasbourg*, *Basil*, *Savoy* of the blacke forest, *Fribourg*, *Berne*, *Soleure*, and other places, who condemn *Hagenbac* to dye, vpon foure principall crimes: for that hee had caused foure men of Honor to be beheaded at *Than*, without any forme of law: to haue made and displaced Officers at his pleasure contrary to his oath: to haue brought in foraine nations into places with all liberie: and for that he had rauished women, forced virgins, and committed incest with Nunnes. The Duke of Bourgonne aduertised of the death of *Hagenbac*, resolves to be reuenged of such as had bene actors. And hereupon *Henry* Earle of *Witttemberg* and *Montclaird*, is taken by the dukes men. Those of *Basil* aduertised herof, send a number of men with artillery to *Montclaird*, to stop the Bourgonns passage, who summon the Castle: the which refusing to yeeld, he sends fixe thousand horse, vnder the command of *Stephen Hagenbac*, to reuenge his brothers death, and to make warre vpon the Bishop of *Basil*, who (whilest that *Sigismund* assembles his confederates) spoils about thirty villages, kills, takes, caries away, and ransomes, men, women, children and cattle. Behold a strong party made against *Charles* of Bourgonne, by the Kings policy, whereby the Swisses entering into Bourgonne, take *Blamont*, besiege *Hericourt*, & fear the Bourgonns that come to succour it, and kill two thousand which done they retire.

The

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A The truce now expired: as the King had vnder hand stirred vp the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Germanes, and the Swisses against the Duke of Bourgonne, sufficiently busied before *Nuz*, he now by open force takes from him, spoiles, and burnes *Trouquoy*, *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Montreuil*, and *Corbye*: and then sends the bastard of Bourbon Admiral of France, General of his army, before *Arras*, and thereabouts, who spoiles and consumes with fire most of the places lying betwixt *Abbeville* and *Arras*. The inhabitants of *Arras* force their men of warre to goe to field, vnder the command of the Earle of *Rhomon*, the *Queenes* brother. But the Amirall hauing layd a strong ambush, sends forth about forty Lances to draw forth the townemen, who falling out as to an assured victory, are compassed in like partridges in a net, defeated, chased and slain to the number of fourtene or fifteene hundred, many are taken prisoners, and of the better sort, *Iames* of *Saint Pol*, the Constables brother, the Lords of *Contay*, *Carency*, and others. At that time the King did set the Prince of *Orange* at liberty, (being of the House and bearing the armes of *Chalon*) taken in warre, being set at thirty thousand Crownes ransom, the which the King did moderate to ten thousand: and caused it to be preciously payed to the Gentleman that held him, by means whereof he became the Kings Leige-man, and did him homage for the said Principality. So as the King gaue him power to intitle himselfe, *By the Grace of God Prince of Orange*, and to coyne money of gold and silver of as high a standard as that of *Dauphine*: to grant all graces, remissions pardons, but for heresie and treason.

This transaction, with the former prizes, did wonderfully discontent the Constable, jealous of the Kings good successe, & fearing likewise some check by to mighten an army, which the Admiral and the Earle of *Dammartin* had at his gate. For the auoyding whereof he giues the King a false intelligence, that the English were at sea, ready to land at *Calais*: hee persuades the King to provide for the places of *Normandy*, he promitteth faithfully to defend the marches of *Picardy*, and in his masters absence to reduce *Abbeville* and *Peronne* to his obedience.

But let vs heare another notable part of treachery: hee seeks by all means to weaken the King, and yet would hee not fortifie the Bourguignon: but that the English should crosse both their Estates, that his owne might stand firme in the midst of their confusions. With this designe, he procures the Duke of Bourgonne, to send *Philip Bouton*, and *Philip Pot* Knights, to the Duke of Bourbon, and hee for his part sends *Heiter* of *Ecluse*, to signify vnto him, that the English would soone land, that the Duke of Bourgonne, and hee and the Constable, ioyning all their powers together, would easily conquer the Realme, exhorting him (for the auoyding of his owne ruine and his Countries) to ioyn with them, the which if he refuse, and that it fall out ill for him, he was not to be pited.

The Duke of Bourbon sends the King two letters of this tenor, brought to him at diuers times by *Ecluse*, who makes answer to the Duke and Constable; that neither promises nor threats should draw him from the obedience and faithfull seruice hee did owe vnto his Maiesty. *Lewis* will produce these letters to the Constables confusion, in the end of the next year. For the present, he must assure his frontiers. There is no newes yet of the English. *Lewis* marks well this chafe, and will cause the Constable (who supposed himselfe to haue the advantage of the game) to lose the party. Poore Nobleman! how many misfortunes fore-tell thy approaching ruine? Thy brother prisoner: Thy wife dead at the same instant, one of the chiefest pillars of thy house: who as sister to the Queene, might at need haue preferred thy head: Thy Nephew *Scales* prisoner, with the instructions hee brought from England to the Bourguignon. And to fill vp the measure, thy son the Earle of *Rouffy* defeated at *Grey* in Bourgonne, and prisoner with the duke of Bourbon, who shall not leave him vntill the end of the year: (for forty thousand Crownes ransom) with the losse of two hundred men at armes, Lombards, the Baron of *Couches* and many others. The Marshall of Bourgonne, sonne to the Earle of *Saint Martin*, two sonnes of the house of *Viteaux*, whereof the one was Earle of *Joigny*, the Lords of *Longey*, *Lisle*, *Digoine*, *Montmartin*, *Ragey*, *Chaligny*, the Bayliffe of *Auxerre*, the Ensigne-bearer to the Lord of *Beauchamp*, and many others, escaped death but not imprisonment.

Sufficient warnings to amaze a resolute mind. Hereafter the Constable is afflicted with strange distemperatures, fed with the neighbourhood of the Earle of *Dammartin*, being

Principall
granted to the
Prince of O-
range by Lewis.The Constable
seeks to sub-
orne the Duke
of Bourbon.Mournfull pre-
sages to the
Constable.

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ing lodged nere S. Quintin, whom he knew to bee none of his friends. And fearing lest the King should assault him, he sends to take assurance of the Duke of Bourgogne, intreating him to send him his brother *James* of Saint Pol, the Lord of Fienens, and some other his kinsmen and friends, to put them into Saint Quintin, and to keepe the towne at the Dukes deuotion, (without bearing S. *Andrewes* crosse) the which he promised to fore vnto him within a prefixed time.

The Constable
takes to the
Duke of Bour-
gogne and
desires him.

The Constable
desires Lewis
to be his
Constable.

They come: they present themselves within view of Saint Quintin, once, twice, and thrice: but the Constable suspects them, and sends them backe. They came still, either too soone or too late: so as at the brute of these forces the Admirall calls himselfe into Arras; whereof followed the taking of *James* of Saint Pol, who being brought before the King, hauing liberty to speake, he confessed, that at the two first iourneys, he came onely with an intent to comfort his brother: but at the third time, seeing the Constable had deceived both his Master and him, if he had been the stronger, he would haue kept the place for his master, without offering any violence to his brother: whereupon his Maieesty set him at libertie; very well appointed, sending him vnto his death. And although the Constable had lately done a notable disgrace vnto the King, yet his Maieesty dissembled it witley: and to take from him all cause of iealousie, he wills him to goe and make warre in Hamault, and to besiege Anennes, whilst that the Admirall was busied in Artois. He goes, but very loth, and with exceeding feare, and stayes but little: he retires betimes, being advertised (as he informed the King) that two men in his army (whom he described by apparent signes) were suborned to kill him. This new feare, accompanied with distrust, bred a terrible diffidence in the Constables head, who hauing lost his credit both with the King and Duke, will yet entertaine himselfe by both, and perswade them that he is seruant but to one. He lent often to the Bourguignons campe to draw him from the siege of Nuz, that he might ioyne slyly with the English at their coming on land, and then vpon the returne of his messengers, he gaue the King some plausible intelligence, to cause him to like of his conference with the Duke, sometimes disgracing his affaires, to win the credit of an affectionate seruant with Lewis, sometimes extolling the Duke, to terrifie the King. But oh policie simply shadowed!

On the other side, he knew well that he had greatly offended the King by his last action. He sees himselfe forsaken by his most confident seruants, *Jenlis* and *Moray*, whom the King had entertained. There might haue assisted him in his peace-making, the which he shadowed with some recompence, that the King had promised him for the County of Guis. Lewis heares them giue them good words, and commands the Constable to come vnto him. But the confidence of our misdeeds is a grieuous testimony. The variety of his troubled thoughts, will not admit an easie reliefe. He offers to come, so as his Maieesty will sweare vpon the Crosse of S. *Lau*, that he will neither doe, cause, nor suffer any treachery nor outrage to be done to his person. This Crosse hath bene kept at Angiers time out of mind, with an old beleife, That whosoever swearing thereon, doth forswear himselfe, hee dies within the yeare, of a miserable and violent death. Lewis refuseth this oath: but submits himselfe to any other. The more he excuseth himselfe, the more the constable presseth him. Thus passeth hourly from either of them vpon this assurance: behold, two great personages of sundry humours, wonderfully troubled in mind, and it seemed they feared like, to perish or to separate themselves absolutely. Yet Lewis was the more cunning, and did his businesse more courtely. But if these two afflicted themselves in this sort, *Edward* of England, and *Charles* of Bourgogne were in no lesse doubt one of another. The King had sent *Iohn Tiorclin* the Lord of Broisse, to make his excuse vnto the Emperor, for that hee had not lent the army promised by the treaty, assuring him to doe it, when he had ended his enterprises begunne, and for the most part well forward both in Bourgogne and Picardy, intreating him in the meane time not to make any agreement with the Duke: and that the one should not treat of a peace without the other. That hee should confiscate all the Dukes Siegneries that held of the Empire, and that hee would leaue vpon such as depended on the Crown of France, as Flanders, Arthois, Bourgogne, and many others.

Lewis Crispe
and a subtle
to the Emperor.

The Emperor, a man of more wit then vertue, answers by a gentle Apologie, *That they must not divide the beares skin, before the beaſt be dead.* As if he should say, Come according to your promise, let vs take this man, and then weare his spoiles. Let vs now see what

what

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A what he doth before Nuz, where wee haue left him much perplexed how to free himselfe with his honour from that enterprize. Two mighty armies attended him and cut off his viuals both aboue and beneath the Rhine: all the Princes of Germany both spiritual and temporall, had ioyned their forces in infinite numbers; all the townes and commonalties did willingly contribute to this charge. Two other considerations did trouble him. The King made great war against him, and had burnt many places in Bourgogne; Picardy, Arthois, and Ponthieu. Moreover, he had laboured all his life to draw in the English, but without any effect till now: and would hee abandon so goodly an army, passing now betwixt Douer and Calais, complaining of his breach, threatening (if he delay it any longer) to take another course? Yet must the Bourguignon finde some honourable pretext for his rising.

There was with the Emperour an Apostolike Legate, going from army to army, to mediate a peace. The king of Denmark was there in person, for the same effect. In the end, the place is deliuered into the Legates hands, to dispose, as the Sea of Rome should decree. Thus Nuz after a yeares siege, sees the Bourguignon dislodge with the losse of foure thousand of his choice men. A hard departure, that notwithstanding the necessity of his Army, and this mighty Imperiall power, yet not daring to affront him, hee dislodge the besieged and Citizens ouercome with hunger and toyle, who had been forced within ten dayes to yeeld to his mercy. *Charles* would willingly haue been reuenged of *Rene* for his deſce: yet he forbears vntill the next yeare, but with another issue then hee expected: he shall be well beaten & then slaine. At this time vrgent necessity draws him elsewhere, and his troopes hauing need to bee refreshed, hee sends them to liue vpon the spoiles of Lorraine and Barre, and himselfe with a small traine goes to meet *Edward* at Calais. *Edward* being yet at Douer, send *Garter* his King at armes, a Normand by nation, to *Lewis* with a letter of defiance, the tenor whereof smelt more of the French then the English. He summons him, *To yeeld vnto him the Realme of France, as his right; that hee might restore the Church, Nobility and people to their ancient liberties, and free them from great burthens and afflictions: and vpon his refusal, he protests of all the miseries that should follow, after the accustomed manner and forme in such like cases.* A bare deſce grounded vpon a

Edward deſce
the King.

D subiect long before debated, and often decided. The King reads the letter, commands the Herald to be brought into a chamber vnto him, being alone, and saies vnto him: That he knew well the king of England was thrust into this enterprize by the people of England; by the Duke of Bourgogne, and by the Constable of Saint Paul. That the Duke came from Nuz like a vanquished and needy man, that winter grew on, vnfit for the effects of warre, that the Constable would deceive King *Edward*, and liue onely in his dissimulations, entreating euery man, and trusting no man. In the end, he solicits *Garter*, to perswade his master to make an agreement with him, giuing him three hundred Crownes with his owne hand, and promise of a thousand, if it might be accomplished: and in publicke, he caused a goodly peece of crimfon veluet to be giuen him, containing thirty elles. E The Herald promiseth to doe his best indeauer, aduising him to send a Herald to obtaine a safe conduct, for the sending of Ambassadors, at what time as *Edward* haue passed the sea: who at his first entry finds himselfe much deceived of his expectation, for the Duke had promised to ioyne with him, with two thousand five hundred men at armes, with a great number of other horse and foot: and for his assurance, to put some strong places into his hands, namely, Saint Quintin, relying vpon the Constable. That finding the King overcharged, and ready to receiue a mate, hee should begin the wars in France, three monthes before the landing of the English army, but his army was so weak and poore, as he durst not shew it.

The first cause
of *Edward*
discontent
against *Charles*.

Let vs here acknowledge another notable fauour of God to this Crowne, who had so blinded the iudgement of this duke, as he continued obstinate & wilfull, before this strong place resolutely defended, whereas he should haue attended the English. Wee confesse that both together would haue dangerously shaken the estate of this Realme. So the English and Bourguignon part from Calais, passe by Boullen, and draw towards Peronne: where thinking to lodge, they were disappointed, which gaue some dislike vnto the English. Being at Peronne, the Constable sends Lewis of Creuille to the Duke of Bourgogne, excusing himselfe, for not deliuering vp of Saint Quintin, whereby (saied hee) he should haue lost all his credit, and intelligence in France, and hereafter bee altogether

Another error
of the Bourguignon
that discontent
the English.

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vnprofitable for him. But he was now wholly at his deuotion, seeing the King of England within the Realme. Moreover, he promiseth the said Duke, *To perseue and follow him, and all his friends and allies, as well the King of England, as others, and against all men, without any exception*: and intreats him that that writing of his owne hand may serue as a gage of credit with the said King. The Duke giues his letter vnto Edward, assuring him moreover, that the Constable should not only giue him entrance into Saint Quintin, but into all his other places.

He deceiues both King Edward and Duke Charles.

Both the King and Duke beleued it. The King, for that he had married the Constable's daughter, for that the Constable was in so great feare and distrust of our Lewis, it seemed he should not dare to faile of his promises. They part from Peronne, and approaching neere S. Quintin, they send some English troops before, to enter the towne, and to the taking of a certaine possession. But the Negro (saith the Prouerbe) changed his hew. The signall they giue them of their approach neere vnto them, are skirmishes and Cannon shot. Two or three English are slain, and some taken, & so they recover their army, greatly discontented with this affront. The Bourguignon, to colour this foule and trecherous part, pretends the Constables meaning to be very good, that he could recover the yielding thereof, with any apparent pretext, if at the simple sight of so small troops he should be amazed: that he would be forced therunto, and if all the whole army marched, he would make no refusal. But these were iests: he desired but to win time, and not to shew himselfe enemy for any man. The next day Charles of Bourougogne takes leave of Edward, promising to returne speedily with all his forces.

Another error in the Duke of Bourougogne.

Edward and his men had final practice in the estate of our Realme, they are not those braue warriors which had so long gouerned our France: they needed conduct and direction to fashion them to our armes, without the which they know themselves at their first triall to be vnprofitable: but in a short time they are fashioned and become good souldiers. In the meane time they are abandoned, and the season of doing any thing almost past: they must therefore be resolute. And thus the King discouers that Edward would agree. The English had taken the seruant of James Grasse, a Gentleman of the Kings house, but for that he was their first prisoner, Edward giues him liberty. At his departing, Howard and Stanley, (both in credit with Edward) said vnto him; *Recommend vs vnto the King your master, if you may speake vnto him.* (After the Herald had named these two, to obtaine a passport for the Ambassadors that Lewis should send to treat) This message bred some zealousie in the Kings head, who then was at Compeigne: for Gilbert the brother of James Grasse followed the duke of Britany, and was in great credit: but being carefully examined, they find, he deferred fall. Lewis remembers the direction the Herald had giuen him, and suddenly takes this resolution with himselfe, To send a seruant the sonne of Meridol of Rochel, belonging to the Lord of Halles (or Scales) in quality of a Herald.

A counterfeit Herald.

This seruant had his countenance and personage very vnpleasing, yet a good wit, and a sweet speech. But why did Lewis make choice of a seruant, whom he had neuer seene but once, amongst so many thousands more capable of that charge? hee might discouer him if need required, as intruding himselfe, or at the least aduenturing without his priuity, and at all hazards, the losse of a seruant was not great. This Herald fashioned after the Kings mind, hath his charge deliuered him, and is attired with a coate of armes, made likewise in half, of a trumpets banner, enameled like a petty Herald, that belonged to the Admirall; and then he goes to horse-backe, without any mans priuity except *Villers*, Master of the horse, and the Lord of Argenton. Being arrived at the English army, he is brought before the King, to whom he deliueis his charge; That the King his master had long desired to haue good amity with him, to the end that both their Realmes might hereafter liue in peace: That since his comming to the Crowne hee had neuer made warre, nor attempted any thing against the Crowne of England. If hee had receiued the Earle of Warwicke, it was only to crosse the Duke of Bourougogne: That the Duke of Bourougogne should not haue procured his passage into France; but to make his peace with more advantage with the King. If any others were actors (meaning the Constable) it was but to serue their owne turnes in crossing him, and to worke their priuate profits, not regarding the affaires of England. That now winter grew on, that his army was not raised without exceeding charge (this was secretly to offer a recompence of all or part, which was a great perfwader to peace.) That such as nourished this warre betwixt them,

were

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A were some Noblemen and Merchants, who made their profits of the peoples losse: That if the King of England would giue eare to a treaty, the King his Master would embrace it with so great affection, as both himselfe and his Realme should remaine well satisfied. And for prooffe, if it pleased him to grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King would send Ambassadors vnto him well informed of his pleasure: vnlesse hee desired a mutuall interview in some place, mid-way betwixt both armies, then the King should grant a safe conduct for his part.

Another Ambassador from both Kings.

These speeches please, and this counterfeit Herald returnes with a safe conduct, as he desired, accompanied with another Herald, to cary one from the King of the same tenour. The next day, the Ambassadors of either side meet, in a village neere to Amiens: For the King, came the bastard of Bourbon Admirall, the Lord of S. Pierre, and Heberge Bishop of Eureux. For Edward, came Howard, Sellenger, and Doctor Morton, afterwards Chancellor of England, and Archbishop of Canterbury. In truth it was much to so humble himselfe, but the weighty burthen of affaires which oppressed our King, forced him therunto, who with one stone gaue two strokes: for Lewis sent backe his enemy, to the great confusion of the Duke of Bourougogne. Let vs generally confesse, that it is not now alone, that God doth shew his singular grace and fauour to this Monarchie; The Briton was watchfull, and ioyntly with the Bourguignon, they practised crosses of dangerous consequence.

C The English from a general demand of the crown of France, restraines himselfe to the Duchy of Normandy or Guienne. But a franke demander, requires a bold denier. Lewis protests, that he would do any thing to send the King of England out of his Realme: but to yeeld him the possession of any lands, he wil rather put all to hazard. He had a goodly and mighty army, which they esteemed (saith the Originall) an hundred thousand fighting men, and in these might doe much, the English being in bad tearmes with the Bourguignon. But the quickest course is the best, and both being willing to agree, and accord is soone made. In the end, the King grants the English three score and twelue thousand Crownes present payment: (Paris lent the money, vpon promises of restitution by the Feast of All Saints next following.) The marriage of Charles with the eldest daughter of King Edward (both being yet very young, neither shall it take effect:) and for the estate of his house, the Duchy of Guienne, or fifty thousand Crownes yearly, payable in the Tower of London, for nine yeares following; at the end whereof, he and his wife quietly to enjoy the reuenues of the said Duchy, and the King should remaine discharged of the payment of fifty thousand Crownes to King Edward.

Articles agreed at with the English.

Moreover, the King promised sixteene thousand Crownes pension to some of Edwards fauourites, who had much assisted in this reconciliation: to Hastings two thousand, to Howard, to John Cheney Master of the Horse, to Sellenger, Montgomery, and some others, the remainder. And besides, there was great store of Silver and Plate distributed among King Edwards seruants: so cury Saint had his candle. These conditions performed, Edward should repaile the Sea, and leave Howard and the Master of his horse in hostage, vntill he had recovered England: yet not without an interview of both Kings. This peace should continue nine yeares, comprehending the Dukes of Bourougogne and Britany, if they pleased. The Bourguignon hearing these newes, hatts to returne to the English, followed only with sixteene hundred Horse; At his first triall he discouers his inward passions by his outward countenance. But he came too late to prevent it. Edward tels him, that hee hath made a truce for nine yeares, and exhorts him to enter, according to the referuation he had made. Charles replies by fits, and after a reproachfull manner: That Edwards Predecessors Kings of England, had performed many high exploits in France, and with much sweat and toyle had won great reputation. He checketh him that he did not procure the English to passe, for any need hee had, but onely to giue them occasion to recover their ancient inheritance. And to make it manifest, that he had no need of their comming; he would not accept of any truce with the King, vntill that Edward had bene three moneths in his owne Country. And hauing thus layd, he returnes towards Luxembourg, from whence he came. A braudo of ill digestion to the English and his Councell, but plausible to all the friends of confusion.

The Duke of Bourougogne reproacheth King Edward for making a truce.

But what is become of our Constable? there is no speech of him during this treaty: Now is he more incombred with feare then cuer. He knowes well, that he hath displeased

The Constable perplexed.

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the king, the English and the Bourguignon, al alike, and fill he apprehends the conclusion at Bouinnes. In the meane time he seeks to please all, and sets a good face on it. *Edward* had freely made offer to the French Ambassadors, to name some Noblemen, that were traitors (said he) to the King and his Crowne, and to proue it by their hand-writings.

Edward discovers the Constables designes.

The King holds a Councell vpon this matter: some maintaine, that this accusation is fraudulent, and that the English would make his demands the greater with the wracke of anothers honour, as hauing good intelligence in France. But *Lewis* his judgment was more sharpe, he knew the Bourguignons courtes, he considered the season, that the English had not any one place in their hands, and that the Bourguignon had deceived them. Moreover, he knew well, that the Constable would not giue them any entry: and lest he should be farre imbarqued in the league, the King entertained him with many entrie, and kept him in good humour: and the Constable likewise sent often vnto the King, yet alwayes swimming betwixt two streames, vnderstanding that the treaty betwixt the two Kings, grew to some perfection, hee seemed well satisfied, and sends *Lewis* of Creuille Gentleman of his house, and *Iohn Richer* his Secretary, aduising the King, that to voyde this threatening foraign tempest hee should procure a truce, and to satisfie the English, it were good to grant them one or two small Townes to winter in. He supposed in doing this, the English should be beholding to him, and rest fully satisfied for the affront at Saint Quintin.

Lewis his subtil industry.

Note alwayes, that *Lewis* was a wonderfull instrument of diuision, when hee pleased. *Contay* a prisoner at the defeat of Arras, went and came vpon his faith to the Duke of Bourgogne, to treat a peace. He was by chance in Court at the comming of the two persons. The King hides him in his chamber behind the hangings, to heare and report to his master the speeches the Constable and his people held of him. *Creuille* by the Kings commandement, with a loud voyce, said, that the Constable had sent them to the Duke of Bourgogne, with many instructions, to diuide him from the English; and that they had found the said Duke to farre incensed, as by their perswasions he was not onely ready to abandon them, but to charge them in their retreat. *Creuille* in speaking this, did counterfeit the gesture of a passionate Prince, stamping and swearing, *Saint George* (the oath of *Charles* of Bourgogne) saying, that he called the King of England, *Blanchborne*, and the sonne of an archer, whose name he caried: words accompanied with all their dignities that might bee spoken. This moued laughter in the King, who taking pleasure at the repetition thereof, and seeming somewhat deafe, made him to straine his voice in the report. *Contay* no lesse amazed then the King was pleased, would neuer haue believed it, if he had not heard it.

The Constables treachery.

And although it grieved the King much to dissemble the Constables counsell, to giue some places to the English; yet would hee not discover his discontent to these Deputies, but answered them graciously: *I will send to my brother* (the Queene and the Constables wife were sisters) *and let him vnderstand my minde*, hauing cunningly drawne a promise from his Secretary to reueale what did concerne him. And at the same instant hee dispatched *Contay* to the Duke his master with letters of credit of the Kings owne hand: and somewhat to satisfie the Constable, he giues the English Eu and Saint Vallery, to lodge in during the treaty of peace. In the meane time (oh notable trechery!) behold one of the Constables ordinary trickes; hee sends his confessor to the King of England with letters of credit, and intreats him earnestly not to trust to the Kings promises, but rather to seize vpon Eu and Saint Vallery, and there to passe some part of the winter: that within two months he would lodge him better. Yet he giues him no other security, but much hope, and an offer to lend him fifty thousand Crownes, with many other goodly shewes, to draw him from so profitable an accord. *Edward* answers, that the truce is concluded, and that he will not alter any thing. That if he had kept his word, he would haue accepted it. Thus our Constable despaires on all sides. The king foreseeing that the Constable would thrust *Edward* into ialousie, resolu'd by his bounty to take away all cause of suspition for the effecting whereof, hee sends *Edward* three hundred carts laden with the best wine he could get: and within Amiens (*Edward* lodging within halfe a league, for confirmation of the truce) hee causeth two long tables to bee set vp at the entry of the towne, furnished with exquisite meats, and all kinds of prouocations to drinke, with men to attend all comers and goers at the table. At euery table where five or six men of reputation,

Lewis his policy to procure the Constables praetice.

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An interview of the Kings.

A fat and big, the better to encourage the Drinkers: amongst others were the Lords of Craon, Briquebec, Breame, and Villiers, Gentlemen of a pleasant humour: and wheresoeuer the English tooke any lodging, they might not spend any thing. This bounty continued three or four dayes; during the which, if *Lewis* had meant treacherously, hee had good meanes, they entering into Amiens confusedly, to the number of nine thousand, for of this great multitude, some did sing, and some slept, ouercome with wine and drowsinesse. But contrariwise, he committed the guard of the gate to English archers, whom *Edward* (at *Lewis* his request) had sent, to take in, and put out whom they pleased. It was then concluded, to appoint a place for an interview of these two Kings. It is done with lesse confusion and hazard in a small place. Piquiny vpon Somme was held convenient: an ancient Prophesie which the English obserued, described this very place. To this effect they build vpon the bridge two penties of wood, the one for *Lewis*, the other for *Edward*, either of them capable of ten or twelue men. Betwixt both was a partition, with grates to put through ones armes, going ouerthwart the bridge, that no man might goe from the one to the other. *Lewis* made his profit of fore-past events: hee knew that if the barre at Montereau had had no more passage then this, *Iohn* Duke of Bourgogne had not ended his dayes so lamentably, in the narrow bounds thereof. The 28 of August *Lewis* comes first to the barre, accompanied with *Iohn* duke of Bourbon, the Cardinal his brother, and followed onely with about 800 men at armes. *Edward* comes after, hauing with him the Duke of Clarence his brother, the Earle of Northumberland, his Chamberlain *Hastings*, his Chancellor, and others: and behinde him all his army in battell. Either King had twelue men about him, foure of the which went from one part to another, to search if there were nothing practised to the preiudice of their masters. They embrace each other through the grate, and sweare vpon the holy Bible, to obserue the Articles agreed vpon. The oath taken, *Lewis* mingling his serious discourse with some mirth, inuities *Edward* to come to Paris, that hee would feast him with the Ladies, and giue him the Cardinal of Bourbon for his Confessor, (a pleasant man and of free life) who willingly would giue him abolution, if happily he should sinne in that case. Then they converse together a while without any witness. And vpon the Kings demand, whether the Duke of Bourgogne would not accept of the truce, (men take an oxe by the horne, and a man by his word, as with the like policie the Duke of Bourgogne might haue beene surprized at his departure from Liege.) *Edward* answered, that he might doe as he pleased, *I will summon him againe* (saith he) *if he will not hearken to it, I will referre my selfe to you two*. This accord being made, *Lewis* begins to play vpon another string, and makes the like demand touching the Duke of Britany, for whom he chiefly made the motion. But he findes the English resolute in his protection, as hauing found no friend so kind in his affliction. *Lewis* surceaes, and with a wonderfull courtesie takes leaue of the King of England, contents all his followers with some kinde words, and giues presents to some priuate Noblemen, the Heralds and Trumpets, who to shew their thankful minds, beganne to cry, *A lorgeffe for the most noble and mighty French King: a lorgeffe, a lorgeffe*. He hath alwaies made it manifest, that he was exceeding suspitious, and that from an antecedent hee could cunningly draw a good consequence. He is no sooner on his way to Amiens, but hee studies of *Edward* his facility to hearken to the going to Paris: that he was a very goodly Prince, and of an amorous complexion, and that some nice Parisian might stay him longer then his estate required, or at the least draw him to passe the sea another time: that his Predecessors had loued Paris and Normandy but too well: He therefore desires to see their backs, and must by some meanes withdraw him from this humour, wishing rather to haue him his good brother and friend beyond the seas, then here. The necessity which forced the King against the Bourguignon, serued for an excuse.

The policy proceeding of *Lewis*.

Moreover, the King was grieved, to see the English so resolute to defend the Brittons quarrell: hee would gladly haue obtained that freedome, to make warre in Britany, the which hee wonderfully affected, and made a second motion vnto him by *Bouchage* and *S. Pierre*, who returned with this answer: *That whosoever doth attempt* (saith hee) *against the Duke of Britany, I will passe the seas in person and succour him*. So hee was no more importuned. *Edward* had an especiall cause to entertaine the loue of the duke of Britany, for at the defeat of Henry King of England, as wee haue heard, Henry Earle of Richmond, and neereft kinsman to the said Henry, after the death of his sonne the Prince of Wales,

The reason why King *Edward* proceedeth the Duke of Britany.

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Edward's letters
are discon-
tented with this
stage.

Lewis a free
bairn of men
fervices.

Calais then
moued for-
warre against
and to returne
home into
England.

Edward sends
the Constables
letters vnto
Lewis.

Wales faued himselfe with his Vncle the Earle of Pembroke, and hauing entred a barke in haste, they were with tempest driuen vpon the coast of Britany, and there forced to take land, where they were seized on, and led with sure guard to Vannes. A very happy chance for the Duke, for while he holds this goodly gage, he was assured to command the forces of England: but very vnhappy for the Earle, for if he might haue landed in France, *Lewis* without doubt (to crosse *Edward*) would haue laboured to restore him. This truce did wonderfully displease some of *Edward's* household seruants: *Lewis* of Bretrailles among the rest, a Gentleman of Galfcoyne, was greatly discontented, giuing out, that the King his Master hauing in person wonne nine battels, had gotten more dishonor by the voluntary losse of this tenth, (which was in a manner gotten) then he had purchased honour in the former nine. That the French might with reason laugh at *Edward's* credulous facility, *Lewis* aduertised by the Lord of Argenton, of this Galfcoyne's free discourse, resolues to stop his mouth, to the end he should not hereafter spend his tongue to the preiudice of this Estate: He sends for him, and makes him dine with him, offers him great aduancement, so as he will serue him. Vpon his refusal, he giues him a thousand Crownes presently, and promisseth to doe good for his brethren that remained in France: binding him to maintaine (as much as in him did lye) the friendship growing betwixt these two crownes. *Bretailles* did not iudge amisse. Our *Lewis* had sometime a more liberrall tongue then was conuenient, and feared much, lest some words had passed him, whereby the English might discouer that hee mocked him: and so it chanced, yet behold how hee couered it. The day after this enter-view, being in his Cabinett, hee fell to test of the wines and other presents hee had sent to the English. But hee discouered not a Galfcoyne Merchant dwelling in England, who by chance was crept in to obtaine a licence of the king for the transporting of certaine pipes of wine, freed from impost. This Merchant might talke, hee must therefore be won, and stayed in France, vnder some apparent pretext. The King sent the Lord of Argenton to walke with him, aduanceth him to a good office in the towne where he was borne, he giues him a thousand Franks presently to transport his family, the transport of wines he required, and a man to conduct him to Boudeaux: but all vpon condition that nor he, but his brother, should make the voyage into England. Thus the King made amends for his rash speech.

Edward is now vnder faile, he was a new Conqueror, his presence was therefore more needfull in England: he did neuer much affect the voyage. Two principall reasons drew him into the action. The one was, all his subjects gaped after the possession of this crown, did sollicite him, and the Bourguignon prest him. Another was, he might reserve a good part of the money that should be raised for this voyage (for the Kings of England leaue nothing about their reuennues, but for the warres of France.) But see the policy of *Edward*: he had of purpose brought with him ten or twelue of the chiefe Bourgeses of the City, whose credit was great with the commons, and who had with all care procured this tax. These men were soone weery with this military toyle, presuming that at the first triall, a profitable battell should decide the quarrell. And to make them taste more feelingly the sweetnesse of peace, from the sharpnesse of warre, *Edward* doth sometimes trouble their heads with doubts, sometimes with feares, to keepe them from murmuring at his returne into England. On the other side, he loued his pleasures, and was of a complexion not able to endure the trauels requisite for the Conquest of this Realme: and although the King was ouercharged with enemies, yet had hee provided well for his defence. But see the most vrgent reason of *Edward's* retreat. The performance he desired of the mariage betwixt the Dauphin, and his daughter. A mariage which made him dissemble many things, whereof *Lewis* will make his profit. To conclude, as they which haue beene deceiued in their friendship, hate without dissembling, *Edward* before he parted from Calais, sent the King thofe two letters of credit, which the Constable had writte vnto him, with all other verball assurances which he had giuen him. Sufficient testimonies to accuse & conuince him of these crimes, wherewith he shall be hereafter charged. Let vs now reconcile the dukes of Bourgongne, and Britany with the King. *Contay* was now returned from the Duke of Bourgongne, the day of the enter-view, and had found his master in a good humour, when as the English were returned. *Hugonnet* Chanceller of Bourgongne, and other Ambassadors for the Duke, meet at a bridge mid-way betwixt Auenues, and Veruins in Hainault, so well accompanied with Archers and other

men

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Discontente be-
twixt the Eng-
lish and Bour-
guignons.

A truce be-
twixt Lewis
and the Bour-
guignons.

Edward offers
to aide Lewis
against the
Bourgignons.

A peace con-
firmed with
the Duke of
Britany.

The last act of
the Constables
Tragedie.

Lewis dissem-
bles with him.

A men of warre, that one of the English hostages, whom the King had led with him, took occasion to say, that if the Duke of Bourgongne had bene followed with many such men when he came to salue King *Edward*, peradventure they had not made a peace. The Viscount of Narbonne answered: That the Duke wanted no such men, and that hee had lent them to refresh themselves, but sixe hundred pipes of Wine, and a pension which the King gaue them, made them hast home to their Country.

The English moued herewith: *It is as euery man said* (replies he) *that you would deceiue vs. Doe you call the money the King giues vs a pension? It is a tribute: and by Saint George you may talke so much, as we will returne againe.* This quarrell staid their proceeding: neither did they preuaile any more the second time, when as the King appointed *Tanneguy* of Chastel, and the Chanceller *Oriole* to heare the said Ambassadors at Veruins: but the third assembly which was in the Kings Chamber, made a full conclusion (and in truth *Bretay* had reason to say one day to the King, that his horse was well laden when he was on him, for that he caried all his Councell with him: for indeed hee did effect more in his presence, then all his Ambassadors together,) where there was a truce accorded for nine yeares, according to the other, but by reason of the oath which *Charles* of Bourgongne had sworne to *Edward* in his choller, it might not be published vntill the seventeenth of October following.

Edward (discontented that the Duke of Bourgongne would treat apart) sends *Montgomery* (a Knight very inward with him) to the King to Veruins, he requires two things, the one, that he would take no other truce with the Duke then which hee had made: the other, that he would not suffer Saint Quintin to be yeilded vnto him: and if hee would continue the warre against the said Duke, he would returne the next spring and ioyne his forces with the Kings, so as he would recompence him for the losse he should sustaine by the customes of Wooll at Calais, which would be of no value, (being estimated at fifty thousand Crownes) and pay halfe his Army.

The King to satisfie *Edward*, answers, that it is the same truce they had made together, and for the same terme; but the Duke would haue letters apart: hee thanks him for his good offers, and returnes him home his Ambassador and hostages. *Lewis* had lately learned, that the French and the English do easily quarrell when they are together, and a small matter would reconcile them with the Bourguignons. As for the Britton, the King could not well digest the answer which *Edward* had made to *Bouchage* and *Saint Pierre*, whereby he easily discouered the strict alliance betwixt them: but seeing he could not diuide them, being in the Abbey of Victory neere to Senlis, where he had a priuate deuotion, the peace was absolutely confirmed, whereby the King renounced all rights pretended by him to the Duchy of Britany, reseruing the soueraignty and homage according to the ancient custome. He promised to keepe the Dukes person in safety, and to maintaine his priuileges, and prerogatiues, without forcing him to follow him out of his Duchy, but with his owne good liking: and moreover, he should caule to be giuen vnto the Duke of Britany, the hands and seals of all the Princes of his blood, and of the Noblemen of the realme, both spirituall and temporall, with reuocation of all alliances, or former promises, and restitutions, to be made, of all things taken during the warre. The patent hath the same date with that of the Duke of Bourgongne.

Let vs now bring the Constable into open view, to play the last act of his Tragedy: finding that all these shifts and deuices, could not breake the reconciliation of the two Kings, the next day after their enteruiue, he writes very humbly to the King, by a seruant of his named *Rapine*: That hee was well informed how his enemies laboured to bring him in disgrace, charging him with many things whereof he had shewed contrary effects: for that during all the fore-passed confusions, hee had faithfully kept all these places which his Majesty had committed vnto him, and beate backe the enemy whensoever hee presented himselfe. And to purchase some credit, he offers to deale with the Duke of Bourgongne, who (if the King please) shall helpe to defeat *Edward* and all his army. *Lewis* dissembles, and writes to the Constable, what was concluded the day before, that at this time hee was busied with many affaires, and had need of such a head as his. A captious word, but well vnderstood by *Rapine*: who takes it for a beginning of fauour for his Master. But alas, how easily doth man deceiue himselfe in his imaginations: and what can a perplexed soule produce: but trouble and confusion? the truce is no sooner confirmed with the

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The Constables piteous estate,

Bourguignon, but the conclusion of Bouuines is reuiued, whereof we haue made mention. Now this poore Constable knows not to whom to flee.

And as euery man runnes as far as he can from an imminent shipwrack, his best friends, his most affectionate seruants, and his most confident fouldiers abandon him. What shall he then doe? whom shall he implore? what Sanctuary? what succours? he knows well he hath equally displeased, *Lewis, Edward and Charles*; his lands are on all sides inuironed by his enemies. He is too farre from any safe retreat. He holds strong places, yea almost impregnable: but who shall defend them? he inioyes great treasure, but they violently hunt after it.

What refuge shall he choose? shall he goe to the King? but by what meanes shall he purchase grace? he is too farre incensed, and is seized of the letters which the Constable had written to the King of England, and the Dukes of Bourbon and Bourgongne. May he rely vpon *Lewis* his word? but he would not sweare vpon the crosse of Saint *Lau*. Shall he passe the seas? he gaue *Edward* too vnkind welcome neere Saint *Quintin*. Shall he call himselfe into *Charles* of Bourgongnes armes? but he hath spoyled his Countrey of Hainault, he would haue forced him to marry his daughter with the Duke of Guienne decreed, and hath often treacherously deceived him; being aduanced by his meanes to that great dignity of Constable.

The Constable in a desperate estate,

To conclude, he alone hath more then all others mainrayned these Princes in hatred, so as what party fouer he takes, he is vndone. Yet must he needs vnmaske himselfe and flee to one, for what meanes hath he to warrant himselfe alone against so mighty enemies which shall he choose? poore soule! beaten with distrust, feare and despair, for yielding to the one he incensed the other. Moreouer, there is lesse danger for him to be besieged by two, then by one alone, being impossible for two armies to accord long together: and contrariwise, being charged by one, there is some hope to make his peace. Sometimes he resolves to flee into Germany, and to buy a place there, vntill he be reconciled to the one: sometimes to keep his strong Castle of Han, the which he had well fortified to serue his need. But he is so amazed as he dares not discouer himselfe to those few seruants that are left him. Moreouer, they are all subiects to some one of these Princes. Yet he must resolve: and better is it to fall once, then stagger alwayes.

But they haue both ioyntly conspired his death, he is well informed thereof, and hath seene a copy of their mutuall seales. Yet when once he hath passed his word, he will make a conscience to breake it. But there is no faith in the Court of France: hee hath offended the King too much, and hath too great aduersaries, and no man might safely loue him whom *Lewis* hated. The Duke of Bourgongne is more moderate, more easie to pacifie, and if he giue his faith, he will be ashamed to deliuer him, who had thrust himselfe vnder his protection. He gaped after Saint *Quintin*, he must yeeld it vp vnto him, and redeeme his head with the price of this good place. He stands firme in this resolution, and beleeueth *Charles* to lend him a safe conduct, to go and treat with him of matters concerning his estate and person. At the first *Charles* makes some difficulty, but in the end hee thinks he may well dispense with his conscience for Saint *Quintin*.

So the Constable accompanied onely with fifteene or twenty horse, goes towards Mons, in Hainault, to *Esmeriz*, great Bayliffe of Hainault, the dearest of his friends, attending newes from the Duke of Bourgongne, who made warre in Lorraine vpon the deffe we haue spoken of. The Foxe is now out of his earth. It must be forseeene, that this yeelding reconcile not the Constable to the Duke. The King well informed what troopes were in Saint *Quintin*, and of the Inhabitants affection, hasteth thether with fouen or eight hundred horse. They meet him with their keyes: the quarters are ordered, all his forces enter, and he follows. And to take from the Bourguignon all hope to recouer Saint *Quintin* by the Constables meanes, he giues him aduice to the taking thereof: for although in the diuision made at Bouuines of the Constables places, this fell to the Duke, yet would not the King that he should make his peace with the Bourguignon by the deliery thereof.

Saint *Quintin* yeilded to the King,

The Constable prisoner,

Charles aduertised hereof, sends to the great Bayliffe, that he should guard Mons well, that the Constable goe not forth, and that hee should appoint him his lodging for a prison. Here the Bayliffe prefers obedience to his master, before the Constables loue. *Lewis* aduertised of the Constables detention, requires the Duke of Bourgongne by

Bouchages,

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The Constable deliuered to the King,

The Constable beheaded,

Charles of Bourgongne breaks his oath with the Constable, and the tide of a King,

A Bouchages, and *Saint-Pierre*, either to deliuer him, or to performe the conuention. Hee promitteth to doe it, and causeth him to be caied with a sure guard to Peronne. Hee had now taken diuers places in Lorraine and Barrois, and did barter Nancy, whereof hee desired to see issue, for the deliery or retayning of the Constable, so as with this deligne, in stead of eight dayes concluded on at Bouuines, he lets passe a moneth and more. But the Kings great instance, and his army which lay houering in Champagne, as ready to succour the Lorraine, and to crosse the Bourguignon in that enterprize, the conquest whereof hee greedily pursued, to vnite his Territories, and to passe freely from Luxembourgin to Bourgongne, (for inioying this Duchy, he came from Holland vnto the Confinnes of the Diocesse of Lion, vpon his owne land) made *Charles* to send *Humbercourt*, and the Chancellor *Hugonnet*, (both great enemies to the Constable) to deliuer him at an appointed day, to such as the King should send. *Charles* supposed to haue wonne Nancy by that day, but he was deceived in the time. And in truth they had no sooner left him, but a countermaund comes from the Duke, after the raking of Nancy, but too late.

The prefixed day being come, they deliuer the Constable at the gates of Peronne, into the hands of the bastard of Bourbon, Admirall of France, *Bouchages, Saint Pierre, Cerisy*, and others: who led him prisoner to the Bastile at Paris, the said Admirall charging the Chancellor, first President, and other Counsellors of the Parliament being there present, in the Kings name, to make a speedy triall of him, vpon his letters written to the King of England, and the Dukes of Bourbon, and Bourgongne. So by iudgement of the Court, giuen by the President *Popincourt*, he was beheaded at the Greue, the 19 of December, and by an especiall grace was buried at the Gray-Fryers in Paris. A pittifull spectacle, to see so great a personage laid vpon a scaffold, allied to the houses of France, England, Bourgongne, Sauoy, and many other great personages, the chiefe Officer of this Crowne, mighty in lands, in treasure and in friends, abandoned of his friends, his goods confiscate, degraded of his Offices and finally to serue as a spectacle to the whole world.

He was witty, valiant, and of great experience: but in his latter yeares bereaued of the grace of God. Let vs apprehend this Oracle: *It is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the liuing God.* The pit he had digged for another, must swallow him vp. He had with all his force laboured to maintaine these two Princes in hatred and mutuall dissention, to subsist in the midst of their partialities. He had often and impudently lied vnto them, and being both very reuengfull, it was impossible to auoide their snares. But who can warrant the Duke of Bourgongne from the law *Cornelia*? must his cruell couerousnesse force him to giue security to this poore Lord, to thrust him into an vndoubted ruine. Fourecore thousand Crownes in mouables, and threecore thousand Crownes in ready money which he got by his spoiles, were they valuable to the satisfiying of his conscience? God leaues nothing vnpunished, and we shall learne hereafter, that this disloyall act in him was the iust ruine of his house: a house for a hundred yeares flourishing in all perfections of felicity, the which hereafter shall runne headlong to a strange Catastrophe: and by the meanes of a young and vnexperienced enemy, weake in regard of the Bourguignons great and redoubted power: *God resists the high minded, and chooseth contemptible things, to vaine and confound the proud.* Let vs with one breath, see the declyning and ouerthrow of this house of Bourgongne.

The violent ambition of *Charles*, had (as we haue heard before) armed him with a boyling desire to be a King: but *Frederic* the third scorned it. From that time he still plotted to get this quality. *René* (before Earle of Vaudemont, sonne to *Ferris* of Lorraine, and of Yoiland, daughter to *René* King of Sicilia, and Duke of Aniou, and of the onely daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, eldest brother to *Iohn* Earle of Vaudemont, Father to the said *Ferris*, and now Duke of Lorraine) had desired him before Nuz, grieved with the Bourguignons outrages. This is a good expedient to purchase this pretended royalty. Lorraine made him a free passage, to vnite his countries, and moreover, by the conquest of this Duchie, he should qualifie himselfe King of Sicilia, and Ierusalem, the hereditary title of this house. This vent of vaine-glory tranfports *Charles* into Lorraine: and for pretext of a quarrell, he pretends a great summe of money to be due vnto him by *Renés* predecessor: for non-payment whereof (after the taking of many places) he comes before Nancy, besiegeth it, batters it, but takes it not so soone as hee presumed, being valiantly defended beyond his expectation. The King also vnder-hand fauoured this young Duke,

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Duke, procuring him secretly the alliance of the Suiffes, and the Imperiall Townes of Alsacia.

Charles since the siege of Nuz had in pay about a thousand men at armes, Neapolitans for the most part. The Earle of Campobasso commanded foure hundred, a partisan of the house of Anjou, against that of Arragon: and for this cause being banished his country, had alwayes followed Duke *René* of Sicilia, or *Nicholas* sonne to *John* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine: after whose death *Charles* of Bourgogne entertained many of his seruants: especially this Earle, a wicked man and of a corrupt conscience, who in the beginning of the warre of Lorraine entred into practice with Duke *René* (heire apparent to the house of Anjou, after the death of King *René* his Grand-father by the mother) promising to prolong the siege of Nancy, and cause defects in necessary things touching the siege. He might well doe it, hauing more authority in this army then any other Captaine. But he behold another act of notable villany.

The Duke of Bourgogne had giuen him forty thousand ducats before-hand, to raise his company. Passing at Lion, to goe into Italy, he grew familiar with a Physician, named *Simon* of Pauly, giuing by him the King to vnderstand, that for an hundred thousand Crownes in ready mony, his company entertained, and a good Earldome, at his returne, hee would deliuer him the Duke of Bourgogne, and confirms the same to *Saint Puy*, who then was Ambassador for the King in Piemont. Being returned, and his troope lodged in the Country of Marle, he reiterates his offer to the King, to kill the Duke when hee should come to the campe, if he desired not to haue him brought a prisoner vnto him, assuring himselfe to execute it easily: for (saith he) he is accustomed to visit his army, mounted vpon a Nag, and ill accompanied: Or if the King and the Duke should any time fight a battell, he would turne to the King with his company.

Leuis abhorres the treachery of this wicked wretch, and to shew the Duke his franks and royall disposition, hee giues him intelligence thereof by *Contay*. In the meane time, *Campobasso* directs the Bourguignon all he can from the warre of Lorraine, and makes the taking of Nancy, proue more difficult. The Duke is so much incensed therewith, as from iniurious words, he proceeds to blowes, and strikes him. A blow which the Earle will reuenge in time. He dislikes for the present, and *Charles* either thinking the *Neapolitan* had forgotten this outrage, or supposing that his hired souldier had beene bound not to reuenge it, or happily fearing if he lost him, his affaires would receive some dangerous checke, he entertaines him still in his seruice: yea (euen contrary to the Kings aduice) he loued, or made shew to loue him better, supposing that *Leuis* his intention was, to stir diuision betwixt him and his most trusty seruants. But let vs rather say, that hee which founds, euen to the deepest thoughts of man, had by a iust iudgement, taken away all apprehension from this Prince, not to taste the wholesome counsels that were giuen him, with most apparent reasons. This proud presumption, like vnto *Nembroth*, made him conceiue a world of Chimeraes, and bring forth a shamefull confusion, as wee shall read hereafter.

He is now puffed vp with the new purchase of Lorraine, by the taking of Nancy, with the possession of *Saint Quintin*, *Han* and *Boham*, and with the Constables moueables; but he would not make this the limits of his conquests. The Suiffes had incensed him, redeeming of the county of *Ferrere* for *Sigismund* Archduke of Austria. Moreouer, they had spoiled *James* of Sauoy Earle of Rhomont, brother to the Prince of Orange of many places, lying within their marches. These Noblemen were allied, and partakers to the Duke, and thrust him on to reuenge. On the other side, the King desired to parle with him, after the manner of *Picquigny*, wishing him to lodge and refresh his troopes, tired both with the siege of Nuz, and the warre of Lorraine, and to grant a peace to this mountaine Nation, being poore but yet froward. But *Charles* prestres the violent passions of his ambition, before the honest and wholesome counsell of *Leuis*, and enters into Suisseiland. The Cantons hearing of his approach, intreat for peace: they offer to yeeld vp the place in question, and by a second Ambassage, to renounce all alliances that should dislike him, especially the Kings: to cruce him against all men, yea against the King, with six thousand men, for what pay he would giue them, and as often as he would call them. If he did triumph ouer them by an absolute victory, there were no profit to be found, seeing the spurs of his horsemen, and the bits of his horses, were of more value then all their country.

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A But he refuseth all accord, no preuention can stop this streame. He marcheth, and after this imaginary conquest of the Cantons, he passeth the Alpes, and layes hold of Italy, for that *Frederic* Prince of Tarantum, son to *Ferdinand* King of Naples, was lately come to him, with hope to marry his daughter. Moreouer, old *René* King of Sicilia & Duke of Anjou, and vncle to the King, seeing his sonne *John*, and his Grand-child *Nicholas* were deceased, promised to resigne vnto him his pretensions of Sicilia, to adopt him: for his sonne and heire, and soone after, to put into his hands the Earldome of Prouence. But we shall soone learne the causes that moued him to this attempt: he gaped, about all other things, after the goodly estate of Milan, where he presumed to haue great intelligences.

B The Ambassadors being returned, the Suiffes protest of their submission, and of their desire to pacifie all things, calling: God and the world to witnesse: and then they prepare for their defence. *Charles* for the first fruits of his army, furnished with fiftene thousand men from the Duke of Milan, and five thousand from the Duchesse of Sauoy (for how he loues strangers better then his own subiects; and the troubles of his mind, makes him conceiue a hatred and iealousie against them) he takes Lozana, a mountaine towne, seated vpon the Lake Lemane, with other places in the Country of Vaux, causing the Garrison for the most part to be hanged. Then he brings the whole body of his army, (being about fifty thousand men, and five hundred pieces of Artillery of all sorts) before Granson, lying neare to the Lake of Yuerdun, which belonged to Rhomont, being defended by seven or eight hundred Suiffes of the Canton of Berne. He batters, makes a breach, and giues an assault, with the losse of a hundred men. But the batterie continuing, the defendants (not able to hold the towne) fire it, and recouer the Castle, where hauing many Towers beate downe, they compoud to haue their liues saued. An accord treacherously broken, for hee caused fourescore to be hanged (some write five hundred and twelue) hee drownes two hundred, and puts the rest in prison. A detestable cruelty, and so odious vnto all the Cities vpon the Rhine, as they send men to the Duke of Lorraine and the Suiffes to their aide.

Hee is nothing amazed therewith; but for the stately entertainment of Ambassadors that came vnto him from diuers Countries, namely from Germany and Italy, hee shewes D himselfe in his campe with incredible pompe and state: pavilions and rich tents, glittering armes, goodly standards, vessels of gold and silver, of inestimable value, rich apparell, exquisite Tapistry, Jewels, precious stones, and other costly ornaments: to conclude, the goodliest furniture that might beaurifie a campe. The Suiffes not yet aduertised of the losse of Granson, send foure or five thousand men to releue it: but too late. The Duke (contrary to the opinion of the best aduised) goes to meet them. They campe at the entry of the mountaines, hold the straits of hard access, and of great aduantage for the foot, and dangerous for the horse, where one man might stay fifty. But he was (as the prouerbe saies) mounted to the Pies nest, and God blinding his vnderstanding, prepared an exemplary abatement of his pride. He sends a hundred archers before, to seize on a passage of the mountaines; who discouer not an ambush off shot that kept it, the which suffer a part of the foreward to enter, whereas the battell could not succour them, whom they charge with such resolution and fury, that with this terrour the Bourguignons fle, and fall vpon the other part, which was yet in the plaine, which likewise turns head towards the campe. The battell and rereward seeing the foreward in rout, shrinke presently, and (notwithstanding all the Dukes labour to stay them) they saue their liues by flight, ill-informed of the small numbers of their enemies, who pursue them with all fury. *Charles* himselfe was forced to loyue with them that fled, abandoning both campe and artillery, to saue their persons, laying in no place vntill he came to Loigne, fiftene or sixtene leagues from Granson. A baser flight then the pursuite, for want of horses, so as the Duke in the midst of so great a terror, lost but seven men at armes, but very many foot. This happened the second day of March.

A day not so famous for the losse of men, as of spoile, esteemed at three millions, where with the Suiffes (not so cunning in those dayes as now) made themselves rich, although they were ignorant of the value of things. For a proofe of their grosse and rude ignorance the Original obsequies: that they did reare in peeces the goodliest and most sumptuous pavilions in the world, to apparell themselves. That a souldier did sell a silver dish like pewter, for two pence halfe peny. Another taking vp the cafe of the Dukes great Diamond, where as

Charles makes an vniuersal preuention vnto Lorraine.

Campobasso a traitor to *Charles* of Bourgogne.

He offers to kill the Duke.

Leuis discouers his intention to *Charles*.

Charles strikes *Campobasso*.

The Suiffes cruce peace on *Charles* with great submission.

The Suiffe arme for their defence.

Granson taken, and the souldiers cruelly and reachously slaine.

The overthrow of Granson, where *Charles* lost all his baggage.

Estimated at three millions.

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whereat did hang a great pearle: the which he viewing put vp againe, and so cast it into a Cart, comming afterwards to fetch it, he sold it to a Priest for a Florin worth twelve pence: the Priest sent it vnto their Lords, who gaue him fixe shillings. They held it to be the goodliest in Christendome. Besides many others, they got three pearles of inestimable value, the which they called the three brethren, with two other the most rare stones that could be found.

To conclude, whatsoeuer the Duke had of rich or sumptuous, he caused to be caried after him in ostentation, to shew his superfluous and fearefull greatnesse vnto strangers. So the eternall God did signifie vnto *Ezechias* by *Esay*. *That all the cafers of his dragger, silver and gold, his sweet perfumes and precious oymment, with all his artillery, yea, all that was found in his treasures, all that was in his house, all that his fathers had gathered together vnto that day, should be caried vnto Babylon*: for that he had made a shew to the Ambassadors of *Berodac-Baladan*, the sonne of *Baladan* King of Babylon.

The Swisses re-
venge the cru-
elty of Charles
at Cranston.

Lewis fears
the good suc-
cesse of Charles.

Presently after this battell, the Swisses recouer their lost places, take downe their companions and bury them, and hang vp many Bourguignons with the same halters. The King remained at Lion, attending the successe of the Bourguignons forces, fearing exceedingly, lest he should subdue the Cantons. He disposed of the house of Sauoy, as his owne: the Duke of Milan was his ally: he held Lorraine, and hoped for Prouence, which succeeding, his power extended from the Westerne Sea, vnto the East: and France had had no issue out, but by the Dukes fauour, or by sea: for the preuenting whereof, *Lewis* sent often to the Duchesse of Sauoy his sister in law (being wholly at the dukes deuotion) to *René* his vncle, being much incensed against him, so as he would scarce heare his messengers, to the Princes and commonalties of Germany, who returne him an answer, *say vnto the King that if he warre not against him, we will make our peace, and warre our selues against him*. This was it he feared, yet would he not break the truce, neither haue *Charles* discover the messages he sent. But now the Bourguignons shipwracke cheered him, grieuing onely at the small number that were slaine.

The Duke
fears the King
should breake
the truce.

The Duke on his part was toucht with leare, and to preuent it, he sends *Comay* to the King, charged with humble and gracious speeches, contrary to his custome. Hee beseecheth his Maiesty to obliue the truce loyally, excuseth himselfe that he did not assit another, to enterview neere vnto Auxerre, and promisth to be there shortly, or wheresoeuer it should please the King. The King assurms him of his demands, neither was it yet time to doe therwise, but to keepe himselfe in the shade, whilest that *Charles* chafed. *Lewis* was well acquainted with the loyalty of the Dukes subiects, who would easily crosse him, seeing him oppressed with aduersitie. One mischiete comes neier alone: the losse, shame, and despight, to see himselfe vanquished, layes him sicke in his bed. But behold a rougher charge in prosperity friends come by hundreds, in aduersity they flie by thousands. *Galeo* duke of Milan leads the dance; he was allied to *Charles* by reason of his practices in Italy: which being dissolved by his check, he sends a Citizen of Milan to the King, he disswades him from making a peace with the Bourguignon, and to preuent it, he offers him a hundred thousand Ducats presently. The King detesting the inconstancy of this man, who three weekes before was estranged from him, hunting after the Bourguignons fortunes, with a great and solemne Ambassage: considering also, that their wiues were sisters, and his couetous proceeding: he reiects his money, reproacheth the little loue he bare to his brother in law, but in the end he accepts of his alliance. *René* King of Sicilia seconds him. *Charles* had already (vpon the hope which this good old man gaue him) sent the Lord of Chasteauguion into Piedmont, with twenty thousand Crownes, to make a leauy of men, to take possession of that Earledome.

But vpon this defeat, he was happy to saue his person, and to lose but his silver, seized on for the King by *Philip* of Sauoy Earle of Bresse. Vpon this amazement, *Lewis* sends to his vncle, desires him to come, and to assure himselfe of good entertainment, else he would provide by force. *Iohn* Cossé Senechal of Prouence, an honest man, and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, perswaded his master to this voyage, giuing the King to vnderstand, that the treaty of *René* with the Bourguignon (the which he himselfe had procured) tended to no other end, but to let the King know the wrong he had done his vncle, hauing taken from him the castles of Barre & Angiers, and intreated him ill in all his other affaires, and that he neuer had any will to performe the accord. A liberty of speech very pleasing

vnto

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Lewis reconcil-
ed to the
King of Sicilia.

A vnto *Lewis*, who from that time respected his vncle, and they liued like good friends. Then *René* made a transaction with the King, that after his death the Earledome of Prouence should returne to the King, and be incorporate to the Crowne.

In doing whereof, the Queene of England, daughter to the said *René*, and widow to *Henry* the sixth, King of England, whom *Edward* held prisoner, was redeemed by the King, for fifty thousand crownes. For this cause the yeelded vnto the King all the right he might pretend to the said county, and for a certaine pension which the King assigned her during her life. The Duchesse of Sauoy sent *Montigni* secretly, to reconcile her to the King, yet will she try the issue of the Dukes fortune. The Princes of Germany, and the Imperiall townes, who before were enforced to temporize, now shew themselues enemies, and turne from him.

Fredericke, Prince of Tarentum, grieued with the strange dissemblings, touching the pretended mariage, leaues him: and soone after returning into Fiance, he maries a daughter of Sauoy, the Queens sister. What then? Shall he flie to his Hollanders & Flemings? But he knowes their inconstancy, and that they fauoured not his flight: yet he sends his Chancellor *Hugener*, with twelue Commissioners, to require aide of men and money from his subiects, who returne with this resolution: That if the Duke their Lord were prisoner, they would morgage and sell their liuings to redeeme him: that to disswade him from the war, and draw him home into his countries, they would assit him with all their power. But to continue it, they are not relolued to doe any thing. To conclude, euery

bird had his pecke at this Owle. Euen as when a tempest ouerthrowes some great tree, euery one tears off a branch. He yeelds not yet, but would be ashamed to confesse himselfe beaten by such a wretched people: and although all these crosses had wonderfully increased his sicknesse; and that heauinesse, melancholy, and other passions had altered his blood, with great prejudice to his health: yet he gathers together the peeces of his wracke, and within few months goes to field with his army. Hauing staied some space at Lauzan, he went the ninth of Iune to campe before Morat, a smal towne two leagues from Berne, belonging to the Earle of *Rhomont*, wholed the foreward. *Anthony*, ballard of Bourgogne camped vpon the Lake with thirty thousand foot and horse. The Duke lodged in the mountaine, and Rhomont vpon the descent towards the Lake, with 12000 men.

Charles armes
against.

He besiegeth
Morat.

The Cantons were sooner in armes at this shooke, then at the other: and if beafore they gaue him a light defeat, they shal now giue him a generall ouerthrow. In their league are numbred twenty townes, prelates, and commonalties: Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Vri, Suits, Vnderual, Zug, Glaris, Fribourg, Soleure, Basil, Chasthouze, Appenzel, Sangall, the Grisons, the Earle of Toquembourg, the Abbot of Sangall, Valois, la Caste, Dye and the ten iurisdiccions of Malny. All these did furnish eleuen thousand Pikes, ten thousand halberts, 10000 foot, and 4000 horse: and the King, who made war against the Bourguignon, at another mans cost, had vnder hand giuen the Duke of Lorraine means to ioine with six hundred men at armes. Moreover, the townes of Rhine, Songoy, and Ferrete, had sent a supply of three thousand men.

All these forces being ioyned, the two and twenty of Iune, behold at the first encounter, the foreward is so violently charged, as the Earle of Rhomont is forced to saue himselfe with ten or twelue horse. The Garison of Morat falls out, and ioynes with the Duke of Lorraines troopes; they charge the Bourguignons campe, force it, and ouerthrow him with a horrible slaughter of his men. He recouers Befanion by the swiftnes of his horse; and from thence Riuer, in the county of Bourgogne. In this bataille died about eightene thousand men (others say two and twenty thousand seuen hundred) and of Swisses fiftie men onely. At this day are seene the spoiles of this bataille, in a chapel, built where the bataille was fought, and filled with the bones of such as were slaine. The Swisses pursuing their victory, take all the places of the county of Rhomont, and along the Lake Lemán, euen vnto *Genéua*, which are at this day vnder the iurisdicción of Berne, and the Bishop of Basil, & razed many places & castles vpon the Marches of the Franche countie. The duke of Lorraine, hauing a good share in this notable victory, with his French troopes, and some supplies from the confederates, recouers Vaudimont, Espinall, Nancy, and some other places by composition. Now is *Charles* of Bourgogne exceeding heauy, and for that the house of Sauoy had bene the chiefe motiue of this

Charles is ouer-
throwne.

M m

war

1476

Charles's surpri-
se, he Du-
chess of Sa-
uoy with her
youngest Son.

Charles's sister
at Rheims.

warre: (whereof the first firebrand had beene for some carts laden with skins, taken by *Rhombot* from a Suisse), and doubting lest the would speedily be reconciled to the King, he sends to take her by force, and brings her to Rouure near Dijon, with her youngest sonne Duke of Sauoy. *Philibert* the eldest, then Duke, was (with the helpe of some seruants of his house) retired to Chamberi. The King, who neuer lets slip any advantage, and who politickly builds vpon anothers shipwracke, treats with the Bishop of Geneva, a sonne of Sauoy, a man of a free disposition, & gouerned by a Commander of Rhodes, both tractable, who deliuer into his hands the Castles of Chamberi, Montmelian, and another place, in the which were all the Duchesse iewells. Shee seeing her selfe deprived of libertie, dissembles no longer, but sends *Riueral*, a Gentleman of Piedmont, to the King to mediate her peace; but with all the fury that might be: knowing well that it was dangerous to displease him, befeehing his Maiestie to free her. *Lenis*, a better brother then she had beene a sister, sends to deliuer her, by *Charles* of Amboise, Lord of Chaumont, Gouernour of Champagne, who brought her to Plessis for Tours; whither the King was returned: who hauing renounced the alliance of Bourgongne, recovered her children of the King, with the places, iewells, and all things that belonged to her, and then conducted her home at his owne charge. But *Charles*, is he tired? So many disgraces; so many losses of men of war, places, friends, and treasure, haue all these daunted him, as he hath lost all courage: He is now solitary at *Riuere*, sad, mournfull, grieved, displeased in himselfe, way-ward to his seruants, despised of his subiects, abandoned of his friends, and hateful to all the world: he seeks neither comfort or counsell of any man, and his great auerity is the cause that no man dare giue it him. And doubtlesse these encounters were sufficient to make him lay aside armes, and humbly to acknowledge, that the scourge of God doth aduertise vs, that we are strayed from our duties, and to lift vp our eyes, hands, and hearts to heauen, there to seeke for consolation, and not among men, rather restoring that which we haue pulled from others vnjustly, then continuing obstinate in our reuenges.

But Nancy must be the place of his funerall, it was wonderful commodious for his passage to his other Signeuries; but his army being vtterly ouerthrowne, it was not possible to leaue new troopes so speedily, to succour the Lord of Beures, of the house of Croÿ, who defended it against the Lorrain. *Campobasso* did diuert him, shewing that the city was but slackly besieged, that it was needfull to breathe, and to refresh his spirits tyred with the forepassed toyles; & in the meane time continues his practises with Duke *René*. *René* pressed him still for succours, yet could he not arriue vntill the day it was yeelded, with such forces as he could get out of Flanders, Luxembourg, and Bourgongne. Hee beseegeth againe before it could be fortified and victualled, and within few daies brings it to exceeding famine. The Lorraine, nor yet strong enough, attending such troopes as came to him out of Germany, and Suisse land, adventures a company of soldiers, carying some victuals. They crosse through the Campe maintaining the skirmish, whilst that such as came meale entred the towne. *Cifron*, a gentleman of Prouence, and Steward to the Duke of Lorraine, was taken prisoner amongst others. *Charles* commands he should be hanged. This gentleman had bene the actor betwixt *Campobasso*, and Duke *René*. Seeing that he must of necessity die, he desires *Charles* to heare him, & that he would discouer a matter which concerned his person. *Charles* answers in choller, that they were but thifts; and *Campobasso*, fearing his tongue, doth hasten both the Duke and Prouost to this execution; for (said he) by the law of armes, euery one that seeks to releue a place after the Canon hath plaied, and is taken, deserves death. *Cifron* makes a new request, and the Duke sends to know what he would say. He refuseth to reueale it but to the Duke himselfe; and as they returned with this answer to the Duke, *Campobasso* remaining at the chamber doore, where the Duke was writing with a Secretary, makes them beleue that the Duke's pleasure was, that they should dispatch him; and so *Cifron* was hanged. He still continues his siege, and neither shame, losses, the season of the yeare, nor his weaké army; neither the great succours which he sees comming to the Lorraine, nor the secret aide the King gaue vnto his enemy; neither *Alphonfus* King of Portugall, his cousin Germane, who then attended some succours from the King at Paris, against the Castilian, and went expressly to him to mediate a peace, to be the sooner dispatched (for the King excused himselfe vpon the issue he feared of this war of Lorraine) could moue him.

Nancy

1476

Nancy retaken
by the Duke
René.

The integrity
of the Swisses in
all time.

The battaile of
Nancy.

Charles ouer-
come & slaine.

Nancy pressed with famine, was ready to compound, if *Campobasso* had not by secret intelligence reuiued their spirits: when as beheld the Duke of Lorraine comes with an army of foureteeen or fifteene thousand men, French, Swisses, Germans and Lorraines, and lodgeth at Saint *Nicholas* of Varengeuille. *Campobasso*, not able to do the Bourgougnon a greater dispite, leaues him with nine-score men at armes with him, & the Lords of Ange & Montfort with six-score, & they go to *René*. A great maiine for the Duke, whose troopes were but bare and weak. Notwithstanding vpon the Swisses protestation, that they would not fight in the company of a traitor, the Duke sends him to Conde, a castle vpon the riuier of Moselle, a passage for victuals which came to *Charles* from the valley of Luxembourg & Metz. He takes this passage and stops it with trees and carts, to stay the flight of such as should think to saue themselves, foreseeing already the Bourgougnons ouerthrow, hoping by this means to haue a share of the booty, and prisoners, as it happened indeed. But the foulest & most treacherous act of his tragedy is, that he left men suborned to begin the fight at the first charge, and others to obserue the Duke, & if he fled, to kill him. *Charles*, vnderstanding these newes, hearkeneth thereto (contrary to his custome) yet hee follows not the aduice of his counsell. The most experienced, counsell him to retire to Pont a Mouson, which he held yet, and to fortifie himselfe there, suffering them to victual all Nancy. They told him, that the Germans loued the ayre of their hot bouises too well: that *René* would want money, so all would disband, without meanes to ioine together againe in long time: that their victualling could not be so plentifull, but it would be spent before the middelt of winter, & in the meane time he should refresh his army, increase his troopes, and furnish himselfe with all things necessary, seeing that he had money, which was the sinew of war. A wife counsell, but *Charles* halted to his ruine. He had in his army, but 4000 men, whereas not about 1200 were in case to fight, yet by the aduice of some foolish people hee will hazard a third battaile, exposing a handfull of men ill armed, and ill mounted, panting yet with the first and second encounters, against an army fresh, lusty, and glorious with two notable victories. The fifth of January, vpon twelfth Eue, *René* puts his army into battaile, neare vnto a lake at Neuville. The Germans and Swisses diuide themselves into two battallions: the Earle of Abstein, and the Gouernors of Zurich and Fribourg lead the one, the Adouyers of Berne and Lucerne the other; the rest, both French and Lorraines, march vnder their ensignes: one battallion goes towards the riuier, the other takes the high-way from Neuville to Nancy.

The Duke of Bourgongne attends them firmly, in a place of strength & aduantage, hauing before him a little riuier, betwixt two strong hedg-rows, neare to the hospital of Magon, & at the entry of this great high-way (where one of the battallions marched) *Charles* had planted the greatest part of his artillery, which thunders vpon the Swisses at their first approach, but with small hurt, being far off. This battallion leaues the high-way, & mounts vp towards the wood, coasting along the Dukes army. The Duke makes his archers to turn head, appointing two wings of men at armes, the one led by *James Galiot*, a Neapolitaine, an honest man and a valiant Captain; the other by the Lord of Lalain, lieutenant of Flanders. This battallion hauing gotten the aduantage on the higher ground, stands firm: then like vnto a violent streame it falls vpon the Bourgougnons army; & with a thundering volly of shot defeats the foot. At the same instant the other battallions chargeth *Galiot* squadron, who behaued himselfe like a wife & valiant Captain; but the horse seeing the footmen amazed, leaue all & flie after. The other wing, commanded by *Lalain* maintains the fight, but vnable to withstand the violent hooke of the Swisses, in the end they giue way, and turne towards the bridge of Bridores, where was the greatest shew of their men that fled. This bridge is halfe a league from Nancy towards Thionville, & Luxembourg; *Campobasso* had stopp the passage, so as all such as tooke that course, were either slaine, drowned, or taken: if any recovered the woods, the peasants beat them downe with leuers, a chafe which continued from noone, vntill two houres within night. *Charles* thinking to saue himselfe, was ouerthrowne by a troope of men that followed him; discouered by them, which the traitor *Campobasso* had left to obserue him.

The next day he was found among the dead, lying frozen in a ditch, well knowne by many of his household seruants. He had three wounds, one with an halbard about the eare, which cut him to the teeth, the second with a pike through both the thighs, the third by the fundament. *René* caused him to bee honourably buried in Saint *Georges* Church at

M m 2

Nancy.

1476

The causes of
his ruine.The disposition
of Charles of
Bourgoigne.Gales Duke
of Milan mur-
dered.The practices
of the Duke
of Britany.

Nancy. In this Battaille there died three thousand Bourguignons, and there were taken the Earle of Nassau, the Marquis of Rothelin, an English Earle, *Anthony and Baldwin* brethren, bastards to the Duke (whose ransom the King did pay) and many gentlemen. The booty was small: but the victory of Granfon was yet fresh, & as they then did sing, *He lost his goods at Granfon, his men at Morat, and his life at Nancy.* Behold this great *Nemroth*, who made himselfe equal with Emperours, and yielded not to the greatest kings: before time the terror of Christendome, feared by his subiects, fought to by his neighbours, who had purchased to himselfe the surname of terrible, and warrior, drunke with ambition, transported with the desire of anothers estate, now confounded with his owne greatnesse, who with his fall ruines his house. Doubtlesse, *the daies of mortall man are like to graffe, he fades like the flower of the field: for the winde passing over it, it is no more seen, nor the place thereof knowne.* Shame and destruction follow pride at the heeles. And who doth iudge by the effects, that the chiefe causes of his ruine were couetousnes, pride, and cruelty: couetousnesse, in that contrary to his honor and faith, he had deliuered the Constable, for the greedy desire he had to enioy Saint Quintin, Han, and Bohain, and some moouables: Pride, in that God hauing raised him to greater dignity then any of his predecessors, accompanied with many goodly and singular graces, yet hee thought that the habitable earth could not prescribe limits to his conquests; attributing all to his owne force, and not to the power of the eternall, and the happie successe of his affaires to his owne iudgement: Cruelty, for that in the war of Liege, he had bathed himselfe in the blood of his poore Subjects, glutting his wrath with that sex and age whom the rigor of war doth easily pardon.

And what shall we say of the right hands he caused to be cut off, of those pooreouldiers at Neffe: Of the fires wherewith he hath wasted so much country? Of the Swisses hanged at Granfon, after they had yielded vpon his faith given to the contrary; & of lae had hanged a gentleman being taken in the war. He had good parts, valiant, painefull, vigilant, desirous to entertaine men of merit: liberal, but with discretion, to that end many might asle of his bounty. He gaue aduice priuately, honoured strangers, and receiued Ambassadors with State. But since the battaille of Montlehery, presuming by his only valor to haue forced a mighty King to leaue him the field, he conceived to ouerween a presumption of himself, as neuer after would he belecue any other counsel but his owne: attributing the issue of his enterprises to his owne iudgment and industrie, with obstinate a constancy in his vnmearured designs, as in the end it was his confusion. *So the voice of the Eternall breaks downe the Cedars: yea, the Eternall beates downe the Cedars of Libanus.* But, let vs note the iudgment of God, that before Nancy he deliuered the Constable, and before Nancy he was betrayed by *Campobasso*. And let vs obserue the like in our daies as we shall see hereafter. Eleuen daies before this battaille, *Gales Duke of Milan* was murdered in a Church by *Andrew of Lampogagno*, a Milanoise, who leauing a Son very young, left withall many discords for the government of the Duchie, amongst many Noblemen, one amongst them called *Robert of S. Severin*, near kinsman to the Duke, banished from his house by the stronger faction, retired himselfe into France, hoping to persuade the King to attempt something against the State of Milan. *Lewis* taught by former experience, that the French haue alwaies lost easily and with shame, that which they had gotten with much paine and sweat in Italy, would not hearken vnto it, no nor suffer any succors palls for the relief of the Florentines, being ancient friends & allies to the French, against whom Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinand* King of Naples made war. But for that hee would not seeme vtterly to abandon them, he sent the Lord of *Argenton* vnto them, with some troopes leauied in the State of Milan, as we shall shortly see.

But, what doth *Francis Duke of Britany*, hauing lost one of the chiefe supporters of his building? He sees, that of three of the strongest heads of the Common-weale, two are cutt off, *Charles Duke of Guienne*, and *Charles Duke of Burgongne*, and he knowes full well, that the King will not leaue this outrage vnreunged vpon such as remaine. The treaty made at the Abbey of victory had become confirmed by the Estates of Britany. *Lewis* had by his Deputies renounced all pretenfion to this Duchie: but he forgets nothing, though hee sleeps. He is now freed from his most mortall enemy: by all probability, he should hereafter employ his forces in Britany: he must therefore warrant himselfe with some honorable support, and must seeke protection from the English.

This

1477

Discovered by
the King

A This negociation required much secrecy and silence, for *Lewis* was exceeding iealous, and discouered cunningly such practices. So as the subtilty were surprisid in their owne subtilties. *Peter Landays* Treasurer of Britany, was the man best acquainted with the dukes most secret intelligences, and vnder him, *William Gueguen*. For the dispatches, for England hee vsed one *Maurice Bromel*, who for three yeares space was the messenger to cary letters betwixt the duke of Britany and the King of England. It chanced that *Bromel* passing at some port, discouered himselfe to a seruant of the Kings, who presently aduertised his Maiesty. *Lewis* did cunningly make his profit of these aduentures. Yet must hee not rashly apprehend the companion, thinking it best to discouer more. The King, to win this messenger, cunningly employes a certain man of Cherebourg in Normandy, who could counterfeit the Dukes hand, the King of Englands, and their Secretaries. This Agent for the King, treats with *Bromel*, and for a hundred crownes for every letter coming from either part, gets a promise of him, and a place appointed to deliuer the letter and to receiue his money. The Agent made copies, counterfeited their hands, and falsing them vp with a seale either counterfeit, or of hisne by *Bromel*, he sent the copies into England, and brought the King the originals. In the end, two and twenty letters, what of the Duke and *Edwards*, fell into the Kings hands, without discouery.

And although the Duke sought to the English more to defend him at need, then to offend, yet would he maintaine himselfe in the Kings good fauour. For this effect, one day among others, he sent *Charvin* his Chancellor, the Senehall of Vannes and others of his Councell, to giue *Lewis* to vnderstand the deuotion he had to his seruice. At that time the King pursued his conquests vpon the heire of Bourgongne, being ready to besiege Arras as we shall presently shew. Being ariued, they are all committed prisoners, and lequestred vnder diuers guards. After two dayes, the King sends for the Chancellor, reproacheth him, that hauing often conferred with him of the affaires of Britany, holding him for an honest man, heeides it strang, that he had alwaies so constantly assured him, that his master had no secret intelligence with the King of England, seeing that now the contrary was manifest. The Chancellor continues in this protestation, and for more assurance engageth his life: but twelue letters written by *Gueguen* and signed by the Duke, and ten others by *D. Edward*, make him hang downe his head, and to confesse himselfe faulty. Bur for his owne particular, he protests of his innocency, & in case that he or his companions deputies, be found to haue bene acquainted with this intelligence, he will lose his life. The King is satisfied herewith, he returns them backe without any farther audience, and giues them the originall, for a prooofe against the Duke. He iustly complains, that making shew to fauour him, he doth notwithstanding practise with the most ancient enemy of the crowne. That if he do not renounce all intelligence with the King of England, he will not take him for his friend. *Charvin* being returned, makes his report deliueis the Kings commandement, his answers, his countenance in speaking, the accents of his words, and the consequences that might ensue. He beseecheth the Duke to retire himselfe in priuate, and then

E to verifie his sayings, he laies vpon the table the two and twenty letters.

The Duke amazed to see that plainly discouered, which hee thought to haue bene known but to two, sends for *Landays* & commands him vpon his life to tell him, by what means they might fall into the Kings hand; the which must needs proceed from one of the two. *Landays* knowes the hands and seales, but cannot conceiue the residue: and all amazed he offers himselfe to prison, and to lose his life, it hee bee any way found guilty. Then he remembers that only *Bromel* had alwaies caried & re-carried these letters: they must finde out him (being then employed in that action) & make him vnfold that doubt. He therefore sends after him in post, & takes him at Port-blanc, where he attende at a winde to imbarke, and was brought to Nantes. His confession did absolve *Landays*; & he was cast into the Riuer in a Sack very secretly, lest the King should be aduertised thereof, who sufficiently informed of the Dukes ill mind, turned his armes into Britany. But the war against *Mary* of Bourgongne troubled him sufficiently, yet to proceed with some lawfull pretext, he would fortifie himself with a grant he obtained from the Lord of Boufflac, & of *Nichole* of Britany his wife, the only heire of *Charles* of Britany, Earle of Ponthieure: a house which in old time did quarrel for the succession of this Duchy, by the which transaction, in the yeere 1479, the 19 of Ianuary, they yielded vnto him all the rights they might pretend to the said Duchy. But it is now incorporate to the crowne, by a iustler title then by armes.

Mm 3

By

Lewis discouers
the Duke of
Britans Letters
to his
Chancellor.The Duke of
Britany amazed
to see his intel-
ligences discou-
ered.

By what means, Abbeville, Doullans, Montreuil, Roye, Montdidier, Peronne, Han, Bobain, Saint Quintin, Tournay, Arras, Hesdin, Boulogne, T.rouenne, Douay, and other places were reduced to the Kings obedience, and Bourgongne united to the Crowne.

The first intelligence the King receiued of the onerthrow of Charles of Bourgongne, gaue no assurance of his death; for by means of the posts he had newly established, he had speedily aduice. Thereupon he resolues to enter Bourgongne with the army he held in Champagne and Barrois, attending the Duke; and vpon this sodaine terrour to fall vpon the country. And he imagined to haue both right and means to do it: right, for his rebellion and treachery committed against the Crowne; means, for that the flower of all the Nobility of Bourgongne was lost, and all his forces disperfed. It happely the Duke liued, this would be his ruine. It was also to keepe the Germanes and Swisses from the possession thereof, and to saue the Prouince from ruine, loath to suffer a stranger to liue thereon, seeing it holds in foueraignty of him.

In the meane time he giues away, (in case the Duke be dead) some lands which the Duke possessed, and sends the Admirall with the Lord of Argenton, with authority to open all packets vpon the way; and if the Duke were dead, to receiue into his obedience all such as would yeeld themselves. Vpon the first day of their journey they had certaine aduice by a messenger which the Lord of Craon sent to the King. Abbeville made the way to the rest. The Admirall, and Argenton had sent a man before, to treat with the soldiers; who attending the coming of these Noblemen, there came forth to the number of foure hundred Lances. Being come forth, the people open the gates to the Lord of Tournay; and they spare the King thoe Crownes and pensions, which the Admirall by vertue of his warrant had promised the Captaine. This was one of the Townes which Charles the seuenth, had deliuered by the treaty of Arras: the which should (for want of his male) returne to the Crowne.

Doullans follows. They summon Arras, the King pretending this towne to be his by confiscation for non performance of duties, and in case of refusal, they threaten force. The Lords of Ransleinc and Cordes make answer to John of Vacquery (afterwards chief president of the Parliament at Paris) that the County of Arthois appertained to Mary of Bourgongne, and came to her directly from Marguerite Countesse of Flanders, Arthois, Bourgongne, Neuers, and Rhetel, married to Philip the first, Duke of Bourgongne, sonne to John, and younger brother to King Charles the fifth, beseeching him to maintaine the truce made with Duke Charles deceased. So they returne without doing any thing, but only won some men, that soone after serued the King well: who (resoluing to reduce such places by force, as should disobey his command) goes to Picardy. In this voyage, he caueth his Court of Parliament at Paris to come to Noyon, with the masters of Requests, and some Princes of the blood, to resolve vpon the procelle of James of Armagnac Duke of Nemours, and Earle of March, prisoner in the Bastile at Paris, and taken in the yeare 75 at Carlat, by Peter of Bourbon Earle of Beauieu, at what time the Dukes wife dyed partly for griefe, and partly by child birth. Shee was daughter to Charles of Anjou, Earle of Mayen. By which Court (being found guilty of high treason) he was condemned by a sentence pronounced by John Boulenger the first president, to lose his head vpon a scaffold at the Halles at Paris, on Munday the 3 of August: and was by the like grace buried at the Gray-Frayers, as the Constable had been. He was one of the chiefs of the war for the common weale, whom the King laboured to bring to his end all he could. Lewis is exceeding glad, to haue surmounted his most malicious aduersaries: the Duke of Guicene his brother, the Earle of Armagnac, the Constable, the Duke of Nemours. All the house of Anjou was dead, René King of Sicilia, John and Nicholas Dukes of Calabria, and their cousin the Earle of Mayen, afterwards Earle of Prouence, whose successions hee had gotten.

But the more the house of Bourgongne exceeded all the rest in greatnesse and power, hauing with the helpe of the English, continually shaken the estate of this Realme, for the space of thirty two yeares vnder Charles the seuenth, and their subiects being alwayes ready to trouble this Crowne by Wars: so much the more pleasing was the death of their last Duke vnto him, knowing well, that being now freed of his greatest incomber, hee should

A should hereafter finde greater ease. Yet he erred in his proceeding, not taking so good a course, as he had forecalt in the life of Charles of Bourgongne, in case he should die; for allying himselfe by the marriage of the Dauphin, his son, with the heire of Bourgongne, or at the least with some of his princes (for that there was a difference of age betwixt the) he had easily drawn vnto him the subiects of these large and rich Siegneuries, and had preferred them from many troubles, the which haue afflicted both them and vs by the same means: and freeing them from warre, hee had greatly fortified his Realme, recouering with small toyle, that which he pretended to be his. The which he might easily effect: for the Bourgignons were very humble, without support and without forces, not able to make aboute fiftene hundred horse and foot, which were preferred at this generall ouerthrow.

But these are humane discourses, wherein hee had done better, then thus resolutely to haue fought the ouerthrow of that house, and by the ruine thereof, to purchase to himselfe friends in Germany or elsewhere, as he pretended, but without effect. Presently vpon his arrivall, Han and Bobain yeelded. Saint Quintin takes it selfe, and calles in the Lord of Mouy. William Bischope, (borne at Molins in Niuernois, a man of bafe quality, but enriched and raised to great authority by Duke Charles,) Gouverneur of Peronne, yeelds the place, and the Lord of Cordes inclines to the French party. They failed of their enterprise at at Gand, but it succeeded at Tournay. The King had sent Master Oliver le Dain his Surgeon, borne in a village neere vnto Gand, not only to cary letters of credit to Mary of Bourgongne, (who then was in the possession of the Gantois, that suffered no man to speake vnto her, but in the presence of witnesses) perswading her to yeeld vnto the Kings protection, seeing that both by father and mother, (shee was issued from the blood of France, (being well assured that he should hardly obtaine her) whilest that he provided her a husband fit for her quality, as also to worke some alteration in the City, they being discontented with the Priuiledges which Philip and Charles had taken from them, and the rigorous exactions they had made. Oliver hauing stayed some dayes at Gand, is called to the Towne-house to deliuer his charge. He deliueis his letter to the Infanta, assisted by the Duke of Cleures, the Bishop of Lege, and other great personages. Shee reads it, and they call him to deliuer his message. He answers, that he hath no charge but to speake to her in priuate. They reply: It was not the custome, especially to a yong Gentlewoman that was to marry. He insists, that he will deliuer nothing but to her selfe: they threaten him with force: he is amazed, and going from the Council, (considering the quality of the person) they doe him some disgraces, and if he had not speedily escaped, hee had bene in danger to haue had the ruer for his graue. Doubtlesse it is a great hazard, when matters of importance are managed by men of meane estate, and the people thinke themselves contemned, if they be treated with all by men of bafe quality. This barber knew something for to preuent this inconuenience, hee learned himselfe Earle of Meulan, (others write of Melun) whereof he was Captain. But Lewis reposed great trust in two men of the same sort. Being gone from Gand, he retires to Tournay, the which lies vpon the frontiers of Hainault and Flanders, a strong and a goodly towne, but free, and at that time a neuter, seated sily to keepe those two Prouinces in subiection. Oliver was there some dayes without respect, during the which hee corrupted thirty or forty men, and fraught with their promises, hee sent secretly to the Lord of Mouy, that at the breake of a certaine day appointed, he with his company and some other troopes, would be in the suburbs. He comes at the appointed time, and master Oliver with his men giues him entrance, to the content of the people, but not of the Gouverneurs, of the which hee sent seuen or eight to Paris, who departed nor: whilest that Lewis liued.

To speake truly, Oliver shewed both wit and valour in this stratagem; and for the faction of Gand, he is not so much to be blamed, as he that employed him. Conde, a small towne betwixt Tournay and Valenciennes, cut off all viuals from the French, and hindered the victualing of Tournay. It was taken and burnt, for that it did but employ men which might serue elsewhere, and Tournay was sufficient to keepe the Country in obedience. It seemed that the prosperity of the Kings affaires and his great desires began to trouble his spirits: for prooffe whereof, a Gentleman of Hainault (the Originall doth not name him) afflicted with many others, offers to deliuer vp the principall Townes and places of the Country. He talks with the King, who likes not of him, nor of the rest hee

Townes in Picardy yeeld to the King.

The Duke of Nemours was beheaded.

Louis his crowne after the death of Charles.

The Surgeons indifference.

The Kings health decayes.

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he named. The reason is, they would sell a good peece of seruite very deare. Yet hee referred them to the Lord of Lude, bred vp from his youth with him. But *Lude* seasoned with the same humour, transported with his priuate profit, demands at the first, what the townes would giue him to manage their affaires. So as the Hannuyer (who would haue no competitor in his gaine) departed without effecting of any thing, and the enterprise proued vaine. Without doubt God would not glut vs with felicity, and it is needfull to haue crosses, to make vs to know our felues. Moreover, it was not reasonable to vsurpe any thing vpon this Countie of Hainault, for that it holds of the Empire, and in regard of the ancient alliances betwixt the Emperours and our Kings, whereby they ought not one to take from another. And for prooofe, *Cambray*, *Queinoi*, *le Conte*, and some other places of Hainault, had willingly put themselves vnder the protection of *Lewis*, the which he deliuered as freely, with the forty thousand Crownes that they of *Cambray* had lent him, for the charges of the warre.

Am bassade to Lewis of Bour-
gongne.

Whilest the King was resident at *Peronne*, an Ambassage comes to him from the Infanta of *Bourgongne*, consisting of the principall men about her: a- namely, the Chancellor *Hugonnet*, a very wise man, and honourable: *Himbertcourt*, a Gentleman experienced in matters of weight: *Veere*, great Nobleman of *Zeland*: *Cripure* (otherwise called *Gruise*, or *Gruire*) with other Ecclesiasticall and secular men. They intreat the King to retire his army, and that all controuersies might be quietly ended, according vnto right and reason. They shew, that by the customes of France, and the ordinances of his Predecessors Kings, the women did succeed in the Counties of *Flanders*, *Arthois* and other Provinces therabouts. That remaining but one onely daughter of the deceased Duke of *Bourgongne*, yong, and an Orphelin, he should rather protect, then oppress her. That the marriage of the Dauphin with her, should bee more proportionable, then with the daughter of *England*. And for the more credit, they brought a letter, written in parafite by *Mary* the Infanta of *Bourgongne*, and some part by the Dowager her mother-in-law, Sister to *Edward* King of *England*, and some part by *Rauestein* brother to the D. of *Cluces*, and neere kin man to the yong Lady, yet none of any credit but that of the Infanta. This letter gaue authority to *Hugonnet* and *Himbertcourt*, and said moreover: That *Mary* Duchesse of *Bourgongne*, was resolved to gouerne her affaires by the aduice of foure persons, the Dowager, *Rauestein*, *Hugonnet*, and *Himbertcourt*. *Mary* beseecheth the King, that whatsoeuer it should please him to negotiate with her, should passe by their hands, and that he should not impart it to any other. The King (fore seeing that by the confusion of this people hee should settle his affaires) meanes cunningly to make his profit of this letter, but not thinking it should cost two so vertuous heads, in sowing diuision betwixt the Duchesse and her subiects. Yet before he giues audience to these Ambassadors, he treats priuately with either of them, *Hugonnet* and *Himbertcourt*, (whereof the first had all his liuing in *Picardy*, and the other in *Bourgongne*;) and they desirous to bee continued in their ancient authorities, giue care to the Kings offers: they promised to serue him, as the foresaid marriage might take effect.

Diuision be-
tweene *Mary* and
the *Orphelins*.

The rest, whose Estates were not vnder the Kings command, would not tye themselves by promise, but with the alliance of the houses of France and *Bourgongne*. This was most expedient for the King, but the violent conditions they propounded, withdrew his loue much both from her and them in particular, supposing he should soon haue all, without accepting of a part by an accord. Moreover, he was possessed with a wonderfull desire to conquer *Arras*. The Lord of *Cordes* might doe much, hee was Lieutenant in *Picardy* vnder the deceased Duke, Seneschall of *Ponthieu*, Captaine of *Courtray*, *Boulongne* and *Hedin*, Governor of *Peronne*, *Montdidier* and *Roy*: he was yonger brother to the Lord of *Greucecourt*, and already did shew himselfe to be French, his estate lying within the territoire of *Beauuais*. The townes vpon the riuier of *Somme*, by the death of *Charles*, (the last issue male of the house of *Bourgongne*) returned to the King, and so *Cordes* became the Kings Leage-man. His duty then bound him to yeelde vnto the King such other places as he commanded, but he was bound by oath to his Mistresse seruit. A dispensation will false it. There is no hole but *Lewis* findes a pin for it. Vpon his motion to the Ambassadors, that the deliuerie of *Arras* would make the way plain for a good peace, and request, that they would be a meanes to *Cordes* to open the City of *Arras* vnto him, (for in those dayes there were both walles and ditches betwixt the City

Arras yeelded
to *Lewis* by *de*
Cordes.

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A and the Towne) *Hugonnet* and *Himbertcourt* dispend with *de Cordes* of his oath, and consent to the deliuerie of the said City.

He doth it willingly, and sweares fealty to the King, who presently stoppes vp all approaches to the towne, then he goes to incampe before *Hedin*, leads *de Cordes* with him, whose men made a shew to defend the place, as ingaged by oath to their Lady: for their credits sake they endured the battery some dayes, then seeing their defences taken away, and their loope-holes battered, *Ridde* of *Launoi* giues care to his Captaine, & yeelds the Towne. The King for his reward gaue him a chaine of twenty linkes, and euer linke worth twenty Crownes in gold, and a good pension for his maintenance. The taking of *Hedin*, brought the King to *Therouenne* and *Montreuil*, the which easily yeelded to his obedience. *Boulongne* being summoned refuseth, but being battered, it yeelds the fifth or the sixth day. The towne belonged to *Bertrand de La Tour*, Earle of *Auvergne*: the King finding it commodious for the State of his Realme, compounded, giuing him a sufficient recompence, and as new Lord of the Towne he did homage, without sword or spurres, bare-headed and on his knee, before the virgin *Mary*, offering (as a duty to the said Image) a heart of masse gold, weighing two thousand Crownes: vpon condition, that hee and his successors Kings after him, should hold the Countie of *Boullen* of the said Virgin, and doe homage vnto her Image, in the Church dedicated to her name, paying at euery change of a vassall, a heart of pure gold of the same weight.

Hedin follows.

Therouenne
and *Montreuil*.

Lewis purcha-
seth the Coun-
ty of *Boullen*,
and doth ho-
mage for it.

The Deputies
of *Arras* taken
and many of
them executed.

C While the King remains at *Boullen*, those of *Arras* seeing themselves enuioured on all sides, write to their friends of *Lille* and *Douay*, to succour them with some numbers of men: and moreover, they send to the duchesse of *Bourgongne*, to furnish them with some succours, meaning to put themselves into her hands. The Deputies being two or three and twenty in number, make shew to goe to the King, to treat with him, and vnder this colour they obtaine a passe-port of the bastard of *Bourbon*, Admirall of France. But being discovered vpon the way to *Flanders*, they were taken, brought to *Hedin*, deliuered to the Primos Marshall, condemned, and eightene of them beheaded, the rest were saued by the Kings ariall. Amongst them that were executed, there was one *ondard* of *Bussie*, borne at *Paris*, and married at *Arras*. The King had in former time offered him the place of a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at *Paris* then voyde, and since hee gaue him the office of Master of the accounts at *Arras*. He caused his head to be vnhuried, and set vpon a pole in the market place, with a red hood furied with meniuier, like to the Councillors of the Parliament. A worthy punishment for so malicious an ingratitude.

There were some few horsmen at *Douay*, of the remainders of *Nancy*: they armed three hundred good and bad, and some few foot, and march at noone day in the sight of *Arras*. The Lords of *Lude* and *Fou*, with the company of the Marshall of *Loheac*, aduertised of their approach, goe to meet with them, they fight with them, kill and take in a manner all of them. The King at his ariall, caused foure-score of these prisoners to be executed, to terrifie those few men of war that remained in the Country. Some of them enter the town, but they were not able to stand out against so great forces. So as after a hard battery they yeeld by composition: That they should remaine vnder the Kings obedience, as their Soueraigne, for want of heires male, rights and duties being not performed: That the Subsidies and Tributes should be leauied by the Kings officers, and deliuered by them to the heire of *Bourgongne*, untill shee had done homage and taken her oath of fealty to the King her Soueraigne Lord. During which time the Inhabitants should receiue no garison from the King. This was the fourth day of May.

Arras yeelded.

These things thus concluded, the King sent the Cardinall of *Bourbon*, the Chancellor of *Ortole*, *de Cordes* Gouverneur of the Towne, and *Guiof Poi*, Bayliffe of *Vermandois*, to take the oath of fealty of the Inhabitants. But after this oath, holily and religiously receiued by the Deputies, who tooketh their repast in the Monastery of *S. Vast*, behold an insolent troupe of desperate people comes crying, Kill, Kill: yet they were but terrified, and saued themselves presently in the City. This terror, together with the greedinesse of the Commanders, was the cause the composition was but ill offered: for in the presence of *Lude* and *Cerisy*, many good Citizens and other rich men were spoyled and slaine, and the City for at three score thousand crownes fine to the King, the which they say was afterwards restored. And to keepe these mutinies in awe, the King transported most of the Inhabitants of *Arras*, and planted it with a new Colony of French, commanding it should

A mutinie at
Arras, and the
Deputies
dangers.

bee

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insolency of
the Gantois.Their barbarous
cruelty.

be called *Ville Francoise*. At the same time the King aduertised, that the Flemings were in armes, and lodged a *Blancosse*, he sent to charge them, but they dislodge at the brunt thereof, yet not so speedily, but they leave about 2000 men slain at the first charge; and the like number in the chafe, being pursued eight Leagues within the County of Flanders. The French in their returne, razed *Mont-Cassell*, *Fiennes*, and some other places. The Gantois, whom the severe punishment of the Liegeois had kept in awe, now break forth. They make a ward of their Duchesse, force her to restore their ancient priuiledges, which *Philip & Charles* had taken from them, and suddenly they resolve a deadly reuenge, vpon such by whom they say they had been controlled. They lay hold vpon those whom they called their twenty and sixe Lawyers, whom *Charles* had established in the gouernment of the City, and puts them all, or the most part to death. They haue (say they) cut off ones head without any authority, for their power ended with the death of *Charles*. And moreover, they slew many good men within the City, that were wise and faithfull friends to *Charles* in his life. But they proceed yet farther.

The happy course of *Louis* his conquests doth much amaze them, whereupon they assemble some forme of a Parliament, by aduice whereof they make a motion of peace to the King, by an Ambassage, giuing him to vnderstand, that the Infanta of Bourgogne is determined to gouerne herselfe hereafter by the aduice and counsell of the three Estates of her Countries: they request the King to desist from making war, and to appoint a day when they may quietly pacifie all controuersies. There was nothing at that time able to withstand the violence of the Kings army. The Low-Countries were left naked of soldiers, those which furnished (being inconstant) had forsaken the Infantes seruice: Hee was well acquainted with the insolency of this people, not able to digest any man of iudgement that had been in any authority with their deceased Prince. He knew, that their inclination was to loue the declining of their Lord, so as it were not with the prejudice of their Country. And therefore he fore-casts (if he might) to sow some seeds of diuisions amongst them, whereby he should greatly incommber them. Hee stayes the Ambassadors vpon their speech. That their Prince would not conclude any thing without the counsell of the three Estates of the Country: whereunto hee replies, that they speake without warrant, and that he is duly informed, her meaning is to gouerne her affaires by priuie persons, who desired no peace. And vpon their protesting to the contrary, affirming that they were grounded vpon good instructions, the King opens *Maries* letters, brought by *Hugonnet*, *Himbercourt*, and other Ambassadors, at their first Ambassage, and they returne with no other dispatch then this letter.

Behold here a company vnexperienced in affaires, returne light with care, but fraught with reuenge and diuision: they make their report vnto their Lady, assisted with the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop of Lege, and many other great personages. They strike on that string which they meant to play vpon: that the King had proued them liars, in that they maintained constantly, that the referred the gouernment of her affaires to the resolution of the States. And for proof as they maintained the contrary, not imagining her letter to haue beene produced, behold the Pensionary of Gand, a brutish man and without respect, draws the said letter out of his bosome, and contounds this basefull Princeesse before the whole Assembly. The Dowager, *Raufsein*, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were likewise present. The Duke of Cleues instructed the marriage of his eldest sonne with the Infanta: he sees himselfe now frustrate by the above-named, so as hee presently becomes a mortall enemy to *Himbercourt*, from whom he expected fauour in this fate. The Bishop of Lege complained of many disorders committed by him at Lege, whereof hee had the gouernment. The Earle of Saint Paul, sonne to him that was beheaded, loued neither *Hugonnet* nor *Himbercourt*, for they had deliuered his father to the Kings seruants. The Gantois, according to their humors, hated them deadly, for that they were men of merit, and had beene good and loyall to their master.

To be short, the night after the letter was deliuered, *Hugonnet* and *Himbercourt* were tumultuously seized on, and deliuered to suborned men of their Law: and for that they had caused the City of Arras to be yeelded by the Lord of Cordes, as they said, or rather vpon certaine corruptions in iustice, and bribes which (they said) had beene receiued by them of the City of Gand, in a sute against a priuate man, and vpon many extortions in their charges, and other things contrary to the priuiledges of Gand, against the which

(say

A (say they) whoe euer offends must die: these two reuerend and graue personages, were with a shadow of Law condemned by the Sheriffe of Gand, and notwithstanding their appeals before the King in his Court of Parliament at Paris, supposing that this respite and delay, might giue their friends meanes to procure their deliuey, they were vnwillingly put to death. Oh vniust, barbarous, and inhumane people! That the humble and earnest supplication of thy Princeesse, being in the Towne-house, nor her weeping and desolate presence before that mournfull scaffold, were not of force to preserue and keepe the liues of these two her faithfull seruants.

This execution ended, they sequestred from this poore Princeesse, the Dowager and *Raufsein*, who had signed the Letter, they disposing absolutely of her. Poore, without doubt, hauing not only lost so many good and great Townes, but also sees herselfe now in the tyrannical possession of the ancient persecutors of her house. A great corolluse, to be commanded by such as should obey. Afterward they banished whom they pleased, placed and displaced officers after their owne appetites, chase away indifferently all such as had best deserued of this house of Bourgongne. And to continue their popular fury, they deliuered out of prison *Adolfe* Duke of Gueldres, whom *Charles* had long detained, and making him their head, they made a leauy in Gand, Bruges, and Ypre, of about twelve thousand men, the which they sent to Tournay, and burnt the suburbs, and then they retire. But the garison issuing forth, put wings to their feet: so as *Adolfe* a valiant Prince of his person, turning head to fauour them that fled, and to make the retreat, was overthrowne and slaine, with a great number of his people with him. The Infanta was nothing grieved; for if this stratagem had succeeded for the first fruits of his armes, some hold they would haue forced her to marry this *Adolfe*.

But wee haue wandred long enough in Arthois and Flanders, let vs retire a little into Bourgongne, and consider how this Duchy became French. *John* of Chalon, Prince of Orange, was in great credit there. He possessed much land, both in the Duchy & County, he was a man of action, and much esteemed in the Country, and pretended some inheritances against the Lords of Chaumergnon his Vncles. *Charles* of Bourgongne had giuen sentence in fauour of his aduersaries, and (as he said) to his great preiudice, so as he had twice left his seruice. Now the question is to win him againe. The King promiseth to inuest him in all those places which he pretends to belong vnto him, by the success of his grand-father, and to giue him good preferments in France. So he makes him in shew the head of that army which the Lord of Craon commanded, being Lieutenant general for the King in Bourgongne, whom the King trusted more then the Prince, being rash & light in the change of parties. Craon hauing commandement to enter into Bourgongne, sends the Prince of Orange before, to practise the Towne of Dijon. He wrought so politickely, that Dijon and many other places, both of the Duchy and County, did willingly submit themselves to the French command. Auxonne and some other places of strength continued still vnder the obedience of *Mary* of Bourgongne. Craon seeing himselfe in possession of these places, desired rather to hold them vnder the Kings authority, then to deliuer the to the Prince of Orange, notwithstanding the Kings promise and instance, who desired to gratifie this Prince, and yet would not discontent Craon, who commanded the forces. The Prince hauing to doe with a man that would yeeld nothing without good consideration, and seeing himselfe frustrate of his pretensions, he ioynes with *Chastaignion* his brother, and *Claude* of Vaudry, a braue Gentleman, raiseth some troopes, with the which hee draweth from the King the most part of the above named places, with as great facility, as if he had conquered them for him, and then followes the Infantes party, whose age and weakness, required a great support by some worthy alliance.

There was some speech of *Charles* the Dauphin, but hee was but nine yeares old. The Duke of Cleues laboured for his eldest son, the Emperour for his sonne *Maximilian* King of Romanes. *Mary* desired much the alliance of France, but the King had done her a great disgrace, deliuering her letters to the Gantois, the which shee had secretly written: which caused the death of those two good men, and the banishment of her most affectionate seruants. Moreover, her Estate required a man to gouerne it. Shee would willingly haue married with the Earle of Angoulesme, if the King had bene so pleased.

The humours of the heire of Cleues pleased her not, nor such as were about her. The Emperour kept (as a pawne) a Diamond with a letter, which the Infanta had written vnto him,

Hugonnet and
Himbercourt
condemned &
beheaded.Adolfe Duke
of Gueldres
slaine.The rebuke of
the Prince of
Orange.

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Marriage of
Maximilian
and Mary.

him, by her fathers command; whereby shee promifeth to accomplifh the mariage, in A forme, according to her fathers pleafure. He fend it to the dueheffe, to auerre her hand and promife, demanding if ſhe would perfift therein. She doth auouch the contents, and agrees to make it good. So *Maximilian* comes to Gand, & there the mariage was conſum- mated. A mariage which ſhould proue a fire-brand, to kindle (by their defendants, both within this Realme, and in many other eſtates) the combuſtious tumults and furies which haue followed; the which happily had been auoyded by a French alliance. But God had otherways decreed. This mariage was cōſummated during the Orangeoſ reuolt in Bour- gogne, the which continued ſomewhat long, by the ſupport the Germanes gaue him in fauour of *Sigifmond* of Auſtria Vncle to *Maximilian*, who (hauiſng his territories adioyn- ing, and eſpecially the County of Ferrette, (the which hee had retired by the *Suiſſes* meanes) would galdly haue gotten ſomewhat of his neighbours. But the indiſcretion of *Sigifmond*, and the want of money to pay the *Bourguignons*, were a meanes that the King did more eaſily preuent the Prince of Orange his practices, who now called himſelfe Lieutenant to the ſaid Germanes. They ſupplied him with ſome troopes, with the which he recovered almoſt all the County, continuing his courſe, vntill that *Craen* came to be- ſiege him in Grey, a ſmall towne of the ſaid County.

Craen beſieged
before Dole.

Chafteauguion ſeeing his brother cooped vp, and the place ready to yeeld to *Craen* diſcretion, poſts thither with all the forces he can, and comes to charge *Craen*ſ army in front, whileſt that the beſieged ſhould ſet vpon him behind. So charged both before and behind, he found the match hard: yet by the defeat of fourteene or fifteene hundred men, for the moſt part enemies, and the taking of *Chafteauguion*, hee wonne the victory, *Craen* leads his army after this victory before Dole, the chiefe towne of the County: but for that he did preſſe it but ſlackly, and neglected his enemy, whoſe forces he knew to be but ſmall, he had ill ſucceſſe: for in a ſhorte ſally they ſlew many of his men, and caried a- way a great part of his artillery. This affront brought him in diſgrace with the King, who fearing a more dangerous checke, hearing likewiſe complaints from all parts, of his great exactions and money vniuſtly taken, puts him from the government of Bour- gogne, preferring in his place *Charles* of Amboiſe, Lord of Chaumont, a valiant, wiſe, and vigilant Captaine. Loue preuailes more then force. He perſwades the King to pa- cifie the *Suiſſes* and other Germanes, who followed the Prince of Orange, in fauour of the houſe of Auſtria: and to make the way more eaſie for the King, hee himſelfe doth praſiſe the Commanders.

Then began the *Suiſſes* firſt league with the Kings the which hee effected by meanes of twenty thouſand frankes he gaue yearly among the Cantons, and the like ſumme to be diſtributed among ſome Captaines which he employed. And to pleaſe them, hee made himſelfe a Bourgeſſe amongſt them, and obtained the title of the firſt allied to their Com- mon-weale. A title which the Duke of Sauoy pretended to bee due vnto him aboue all others. They likewiſe for their parts, promiſed to furniſh fixe thouſand men to ſerue the King continually, for foure Germane Florins & a halfe a moneth, a number which conti- nued alwayes vnto the death of *Lewis*. The *Suiſſes* are now vnder the Kings pay, and ſo the *Bourguignons* partie much weakened, who aſſemble the Nobility of the Country to- gether, vnder the Prince of Orange, and defeat the companies of Salezard and Coming- hen neere vnto Grey. But Amboiſe (being fortified with men and artillery) takes *Verdun*, *Montſauion*, *Semeur* in *Lauxois*, *Chaſſillon* vpon *Seine*, *Bar* vpon *Seine*, *Beaulne*, and *Rochfort* neere vnto Dole, belonging vnto *Faudray*. Thus hauing freed all the ap- proaches to Dole, hee camps before it, batters it, makes a breach, giues an aſſault, and takes it. Some troopes of the townes laſt ſubdued thruſt themſelues into it, either to warrant it from ſpoil, or to haue a better ſhare, but there enters ſuch a multitude of Frank- archers, as it was impoſſible to ſaue it from ſacke and fire. Yet the King repaired the ruines about the walles, building a great part of the wall towards the riuier of Doux, with a great trench, whereby a great part of the ſaid riuier did run forth, inuironing that part of the wall: but this is nothing, in regard of the fortifications which haue bene ſince built, whereby it exceeds moſt of the Cities of Chriſtendome, being famous at this day, in Se- nate, Vniuerſity and Armes.

Auxonne deſerued along & ſharp ſiege, but the wiſdome of *Amboiſe* preuailed ſo wel after the ſiege of Dole, that (giuing the chiefe offices of the towne, to ſuch as demanded them)

1478

A them) it was yeelded within fixe or fixe daies, and likewiſe the Caſtles of Ion, *Saint Agnes* vpon *Salins*, *Champaignole*, *Arguel*, and ſome others built vpon rocks. Be aſon, an Imperial towne, yeelded to the King (by his Lieutenant generally) the like duties as they were accuſtomed to doe the Earle of *Bourgogne*. Thus *Bourgogne* being conquered, remained ſome time in the Kings quiet poſſeſſion. A young horſe hath need of a gentle hand, to make him taſte the bit with delight. But *Verdun* and *Beaulne* not able to endure the command of the French, began firſt to kicke, yet by the Governours diſcretion, they were ſpeedily ſubdued and recovered from *Simon* of *Quiney*, who led a troope of fixe hundred men of foot and horſe, Germanes and others. tumultuouſly aſſembled in Ferrette B and thereabouts, to put into the aboue named places. *Verdun* was taken by aſſault, and ſubiect to the accuſtomed inſolencies in the like priſes. *Beaulne* yeelded by compoſition, in the beginning of Iuly, with liues and goods ſaued, and for a ſine they payed forty thou- ſand crownes. Theſe ſudden exploits did ſo terrifie the other townes, as all kept them- ſelues within their due obedience.

But how doth *Edward* King of England looke vpon this Theater, where our men play the petty Kings? And how doth he ſuffer the King without any oppoſition, to enlarge his eſtate by the taking of Arras, *Boulongne*, *Hedin*, and ſo many other Townes, and to be lodged many daies before *S. Omer*? In truth our *Lewis* had a quicke conceit, and very watchfull. He knew well that the Engliſh in general, were wonderfully inclined to war a- gainſt this Realme, as well vnder colour of their ancient pretenſions, as for the hope of gaine, inticed by many high deeds of armes, wherein they haue often had the aduantage, and of that long poſſeſſion both in *Normandy* and *Guienne*; where they had command- ed three hundred and fifty yeares, vntill that *Charles* the ſeuenth diſpoſſeſſed them. That this baite might well perſwade them to croſſe his deſignes: theſe two mighty Princes neighbours, cannot ſee (without iealouſie) the one to grow great by new conqueſts, and the other to be at quiet. He therefore entertaines *Edward* with ſundry Ambaſſages, pre- ſents, and goodly ſpeeches: cauſeth the penſion of fifty thouſand crownes, to be duly payed at *London*, and ſome ſixteene thouſand diſtributed among ſuch as were in credit about him: ſo as the profit they drew from the iudicious bounty of *Lewis*, tyed their D tongues, and blinded their eyes. Money was mucke to him in regard of a man of ſeruiſe, and he was pleaſed to vaunt, that the great Chamberlaine (whereof there is but one in England) the Chancellour, Admirall, Maſter of the horſe, and other great Officers of England, were his Penſioners. So hee gaue vnto *Howard* four and twenty thouſand crownes in money and plate, beſides his penſion, in leſſe then two yeares: and to *Ha- ſtings* great Chamberlaine, a thouſand markes of ſiluer in plate at one time, as appears by their quitrances, in the chamber of accompts at Paris.

The politicks
liberality of
Lewis.

Lewis had great need to vie this policy and bounty, for this young Princeſſe did infinit- ly preſſe *Edward*, who for her cauſe did often ſend to the king to demand a peace, or at the leaſt a truce; and in the Court of England, there wanted not ſome to incenſe *Edward*, that E ſeeing the term was expired, by the which *Lewis* ſhould ſend for the Infanta of England, (whom they called *Madam the Dauphine*) he would deceiue him. Yet no reſpect, neither private nor publike, could moue *Edward*: hee was purſue, louing his pleaſures, vnable to ſuffer paine, glorious of nine famous victories, and fraught with home-bred enemies: and aboue all, the loue of fifty thouſand crownes (ſo well payed in his Tower of *London*) kept him at home. Moreouer, the Ambaſſadors that came from him, returned laden with rich preſents, and alwayes with irrefoluate anſwers, to win time, promiſing ſpeedily to re- ſolue the points of their demands, to their maſters ſatisfaction.

The diſpoſition
of Edward King
of England.

But let vs obſerue another ingenious policy: *Lewis* neuer ſent one Ambaſſadour twice vnto *Edward*, to the end, that if the former had happily treated of any thing that tooke not effect, the latter knew not what to anſwer, and ſo ignorance ſerued him for an excuſe with delay of time. Moreouer, he inſtructed his Ambaſſadors ſo well, as the aſſurance of the mariage they gaue to the King and Queene of England (the accompliſhment whereof they both greatly deſired) made them take hope for payment. Yet the King had neuer any ſuch meaning: there was too great an inequality of age: and thus getting a moneth or two by mutuall Ambaſſages, he kept his enemy from doing him any harme, who (without the bait of this mariage) would neuer haue ſuffered the houſe of *Bourgogne* to be ſo oppreſſed. Another reaſon diſſwaded *Edward* from embracing of *Maries* quarrell.

N n

She

1478

The reason
why Edward
neglected Arras
in Bourgongne

She had refused to marry with the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the Queene of England. The which match was not equall, he being but a poore Baron, and the the greatest heire of her time. And the better to keepe *Edward* quiet, the King inuited him to ioyne with him, and comforted that he should haue for his part the Prouinces of Flanders and Brabant, offering him to conquer for him, at his owne charge, foure of the greatest townes in Brabant, to entertaine him ten thousand English men for foure monthes, and to furnish him with artillery and carriages, so as *Edward* would come in person, and seize vpon Flanders, whilist that he employed his forces elsewhere. But *Edward* found that Flanders and Brabant were hard to conquer, and painfull to keepe: and also the English, by reason of the commodity of their traffike, had no will to this warre. Yet (said hee) *since it pleaseth you to make me partaker of your victories, giue mee of those places you haue conquered in Picardy, Boulougne, and some others: then will I declare my selfe for you, and assist you with men at your charge.* A wife and discreet demand: but those places were no lesse conuenient for *Lewis*, who was loth to beat the bush, for another to get the birds.

It appeares, that *Edward* did wonderfully affect the alliance of France, and feared to grieve the King any occasion to intinge it, so as (some say) he caused his brother the duke of Clarence to be put in prison, vpon colour that he would passe the seas, to succour the Duke of Bourgongne: for the which crime, he was condemned to haue his head cut off, and his body to be quartered, a punishment inflicted vpon traitors in England. But as the memory of this mother, *Edward* did moderate this sentence, and gaue him the choice of what death he would, whereupon he was drowned in a Pipe of Malmesey. But this Duke was sometime in law to the Earle of Warwicke, whom *Edward* had slain in battell, as we haue said: and it seemes the greatest crime they could obiect against him, was the priuie hatred which supers commonly beare to those who they doubt might but crosse their tyrannicall vspurations. But as we haue recreated our selues beyond the Sea: let vs now passe the Alpes, and see what is done there, suffering our warriours to enioy a truce vntill the next year. There were at that time two mighty families in Florence, the one of Medicis, the other of Papis. These were supported by Pope Sixtus the fourth, & by *Ferdinando* King of Naples, to overthrow the absolute government of the City: they attempt to murder *Lan- renco de Medici*, and all his followers, and gaue for watch word to the murderers, when as the Priests celebrating the high Masse, should say, *sanctus* in the Church of *S. Repare*, where they should assist at a certaine day.

Lan- renco escaped, but being maimed of many of his members, hee saved himselfe in the Vestry. *Julian* his brother was slaine and foure of their followers. Then ranne they to the Palace to murder all those which had the government of the City, but being mounted, they see that some of their men had abandoned them, so as they were not about foure or five, and which was worse, the gates were shut vpon them. The senators (seeing these rascals thus banded) put their heads out at their windows, they see this tumult, and heare *James Papis* and others crying *Liberta, Liberta*, and *Popolo, Popolo*, (words to moue the people, and to make them follow their faction) but they moued not: so as *Papis* and his companions fled from the place, and those that were entred were presently hanged at the bars of the Palace windows. *Francis Saluati* Arch bishop of Pisa, hauing laid Masse with a cuirasse on his backe, was taken and hanged in the same habit. The Gouernors seeing the whole Towne to stand firme for them and the Medicis, they send presently to all the passages, to apprehend a lynch as should be found flying. *James* and *Francis Papis* were presently taken, with another Captaine of the Popes troops vnder the Earle *Ieronimo*, and hanged instantly, with other great personages to the number of fouretene: some grooms and other base people, were knockt down in the streets. *Nicholas* Cardinal of *S. George*, nephew to the Earle was a long time prisoner.

The King aduertised of this hurly-burly, sends the Lord of Argenton, both to take (in his Maties name) the homage which *Bonne Duchesse* of Milan, ought for the Duchy of Venoua, in the behalfe of the young Duke *Iohn Galeas* her sonne, and to receiue the men at armes, which they had granted in fauour of the Medicis. The Pope aduertised of the execution done at Florence, doth excommunicate the Citizens, and with the same breach commands his army to march, and to ioyne with that of Naples, being great and faire it was commanded (for the Pope) by the Duke of *Vrbino*, *Robert of Rimini*, *Constantine* of *Picardy*, and many others: and for *Ferdinando*, by his two sonnes, the one Duke of

Calabria,

1478

The Pope and
the King of
Naples send
their troopes
against Flo-
rence.

- A Calabria, the other *Don Fredericke*. They take many places about Florence, and almost ruine the whole State. There were few Commanders, of small experience, and weak forces. The Kings assistance did somewhat comfort them, being after much warre abolished and reconciled to the Church. As also to terrifie Pope, *Lewis* had called a Council of the French Church at Orleans for the restoring of the pragmatick Sanctio in France, and to abolish the custome to cary money to Rome for the obtaining of Bulls: yet the Assembly brake off without any conclusion, and was referred to Lions the next year, but without effect. Thus passe the affaires of this world, but many doe oppress him at the length. Our *Lewis* hath in a manner ouerliued all his greatest enemies, and now hee begins to decline. Troubles, care and waywardnesse, call him mildly to his graue: the vigor of his spirits faile him, and hereafter we shall see a strange alteration in his humors. The truce ends, and seeing wee must returne to warre, let vs beginne it by some notable stratagem. The Arch-duke *Maximilian* hath now the Flemings hearts at his deuotion. To employ them, hee camps before Therouenne, with about twenty thousand Flemings, some Germane troopes, and three hundred English, led by *Thomas Abercrombie* an English Captaine. The Lord of Cordes Lieutenant Generall for the King in *Picardy*, assembles what troopes he can, out of the neighbour garisons, eight thousand francke archers, eleven hundred men at armes, and makes haste to releuee it. *Maximilian* vnderstanding of their approach, raiseth the siege, marcheth towards them, and affronts them at Guinegast. *Des Cordes* was the stronger in horse, but the weaker in foot. The forwards ioyne without any slay, the Arch-dukes (being led by *Rauelein*) doth not maintaine the fight, but is soone broken and chased euen vnto Aice by *Cordes* and *Torci*. The foot stand firme, supported by the Arch-duke himselfe, the Lord of Rhomont, the Earle of Nassau, and two hundred Gentlemen al on foot: the franck archers of the French, supposing that these footmen would flie with the foreward, fall vpon the baggage. The Duke doth charge them, forcing them to leaue their booty and fall to armes. The slaughter was great, but most of the enemies. Eleuen thousand Bourgougnons were slaine, faith the History, and nine hundred prisoners, amongst the which was a Germane Earle, & the King of Polands sonne: of the French there died foure thousand, and the small number of the Kings army, made the enemy continue master of the field, who gathering together the remainders of his troopes, tooke the Castle of Malainoy by assault, where Captaine *Remonet* (notwithstanding the faith which was giuen him when he yelded) was hanged. For satisfaction hereof, fifty of the aboue-named prisoners, were hanged by ten in a place, ten where as *Remonet* was executed, ten before Douay, ten before Saint Omer, ten before Arras, and ten before Lille. *Des Cordes* did runne rashly to this battell and without the Kings commandement: who was somewhat amazed with the first news, thinking they had concealed the truth, and that it was quite lost for him. If it be so (said hee) farewell all my latter conquests: he was not accustomed to lose, but alwaies very happy, being loth to hazard much in fight. But if any Captaine had meanes to tell him a good place, hee was a liberall purchaser at what price soeuer: but the seller must afterwards take heede of his Gossp the Hermit the Controuler of his house.

This blaine made *Lewis* resolute to treat a peace with *Maximilian*, so as it might bee profitable vnto him; and that he might thereby curbe the Arch-duke, and by the helpe of his owne subjects, so as afterwards he should haue no meanes to annoy him. For this effect the King seeks to the Gantois, that by their mediation, a marriage might be made between *Charles* the Daulphine, and the daughter of the said Arch-duke, vpon condition to leaue the Counties of Bourgongne, Auxerre, Mafcon, and Charolois, and to quit him Arthois, referring Arras in the estate hee had letted it, the City commanding the Towne, the which hereafter should bee held of the Crowne by the Bishop. As for the Duchie of Bourgongne, the Earldome of Boulogne, the Townes lying vpon Somme, and other places in *Picardy* there was no mention. The Gantois (and by their solliciting, those of Bruges with some other chiefe Townes of Flanders and Brabant, who desired rather to suppress, then to fortifie their new Lord) gaue eare to this transaction, ill increasing *Maximilian* and his wife all they could, being loth to submit themselves to his command: first, for that he was a stranger: secondly, for that they knew more iudicious Princes, but not any more couetous then his father, whose sonne was seasoned with the same base couetousnesse, which caries with it great contempt. Notwithstanding this

N n 2

treating

The Gantois
and those of
Flanders and
Brabant hate
their new Lord.

1480

Lewis seeks
to reforme his
Reialme.

treating ended with a truce, attending the conclusion of a generall peace. In the meane A time our Lewis applies himselfe to order his Reialme, to reforme Iustice, and the Court of Parliament (especially for the tediousnesse of suites) one of the principall points for the which he hated it) but without any diminution of the number of his officers, nor of their authority. Moreover, he desired to bring into all the Countreies of his obedience, one custome, one waight, and one measure, to suppress those horse-leeches the practitioners, and the Merchants fraud. He had wonderfully oppressed his people, yea wittingly: and neither admonitions nor supplications could procure any reliefe: the moum must come from himselfe, he is now wholly addicted therunto, but sometime a burning feuer tending to fury, sometimes a cold palsey, sometimes the trouble of the Rheumoids, sometimes his speech sayling, sometimes some other fits or distemperatures of mind ediuert him from his good humor. To teach vs, neuer to deserre that vnwill to morrow, which we may presently performe: for wee ought to feare, that God will not giue vs the will and meane to doe well, when we haue once neglected it. All these ordinary infirmities made him froward and vnpleasing to his household seruants, causing him to take their seruices well meant in euill part. And being one day at Forges neere vnto Chinon, about dinner-time, troubled with his ordinary fits, as hee would haue drawne towards the windowes, they hindred him: vpon his first recovery, hee chafed away all those that had by force stayed his approach to the windowes: neither would hee euer admit them to his presence, holding themselves happy to enioy their offices. His iudge C ment being troubled, it made him thinke, that this manner of proceeding did derogate from his authority, which he sought to maintaine about all things, neither would hee be disobeyed in any thing, doubting lest in the end they should controll him in the government of his affaires, as distract of his wits. Vpon his amendment after any infirmity, hee would still know what expectations and dispatches they had made. Hee tooke the letters, and made shew to reade them, although he had no knowledge, or very little. Yet must they please him in all things, being dangerous to offend him. This first fit continued about fifteene dayes, at the end whereof hee recovered both speech and iudgement. He fers the Cardinal of Baluc aliberty, (a prisoner since the year 1468.) at the request and pursuite of Cardinal Saint Peter ad Vincula, Legate in France, being sent to mediate a peace betwixt Lewis and Maximilian, and to sollicite them to succor the Christians oppressed vnder the Turkes persecutions, whom the King satisfied with hope and good words.

Cardinal Baluc
is set at liberty

But being come to Peronne, and hauing giuen Maximilian and the Flemings intelligence of his arrival, they would not admit him, and so his voyage proved fruitlesse. Neither admonitions nor requests could euer moue the King to deliuer Baluc, & now a scruple drawes him to it, seeking an absolution for that hee had detained him so long in prison. And as he feels his strength and senses to decay, so jealousie and distrust (very incident vnto him) increased daily, and apprehending death, hee feared lest his owne subjects should hasten it by some new practices. In this perturbation, hee remembers that John Duke of Bourbon had followed the D. of Guienne in the warre of the Common-weale: and that he might ioyne with the Duke of Britany, to raise vp new troubles, and so shorten his dayes. He appoints certaine Commissioners ill-affected to the house of Bourbon, who not able directly to touch the Dukes person, they summon his Chancellor, his Attorney Generall, the Capraine of his Guards, and other principall Officers, to appeare in person, before the Court of Parliament at Paris. Being examined and heard, and finding nothing wherewith to charge them, they were freed, and death did follow after free the said Duke from the feare he had conceived of the Kings hatred. Hee had imitated the Duke of Bourgonnes army, and by the aduice of *des Cordes* his Lieutenant generall in Picardy had newly imposed fifteene hundred thousand Frankes, for the maintenance of ten thousand foot: whereof the sixe thousand Swisses before mentioned were a part: two thousand five hundred pions, and fifteene hundred men at Armes of his ordinary, to fight on foot when as need should require, causing a great number of carts to be made to inclose them, and tents to campe in, and therefore hee called them soldiers of the campe. And for that they complained that the franke-archers did greatly oppress the poore people, he did cassier all their companies. When this new campe was ready, he went to see it ranged in battell in a valley neere to Pont de Larche in Normandy,

vnder

1482

The Kings
relapse.The death of
Mary of Bour-
gogne.The Duke of
Britany armes
fortified.A peace be-
twixt the King
and Maximilian.The Dauphin
marries with
Marguerite.Edward of
England dies.

A vnder the command of his Lieutenant Generall, causing them to lie in campe a whole moneth together, to the end hee might see what quantity of victuals were necessary for them: and then he returned into Touraine. Being at Tours, behold a relapse, which he feared greatly. Hee loseth his speech, they hold him for dead, hee remains two houres couched on a pallet in a gallery. Being somewhat recovered, seeking to diuert his distease, and to reuiue his spirits by the change of ayre, hee went to Argenton, and then returned to Tours, but still languishing of his discale forrelling death. Then hee vnderooke the journey of Saint Claude, which many Gentlemen had vowed being present at his fall. Vpon his returne, newes comes of the death of Mary of Bourgonne, B who going a hunting mounted vpon a stirring hobbeys, was cast, and after dyed of a quindian, hauing had by Maximilian, Philip Arch-duke, Marguerit afterwards Queene of France, and Francis that dyed yong. A vertuous Princes, liberrall, respected and beloued of all her subjects.

This death was wonderfull pleasing vnto our Lewis, in the midst of his afflictions, who not dreaming that he had one foot in the graue, thinks now to doe his businesse the better: for (sayd he) the Emperour is miserabill beloued and of small credit in Germany: Maximilian yong and of small experience, and ill beloued of his subjects: and moreover, the pupils are in the Gantois keeping, a people inclined to mutiny against the house of Bourgonne. Yet he repined much at the secret intelligences the Duke of Britany had with the English: and now a new subject thrusts him on to this enterprize, the which doubtlesse he had vndergone, if his health would haue suffered him. Francis Duke of Britany, vnderstanding that they made excellent armes at Milan, sent to buy a great number, and (to the end they should not be discovered by the noyie, and breed a new suspition in the King, if hee heard thereof) he cauled them to bee trussed vp in packes of silke, with cotton. These armes passing vpon moyles through Auuergne, Doyac Gouvernour of the Country had some intelligence, and aduertisheth the King thereof, who declares them forfeited to the benefit of Doyac.

This buying of armes, made Lewis to gape, more then euer, after Britany, but he defers the execution, to practice the Gouernors of Gand by the Lord of Cordes, and treats the marriage of the Dauphin his sonne, with Marguerite the daughter of Maximilian and Mary lately deceased. The late surprize of Aire by Cordes, amazed the Flemings and Brabanders, and made them willing to seeke an agreement with the King. To this end, Maximilian and they together send a great Ambassage to Arras, managed for the Arch-duke, by the Lords of Bergues and Launoy, with some Secretaries: and for the Commonalties by the Abbots of Saint Bertin and Saint Peter of Gand. The King appoints his Lieutenant generall in Picardy to heare them, with La Vaquerie, lately created first President of the Parliament of Paris, and other graue personages. A peace is concluded by meanes of the said marriage, in fauour whereof, they giue (as a portion to the said Marguerit) the Countiees of Arthois and Bourgonne, the lands and Seigneuries of Malconois, Auxerrois, Charolois, Salins, Bar, Sens and Noyon, to enioy them euer or euer. And in case that young Philip Earle of Flanders should die, Marguerit should succeed him in all the Lordships that belonged to her deceased mother, the Ioueraignty of Flanders remaining to the King. By meanes hereof, the Arctellians (that had bin confined) returned to Arras, and the city recovered her ancient name.

Thus Marguerite was conducted into France by the Lady of Rauestein, the bastard daughter of Philip duke of Bourgonne, and receiued by the duke and Duchesse of Bourbon, who led her to Amboise, the place of the Dauphins aboad, where the marriage was solemnly celebrated. Edward was wonderfully incensed at this marriage, seeing himselfe deprived of his pension, and fearing lest this disgrace should breed him great contempt, yea a rebellion of his subjects, seeing the effects of that which he would not beleue. Moreover, hee did finde, the King had newly planted strong defenses betwixt them two, and his conquests did stretch very neere vnto him. Hee conceived to great a grieue vpon all these considerations, as soone after he died, partly for sorrow, and partly of an Apoplexy. Soone after the death of Edward, Lewis receiues letters from the Duke of Glocester, who (by the murder of his two nephewes the sonnes of Edward, his brother) had usurped the Crowne of England, and was called Richard. This Richard fought the Kings friendship, but Lewis abhorring so barbarous a cruelty,

N n 3

would

1483

Troubles in
England.
Richard mur-
ders his two
Nephews and
disputes the
Crown.

would not vouchsafe to answer his letters, nor to heare his message. But he enjoyed not A long this tyrannous usurpation. God raised up that Earle of Richmond (whom we haue seene to long prisoner in Britany) who with some little money from the King, and three thousand men leauied in the Duchy of Normandy, passed into Walles, and ioyned with his father in law the Lord *Stanley*, with fixe and twenty thousand English, with which forces he encountered *Richard*, fought with him, and slew him in the field, and then was crowned King of England. At the same time, *William* of March, brother to him whom they commonly called the Boare of Ardenne, (to install his sonne in the Bishopricke of Liege,) leauies a great number of foot and horse, and besiege *Lewis*, brother to the Duke of Bourbon, being Bishop there. The Bishop craues succours from the Archduke of Austria and the Prince of Orange his brother in law, who notable to come in time, and prest by some secret partisans of *La Marche*, hee goes forth in armes to fight with his enemy, and was slaine: whereby *La Marche* entred into Liege, but soone after he was surprized by the Lord of Montaigny, ayded with some troopes from the Archduke, and suddenly beleached.

Our *Lewis* is now well satisfied touching the affaires of Flanders: there remained nothing but a reuenge of Britany. But oh! how doth suspicion, feare, distrust, and finally death, breake off his great desires? he is now at Plessis neere Tours, priuate, solitary, and shewing himselfe to few. Hee leaues a decay of his estate, and yet is become vnable to gurne a great estate. The opening of a doore feares him; his owne shadow amazeth him, C death terrifies him, but (the worst is) his conscience troubles him. He puts his most trusty seruants from him, he doubts his neere kinmen, hee abhorres them he suspects, and suspects all the world. The few whom hee doubts most, hee distrusteth, with a couple of his Guard to guide them; peniue, sad; dreaming; froward; peeuish and cholericke: every thing displeaseth him, all is vncomfortable, all offends him; hee knows not what is fittest for him, either life or death, and yet he would lue and reigne. He knows that he hath many enemies, and hath offended many, that the greatest of the Princes lue him not; that the meaneer folk murmured, and that the people hated him: for hee hath ouercharged them, yea more then any of his predecessors; and hath not means to ease them; and although he had a will, yet it is now too late.

Oh what a grievous testimony is the conscience of our misdeeds! Few enter at Plessis, but his household seruants, and the Archers of his Guard, whereof there are foure hundred daily in guard at the gate. No Nobleman lodgeth there, none come there but his son in law *Peter* (afterwards Duke of Bourbon, by the death of *Iohn* his brother) and few of his followers: and yet hee thinketh still, that some one enters to offer violence to his person: or that by loue or force they will pull his scepter from him. Hee causeth his sonnet to be straightly guarded, and will not suffer many to see him, lest he should bee made the head of a faction. His daughter hath no access to him: his sonne in law no credit. His son in law returns from the Dauphins marriage: *Lewis* with a deuice, makes the Capraine of his Guard to search such as are entred with the Duke, to see if they were not secretly armed. He commands him to hold the Councell, then hee disolues it: for in his absence they would make Monopolies. Who did euer see a minde more distrust, more vnquiet, and fuller of cares? He distrusts his sonne, his daughter, his sonne in law, and generally all those that may command.

The Castle gate is safely guarded; but they may leape ouer the walles, they must bee planted with gaddes of iron, with many points, and so thick as no man might passe them: and moreover, the ditch at Plessis, compassed in with great barres, with foure engines of iron at the corners: Canoniers, and forty Crosse-bow men were appointed to stand, ten a day and night Centinell in the ditch, with commission to shoot at any one that should approach in the night, vntill the opening of the gate in the morning. Doubtlesse, the iustice of God would that those cages of iron, and those of wood couered with plates of iron both within and without, those shackles, bolts, manacles, chaines tied to a great bowle, waightry beyond humane force: where he had oftentimes imprisoned many, (yea and of honour,) for very trifolous causes, should now be to many tortures to his conscience, at the last point of his death: and as he had giuen them eight foot in bredth, and it may bee so much in height, to stretch out themselves, so he now retires himselfe into a little corner of the Castle, and like another *Perillus*, they were tarall to their first deuiler. The Bishop of

The last act of
Ravens life.

His disposition
in his death-
struggle.

1483

Strange dissem-
peratures.

Lewis braued
by his Physi-
cian.

His disordered
zeale.

His inuentione
to make men
believe that
he lued still.

Lewis his ad-
monitions to
the Dauphin
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A of Verdun remained foureteeene yeares shut vp in the first that was made. To conclude, no dispatch came to Court, during this lamentable estate. The King had but one or two about him, men of no credit, who knew well, that after his death, the best that could chance vnto them, was to be shamefully chased away. But a great confusion attends them shortly. These men made no report vnto him of any thing that hapned, but only that which concerned the Estate and the Realme, labouring to maintaine loue with all men. As for his person, every day a new groomer of his Chamber, every day new seruants. Yet knowes he not whom to trust. One onely amongst the rest gets some credit, but forced. It is his Physician, *James Cottier* a Bourguignon: hee giues him ten thousand crowns monthly, and B what Offices, or what lands he will demand, be it for himselfe, or his friends: and for a nephew of his the Bishopricke of Amiens; and (as a man would say) his Crowne and his scepter, so as he will prolong his life. An odious, impudent, and audacious Physician: who to continue his credit, said vnto the King. *I know well that one of these mornings, you will send me away with the rest, but (swearing a great oath) you shall not lue eight dayes after.* A strange heart-breaking, to be braued by a rascall, whereas so many great Princes did yield him voluntary obedience. But oh vanity, to thinke that the deuice of man can adde one minute to mans life! *Lewis* had neede to haue bene put in minde of this Oracle, *I haue said you are Gods, and all the children of the Lord, but you shall die like men; and you that are Princes shall fall like other men.*

C At that time lued *Francis* borne at Paul in Calabria, a deuout Hermit, without learning, but of an austere life, and holy reputation, founder of the Friars Minimes. The King sent for him by a Steward of his house, in the compay of the Prince of Tarentum, son to the King of Naples: at the first sight hee kneeles vnto him, and desires him to prolong his dayes, in truth, we haue often zeale, but not according to knowledge. But, *Put no confidence in the chiefe of the people, nor in any of the founes of man, who haue no power to deliuer thee. O how happy is hee, whom the mighty God of Iacob helpes, and whose trust is in the Eternal!* In the meane time, *Lewis* declines, and death follows him at the heeles: yet will hee not haue men to thinke so, and omits no inuention to diuert this opinion, both within and without the Realme. Within, hee attires himselfe richly, contrary to his custome, and D shewes himselfe, but onely in his Court, and gallery: hee makes seuerall lawes to be feared: sends away officers, dischargeth men at armes, cuts off pensions, & takes some quite away. To conclude, he passeth his time, to make and marre men. Without the Realme, he payes that duty in England which he owes, and all other places, where hee will haue them thinke that he is found and alie: he sends men vnder colour to buy something: Into Spaine, Naples, and Germany for some horses; in Sicilie, some good Mules, but especially of some good officer of the Country, and payed double for them. In Britany, Gray-hounds, and Spaniels. In the Kingdome of Valence, little Water-dogges. In Denmarke and Sweden, Hawkes. In Barbary, little Lions, of the bignesse of Foxes. To conclude, the more he feared the decay of his dignity toward his latter end, the more hee fought to be feared, and E takes away all occasions to thinke that his end approached. Feeling his end draw neere, he sent for the Dauphin his sonne, whom he had not seene in many yeares, causing him to be nourished apart, lest the colour of his presence should haue bred some faction, as there had rashly risen in his young age against *Charles* the seuenth his Father. And experience hauing taught him, how dangerous a sodaine alteration was; he commanded him expressly not to displace any Officer, and especially to maintaine *Oliuer le Dain* in the Offices and goods hee had gotten in his seruice, as hauing assisted him well in his sicknesse: (but as this man was hastily and too highly exalted, so must he and some others of like sort bee shortly suppress.) and *Iohn Dayac*, gouernor of Auvergne, from whom hee had received good and notable seruices, to call master *Guyot Pot*, and the Lord of *Bouchage* to Councell, and to follow *Philippe* of Cordes for armes: Not to beleene his mother, especially in the gouernment of his State, who (as a Sauoisien) hee had found by experience, to fauour the Bourguignon: and generally, to confirme all those in their dignities, whom hee had aduanced: And to ease the people, whom hee had oppressed by the necessitie of the warres. Few dayes after the King had spoken to the Dauphin his sonne, his ordinary infirmity takes him, and he suddenly lost his speech, with a great debility of his forces. Hauing recovered (iudging himselfe but a dead man) he sent the Duke of Bourbon to King his sonne (so then he called him) giuing him the charge and gouernment of his said sonne,

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A cunning Prince, wise, painfull, reuengefull, vigilant, industrious, of a great memory, neuer hazarding that, which by policy, dissembling, money, or any other industry he might obtaine: vnquiet in his raigne, vnquiet in his life, and vnquiet in his death, not able to folue but in extremities: Deuout, but inclining to superstition. A great oppressor of the people, but to giue to Churches, to foraine pensioners, and to purchase them deadly whom he had found fit for his purpose, as we may easily perceiue by the discourse of his life. He was continent beyond the ordinary of great and generous Princes: and in truth greatly to be commended, in that he had so virtuously contained himselfe within the bounds of his professed vowe, and neuer to haue knowne other women than his own wife. And if the 61 yeare, (the which he alwayes apprehended as the fatal period of his life, for that none of his predecessors since *Hugh Capet*, had passed that terme) had not ended his life, he had reformed the State, ordred iustice, & releued the people. Happy in his death, hauing changed a continuall toile, into an eternall rest: happy in that rest (which we hope for in heauen) to haue left a Successor quiet of himselfe, young, but of great hope, and chiefly, for that he had seen the Church, during his raigne, freed from that long and inuenerate three and twentieth Schisme, which had so long turmoyled it. Thus are we come to the end of this raigne: but before we proceed, we must succintly view the estate of the Church and Empire vnder his raigne, seeing the course of our History hath drawne vs on thereto without interruption.

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He died in July 1458, *Pius* the second called *Anus Silvius*, a Siennois, a poore boy, hauing attained to much knowlege, by his laborious study, obtained the dignitie of Pope. He had bene the Popes Secretary, at the Councell of Basil, and by writing had impugned the authority of *Eugenius* the Schismaticke: and soone after was crowned Poet laureat, by the Emperor *Frederick* the third, and honoured by him with many Ambassages to diuers Princes. *Nicholas* the fifth made him Bishop of Triest, and after of Sienna, and *Calixtus*, Cardinall. But vpon his entry to the Popedom, he fought to suppress two bookes, which hee had published for the approbation of the Councell of Basil, and afterward laboured very ambitiously to enlarge the Roman Sea: for the increase and preservation whereof, the History saith, he neither feared Kings, nor Princes, people nor tyrants. A great enemy to King *Lewis* the eleuenth, whilst that he would not yeeld to the abolition of that pragmaticke sanction: who to crosse him in that yeare 64, did forbid to cary any money to Rome, or to bring any buls from thence, renewing the same Edicts in the yeare 1478. But in the end he was so flattered by this *Anus*, and by his successor *Sixtus* the fourth, as hee renounced all the rights of the pragmaticke sanction. Hee had likewise proclaimed a voyage into Turkey, by a Councell assembled at Mantua. But the Ambassadors of King *Lewis* and of *René* Duke of Aniou, hauing laid open the rights which the house of Aniou had to the Realme of Naples, and the wrong was done him, vsurping it to the behoofe of *Alphonso* the bastard of *Ferdinand*, whom this Pope had by his absolute authoritie put in the possession of the Realme; he grew so bitter against the French for *Ferdinand*, as the said Ambassadors would not promise any thing, in their masters name, for this warre: so as the assembly was dissolued, the eight month, without any good to Christendome. An Ambitious man, austere to Princes, a great persecutor of the enemies of the Clergy, D courteous and officious to his friends, bulie for the enriching of the Church, a great builder. And finally, as he was ready to depart from Ancona, to march in person against the Turke, who was then entred Italy, a quotidian ague seized on him, whereof he dyed in the yeare 1464. Of him we reade thus much: as *Platina* and *Sabellicus* do report. Priests are forbidden to marry for a great reason, but yet there is a greater for the which they should bee suffered. And moreover, Peradventure, it should not be the worse, if many Priests were married, for many being Priests and married, should be saved, the which in their barren Calibat are damned. He likewise would haue abolished some Nunneries of Saint *Brigit* and *Clare*, and caused the Nunnes to come forth, to the end (saith *Calixtus Secundus*) that vnder the habits of religion they should not hide their adulteries.

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Paulus the 2.The Popes dis-
position.

by his predecessors, who did forbid Priests to marry: so as seeing himselfe a scoone to the people, he resolved to give Priests liberty to marry, but an Apoplexy tooke him suddenly out of this world, the 25 of July 1471, leaving a rich treasure. In truth, *They gather goods* (saith the Oracle) *and know not who shall enjoy them.* Some impute this sudden death to the Author of the Magicke art, the which he practised.

Sixtus the fourth, borne at Saoune, and named *Francis* of Ruere, General of the Grey-Fryars, and Cardinal of Saint *Sixtus*, Legat of Auignon, was installed by the Electors in the Colledge, in the Pontifical chaire. Liberal and charitable to his owne, beyond the bounds of true zeale: for in their fauour he gaue Indulgences and Pardons prodigally, and granted many other things against all right and reason: so saith the History. Amongst the rest, hee advanced *Peter* of Ruere, to a Cardinalship: a monstrous man in his expences, who in two moneths deuoured in vanities, dissolation and loosefesse, above two hundred thousand crownes, besides the debts wherewith he charged his heires. Hee repayed many decayed Churches and Monasteries, built new, and leane them great revenues. He restored the Abbutrics (which was a Colledge of learned men, and studious in diuine and humane lawes, Poets, Orators, Historians, &c.) first instituted by *Pius* the second, then abolished by *Paul* the second his successor. Then did he institute anewe Bullists, people fitter to get money, then for any other thing, and nine Notaries of the Apostolicke treasure, appointing them certaine revenues: which offices were sold in the beginning for five hundred crownes, and since for two or three thousand crownes: so well could they sell their merchandize. *Sixtus* made many vniuersal warres, against *Ferdinand* King of Naples, for that against the Popes liking, he had succoured his sonne in law *Hercules* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, besieged by the Venetians: against the Venetians whom he did excommunicate: against the Florentines, excommunicated likewise with an interdiction of fire and water. But by the intercession and threats of the King, and the succour the Venetians gaue to the Florentines against the Pope (who had incensed *Ferdinand* King of Sicilia, *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, and *Frederick* Duke of Vrbis, Captaine-general for the Church) to make warre against them, he absolved them. Then being sick of a Feuer, hauing newes that a peace was made betwixt the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy, he dyed suddenly. There flourished vnder him *Iohn Regiomontanus*, a great Mathematician, *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Pomponius Latus*, *Ambrosius Calepin*, learned men in humane Lett. Let it suffice to haue noted such Popes as haue reigned vnder our *Lewis*, and now let vs see that which concerns the Empire.

That great *Iohn Huniades*, a firme and found rampier for the Christians against the Turkes had left two sonnes, *Ladislaus* and *Matthias*. They had for an hereditary enemy *Vhrke* Earle of Sicilia, neer kinsman and a favorite to *Ladislaus* King of Hungary and Bohemia, sonne to *Albert* of Austria, borne after his fathers death. *Ladislaus* the eldest, complaining one day to *Vhrke*, of the slanders wherewith he wrongfully charged him to King *Ladislaus*, they passed from words to blowes, so as he slue *Vhrke*: for the which the King of Hungary caused him to be publicly beheaded, and lead *Matthias* the younger, prisoner to Prague in Bohemia, to puthim to death, farre from the view of the Nobility of Hungary, to whom the memory of *Huniades* was wonderful deere and precious. But as *Ladislaus* prepared for his marriage at Prague, to be sonne in Law to *Charles* the seventh, behold a blacke and deadly poison suddenly choakes vp the ioy which that new alliance had conceiued. After whole death there aride great quarrels for the succession. Some Noblemen of Hungary, withed the Emperor *Frederick* the third for their King: the greatest part preferred *Matthias*, both for that he was of the Nation, as for the happy memory of his father *Iohn*.

The election being made, *Matthias* is set at liberty by *George Boiebrac*, the new King of Bohemia: he demands the Crowne. *Frederick* armes himselfe with a constitution, which he had receiued from *Elizabeth* mother to *Ladislaus* deceased, when she sent him her son to bring vp. Vpon refusal, they goe to armes; but the Germane Princes pacified this quarrell, concluding, that *Matthias* should pay for his Crowne vnto the Emperor, foure score thousand Crownes. In the meane time there springs vp new seeds of warre in Germany. *Pius* the second (making the Emperor, and his deuotion to the Roman Seais support) puts *Dietrick Isenburg*, from the Archbishopsrick of Mentz, advancing *Adolph* Nassau in his place. *Isenburg* opposed himselfe vigorously against the Popes exactions, who

A spoiled (as he said) the Provinces, vnder a pretext of warre against the Turke: and moreover, he would not tie himselfe by oath vnto the Pope, who would likewise bind future Ecclesiasticall Electors, not to assemble the Electors of the Empire, for the election of any new Emperor, or for any other cause concerning the Empire, before he were duly informed, to the end his pleasure might be preferred before all others. An audacious and vniuersall demand. *Frederick* the victorious Conte *Palentin* of Rhine then administrator of the Electorship of his Nephew *Philip*, the sonne of *Lewis* his brother, being a pupill, stood firmly for *Isenburg*. *Lewis* Duke of Bawaria, furnished the rich, ioyes with *Frederick*. The Emperor hated them both, and desired much to crosse them (although in his heart he had reason to fauor that party, for the which they fought) but he feared the valor of *Frederick* and the wealth of *Lewis*.

The Pope vrgeth him to stirre vp some great Princes of Germany, to oppose against the protectors of *Isenburg*, rather then against *Isenburg* himselfe. *Adolph* of Nassau, was assisted by *Albert* Marquis of Brandebourg, *Lewis* of Bawaria, surnamed the black, *Charles* Marquis of Baden, and his brother, *Iohn* Bishop of Metz, with *Elric* Earle of Wurtemberg: all which enuied the prosperity of *Frederick*, and yet feared to try his valour. *Frederick* was the weaker in men, but right hath a strong party. They neglecting their enemies small forces, charge him disorderly: he resists them valiantly, beats them, cleares them, and puts them to flight, takes the Marquis of Baden, the Bishop of Metz, & the Earle of Wurtemberg prisoners, the first of July 1461, and to let them vnderstand that they had erred in the discipline of warre, spoiling the corne, and burning the Mills, hee caused them to tye the first night of their imprisonment without bread.

The end of this warre was the beginning of another, more fatall for the Emperor. The Pope deposed *George Boiebrac* from the Crowne of Bohemia, as fauouring the doctrine of *Hus*, and appoints *Matthias*, surnamed *Cornutus*, but the Emperor would not grant it, depending of the Empire. *Matthias* was much moued, and the more, when as after the death of *George*, the Lords of Bohemia, and the Emperor likewise, leauing him, made choice of *Ladislaus* the sonne of *Casimir*, King of Poland, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Albert* of Austria. In this warre, the Imperiall Maiestie was not onely taken, but through *Fredericks* misfortune almost ruined, and he in a manner expelled out of all Austria, & reduced vnder the power of a strange Lord, mighty & warlike. When as behold *Albert* Duke of Saxony, sonne to *Frederick* the second Elector of Saxony, father to duke *George* and *Henry*, Grandfather to *Maurice* and *Augustus* Electors, leaues a goodly army at his owne charge, assailes *Matthias*, and so weakens him in many battels, as hee abandons the greatest part of Austria, and forceth him in the end to accept a peace with such conditions as *Albert* would impose. During these partialities in the West, God raised vp some meanes to crosse the Turkes exploits, if the diuisions of Christian Princes, for the most part procured by the Popes, whilest they fetled themselves, had not conquered their own forces against themselves. Three years after this pittifull wound which the Christian Church receiued by the losse of Constantinople, *Mahomet* the second, besieged Belgrade, but to his confusion. A handfull of men, lead by that braue *Huniades*, in two dayes together, gae him two bloody battels, winnes them, kills about forty thousand of his men, spoiles his Campe, takes his Artillery, and with some difficulty hee saued his person, being wounded in the left pap, and caried out of the fight as dead. *Mahomet* seeing by this disgrace, that the land did not fauour him; meanes to try another element: hee rigs a great fleet of Gallies, to leize vpon the Islands of the Archipelagus. But he had purchased a mighty enemy, *Vsunchissan* of the race of *Asimbei* a Turke, Lord of Cappadocia, Armenia, and some other Countries adioyning, who had lately slaine *Metalaobire*, or (as some write) *Demir* of Persia, and by that victory inuaded the Realme. *Vsunchissan* hauing disappointed the designs of *Mahomet*, grew so proud, that to make this victory the more famous, he drew rich presents out of the treasures of Persia, and sent them vnto *Mahomet*, requesting him not to attempt any thing against Trebisonde, nor Cappadocia (a Conquerors request imports an imperious command) Countries which belonged vnto him by reason of the dowry of his wife, the daughter of *Danid Commene*. *Mahomet* not able to digest that a meaner then himselfe should prescribe him a law, employes all his wit to obscure the glory of this new King. He therefore sends a part of his fleet into Asia, directly to *Pontus* and *Sinope*, towards Trebisonde. And he himselfe, with an incredible speed

Worres in Germany.

Troubles in the East.

A great defeat of Turkes.

crosseth

The Estate of the Empire.

The King of Hungary poisoned.

Warre for the Crowne of Hungary.

1483

The Turkes
ouerthrow
twice in Asia,
winne the
third battell.

crosseth Asia, and camps neere to *Vsumcassan*. Three battels are fought: *Vsumcassan* wins the first against *Amarath Bascha*, a Greeke by Nation, neere to the riuer of Euphrates, which *Bascha* was slaine: and the second against *Mahomet*, where he was in prison. These two battels did wonderfully weaken the Turkes forces. In the third, the Persians amazed with the vnaccustomed noise of the Turkish shot, vnable to endure the terror of the harguebusse, *Vsumcassan* and his men oppressed with this new army, lost the honour of the two first dayes, and *Zemald* the sonne of *Vsumcassan* was slaine with a shot.

Mahomet pursues his good fortune, besiegeth and takes *Sinope* the Capitall City of the Prouince; and afterwards all Paphlagonia: then the campos before Trebifonde, batters it by Sea and Land, and in the end takes it; spoyle the treasures of King *Dauid Commene*: sends him prisoner with his two sonnes, and his cousin *Iohn le Beau*, to Constantinople, to serue for a shew, the day of his triumph, causing them afterwards to be barbarously slaine, rooting out the race of *Commene*. In the same voyage he tooke Silicia from *Pirames Caman*, and being returned to Constantinople, hee conquered with his army by sea, the Islands of Lemnos and Lesbos: he vnpeopled Mitilene, and transported the Inhabitants of the Island into another Country.

With his forces at land he assailed *Dracula* Prince of Valachia: who with such small forces of foot and horse, as the thornesse of time would suffer him to leauy, did so furprile and shut vp *Mahomet*, as both he and his army were in a manner ruined: when as behold *Mahomet Bascha*, Lieutenant General in the Turks army, with a braue and hardy resolution, opened the passage by force: but with great losse of his men, the which (fortified with new troopes), he sends into high Misia and Slaouonia: chased *Stephen King* of Bosnia, out of laize the chiefe City, dispossessed him of his Realme, and in the end lew him about the yeare 1463. A while after *Matthias King* of Hungary recouered the said Citee and Realme, ouerthrew a great army of Turks spoyling the Country of Sirme, took many places in Croatia and Dalmatia, and in the end expelled *Mahomet*, being come to besiege laize, spoyle his Campe, and was master of all his baggage. *Scanderbeg* (expelled his Country) was retired into Italy, where the wing that the diuision of Christian Princes was the means to confirme the Turks estate, and that it was impossible to make him giue over this audacious and insatiable desire, being at Lisse vpon the riuer of Drille, he was surprised with a Feuer, whereof he dyed, being three score and three yeares old, in the yeare of our Lord 1467.

A Prince exceeding all men in valour, of a wonderfull courage, so as euen with a vehementy his lips did bleed, at the beginning of euery charge. He neuer refused battell, neuer turned his backe, neuer was hurt but once, lightly in the foot with an arrow: he neuer led aboue fixe thousand horse and three thousand foot, and had slaine with his owne hand aboue two thousand Barbarians, striking with such force, as he cut many in two peeces.

Mahomet being freed by the death of *Scanderbeg*, vnderooke three warres at one instant: *Mesithes* of the race of the *Paleologues*, had commission to goe to Rhodes: *Antimath Bascha* into Italy, to conquer it, with Rome, and the Empire of the West: and *Mahomet* himselfe goes into Asia. *Mesithes* being often beaten, was forced to returne with the remainders of his army, languishing and in pittifull estate. *Antimath* lands in Calabria, takes Otranto, and so amazeth all Italy, as the Pope (neglecting all in regard of the safety of his person) resolues to leaue Rome. *Mahomet* going into Asia, dyed of the Collicke, neere vnto Nicomedia, in the yeare 1471. A happy death for the Christians: for Otranto besieged by the Italians, ayded by *Matthias*, was yeelded by composition, with their liues and goods saued, without attending five and twenty thousand Turkes, which *Antimath* (pursuing his victory) brought to their succours. Thus Italy was deliuered from imminent danger, and the Pope assured: we will now leaue the raigne of *Baiazet*, successor to *Mahomet*, to continue our worke in the West.

CHARLES

CHARLES the Eight,

The 56 French King.

1483



His Raigne will not hold vs long, but after the Duke of Orleans league, the motiue of five yeares warre in Britany ended by the Kings marriage with *Ann* the eldest daughter to *Francis* Duke of Britany, we shall be transported beyond the Alpes, to take the possession, which *René* King of Sicile, and *Charles* Earle of Maine his brother, had by their testaments left to *Lewis* the 11 to thetherights they pretended to the Realme of Naples: vpon the way we shall see him entertained by *Lewis Sforce*, in the Towne of Ast; then hauing

A briefe re-
hearsall of
Charles his
Raigne.

received the Forts of *Florence*, with the Citee of Pisa, from *Peter de Medicis*, hee enters Rome, notwithstanding the gaue-saying of Pope *Alexander*, and hauing vied therein the rights of a Conqueror, he treats an accord with the said Pope: receives from him the title of Emperour of Constantinople, with the inuestiture of the Realme of Naples: & consequently cauleth himselfe to be crowned King of Sicile. And to augment his honour, he makes his passage, maugre the forces of all the Princes and Potentates of Italy, at Poumoue: and laden with glory and spoyle, returns triumphantly to seeke some rest in France, after his weary toyle. But alas! when as in the Greene and vigorous season of his life, he shall meditate of a second voyage for the recovery of his Realme of Naples (as easily lost as wonne) and when as the Easterne parts liue in hope to haue the Christian Church restored by him, oppressed now vnder the Turkish tyranny: Death vniust and vnseasonable, according to man, shall with himselfe cut off all his goodly designs, the which he had laid in the beginning of his flourishing youth, to cary him to the fruition of a better rest. The iudicious Reader may iudge, if wee haue reaped more honour and profit in the

getting, then shame and hurt in the losse of so many Estates lying farre from vs. *Charles* came to the Crowne at the age of thirteene yeares, delicate, weak, sickly in his youth, milde, gracious, deuout, but willfull in his humours. *Lewis* had bred him vp at Amboise, attended on by few seruants, not visited by any, without any instruction, but bare reading, not willing to helpe nature by art. Yet the weaknesse thereof hath oftentimes more neede of a prop to support it, and a spur to prick it forward, then of a bit to restraine it. Did he feare that learning should impair his health, or corrupt the good feeds which nature had planted in his minde. He was content, that according to his fathers humour, his sonne should learne this onely sentence in Latin. *He that cannot dissemble, cannot rule*. But he did him wrong: for, he was inclined to the reading of French bookes: and he came no sooner to the crowne, but they found in him a desire of knowledge, which made him to haue a taste in the Latin tongue. But as the apert time of his age was slip away without profit, so did he salute the Mutes but a farre off: weak of body, but of a good wit, capable of counsell, and susceptible of the helpes requisite for the government of a firme and solid State. His minority was the cause of a quarrell, betwixt the Duke of Orleans (a yong Prince & nerest to the crowne) & the Earle of Beauieu, for the Regency, which caused his coronation to be deferred vntill the next yeare: after the which an assembly of States should determine of the administration of the King & realme. The Princes of the blood attending this solemnity, hauing bin so often wronged by *Oliuer le Daim*, *Daniel* his seruant, and *Doyac*, who had wholly gouerned the deceased King, did without the Kings priuity (whose yong

Charles his dis-
position, and
education.

The Duke of
Orleans and
Earle of Beau-
ieu content
for the Re-
gency.

years with-held him from government) informe of their insolencies, proud carriage, vnjust murders, thefts, extortions, & other crimes, which they had committed vnder the authority of *Lewis* the 11, and by a decree of the Court, make *Daniel* to forfeit both body and goods, and his master likewise some few dayes after. *Doyac* whipped at the corner of euery street, lost one of his eares vpon the Pillory, at the Halles in Paris, then hauing his tongue pierced with a hot iron, he was cōueyed to Mont Ferrant in Auvergne, where he was borne: there they cut off his other eare, and whipt him likewise. Moreouer, the excessive rewards which *Lewis* had giuen to some persons, were reuoked, and they constrained

Oliuer and *Da-
niel* hangd.

Doyac whips
and is this
eare.

1484

to make restitution. To teach meane men, raised by the bounty of Kings, that man is A morrall, but the memory of indignity is immortall with great men.

At the same time the Duke of Britany was wholly possessed by *Peter Landays* his Treasurer, (of whom we have formerly spoken) by whose flanders and suggestions he had suffered his Chancellor *Chassin*, to die miserably in prison of hunger and cold: being a very honest and a reverend man. *Landays* was the sonne of a poore Taylor in the suburbs of Rachapt, at Vitry in Britany, as it appeareth in his proceffe, quick witted, and bush-headed. His first access to the Duke was in the quality of a Taylor, and after he vsed him to carry his loue letters, the said Duke being of a very amorous disposition. In the end he makes him master of his Wardrop, and finally his Treasurer generally; then hee began to manage the Treasure, Justice and affaires of State at his pleasure, he did preferre Officers by his letters without the Dukes appointment, and place or displace whom he pleased: proud, treacherous, reuengefull, implacable to such as had offended him. Presumptuous, declaring such Noblemen of Britany, as could no longer ensure his arrogancy, guilty of high Treason, for that they had attempted against his person, forfeits their goods, banisheth their persons, and arming his master to their destruction, the which they could not auoid, but by a generall pardon and remission.

In the end their patience is moued. *John* of Chalon Prince of Orange, sonne to one of the Dukes sisters, and *John* of Rieux Marshall of Britany, the Principall of his Court, hauing layed a plot, with the other Barons of the Country, at all adventures to seize vpon *Landays*: they enter the Castle of Nantes, being secretly armed, seeke for *Landays*, and find him not, being gone to Pabotiere, a house of his vpon the Loire, neere vnto Nantes. The Duke is amazed at this insolent proceeding, and beleeues it is some practice against his person. One of his seruants goes vp to the battlements towards the towne, and cries out aloud: That they seeke to force the Duke. The archers of his guard storme: the officers and gentlemen of his house flee thither, the people troope together. They place such Artillery as they find in the towne against the Castle, ready to batter down the gate. The vnder takers (who had not fore-seene so dangerous a consequence) shew forth the Duke vpon the battlements, and caute him to speake. He assures them, that they haue not attempted any thing against his person: and to satisfie the multitude, *Philip* of Montauban enters by agreement, he aduiseeth these Noblemen to absent themselves for a time, in the meane time the people would be pacified, and the Dukes wrath appeased. *Landays* on the other side hauing escaped a troop that was sent to surpris him in his house, saues himselfe through the ditches of his garden, alone, and on foot: and so in the night recouers the Castle of Poence, and giues the Duke notice of his aduerture. The Dukes leads a conuoy for him, and is more ruled by him then before. So *Landays* assembles all the Officers and men of counsell in Britany: he sends them to the Vniuersities of Italy, layes open the violence done to the Duke in his owne house, by his vassals and subiects, and demands what punishment this offence deserues. The assembly answers, as *Landays* desired: that they found them guilty of high treason, yea in the highest degree, and therefore deserved death and losse of goods. A decree folloves, with condemnation of death, houses beaten downe, woods cut vp at the wast, with all the rigours which men condemned for such a crime might deserue. They flee into France, and offer their seruice to the Countesse of Beaucien, the Kings sister, complaining of the insolencies of *Landays*, without making further mention of their quarrell with the Duke. *Landays* discouers their retreat, he vnderstands of the discord betwixt *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, and the said Lady, and causeth his master (by letters written to *Lewis*) to accuse the disobedience and treachery of his Nobility, who acknowledging *Anne* for Regent of the Realme, deprived him of the honour and right that was due to him rather then to a woman, as the first Prince of the blood: he exhorts him not to relinquish his iust title, and promiset to assist him with his best means.

The Duke of Orleans had against his minde (as we haue heard) married *Joane* the youngest daughter of *Lewis* the Eleuenth, deformed and vnfit for conception, and followed the only aduise of the Earle of Dunois, sonne to *John* battard of Orleans, a man of great force, aduise, aduise, a good and a valiant Captaine.

This Earle did presently fore-cast, that (by the means of *Landays*, who did so secretly intimate Duke *Lewis*) forsaking *Joane*, he might marry with *Anne* the eldest daughter of *Francis* Duke of Britany. This hope drew him soone to Nantes, where hauing heard the complaints

A complaints of the French, and contented them with words and promises, without any meaning to accomplish them, moued rather with desire to gouerne the Estate, he returns into France, to assist at the Kings Coronation at Rheims, whereof the day approached. There were present at the Kings Coronation, the Dukes of Orleans, Alençon, Bourbon and Lorraine, the Earles of Beaucien, Angoulême, Vendôme, la Roche-sur-Yon, Montpensier, Longueville, Foix, Dunois, and those that were fled out of Britany, the Prince of Orange, *John* Lord of Rieux and Ancenis, the Earle of Aumale, *Ponce* de la Riviere (who was created Mairor of Bourdeaux) the Lord of Vrfe (who was made master of the horse) and others of their troope, all which brought him with pompe to make his entry into Paris, and to B prepare for a generall Parliament to be held at Tours, with more free access then had been vsual, yet not so effectual as was expected: euery one seeking rather to maintaine his priuate authority, then to procure the peoples ease. The pragmatike Sanction was restored, to vse it as they had accustomed. The Constables sword was giuen to the Duke of Bourbon: the government of the Kings person to his sister, a cunning woman, and somewhat of her fathers humour: but the name of Regent was forbidden to them all, to preuent jealousies. There was a Councell erected of twelue, by whom matters should be dispatched in the Kings name: of the which *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, should be President.

Lewis discontented with this deuiſe, seekes to hold his ranke, he pretends that being the first Prince of the blood, the Regency belonged vnto him; he assists at the Councell, in C Parliament, and in the Assemblies in towne, and notwithstanding the last Will of King *Lewis*, and the decree of the Estates, yet will he by force haue the name and effect of Regent. But our Kings who may not (to preiudice the elder, or for want of issue, their nearest kinsman, being a male and legitimate) dispose of their crowne: haue they not then power to commit the guard of their children, being yet pupils, and the Regency of the Realme to whom they please? Moreover, was it reasonable that he which was not yett sixe & twenty years old, who liued vnder his mothers wing, who by right had yett need of a gouernour, should be declared capable for the government of this Realme? So, want of yeares denied his grandfather of the same dignity, during the prenſe of *Charles* the sixth. This discontent is nouished by a new accident: *Lewis* playing one day at Tennis, where the La- D dies were present, there fell a stroke in controuersie, the which *Anne* iudged for the aduerſe party. *Lewis* otherwise moued, casts out some word, importing a lie. *Anne* discontented here-with, causeth it to be decreed in Councell, that the Duke should be committed prisoner: he is aduertised thereof by *John* Louen (or *Louaine*) a Gentleman of his house, and so retires to the Duke of Alençon. The Duke of Lorraine was come to demand the Duchy of Barre, (the which *Lewis* the Eleuenth had held) and the Earldome of Prouence, which he pretended to be his, as sonne to the daughter of *René* King of Sicilia, Duke of Anjou, and Earle of Prouence, and by consequence the nearest kinsman to *Charles* Duke of Anjou (who by transaction and testament had made *Lewis* the Eleuenth his heire) yet was the but nephew to *René*, and sonne to *Charles* of Anjou, Earle of Maine his brother. Barre E was restored, and the Lorraine had a hundred men at armes entertained, with thirty fixe thousand frankes for foure yeares, during the which they should looke into the title of the said Earldome. During this tearme, some well acquainted with the Estate of Prouence, produce certaine testaments of *Charles* the first of that name, brother to Saint *Lewis*, and Earle of Prouence by his wife, and of other Kings of Sicilia, which had bene of the house of France, by the which, the house of Lorraine was not onely excluded from the succession of Prouence, (not liable to the daughter, while there remained a son of the race) but that also the realm of Sicilia, and all other Seigneuries possessed by the house of Anjou, belonged to the King. That *K. René* hauing regard to the said testaments, had at his death preferred his nephew *Charles*, before the said duke of Lorraine, son to his daughter.

F The Duke of Orleans grieved to be thus excluded from his pretensions, and that *Anne* alone gouerned the King her brother, practiseth the Dukes of Bourbon, Alençon, and Britany (the chiefe support & refuge of the discontented French) the Earle of Angoulême, *John* Vicont of Narbonne, *Francis* Earle of Longueville, and many others. *Alain* Lord of Albrét, hoping (by the means of *Lewis*, whom hee found to haue great credit with the Duke of Britany) to marry with *Anne*, the eldest daughter of the said Duke (having not duly examined the heart of *Lewis*) enters easily into this faction.

Thus all things threaten a horrible and pernicious warre, but more in shew then effect.

1484.

The Duke of Orleans goes into Britany. The Kings Coronation.

The Duke of Orleans is discontented with this Court.

A league made by the Duke of Orleans.

Landays gouerns the Duke of Britany insolently.

Landays escapes and comes to the Duke.

He condemnes the Noblemen of high treason.

Landays causeth his master to intimate the Duke of Orleans against the countesse of Beaucien.

1485

Lewis with his allies assembles some troopes, and thinking to put them into Orleans, the *A* inhabitants give him to understand by the Lord of Ioyeuze, deputed there on his behalf, that he might well enter with his household, but not with his souldiers. Boisgency was then his retreating place.

Anne and the twelve Councillors, cause him to be besieged by *Francis* Earle of Vendosme, *Lewis* his brother, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, *René* Duke of Lorraine (whom the said Lady had wholly won vnto her, knowing him to be resolute, vehement, and of fidious) and *Peter* of Rohan, Lord of Gie, Marshall of France. In the end this warre was pacified by this agreement, that the Duke of Orleans should come to Court, and inioyne the plan that belonged vnto him: but *Francis* Earle of Dunois (the Dukes right hand) a busie body and the first author of the trouble, should retire himselfe into the County of Aft, belonging to the said Duke, or to what other place hee pleased without the Realme. *Mal Lewis* then bring his confederates in disgrace with the King, and now abandon them: behold the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulême leading 300 Lances, eight thousand foot, and about eighteen hundred Gentlemen of Auvergne, Bourbonais, Foret, Beau-jeuils and Angoulêmeis, and *Alain* eight or nine thousand fighting men. If *Lewis* had attended them in some place of strength, how dangerously had hee shaken the new estate of *Charles*, not well settled during his minority? But he had too good a mind to tear out his own bowels, in their persons, whom the law in time should submit vnto him, & dismember the crowne, which he should weare in his turne. *Anne*, to disperse this storm, causeth the Earle of Beauieu her husband, to encounter their troopes, and forsooth the Duke of Orleans to march in person, against those that came to his seruice. They were all Frenchmen: and as they were lightly armed, so were they as lightly disarmed: the Marshall of Gie, and the Chamberlaine of Graulles, shall easily reconcile them. *Alain* being stopia his passage of Garonne, at S. Basille, by the Earles of Vendosme, and Roche-sur-Yon, was admitted to the same accord, vpon charge to furnish the King an hundred men at arms for his seruice: the which he deliuered vnder the command of S. Cyr, and *Ferfaix*. They are all dispersed: the King at Amboise, *Lewis* at Orleans, *Alain* in Bazadois, and all the rest to their houses: the Vicount of Foix, and *Peter* his brother being Cardinall at Nantes, vnder colour to visit their sister, wife to the Duke of Britany. They find their brother in law much incensed against his Nobility, and they resolute to defend themselves. But as both armies were ready to ioyn, an accord is made by some mediators: that considering the Dukes age and weaknesse of iudgment, the State should be gouerned by the aduice of his nearest kinsmen and friends. *Landais* is reiectred, and formes: hee drawes letters Patents in the Dukes name, and declares all those of the Dukes army, that had entred into capitulation with the enemies troopes, guilty of high treason, forfeiting all their goods as traitors: he carries this Patent to the Chancellor *Francis Chrestien*, to be sealed, and brings a commendement from the Duke to that effect: the which the Chancellor refused. Behold *Landais* hath purchased two enemies for one, and both haue sworn his ruine, but they must countenance it with Iustice. They depute the Lord of Pont-Chasteau to summon the Chancellor to doe Iustice vpon *Landais*, to appoint Iudges for his tryall, and to force him to appeare. They make informations against him, whereupon they decree to apprehend him. It is bruted throughout the towne, that *Landais* by sentence should be committed prisoner. The people run by heapes, they fill the Castle-yard, and will not depart till *Landais* be deliuered. He saues himselfe in the Dukes chamber. The Nobility doth force the Chancellor to repaire to the Castle and to demand this man. The Duke being constrained, deliues him, but vpon condition that he should not be vied contrary to Iustice, and commands vpon paine of death, that he suffers no outrage be done vnto him, vnder color of Iustice.

The Nobilitie being aduertised of his taking, posts to Nantes, and offer themselves vnto the duke, like humble subiects, suing for his fauour. *Landais* proceesse being made with that of *Iohn* of Vuiry, one of his seruants, by certaine Commissioners, they were hanged. This done, the people were pacified, and the Nobility, by the intercession of the Earle of Comminges, returned into fauour, and obtained letters of pardon. Then returns the Earle of Dunois to his towne of Parthenay in Poitou, but without the Kings permission. The King (that is to say, the twelve vnder his authority) suspected his returne, and (feeling lest the Duke of Orleans had sent for him, or that hee practised some new worke) sends for the Duke. Hee sends backe the Messenger with promises to follow, and vpon a second charge

Troubles in Britany.

They are reconciled to the ruine of Landais.

Landais hangs.

The Earle of Dunois with new combolders.

1487

A charge by the Marshall of Gie, doubting the humour of the Countesse of Beaugien, and moreover, mad at his ill vfrage, keeping him as it were confined within Orleans, without liberty to go forth in safety; he parts from Orleans, vnder colour to go a hawking: he takes the way to Frontenauux, and from thence to Nantes, whither the Earle of Dunois went to meet him. This departure was presently knowne, & Parthenay was suddenly besieged, taken and razed, with many other places in Guienne, which belonged to the Earle of Comminges, and others that were in Britany. These men slept not. A league is presently made vnder the Dukes of Britany and Orleans, whereinto there enters the Prince of Orange, *Francis* of Laual Lady of Dinan and Chasteaubriant, *Iohn* Lord of Rieux and Earle of B Aumale Marshall of Britany, the Earles of Angoulême and Dunois. The Duke of Lorraine who finds no great satisfaction of promises, is easily drawn into it. *Maximilian* King of Romans giues his consent. *Charles* opposeth *Lewis* of Bourbon, Earle of Roche-sur-Yon, great Grand-father to the Duke Montpensier last deceased, and makes him his Lieutenant generall in this warre: with *Lewis* of Bourbon the yongest brother of the Earle of Vendosme, he giues them for assistant, master *Lewis* of Tremouille Vicount of Thouars who had married *Gabriele* of Bourbon, sister to the said Conte *Lewis*.

Francis Duke of Britany had no great reason to be a Sanctuary for these mutines, and by receiving them to draw all the forces of France vpon his decayed age, attending nothing but his graue. But supposing to protect himselfe from the Kings surprises, hee must ruine his Country, his Nobility and his subiects. But then falls out another accident. The Lords lately reconciled grew in ialousie, that the French were come to reuenge the wrong done vnto their Duke: or else with their ruine and the Dukes, to make their peace in France. They desired to send them home for two respects, the one to content the King and his Sister, the other for that they should not grow in any such credit with the Duke, as in the end he might employ them against themselves, wishing in a manner for *Landais*, to oppose him against them. Moreover, they feared *James Guibé*, a Capitaine of the Dukes men at armes, and in good credit, Nephew to *Landais* and his seruant, lest he should seek some reuenge for his Uncles death. If it should be so, how could they subside? The King discouers this secret ialousie, and findes a good expedient, to thrust them out to their D own mutuall ruines. To this end he sends *Andrew* of Efpinay Cardinall of Bourdeaux, and the Lord of Bouchage, with instructions to *Rieux* Marshall of Britany, and commission to offer them men and meanes to expell the French out of Britany.

The best aduised discouer the Kings intent, that accepting of this offer, they make the way open for the King to enter into Britany. But in the end they agree: That he should not send into Britany for this succour, above foure hundred Lances, and foure thousand foot, and that at the Barons request, That the King should pretend nothing to the Duchie, whilst the duke lived. That he should not besiege nor take any Towne, Castle, or Fort within the Country: and that his souldiers should take nothing without paying. That when as the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois and others should retire out of Britany, the King should be bound to withdraw his forces. And for the Britons: That the Noblemen of Britany should arme with him, and accompany his army to expell the French. The confirmation of these Articles is seconded with foure hundred Lances, and five or six thousand men led by the Lord of Saint André, who enters Britany on the one side: the Earle of Roche-sur-Yon on another, and the Vicount of Tours on the third. All the Country is suddenly filled with French men at armes, and the Orleansois are amazed, being vnfurnished both of force and counsell to resist. The Earle of Dunois being of more iudgement than the rest, considers that the company of a hundred Lances belonging to *Alain* of Albret, was a part of those foure hundred commanded by Saint André: that it was conuenient to winne him, and with this designe to put him in hope of the mariage of *Anne* of Britany. An inuention according to the necessity of the time, but this was not the Earles intent, who laboured to winne her for the Duke of Orleans, neither the Prince of Orange, who vnder hope of this alliance, had drawne the Arch-Duke *Maximilian* into this league, whereby he should enter into Bourgogne, with a mighty army led by the Duke of Lorraine, whilst that hee himselfe should annoy the King in Flanders and Picardy. But great shewes and small fruits. Hee was too poore and needy, as the King might easily disappoint all his practices and stratagem. Now are we deeply engaged in Warre. The Duke of Britany (accompanied with *Lewis* of Orleans, the Earles of Dunois and Comminges, the Lords of Montmorency, Ioyeuze,

A league made by the Orleansois.

The King seeks to diuide the Britons from their Duke.

A secret treaty of the Nobility of Britany with a King Charles.

The French enter Britany.

1487

Ioyeuze, du Lis, St. George, Dampierre and Beauuau) tooke a view of his army at Male. A froit, consisting of fixe hundred Lances, and fixteene thousand foot, good and bad, ill armed and ill trained: whilist the French and Brittons being ioynd together, take Redon, and (to terrifie Rennes) they spoile the Country euen vnto Mecay, besiege Ploemel, batter it, and in three dayes take it, spoile and ranfome it.

The Duke of
Brittons army.

The Dukes army marched to succour this towne, when as Maurice of Mené being great of body and courage said, *Whither goe we my friends? Our Duke is onely gouernour of the French, by whose perswasions we march against the French, who at their first encounter will betray him to their Nation, whereof I am well aduertised. Were wee not better to remaine in our houses with our wives and children, then to be thus led by the humours of others?* A speech of a great consequence. He was of the best allied in Britany, issued out of the house of Guerlesquin, and had well serued Lewis the eleuenth, as Gouernour of Guise, and Capraine of a hundred men at armes in the Warres against the Flemings: a man of valor and counsell, and well aduanced by the said King, hauing the profits of *La Ferté-Jard, Aiguefortes, Beunrage* and *Gorlonniere*: but very inconstant in his changing opinions. At this speech they all scatter: so as of fixteene thousand, scarce the fourth part kept the field: the Duke amazed herewith, leaues Malestroit, and recouers Vennes: but hee was pursued so speedily, as he loseth his baggage, being faououred in his retreat by the Prince of Orange, who had posted from Nantes to his succour, very happily: for otherwise he had bene besieged and taken. Vennes being beleagred, yeelds for feare. The Duke at his departure had left two thousand eight hundred horse in it, vnder the command of Coetman Lord Steward of Britany, and of Amaury of Mouilly, and for Captaine of the towne James le Moine, who vnable to maintain the siege, retyred in hast. Coetquen went to Dinan, where he commanded; *La Mouilly* with his horse to Nantes, where the Duke was, and the Kings army did bend that wayes. *Adrian del' Hospital* a Captaine of men at armes, meets him vpon the way, defeated him, kills a great number of his troope, and takes many prisoners: some fixe hundred recouer Nantes. This was about Whitsonide. The Duke thus pressed, being weak in his person, and weak in his subjects: being diuided, weak in friends, weak in those who had engaged him in this warre for their quarrell, sends the Earle of Dunois, and Oliver of Coetman (who soone after fell to the French, and was made gouernour of Auxerre) to craue succours from Henry King of England. But to increase his misery, Henry was not yet in quiet possession of his Realme, crossed by some remainders of Richards party, the which he must suppress. The King resolved to besiege the Duke in Nantes, he comes in person to Ancenis, thither come the associate Brittons, repenting their indiscretion, for that they had taken townes, and spoiled the country, contrary to their promise, and their owne lands suffered the like extremities. Thus Nantes was besieged the 19 of Iune, well battered, well assailed, and as well defended. The deputies of England were foure times shipped to crosse the Seas, and foure times put back by tempest of weather. In stead of English, they brought fifty thousand Brittons of the commons, grieved to see the Duke besieged. The Kings army, either holding themselves vnable to fight with them, or neglecting them as fruitles forces, or doing it of purpose, the sooner to furnish the towne, gaue them free passage, and holding it likewise impossible to force a towne well furnished with commanders, men and victuals, they raised the siege the sixt of August, to go without losse of men to Dole: the which was taken and spoiled without resistance, the Brittons and other souldiers were put to ranfome.

Arcilly de
Seated

Nantes being
sieged,

During the siege of Nantes, Peter of Rohan Earle of Quintin, of the French faction, surprisid Montcontour, and summoned Guingamp, a passage for succours that came to the Duke from the Bishopricks of Treguer, Leon and Cornouaille. John of Coetman Lord of Chasteaugui, Captaine of the Towne, was at Nantes. Hee flies thither, and furnisheth the place with men sufficient to defend it, & hauing intelligence that *Plasquellet* with about fifty Gentlemen, Brittons of the Kings army, spoyleing the Country & drawing the Nobility to their party, dined in the Abbey of Begar, hauing called together the neighbor parishes, and assembled some troops, he charged them, ouerthrew them, and led them all prisoners to Guingamp: where the Iudges of Goello & Guingamp, by the Dukes expresse commandement, began to enforme against them, & had finished their processe, if some friends and kinsmen had not found meanes of delay, vntill the Dukes death ended that proceeding. This prize gaue courage to the Captaines of Dinan. They assem-

ble

A ble about fixe thousand men, and besiege Montcontour. But the Vicont of Rohan, and the Earle of Quintin, offering to succour it, and moreover, the siege of Nantes requiring force and expedition, they retire to Rennes, to ioyne with the other forces, consisting of fixe or seuen thousand men. At the same instant *Thon* of Rocerf, Lord of Bois de la Roche, and *Peter Long* Lord of Kaeruegues (inticed with the great wealth which the Earle of Quintin had left in his Castle,) assemble some souldiers with many peasants, and besiege Quintin: they take it, and against the composition sworne, spoyle the towne and Castle, and (in hatred of the Earle, who followed the King) burnt it to ashes. The Earle by meanes of his subjects recovered it soone after: and *Gouquet* Captaine thereof before, expelled them againe, and spoyle the towne. But to what end serued this cruell stratagem, seeing that *Rocerf* had a house in the Country, and the Earle good meanes to be reuenged: as he was a yeare after, by the taking of *Rocerf* himselfe, and the spoile and burning of his house? The Phrygiens grow wile too late, saith the Prouerbe. The Nobility of Britany finding their error, by drawing the Kings forces into the country, to their owne ruine, they send to the duke: protesting to be no way associate with the king, but to defend themselves against the French that were neere his person, who they doubted had bene drawne in to preiudice them: they offer to serue him hereafter, and against all men, so as he will pardon them. The Duke receiues them, and grants his letters of abolition, deliuey and restitution of all their goods and dignities, as before the warres, namely, to the Vicount of Rohan, to the Lords of Auangour and Ricux, (largely put from the office of Lieutenant generall, and Martiall of Britany) as well for themselves as their assistants. *Ricux* enjoyed it, but the rest persisted in the Kings seruice. In the meane time the Kings army prepares to goe into Basse Britany, and to besiege Guingamp: but the Marshall of Ricux changing his party, makes them to change their proiect. *Ricux* was at Ancenis, wonderfully perplexed to see the French entred the Country, by a breach which the Nobility of Britany had voluntarily made them, deuising some means to repaire these confusions, drawne thereunto by his reception into grace. The Earle of Cominges going Ambassador to the King, passed by Ancenis, and confirmed *Ricux* in this good resolution, persuading him to goe vnto the Duke, with assurance that he should be graciously receiued. *Ricux* thinking to strike two strokes with one stone, sends *Francis du Bois* to the King, who at that time was at Pont de Larche: giuing him intelligence that the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and others, retyred into Britany, were willing to leaue the Country, so as they might rest safely in their houses, without touch for that was passed.

1487

Montcontour taken.

The Brittons
reconciled to
the Duke.

Ricux reuolts
from the King.

Ancenis and
Chasteaubriant
yeelded to
the Duke.

Which being concluded, he beseeched his Maiesty to retire his men at armes, according to the treaty he had signed with his owne hand. Anne hearing this proposition. *My friend* (said she vnto the Gentleman) *say vnto my Cousin the Marshall of Ricux, your master, that the King hath no companion, and seeing he is entred so farre, he will make it good.* The Earle had no better satisfaction. An answer discovering the Kings intention, which was to incorporate this Duchy to the Crowne: the which caused the Marshall to yeeld to his Prince without dissenting. He draws some souldiers from Nantes in October, and deliueirs his towne of Ancenis into their hands, swearing they should keepe it for the Duke. In the end *Francis* of Laual, Baron of Chasteaubrian, sonne in law vnto *Ricux*, suffers him to enter the Castle, holding him to be the Kings seruant. Being the stronger, and lodging his troope within the towne, he commands (seeing that the King had broken the contract) all those that would not swear fidelity and seruice to the Duke, to retire the next day with bag and baggage. Could he be ill receiued of his master, carrying with him the deliuey of two so good places? The Prince of Orange hauing ioynd with some Germane succours, sent by *Maximilian*, and led by *Baldwin* Bastard of Bourgongne, and some 3000 men of the Countreys of Cornouaille, Leon, Treguer, and Goello, resolved to besiege Quintin, where the Brittons (ioyned with the French that were commanded by the Baron of Pont-Chasteau) did wonderfully annoy Guingamp: who being in a town vnfit for war, left the place, & gaue the Prince means to campe before La Chaize, a castle belonging to the Vicount of Rohan, but weakened by the losse of many of his men, part of them going daily to the French, and part disbanding by reason of the Winter; he retyred his army to Montcontour, resolute to take a view, and to punish such as were departed without licence. Yet notwithstanding all his care, and the Dukes seuerer command to the Gentlemen, to returne to the Campe within two dayes, vpon paine of the losse of their goods and honours, and

Comptrolers
for the licence of
Britany.

and to others of corporall punishment, those few forces which remained, vanished suddenly.

Thus the Duke wavers, betwixt hope and feare, fortified on the one side, but weakened on the other, seeing his estate incline to ruine. Hee had two pillars, which in his conceit might raise him, or at the least support him; *Anne* and *Isabel*. The Prince of Orange wooed *Anne* for *Maximilian*: *Rieux* the Lady of *Isal*, and the greatest part of the Nobility, for *Alain* of Albret. The first promised greater conditions, yet the King had incombred him much in Flanders, supporting the Gantois, so as hee could not succour his pretended Father in Law, neither with his person, nor his subiects; having small credit amongst them, and little money: for that they would not assist him to prejudice the King. *Alain* (whom others call *Amand*) had some forces in hand, and fed with this plausible hope, he brought about a thousand men out of Castile, and three thousand Gascons. The Duke would willingly have made two sonnes in law of one daughter, and vrgent necessity forced him, (like unto *Charles* of Bourgonie) to promise her to many, whom hee could giue but to one: euen as *Erichonius* satisfied his gluttony and continual hunger, whereunto *Ceres* had condemned him (having cut downe her groue) by the many sales of his daughter *Mestra*. In the end *Anne* is promised to *Maximilian*, who should come to marry in Britany; and withall, hee should bring great troops of men to succor the Duke against the oppression of the French. But he abused her no lesse then he is abused. Hereupon *Alain* comes with his Castilians and Gascons. At his first arriuall hee went to salute the Duke at Nantes, and then his mistresse, thinking to haue the greatest interest in her loue. But oftentimes two braue Grey-hounds courting a Hare, a third crosseeth them, and carries away the game, as we shall soone see. The Marshall of *Rieux* being ariued, haue his consent in fauor of *Alain*, at the Countesse of *Lauals* request, sister in law to the said *Alain*. It was no time now to leaue this Marshall (newly reconciled) idle. The Duke giues him the charge of his army, with commission to take *Vennes*, where *Gilbert* of *Grassai*, and *Philip* of *Moulin*, (of whom we shall make mention in the battell of *Fornoue*) commanded. He marcheth thither, batters it, and takes it by composition, the third of March. Then *Saint Cir* and *Ferfais* (who led the hundred men at armes of *Alains* company) declared themselves Brittons by their Captaines commandment, building frivolously vpon this marriage: yet some of the company retired to the King. The Kings army wintered, but *Lewis* of Bourbon aduerted of the taking of *Vennes* by *Rieux*, requires him by the surprize of Ancenis and Chasteaubriant, places neere the river, to make the siege of *Fougeres* more easie, on the one side, being a frontier towne, and of good defence, and on the other side, that of *Saint Albin le Cormier*. The Brittons army had bene eightene moneths in field without rest, to make head against the French, but now they must shew what courage is in them. The Duke of Orleans, *Alain* of Albret, the Earle of Dunois, the Marshall of *Rieux*, the Lord *Scalles* an Englishman, (commanding some three hundred men of this nation, sent by *Henry* King of England, by the means of the Lord *Maurpertuis*) the Signior of *Leon*, eldest sonne to the Vicount of *Rohan* the Seigniors of Chasteaubriant, *Crenetes*, *Pont l'Abbe*, *Plessis*, *Baliczon*, *Montigni*, *Balius*, *Mutuel*, and other Captaines of bands, go forth of Nantes, with an intent to raise the siege. Their army was 400 Lances, and 8000 foot, (beside 300 English, and 800 Germanes, sent by *Maximilian*) with good store of Artillery; for this great rabble armed, and tumultuously assembled by the Earle of Dunois, had bene in a manner all sent backe, as an unprofitable burthen vpon the earth.

Vennes taken
for the Brittons.

Ancenis and
Chasteaubriant
taken for the
King.

But the matter is of importance, the French are not so easily forced to rise, and if an occasion of battell be offered shall they accept it? The Marshall of *Rieux* (best experienced in matters of war) with some others, are not of that opinion: for to what end (say they) should we hazard the estate and Country, vpon an euent which may be auoyded. If we lose the day, by what means shall we releue our selues? The souldiers that shall remaine after the overthrow, will want courage, and change their minds: the people would be amazed, the Townes stand in suspence, the Conquerour would become master of the Country, and take all Townes he should attempt without resistance. It were best to temporize, and to incampe at *Rennes*, being well furnished with victuals and things necessary, and in the meane time, to keepe the enemy occupied, forcing him to lie in field, tiring him with their horsemen, and cutting off his forrage, or else to lodge the army in the frontier

Diffusion betwixt
Brittish army.

A frontier towne, to shut vp the victuals, and attend the winter: which being come, the enemy shall haue no meanes to lodge abroad, but must of force dislodge: and in the meane time, we shall see what profit will grow by the leagues of the kings of England & Castile, of the Arch-duke, and the Duke of Lorraine; all which giue the Duke great hope, to countertermine the Kings practices in Britany. The rest (rashly thrust on, partly by a yong and boyling humor, partly with desire to make triall of their forces) make answer. That the souldiers are wearied with this long bearing of armes without effect; that having now an opportunity to doe well, they obserue a great ioy in their resolutions, the which it was more fit to nourish then to quench: that their forces were vnitd all together, and asked nothing but employment; and that delay would make them leaue their Ensignes by little and little. In the meane time, *Fougeres* was at the last gasse; a towne of importance, and one of the keyes of the Country, that to leaue it in this extremity, were to shew a manifest proofe of cowardise to all the rest. To conclude: they say in a manner, that to temporise were to play the cowards. The first opinion was most probable, but the vehemency of the Earle of Dunois, and the heat of yonger heads carried it. All march: but see the pitifull first fruits of their first lodging at *Andouille*, a village vpon the way from *Rennes* to *S. Albin*, a contention fals betwixt the Duke of Orleans, and the Lord of Albret, a man of greater enuies, father to *John* the last of that name, King of Nauarre: but his mistris did not affect him, a good scholler in dissembling, to vse the power of *Albret*, for the benefit of the Duke her father. The Duke of Orleans did lie a higher pitch, and by the mediation of the Earle of Dunois, was very far in fauor with *Anne* of Britany: *Alain* discouers some good shewes of *Anne*, to the Duke of Orleans, whereupon they grow to so bitter words, as the day approaching they were ready to fight. But the enemy being at hand, was it now time to contend, to the preiudice of a whole army? But now the foresight of the Marshall of Britany, doth pacifie all: vpon this diffiulty they receive two seuerall aduertisements. *Saint Albin* of *Cormier* was battered by the French with three batteries, and yielded by composition, with their liues and goods faued: a small towne, but furnished with a very good Castle, but at that time vnfortified of men, victuals and munition, and *Fougeres* yielded vpon the like accord: *Saint Albin* was commanded by *William* of *Rolsmeinen*, an ancient captaine, who had had a command of men at armes vnder *Charles* the seuenth, and *Lewis* the eleuenth; but in the warres betwixt *Charles* the eight, and the Duke of Britany, he returned to serue his naturall Prince. The Brittons army marcheth to recouer this place, and the French to preserve their conquests, when as behold there ariseth a mutiny among the Brittons. It is secretly murmured, that the French Commanders their associates, had intelligence with the heads of the French army, the which suggestion did euen then hazard all, and if the Brittons had bene farther off, without feare of charge, they had easily disbanded. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange aduertised of this conceit, had great paine to worke any other impression. What doe they? to giue an assurance of the contrary, they leaue their horses, and E swear all to fight on foot with the Brittons and Germans. A more bold then wise resolution, but necessity did force them to appeale this mutiny which tended to fedition.

They order their troopes to fight. The Foreward to the Marshall of *Rieux*: the battell to the Lord of Albret, with some horse to couer his flanks. The Rereward to Chasteaubriant, and on either side, their carriages of artillery and baggage to couer some of their foot, being fauoured on their flanke with a small groue betwixt *Saint Albin*, and the village of *Oranges*. And to make the small numbers of strangers seeme great, they attire twelue hundred, (some say, seuentene hundred) Brittons, with casocks bearing a red crosse, the English livery. *Lewis* of *Tremouille* in the absence of *Lewis* of Bourbon his brother in law, commanded the Kings army. He giues the foreward to *Adrian del Hospital*, and old French Captaine, and famous in this warre: hee takes the battell to himselfe, and giues the rereward to the Marshall of *Baudricourt*, pressed by a more sudden charge then he expected. *Gabriel* of *Montfauois* with ten or twelue horsemen, sent out to obseue the Brittons countenance makes report of their good order.

The order of
the Brittons
army.

The order of
the French.

The two armies approach, the artillery thunders, and kills many men of either side; a skirmish continues about two houres, which giues the French leysure to order their battell. The two forwardsoyne, the Brittons endure the shocke so courageously, as the French yeeld to the resolute valour of the Marshall of *Rieux*, who goes to charge the battell:

The battell of
Saint Albin.

sell: and at the first they kill *Claude* of Montfort, a brave Capitaine, sent by the King of England to succour the Duke, and the Lord *Scales*, a valiant Knight, with some others of the foremost ranke. *Blaise* a Germane Capitaine, to cover himselfe from the French artillery, changed his quarter, marching by as wife with his battalion, like unto a Croysant: but he is suddenly charged in flanke by four hundred French horse, broken, and many of them slaine. At the same instant, two hundred horse charge those which had the baggage in charge, and force them to retire. The Brittons horse that flanked the army, growes amazed, and leaves the foot naked. They charge them, and force them to their foot. The Duke of Orleans, and Earle of Dunois fighting vnphably on foot, doe what possibly may be expected from such gallant Princes, but the Duke flying among the Germanes was taken in the wood; the other seeing this generall ouerthrow, tore off his blacke crosse, the livery of Britany, and hid himselfe among the dead bodies: an Archer (that had bene of his company) knew him, and both of them were led prisoners to St. Albin, whence the Duke of Orleans was soone after caried to the great Tower of Bourges. The Marshall of Britany, and the Lord of Albret saved themselves in Dinan by the swiftnesse of their horses. All the counterfeite English with red crosses were slaine without remission.

The Lord of Leon (sonneto to the Vicount of Rohan) Pont l'Abbe, the Lord *Scales*, (an Englishman issued from that braue *Talbot* Monsieur (kinsman to the Prince of Orange) with fixe thousand souldiers of their army were slaine. *Mosén Gralla* (a name sauouring of the Lewes) Lord Steward for *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and chiefe of the Spanish troopes, was taken prisoner. Of the French, *James Galeot* a Neopolitane, a valiant and renowned Capitaine: and others to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred men; but few of any make. This was on Monday, the 28 of Iuly: a day of great import for the State, the which did wonderfully shake the Dukes affaires, being troubled in mind, and his subiects tired with toyle and terror, whereof doth follow practices of places, yeelding vp of Townes, and finally, euery one frames himselfe to follow the Conquerors footstepes: a day eternizing the happy memory of that Noble Knight, *Lewis* of Tremouille, great great Grandfather to *Claude* Lord of Tremouille last deceased, Duke of Thouars, Prince of Talmond, Earle of Guines, &c. and of the noble Princesse, *Charlotte Katherine* of Tremouille, Princesse of Conde, Countesse of Taillebourg, Baronesse of Suille, Craon, Boufmiens, *S. Hermine*, la Chaise, in the Vicountie, &c. mother to the most high & mighty Prince *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France, &c. hauing at the age of 25 or 26 yeares, by his incomparable valour and vertue, wonne the honour of so memorabile a victory. The next day, the Lord of Tremouille turnes towards Rennes, summons the towne, and (to terrifie the Inhabitants) he lodgeth his army in the villages of Aigne, Chasteaugiron, Veru, S. Supplice, and others thereabout. The Herald returne an answer: That the King had no right to the towne, and that he wrongfully made war in Britany; That notwithstanding his forces and happy success, God the guardian of their right, might doe vnto him, as hee had in former times to King *Iohn* before Poitiers, and to *Philip* of Valois at Crecy. That if *Tremouille* come, hee should find twenty thousand men to resist him. So the army leauing Rennes, marcheth to Dinan, vnder the command of the Vicount of Rohan. *Amasury* of Moulfay, gouernor of the towne, compounds at the first summon, to deliuer it into the Kings hands, vpon the accustomed conditions in like cases: to commit the guard thereof to whom hee pleased, and the inhabitants to swear vnto the King: which done, the French army should retire. On the other side, *Guy* the fifteenth of that name, Earle of Laul, causeth some French troopes to enter by night into his Castle of Vitre, and they became masters of the towne: and by the same meanes he drew his brother *Francis* Lord of Chasteaubriant, and Montasiant to the Kings party. The Baron of Pont Chateau, brother to the Vicount of Rohan, followed the example of *Francis* of Auagour, the Dukes base sonne, who had already deliuered the towne and castle of Clifton into the Kings hands; and the greatest part of the Nobility followed the same course. Hereafter wee shall see a ciuill war, rather then a foraigne. And for the last worthy exploit of this army, *Tremouille* besiegeth Saint Malo, both Towne and Castle, one of the strongest places in Britany, beautified with a goodly haue. It was able to hold out against the forces of a mighty army, as well for the

Dinan yeolds.

Clifton yeolds.

The Kings proposition in Council.

A fear thereof, as for the fortification: but they easily enter into composition. The Kings affaires advanced thus, as the Dukes declined: his Maiestie being at Angiers, hee propounds in Council whether hee should proceed to an absolute conquest of the Duchie, seize vpon the dikes person, and his daughters, giue them some pension, and marry them at his pleasure. He wanted no firebrands in Court, to kindle these combustions, dispersed throughout all Britany. My Liege (say they) if you once get the father and his daughters into your hands, you shall easily obtaine the whole Country, without striking stroke, and reduce the Nobility at your discretion. *Guy* of Rochefort Chancellor of France, a iust man, and of a good conscience, shewes, that the duke of Orleans retreat into Britany, had bene the chiefe motiue to draw downe the Kings forces. That his Maiestie hauing now the said duke in his power, the cause ceasing, the effect should cease: That the Duke was somewhat to be excused, if by the bond of alliance and affinitie, he had bene intangled in the disgraces of these Noblemen, fled vnder the shadow of his wing. Moreover, the King had no iust cause to pursue his owne vassall with such violence, to ruine his estate, to invade a pupils patrimony, and to spoile her of her Grandfathers inheritance. If the King werenot satisfied to haue the chiefe motiues of these confusions in his power, hee armed himselfe with a transport made to King *Lewis*, by the Lord of Bouillac & *Nicolas* of Britany his wife: that he must then examine the titles, and appoint men to looke into the rights of the one and the other: if the Kings pretensions were iust, it was in him to put them in execution: if not, the people would exclaime against this violence, and God the protector of the oppressed, would soone or late, raise vp some to reuenge it: for the peoples voice, is the voice of God, who cries to Princes, *Due right to the needy and orphaned: doe iustice to the afflicted and poore*. This aduice made the Lords of the Council pause a while, and many in the end conclude: That it was more conuenient to agree vpon Iudges, to decide this controuerfie iudicially. Doubtlesse God holds the hearts of men in suspence, & makes them yeeld to what he pleaseth: But our Countesse of Beauieu was not well pleased with this resolution, hoping to haue the Earldome of Nantes for her share. They let the duke vnderstand what the Council had decreed. These crosses, disreputations, age, and weakness of Iudgement, hindered the apprehension of his affaires, yet will hee deale surely. He charged the Earles of Dunois and Cominges with offers and submissions to the king, the king refers them to *Verger* to consider thereof: about belonging to the Marshall of Gye. Behold there grows great pretensions. The king pretends the propriety of Britany, by reason of the grant made by *Bouillac*. The Vicount of Rohan had not renounced his interest. He descended of *Mary* of Britany, sister to *Marguerit* the dukes first wife, the only heire of *Francis* the first, and *Mary* preceded the duke that then was, in degree of blood. But the pity was, she was a woman.

Precedente for Britany.

As for the pretended rights and grants of *Bouillac*, they answered: that the matter had bene fully decided by the treaty made at the Abbey of Victory, and many others. To the Vicount of Rohan: That it was ended by the contract of marriage, testaments, and ordinances of Dukes their Predecessors, and decrees of Parliaments. But the King hauing two strings to his bow, like a conqueror, grew wilfull, and his sister *Beauieu* more then hee. If one failed, the other was ready bent. *Charles* demands the ward-ship of the dukes daughters. It was of purpose, that obtaining this ward-ship, he might marry *Anne* at his pleasure, being twelve yeares old, and her sister seuen. This might not be; the Nobility would neuer haue endured it. Moreover, *Charles* discouers, that foraigne Princes repined thereat, and were ready to embrace this quarrell. They must therefore agree vpon Iudges, and a certaine place. Yet leauing nothing of his conquests of Britany, and being seized off some townes won by their swords, let the Iudges determine what they will, we will doe what we please. In the end they draw Articles: the King accepts them, and sends them to the Duke being at Coyron vpon Loire, where the Duke remained. He signes them, some willingly, the rest by force: enioying this happinesse in the end of his dayes, to haue changed this wretched warre into a publicke rest.

So, a peace is concluded, and sworn on either part, the one and twentieth of August. The King promisseth to call home all his men at armes, and the duke to dismiss all strangers: hee promisseth to giue the King for hostages, the Lord of Montasiant, *Rainfort*, and the son of the Lord Steward of Britany: and within a certain time, to assemble the Estates of the Country, and to make them confirme this Treaty. But *Francis* the second of that

name,

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The Duke dies.

The Kings new
and strang-
demands.

James answers.

New troubles
by the Vicount
of Rohan.

name, duke of Britany, oppressed with griefe, melancholy, and age, and sore brused with a fall: falls sicke and dies the ninth of September, leaving the Marshall of Rieux guardian of his daughters, the Earle of Comenges for an assistant, and Francis of Laual, Lady of Chateaubriant for gouernesse.

Presently after the Dukes decease, the Kings sends Ambassadors to Anne the new Duchesse, who gives her to understand, that the Kings intention was to maintain the treaty made betwixt his Maiesty, and the duke deceased: but to make it more firme, it was expedient for her to yield in three points to the King. The first: That seeing they were allyed vnto the King, reason would, that he should haue the guard, or wardship, and during their minority, the disposing of their lands and Seigneuries. The second: That Commissioners appointed (should decide their controuersie, touching the principality of Britany, by the first day of January next ensuing: and in the meane time, neither the one nor the other, should cary the name nor the authority of Duchesse, nor receiue the oath of fealty. The third: That all strangers should voyde the Country, as was contained in their contract. Anne makes answer: that she desires to keepe the treaty betwixt the King and her deceased father, without any other conditions: And for confirmation of her words, she calls a Parliament the 29 of December following, as the Duke was bound, to haue them ratifie the conuentions of peace. In the meane time there were robberies, taking of ranfomes, massacres, thefts, delolation of the Country, sale of townes, euen as in open warres. The Vicount of Rohan laboured to winne the townes by sweet words, and amiable letters; he shewes vnto them the mileries of this war, farre from any end, by the decease of their Duke: that at his request, the King had retired his army, attending, if the Nobility and Commons, would put themselues into the hands of the said Rohan, vnder whose command his Maiesty meant they should remaine, otherwise he was ready to reduce the obstinate to reason by force. Rennes, Guingamp and others (to whom he had particularly written) answer: That neither they nor the rest, can or ought acknowledge any other commander then the Duchesse: to whom during her fathers life, (and since his decease) they were bound by oath. Moreover, they were aduertised that the King was resolved to entertaine a peace with their Princesse, in the same manner as had bene accorded. They beseech him to rest satisfied with this answer, vntill they bee informed of the Duchesse intention, of the Councils, and the Marshall of Rieux: and in the meane time, to haue the good of the Country, and the peace in recommendation.

This answer puts the Vicount into choller, and the Earle of Quintin his brother thrusts him on, being desirous to be reuenged for the often taking, and spoiling of his towne. He goes to field with his troope, and neere vnto Pontrieu he encounters some men gathered together, with an intent to goe to succour the Duchesse: he doth charge them, defeat them, and kills a part of them, being abandoned by some Gentlemen that conducted them: then hee takes and sacks Pontrieu and Chateaulin vpon Trieuf, and so makes his way to Guingamp. Hee summons Chero and Goniquet Capitaines, to yeeld the Towne. They answer, that they will not obey him, so long as there shall bee a Duke or Duchesse in Britany. Vpon this refusal, he sends a Capitaine called Saint Pierre, Seneshall of Tholouza, and La Forest, to beleaguer it: who being repulsed out of the suburbs of Treguer, takes them of Montbareil and Pontauquen, spoile and burne them, and Rohan being aized, he takes the suburbs of S. Croix: then hee lodgeth in Montbareil, from whence hee discourereth the whole towne so plainly, as hee might shoot point-blanke into the market place: he burnes a part of the suburbs, and lodgeth his artillery: he plants another battery in the Iacobins garden, to batter the curtain of the wall betwixt the ports of Rennes and Fontani, and he makes a breach but not sufficient, yet hee gives an assault, and is repulsed. The next day hee changeth his battery, and plants it at the vpper end of the Friars garden: hee plays a whole day, beats downe a part of the wall, betwixt the Ports of Montbareil, and Treguer: hee offers a second assault, but it was as valiantly defended as the first. Goniquet thrust into the thigh with a pike, is carried out of the fight. The night brings counsell, and those which had withstood two assaults, will be vnable for the third, being now weakened of one of their chiefe supports, who was made vnable to serue, by reason of his hurt: morning being come, a truce is granted, to take aduice of their Duchesse. Rohan presseth it, and the Capitaines seeing their men decayed in number, as well by the taking of the suburbs, as at the two assaults, compound for ten thousand Crownes to the General,

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The pitfull
estate of Brit-
tany.

A rall, to retire his army, and to receiue them into his protection, promising to furnish victuals & munition for the siege of Conquer, the which he had charge from the King to besiege, & for want of present money, by reason of the losses sustained by the war, to giue hostages. But this parlee was fruitious. During which time capitaine Boissel declares himselfe for the French, seizeth vpon the gate of the tower Quencille, and brings in the Earle of Quintin, (who gaped only for reuenge of this place) he takes and spoiles the town, and ranfomes the inhabitants, and amongst them capitaine Chero: Goniquet saues himselfe at la Roche de Rien. This chanced the 23 of January, after five daies siege. Conquer yeelds vpon their approach, & Breft followed, a most strong place, and the key of all the country.

Thus Ploermel, Chateaubriant, Malestroit, Vitre, Fougères, S. Malo, Dinan, S. Albin, Guingamp, Conquer, Breft, and other places, are in the Kings power. The Nobility disappointed for the most part of their best places, shroud themselues vnder the conqueror: there is small hope of succours. The English are diuided among themselves: the King of the Romanes hath worke at home, and those small succours that come from both, preuaile nothing: there is no money in the treasury, the Souldiers are not paid, the Crowne is wortht eight Frankes: Anne is forced to sell of her reuenues for the maintenance of her house: and to aggravate these mischiefs, her Council is greatly diuided about her marriage. The Marshall of Rieux, and the Lady of Laual, hold for Alain of Albret, but these will none of him. She protests, that whatsoeuer she had done in her fathers life, was in respect of him, being loth to disobey him, or to giue him discontent; and causeth the said protestation to be signified vnto him. The Chancellor and the Earle of Comenges, support her against the Marshall: he flies to armes, and besiegeth the Chancellor at Guerrende, (being seized of Annes person, to keepe her from falling into his hands, who would marry her against her will, where he pleased,) but he could not enter. All these confusions made an easie way to the King, for the execution of his enterprises. Being thus oppressed, she sends to her allies, the Kings of England, Castile and Romanes: the English succour her (and in a manner beyond her expectation) with an army of nine or ten thousand men, vnder the command of Cheney Master of the horse, accompanied with the Comptroller, and Ambassador of England: not for any hatred hee bare vnto the King, but for feare of too mighty a neighbor, if hee vnted this goodly Prouince to the Crown. The Marshall of Rieux, (hauing another meaning apart, seeking to tye the English Commanders vnto him, and to draw them to his faction) sends the Master of the horse of Britany, and the Lord of Kacrouff, to Penmarch, to receiue this Ambassador, and to offer him a conuoy to goe to the Duchesse, (who to haue this army neere vnto her person, makes it to land at Croisic, a port neere vnto Guerrende.) And to haue the people at his deuotion, Rieux giues out, that the Earles of Dunois & Comenges, the Chancellor and others, had laid a plot to deliuer the Duchesse to the French King. Anne fortified with this new supply, goes to field, desirous herselfe (being a Virgin) to affront the Marshall of Rieux, if hee presented himselfe: and being preuented of her entry into Nantes by the Marshall, she retires to Rennes, to giue order for the recovery of Guingamp. For this effect, she assembles some troopes, being assured that the French garison could not be suddenly releued, the kings army being employed far off in the conquest of the townes of base Britany. These troopes were seized of Pontrieu, & to stop the courses of Guingamp, had sent some gentlemen, with a number of the common people. Those of Guingamp encounter them, charge them, ouerthrow them, and kill many of the chiefe Gentlemen of note, William of Rostren Lord of Breledi, Thon of Ploerqueler Siegneur of Kaegabin, Thon of Ledeursault, K. aerloët, Pontgrou, Kaerneckrion, Botloy, Pregon, the eldest son to the Lord of Lanecrion, and an infinite number of the Commons. They presently take Pontrieu, sack it, and burne it. This was the sixteenth of Aprill. The next day, Goniquet being aduertised that about a thousand five hundred men of the English army, appeared at the Isle of Brehat, he went vnto them, and so wrought with the Commanders, as they landed at Pontrieu. The French hauing notice hereof, being about a thousand five hundred horse, being loth to ingage their honors in a place not to be held, without succours, and ill furnished with victuals and munition, they set fire of many places of the Towne cary away what they can, exact 1200 Crownes of the Inhabitants, and retire themselves, leading eight hostages, for the security of fifty thousand Franckes, granted by the Inhabitants to the Vicount of Rohan. This English army was presently followed by another of Spaniards,

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Anne succored
by the English
and Spaniards.The Admirall
of Britany for
the King.The Marshall
of Rieux seeks
to win the En-
glish.Brest and Con-
quet besieged.

niards, commanded by *Don Diego Pexes* of Sarmiento Earle of Salmas, consisting of 4000 men at armes, and a great number of foot. Now *Anne* is strong, fortified with two new armies; and the King feares, that in stead of invading another mans Country, hee shall be forced to defend his owne. To prevent all danger, hee fortifies his frontiers, and sends *Francis* of Luxembourg, Vicount of Mariques, and *Charles* of Marigny, to *Henry* the seventh King of England, to draw him from the alliance of Britany, considering his bond vnto the King, by whose meanes hee was installed in the royall throne: but they were fruitlesse admonitions. The Kings calls for his Nobility, and all his companies of men at armes, and resolves to enter Britany with the greatest forces of this Realme. In the meane time hee puts two thousand foure hundred foot into Chasteaugontier and *Proence*; *John* of Bellay with his company of forty Lances into Brest: into Conquet *Claude* of Montfaulon, and *Bongars* a Captaine of foot, with artillery, victuals and munition: and foure thousand French and Swizzers were distributed into Dinan, Fougues, Saint Malo, and Vitre. But this was not sufficient to assure these places: a man of service doth oftentimes import more then the whole body of a towne. He therefore practiseth with *John* of Quellenec, Vicount of Fout, Admirall of Britany, by the meanes of the Vicount of Rohan. This Admirall armes some ships, to keepe the Brittons from besieging of Brest by sea, and *Maurice du Mené* (of whom we haue made some mention) with the Lord of Chastel (newly reduced to the Kings service, by the Lord of Kacriac) took the guard of the sea coast, to hinder the enemies landing. In the meane time the Britton lodge their strangers at Lamballe, and assemble all into one body. The Marshall of Rieux, impatient to haue bene left Tutor vnto *Anne* by testament, and not to haue her in his possession, being too weak to take her by force in regard of *Alain*, shee seeks to the English, and sends *Sourdac* to *Henry*, to let him vnderstand, that *Albret* might assist him much in the recovery of Guienne. That it were good to binde him vnto him by the marriage of *Anne* of Britany, and to sequester those from her that were opposite. When please, he hath the meanes to draw her into his Captaines power, vnder colour to perswade her to visit these great and goodly succours, that were come to serue her. Yet could he not preuaile in this point. She had already conceived some ialousie of the English: for her Treasurer (carrying them sixe thousand Crownes, which they had required, attending their pay) had discouered, that they treated with the Kings men, and that they were now in speech of a truce. Being moued herewith, he doth aduertise *Henry*, and beseecheth him to giue order, beleuing that this dealing was not with his consent. She complaines moreover, that the Marshall of Rieux detained Nantes from her, kept her retenuues, placed and displaced her officers: beseeching the king to command the Lieutenant of his army, to giue no support nor fauour vnto *Rieux* against her, but to pursue him as a rebell, and disobedient to his Princesse, attempting against her & her authority. *Henry* won by the Marshall, assures the Duchesse of the continuance of his great loue, and that he will answer at large to that which her Ambassadors had propounded, by some that he would send vnto her. In the meane time he desires his Army should goe to Rennes to the Duchesse, or that she might go to thê, to the end she might visibly see, if those forces were sufficient to succor her. And he giues her to vnderstand by *Tusbourne* Secretary of state that he had sent his Army to succor her against all men, and especially against *Rieux*: so as the army with the commanders may come to her to Rennes, or that she may go to the army, as she shall thinke best. A grosse policy, easily discouered at the first sight, that this was but a practice to put her and the chiefe of her counsell into strangers hands, to rule her at their pleasure. *Anne* finds this condition of hard digestion. And *Henry* fearing lest this distrust should make her to sue for an accord with the King, aduiseeth, that the surest meanes to fortifie the Duchesse party against the French, was the Marshalls reconciliation with her: and wrought therein so politically, that by mediation of *John* of Coetman and other Noblemen of Britany, an accord was made betwixt the Duchesse, the Earle of Comminges, and others of that party, with the Lords of Albret & Rieux, and the Lady of Laual: so as in the beginning of January all quarrels were pacified, and all were vntied in the common seruice of their country. During this treaty, the Marshall well informed that Brest & Conquet wanted both munition & victuals, went to besiege the fortresse of Brest by land and sea with threecore Britton ships: and the English went to Conquet. The King knowing how much these places did import, sends *S. Pierre* and *Chazeron* with 5000

foot,

A foot, to ioyne with the forces of Rohan, Saint Andre, the Seneschals of Tholousa and Carcassonne: and to draw forth part of the Garisons of Vitre, Fougues and Dinan; and five and twenty ships by sea, which put all the gallies to of Britany to fight; and after their example, the army at land retires so hastily, as they leaue part of their Cannon, wherewith the Towne was furnished, victualled, and relieved with fresh men: and Conquer likewise was freed from the siege of the English. Winter approached, and the cold and rainie weather forced both armies to leaue the field. And therefore a new truce was concluded, during the which, Iudges should be appointed to examine the interest of all parties: who for that effect should be sent to Auignon, a neuter towne, and they should name a neuter Prince, who (according to the report of the Iudges) should denie the controuersie. *Maximilian* was chosen. Doubtlesse it was a folly to spend much in spices, and want good intelligence. The King being vpon the point to consummate his marriage with the Arch-dukes daughter, relied on him. But in whose fauour should hee giue sentence, being in no good tearmes with the King; and hoping on the other side to ioyne vnto his ordinary tutor, the quality of Duke of Britany? *Charles* and *Anne* send their deputies vnto him, who are referred to Franckford. The Iudges come and pronounce a sentence, but not definitiue: That the King should deliuer all such places as he held, vnto the Duchesse, except, *S. Albin*, *Cormier*, *Dinan*, *Fougues*, and *S. Malo*, which should be sequestered into the hands of *Maximilian*, and the Duke of Bourbon: and to yield them vnto him to whom the Duchy should be adiudged: and all Frenchmen that bare armes, should leaue the Country, and the Duchesse likewise should dismisst the English, and other strangers. Taking a new assignation at Tournay, to iudge definitiue of the cause: but all this was but to win time. *Maximilian* makes his peace with the King, for his owne regard, whereby many places he held in Flanders were deliuered: and during these treaties, *Isabel* the sister of *Anne* of Britany dies at Rennes the tenth of Iune.

Anne remaining sole heire, the King of Romanes loue increased, and the Duchesse deuoted to be supported against the King, made her willingly yeeld. And for that *Maximilian* could not goe in person, he deutes the Earle of Nassau, *Walpurgus* Baron of Polhem in Austria, *James* Gondebaur his Secretary, and *Lopian* Steward of his house, with authority to treat, and conclude the marriage and to wed the said Duchesse. Notwithstanding the truce, no man will leaue his hold, neither will the King giue over the places he holds, nor the Duchesse dismisst her strangers, but some part of them, and puts the rest into Garisons. Shee sends not to Auignon, fearing perhaps the surprize of her writings. The Garison of Nantes runnes ouer Poictou, Anion, and other Countries. The Kings troopes commit the like acts of hostility. Some Germans enter into Britany. The Chancellor of Montauban goes to solicit in England. *Charles* will haue *Anne* first to discharge her English and Castilians. *Anne* replies, that in like sort hee ought by the treaty of Franckford, to yeeld her her places, and to leaue the other foure townes about mentioned, as neuters. Shee imputes the spoyles of Nantes, to the former diuisions betwixt her and the Marshall of Rieux, and promisseth that hereafter the like infolencies shall not be committed. That the Germanes comming was onely to force some of her subjects to obedience. That the Chancellors going to the King of England, was to agree vpon the charges due for the succours he had sent. That in truth, seeing the King to make new preparations to the prejudice of their treaty, shee had giuen the Chancellor commission, to treat for some succours of men. The King is discontented herewith, so as *Grenenê* and *Coetqueu* her Ambassadors returne with no other answer but a new assignation at Tournay. In the meane time the King armes, and makes great preparations at Pont-See, *Anne* serues him with the same fauce. Shee solicites the Kings of England and Castile, and her new spouse, to ioyne their forces, and to invade France with a might army. He that cannot circumuent his enemy with the Lions skin, must vie the Foxes. *Charles* is aduertised of this new alliance of Austria and Britany. The neighbourhood is dangerous, being thus fortified. He must auoyde this, and by some meanes get that for himselfe, with an ill neighbour pretends. Hee therefore sends to treat with the Duchesse, but she cannot affect him, that had shewed himselfe so violent an enemy. Yet he finds another expedient. *Alain* of Albret was frustrate of his hopes, and this deniall had mightily discontented him: he was therefore easily drawne away. The duke of Bourbon gouernes him so absolutely for a time, that vpon certaine promises and other preterments, he wins him

Anne married to
Maximilian.New causes of
warre.King Charles
seeks to inuade
Anne to no use.

1490

Nantes taken
for the French.

for the King, who promisseth to deliuer him the towne of Nantes, wherein hee might doe A much, being armed with the Marshall of Rieux fauor. The effects follow: *Alain* surpriseth the castle of Nantes, and in hatred of *Annes* disdaine, he spoiles the Treasury of the dukes of Britany, in the which were all their precious stones, and the Duchesses Jewels, and deliuereth both Towne and Castle into the Kings hands, yielding him the right he pretended to the Duchy, by reason of his wife *Frances* of Britany, daughter to *William* Vicount of Limoges, a younger brother of the House of Ponthieure, for a pension of five hundred pounds a yeare, issuing out of the lands of Gaure, neere Tholouze; whereunto the Chamber of Account at Paris, with the Kings Proctor Generall, and the Inhabitants of Gaure opposed, maintaining, that there was no recompence due to the Lord of Albret for that seruice, seeing he had none. The King (who was in Sentenell) marcheth thither in person with his army, the fourth of Aprill, hoping now to finish this warre, and to send home the English. Hee marcheth, with an intent to besiege *Anne* in Rennes, whither this new terror had drawne her. But they had so suddenly peested all the approaches with numbers of trees cut out off the neereest forest, as they were forced to giue ouer that enterprize, to vndertake the siege of Guingamp, being the key of bafe Britany. The Inhabitants were reduced to extreme poeury, hauing lodged the English army almost a yeare, who for want of payment, had spoyled them of all their goods, and left it ill guarded with men for defence. *Tremouille* Lieutenant for the King, had this charge, who sent *Adrian l' Hospital* before, with part the army, to beleaguer the place. At his approach the inhabitants demanded a composition: the Lieutenant receiues them, with assurance of life and goods. But in his absence, he cannot saue the towne from spoile.

Guingamp
taken.

Then fell out the appointment for Tournai: *Anne* sends sixteene Deputies, who finde the gates shut against them, and no lodging but in the suburbs: the King disdaining this treaty, hauing intelligence of the marriage of *Maximilian* with *Anne*: fore-seeing, that from this stocke might spring a plant, which hereafter might crosse his estate. *Maximilian* was now much moued for the taking of Nantes: the Emperour *Fredericke* his father held a Diet at Noremberg, to provide howe meane to recouer this losse, and to encounter the French forces. The Princes of Germany promise him twelue thousand Laskes, which the Colonell *George* of Terreplaine should bring to him by August follow. D ing. The King of England should augment this army with a leaue of six thousand English. But the discord that fell out betwixt these two Princes, and the tediousnesse of the Germans, who are wonderful beaury, gaue the King meane to effect his desire, and to supplant *Maximilian*.

The Duke of
Orleanse freed
from prison.

At that time the King freed the Duke of Orleanse from prison, and by the same meane the Prince of Orange and the Earle of Dunois were reconciled vnto him. These meane were great meane to put the King in *Maximilians* place, being onely married by a Deputy. The Councell found no better expedient, to pacifie all these quarrels and troubles. But the Duchesse was strange: what meane is there (saith shee) to loue a Prince, who these three yeares hath made such cruell warres against mee? being a pupill and vnder age? who detraceth my Townes vniuersity? who spoyles my subiects? doth out-rage, and kill my officers, vpon refusal to pay him my rents and reuennues? who (notwithstanding former transactions passed betwixt vs) spoyles my Country, makes desolate my townes, and hath fought tyrannically to seize vpon my person. It was needfull to employ many great personages to pacifie this discontented mind. The King sends the Duke of Orleanse to that end, who cunningly doth practise the Marshall of Rieux, the Chancellor of Montauban, and others of the Councell, with the Lady of Laul (gouernesse to the Duchesse) and other Ladies her familiars, who both publicly and priuately lay before her, her fore-past dangers, the miseries in the which her subiects had been plungeth through warre, the neighbourhood of so mighty a King, who would continually oppress her, and the farre distance of *Maximilian*, a poore Prince, full of affaires, and of small credit, who hath no meane to raise her, neither could he euer succour her with a boue two thousand men. That shee had no better meane to purchase rest to her selfe, and peace to her subiects, then by imbracing the alliance of King *Charles*, whereby she should not onely recouer her places, but of a Duchesse of Britany, should become a peaceable Queene, and welbeloued of the whole Realme. If they were both married, it was but by Attorneys: finally, in such accidents, the Church doth willingly dispence with

Her Councell
perswaded her
to embrace the
alliance of
France.

A with such couenants not personally performed, to preuent the miseries that grow by war. *Maximilian* was farre off, vnacquainted with these practices, no man sought to preuent it: and these perswasions did ring dayly in the eares of *Anne*, to as in the end shee yeelds to follow the resolution of her states. They were wonderfully toyled and wearied with the warre, the people turmoyled, the Nobility impouerished, the Clergy oppressed, some townes taken, and some wauering: and moreover, they did see a great Prince demand their alliance with force, and the chiefe Noblemen inclined to the French faction. These reasons made it seeme more conuenient, and to be preferred before the flow succours of *Maximilian*.

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1) Thus was *Anne* Duchesse of Britany perswaded, and a peace concluded and ratified by a happy and pleasing treaty of marriage, by the which (to maintaine the subiects of the Country in peace that were armed for either side) it was said, That all exploits and offences committed and done vpon assurance, or otherwise, during the wars on either side, should be forgotten, and remaine without reproach to any, as remitted, abolished, and recompensed: every man should returne to his home, and all soldiers depart the Country. A wife aduice to maintaine these two Countries in loue and concord. The City of Rennes yeelds at this happy composition, where the King entred in Nouember, vpon the assurance & consuet of the duke of Orleanse, with his simple traine, and without any men at armes, (for so it was agreed) to see the Duchesse, and to ratifie the treaty, making the Prince of Orange (for that he had been a chiefe instrument in this businesse) his Lieutenant generall in Britany: then heooke the way to Langeais in Touraine, whither *Anne* was conducted by the Chancellor *Montauban*, *Coetquen* Lord Steward, and by the Lord of Chasteaubriant, and the marriage was consummated the 16 day of December. The Articles of the contract are to be seen in the Originals. If this marriage were pleasing to God or not, let vs leaue it to the iudicious reader: so it is, that of three sons they could not bring vp one. Soone after *Francis* of Orleanse Earle of Dunois died, the chiefe fire-brand of this war, & likewise the principall motiue of this peace. From him are issued the dukes of Longueuille, and a little before him the second D. of Bourbon was deceased without children, to whom succeeded *Peter* Earle of Beaueux, who hereafter shall be D. of Bourbon, the eleuenth of that name.

A final peace
in Law
by
treaty of
marriage.The marriage
of Charles with
Anne.

2) This yeare was borne *Gaston* of Foix, duke of Nemours, son to *Iohn* of Foix, Vicount of Narbone, and of *Mary* of Orleanse, one of the greatest Captaines of his age, who shall giue ample testimony of himselfe in the wars of Italy, which now approach. There dyed also at Rome, *Peter* of Foix, Cardinall, brother to the said *Iohn*, and Vncle to Queene *Katherine* of Nauarre. *Henry* of England, wonderfully incensed at this marriage, sought by all secret practices to surprize some of the chiefe places of the Prouince: and at the first retreat of his army out of Britany, he caused it to make an offer at Port-blanc, and some other ports, but they were still repulsed by the faithfull care of the Noblemen of the Country: namely, by the Chancellor of Montauban, of *Barraud* d'Acigné, and other les-Captaines. Thus the English seeing their attempts like to take none effect bent their course to goe towards Calais, in the company of their King: who was making war in the County of Guines, whilst that *Maximilian* should enter the Realme with forces on the other side: then they besieged Boulle by sea, being kept from landing by the Lord of Cordes, and the bastard of Cardonne, Captaine of Arras, with such small forces as they could suddenly oppose.

The practices
of the English
vpon Britany.

But oh Bastard! whilst thou repellst this common enemy, how preiudiciall shall thy absence be from Arras? Four young gallants (saith the history) make false keyes to the gates, and gaue *Maximilian* intelligence, bringing him by night into the towne, vnknewe to *Cardonne*, Lieutenant to *Cardonne*. Some write that one of those, in whom he trusted for the opening of the gates, made this stratagem. But (howsoeuer) he was taken in his bed sleeping at his ease, and for a second token of bafe cowardise, he yeelded vp the Castle, without attending the succors that came vnto him. The towne was spoyled, without sparing of the Churches, or the Traitors houses. A worthy reward of their treachery. Thus wee preferre our Conquests. A while after they attempted Amiens, a shame to soldiers, that a woman should heare the first brute, and that her advertisement to the watch, in ringing the great Bell of Beffroy, should put the towne in armes. And as the first aduice came from a woman, so are they honourably qualified in the History. To be borne arms with their husbands, who by the care and command

Arras betrayed
to Maximilian.

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of *Rubempré* and of *Anthony Clabault* Maire of the Towne, did their duties so well (en-ry one repairing to the quarter, which had been formerly assigned him) as the enemy re-turned amazed. A duty which made them as famous, as their descendants infamous, by the notable treachery they committed in our dayes.

Peace with
Italy.

Henry loved Peace, and was imbarke more at the instance of his subjects, (lest they should thinke him more gracious to the French then the ancient quarrels of both nation required) then for any desire he had to haue the King his Enemy, to whom he had a great and strict bond, as we haue heard. The chiefe cause of his grudge was a great summe of money, which he said he had lent to the deceased Duke of Britany. The King hauing discovered it, commands the Lord of Cordes to treat with him, and payes him the money, and so sends him home satisfied into England.

And with
Maximilian.

This Peace made *Maximilian* willing to be reconciled. Moreouer, the Princes of Germany labored in this pacification, and the affaires of the Empire (in which his father had associated him since the yeare 1486) beganne to call him. The Swisses laboured it, and the people, especially those of the Low Countries (as well through the French warres, as by their owne priuate diuisions) were so toiled, as they detested the wars. In the end, a peace was concluded for four yeares only, by the means of the Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orange, and the Lord of Cordes. So he receiued his daughter *Marguerit* againe, with the Counties of Artois and Bourgogne, receiuing the reuenues and homages, and the King keeping the Castles, to place garisons in them, vntill the end of four yeares. Behold this Estate doth now enioy a happy rest, by the vnion of this goodly and great Duchy to the Crowne of France, and by a Peace confirmed with *Henry* and *Maximilian*. But as *Charles* had enlarged his Diadem with this new acquisition, so the vrgent importunity of his Schoolmaster, *Louis* of Amboise, Bishop of Albi, and of Doctor *Maillard*, made him to restore the Counties of Roussillon and Pargignan (too religiously) vnto *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, the which *Louis* & his father had gotten, hoping by this means to re the Spaniard to a perpetual peace. What should *Charles* doe then with his Nobility and his youth, he being young, vigorous, and of no idle complexion? Now a great desire makes him to cast his eyes beyond the Alpes, and drawes him to the conquest of goodly and rich Estates. But let vs examine the causes and proceedings farther off.

The first mo-
tiue of the voy-
age of Italy.

We haue said before, that *René* Duke of Lorraine was in Court, and demanded restitu-tion of the Duchy of Barre, and the County of Prouence. During his aboad, the Realme of Naples being reuolted, the Nobilitie and the three Estates of the Realme put them-selves vnder the protection of the Church, as holding of it in fee. The Pope sends for *René* to inuest him in the Realme, vpon some right which he pretended. The Gallies of Genoa attended him; the Cardinall of S. Pierre was there to conduct him, and some from all the Noblemen of the Country prest him therunto, where they expected him so long, as the Pope was forced to make an agreement with *Ferdinand*, being assisted by the Florentines. Vpon assurance of this accord, which the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentines had sworne and were bound to see obserued, the Barons of the realme re- turne home to their houses, and were all taken prisoners. The Prince of Salerne, chiefe of the house of S. *Seuerin*, escapes, and three of his nephewes with him, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan, who retire themselves to Venice, and demand of the Seigneury what refuge they would wish them to chioose; to the duke of Lorraine, or to the king of France or of Spaine. The Venetians answer, That the duke of Lorraine was a dead man, vnable to sup- port so heavy a burthen: That the king of Spaine was already strong at sea, and the realms of Naples and Sicily would make him too mighty: that they had liued in good correspon- dency with the Kings of France, who in former times had possessed the said realmes. The delays of the Lorraine being but poore, made them thus to qualifie him: for he wanted neyther couragion nor valour. They were iealous of the neighborhood of a mighty prince, and did not consider that to call in a King of France to these Estates was the means to ruine them. So they passe into France, where the affaires of Britany held them about two yeares in their pursuit. One called *Stephen deuers*, a man of bafe sort, who had serued the King well in his infancy, as a Groom of his chamber, and now made Seneschall of Beau- caire, and president of the Accompts of Paris, and the Generall *Brissones*, afterwards Car- dinal, ruled their Maister.

These Neopolitanes gouerne them, and they imbarke him in this voyage, who of him- selfe

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Wants for this
voyage.

A selfe was farall: he wanted all necessary things. The King was young, and weake of comple- xion, he had few good Commanders, and fewer wife men: no money, and him/elfe wil- full, the best was, he had a gallant Nobilitie and young, but ill commanded, nothing o- bedient, and too wilfull like to their head, the which notwithstanding purchased the king an immortall glory. The leading and retorne of this army doublelesse was the worke of heauen. Before his departure, *Charles* required ayd and counsell of the Venetians. *Ayd we cannot giue you* (say they) *for feare of the Turke*, yet were they in peace with him, and the Turke then reigning was of small reputation. As for counsell it were presumption for us to counsell so wife a King, assisted with so good counsell; notwithstanding wee will helpe you rather then hurt you, and you shall be very welcome. In truth God will haue vs to confesse, that neyther the wit nor policy of man can disappoint that which his eternall prouidence had decreed. This succeeded otherwise then that Common weale expected. First, they conceiued not that the King would vndertake this voyage in person: moreover, they hoped to be reuenged of this House of Arragon, whom they hated exceedingly, imputing it to *Ferdinand*, as the means to draw downe *Mahomet Othoman*, who conquered Constantinople, and had done many outrages to the Venetians; and *Alphonso* sonne to the said *Ferdinand* had stirred vp the Duke of Ferrara to make that chargeable warre against them, the which had almost ruined them; and had sent a man to Venice to poyson their Cisternes, with many other complaints which they framed against this house. But the chiefe motiue was, for that by their means they could not extend their dominions, as well in Italy as in Greece. Thus they thought to vte the King as a scourge to whip the enemy, but not to ruine him; and by their shipwracke to haue means to seize vpon some townes in Apulia lying vpon the Gulfe, as it happened.

This was one motiue to transport the French Forces beyond the Alpes. Another was, that *Bonne* a daughter of *Sauoy* & widow to *John Galeas* D. of Milan, a woman both with- out honor & iudgment, was chiefly gouerned by a Secretary of hers, named *Chico*, bred vp in that house, and by her Caruer, *Antonio Tascino*. *Chico* to assure the estate of the young duke *John Galeas* son to the said *John*, had expelled all his fathers bretheren, Vncles to the sonne, and amongst the rest *Lodowike Sforze*, and *Robert* of Saint *Seuerin*, sonne of a bastard daughter of the house of Saint *Seuerin*: *Tascino* (who had a great interest in his Ladies bed and fauour) calls them home with her consent. Being returned, they take *Chi- co*, and against their promise to offer him any violence, they put him in a pipe, and drag- ging him through the cite of Milan, send him prisoner to *Paui*, where he died, and they modestly dismissed *Tascino*.

Lodowike
Sforze seeks to
violate the Du-
chy of Milan.

Lodowike and *Robert* freed from these two obstacles, fortifie themselves neere the Du- chesse, and euen then did *Lodowike* practice to vsurpe the Duchy of Milan. For the first fruits of this proiect, they sequester the two sonnes of *Bonne* and lodge them in the Castle, and feize vpon the treasure (which was then held to bee the greatest in Christen- dome). They make three keys, whereof three kept one, but they had the guard of all. They force her to renounce the Wardship, and *Lodowike* was made Tutor. This was not all: the Castle was carefully kept, and the Capitaine went not without the turne-pikes. *Lodowike* and *Robert* were not admitted, but with one or two followers. But two great Princes cannot raigne long together in one State without ialousie. *Lodowike* supplantes *Robert*, and puts him from all gouernment.

Thus *Lodowike* commands Milan absolutely, and *Robert* serues the Venetians: yet *Galeas* and the Earle of *Caiazzo*, children to *Robert*, shall retorne and doe *Lodowike* good seruice in the State of Milan. Then began *Lodowike* to increase in authority, grauing the dukes picture on the one side of their coyne, and his owne on the other, not without the murmuring of many, namely, of *Isabel* the wife of *Alphonso* Duke of Calabria, son to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, as proud and haughty a woman, as her husband was weake of iudgment and without courage. This reyning made *Lodowike* to hasten his re- solution. And thus he proceeded: when the Duke went forth of the Castle, his brother remained within, and *Lodowike* conducting him home, the Capitaine did vically come forth vpon the bridge to receiue him. One day among the rest, *Lodowike* stays him pur- posely a little without the bridge, to draw forth the Capitaine, whom *Galeas* and the Earle of *Caiazzo* feize vpon, and on such as followed him.

Lodowike
seizes Milan and
surprizes the
Castle.

They within draw the bridge, *Lodowike* lights a candle, and swears to cut off their heads that

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that were in his power, if they yeeld not the place before the light be burnt: the which A they doe. He enters and placeth men at his pleasure: he puts the Capitaine in prison; and arraignes him, upon colour that he meant to deliuer vp the Castle to the Emperour. *Hee slayes some Germans, and makes them beleaze that they treated in fauour of the house of Austria, which of old time pretended some right to the Duchy: yet afterwards both hee and they were set at liberty. Lodowike is now master of the Fort. Hee must seeke meanes to maintaine this vsurpation: yet lest he should grow too odious, he makes all dispatches in the name of Iohn Galeas Duke of Milan his Nephew, a Duke in name only, but he in effect. In the meane time Isabel solicits her father and grandfather, to reuenge the iniustice and tyranny of Lodowike. Lodowike vnderstood well, that this act would offend many Princes: that his insolent and not accustomed exaction of mony made his name odious to all the subiects of the Duchy: and that Ferdinand King of Arragon with his sonne Alphonsus, would not faile to imbrace the quarrell and right of Iohn Galeas and of their Isabel. To crosse them, he cunningly (to the preiudice of the ancient confederacy of the Estates of Italy) makes a league betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, and Iohn Galeas Duke of Milan his Nephew (arming himselfe alwaies with that name) for their common defence, and namely of Lodowiks government, vpon condition, that the Venerians, and the said Duke should either of them send presently two hundred men at armes to Rome, and greater forces (if need were) for the recovery of such places as were detayned from the Church by *Virgilius Vrsinus* in fauour of Peter of Medicis his kinsman, associate with Ferdinand, and Alphonsus. And more to crosse their estates, Lodowike (who could not submitt to the midst of their united forces) sends an honourable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Caliz was the chiefe, assisted by Charles of Balbiano Earle of Belzoiofo, and Galeas of Saint Severin, who had married a bastard of Lodowikes: who greatly vrge the title he had to this goodly and pleasant country of Naples. They easily drew the King to taste a vaine glory of Italy, perswading him by great offers of seruice, luccors of men, money, and munition. But before we passe the Alpes, let vs examine the estate of Italy, and the right which our Charles pretended. Since the declining of the Roman Empire, Italy neuer enioyed a more happy prosperitie, then about the year 1490. A long peace had made the most barren places fruitful, it abounded in people, riches, great men of State, and good wits; in learning, D industry and military fame, such as that age could produce, beautified with the State of many Princes, not subiect to any other command but of themselves.*

The Estate of
Italy 1490.

Laurence of Medicis, a Citizen of Florence, was a great meanes to hold things in this prosperous Estate, a man of a quiet spirit, experienced in affaires, iudicious, of great authority aboue all his fellow Citizens, and (for that he gouerned Pope Innocent the eighth, his kinsman absolutely) renowned throughout all Italy. Hee knew that the greatnesse of other Potentates, would mightily shake the common weale of Florence, and therefore he sought by all meanes to hold them equall, by a generall oblation of peace. Ferdinand of Arragon, King of Naples, a wife Prince, and of great reputation, did much affect this publike quiet, but he had worke at home: Alphonsus Duke of Calabria his eldest sonne, being much discontented, seeing that Iohn Galeas Sforce, Duke of Milan his sonne in law, should cary but the naked and simple title of Duke, vnder the oppression of Lodowike his vnkle. But Ferdinand hauing yet a fresh impression of the late reuolt of his subiects of Naples, not ignorant that at the first motion they would open their armes to the house of France, considering the affection which most of his subiects bare vnto it of old, feared lest the diuisions in Italy should draw the French to inuade the Realme of Naples: preferring a present benefit before the indignation of his son, desiring rather to vaine himselfe with the other Estates, especially that of Milan and Florence, to countermeine the Venetians greatnesse, being then fearfulfull to all Italy, putt vp with the late ouerthrow of the Duke of Ferrara, father in law to Lodowike, after a long and dangerous hazard of their estate. Lodowike was in the same predicament with the rest: and moreover, peace was farre more necessary then war, for the preservation of an authority lately vsurped. Hereunto that commendable inclination to peace which he found in Laurence of Medicis, did moue him. And considering, that in regard of the inueterate hatred betwixt the house of Arragon and the Venetians, they should hardly make any firme league betwixt them, hee therewith concluded, that Ferdinand and his son should not be at need assisted by any other, to crosse him in his designs: and hauing them alone opposit, he should easily withstand them.

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A So Ferdinand, Lodowike, and Laurence continued the alliance cheerfully which they had renewed in the year 1480, for five and twenty yeares: all the meane Potentates in a manner leaning vnto them: to whom the Venetians greatnesse was wonderfully suspected, managing their affaires apart, not imparting their counsels to the body of the common league, watching onely opportunity to grow great by the publike discords. Being all thus vnted, they were too strong for the Venetians; yet were they full of enmy and mutual ieaousie, one prying still into anothers estate, and continually making designs, so as they could not long lue in true and faithfull friendship.

The death of Laurence of Medicis, was a great cause of the breach of this generall peace. B An inseasonable death for him, hauing not yet liued foure and forty yeares complete: for his country, the which (by his wisdom and iudgement) flourished most happily in all the benefits which a long peace doth vsually bring forth; and for Italy, as well by reason of the affaires which he did wisely manage, to the generall good of the whole country, as also for that he was a notable instrument to temper the diuers humours & ieaousies which sprung vp daily betwixt Ferdinand and Lodowike, and to quench the flames which might easily cause a generall combustion.

This peace being well shaken by his death, was presently quite broken; not so much by the death of Innocent, who by his sloth was growne vnprofitable as well for himselfe, his friends, and the publike, after he had retired his armes, the which he had displayed at the C instance of the Barons of Naples; as by the succession of *Roderike Borgia*, who was then called Alexander the 6, a Spaniard, chosen vnder the factious discords of *Ascanius Sforce*, brother vnto Lodowike, and *Julian* of Saint Pierre, buying the suffrages of many other Cardinals, partly with ready money, and partly by promises of Offices and Benefices. He was subtil and quick-witted, excellent in counsell, vnto element to perfwade, and a great man of State. But (saith the Originally) his vertues were surpassed by his vices, dishonest in manners, insincerity, no shame, no faith, no religion in him: but an insatiable covetousnesse, an immoderate ambition, a cruelty more then barbarous, and a violent desire to aduance (by what means [power] his children, which were many in number. Peter the eldest sonne of Laurence of Medicis, was successor to his goodly honours, but not to his fathers good humours. Peter differed as much from Laurence, as that Hector drawne dead at a chariots taile, from Hector returning victorious, honoured with the spoiles of Achilles.

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Troubles by
the death of
Innocent of
Medicis.

Pope Alexander
disposition.

The peace of
Italy turned
by Peter of
Medicis.

At his entrance to the government, following an aduice directly contrary to his father, without any other counsell then of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, of whose humour Peter depended (both their Mothers being of the family of *Vrsinus*) he made so strict a league with Ferdinand and Alphonsus, as Lodowike (a vigilant and subtil man) conceived presently that the Florentine forces might easily be drawne to preiudice him, in fauour of the Arragonois. This ieaousie was layed open by this accident. The confederates according to their custome, must send to congratulate and acknowledge the new Pope. Lodowike had wisely aduised, that all the Ambassadors should enter Rome together in company, and likewise E into the Consiistory before the Pope, and that one should speak for them all: For (saith he) by this manner of proceeding we shall make knowne to Italy, that there is not onely a singular lone and league betwixt vs, but also so firme a coniunction, as we shall seeme to be but one body and one Principality. Ferdinand approued this aduice. Peter did not publicly gaine-say it, but in private he could not digest it, being one of the Ambassadors chosen for the common weale of Florence, hauing resolved to beautifie his Ambassage, with a proud and stately traine. Hee considered, that entering into Rome, and presenting himselfe to the Pope in troope, his traine would appeare farre lesse stately in so great a company. And therefore he caused the King of Naples to frustrate this designe, as not to bee done without confusion. But Ferdinand loth to displease one to please another, doth aduertise F Lodowike, that hee did not recall his first consent, but at the instant request of Peter of Medicis.

There was yet another reason, which made Lodowike to suspect some secret intelligence betwixt Peter and the Arragonois. *Francisco Cibo*, bastard sonne to Innocent, after his fathers death had retired himselfe to Florence, to Peter of Medicis, brother to *Magdalene* his wife. Being planted there, *Virgilius Vrsinus* bought of him, by Peters meanes, Langguillare, Ceruette, and some other places nere to Rome, for forty thousand Ducats. The money was in a manner all lent him by Ferdinand, of purpose, to the end that *Virgilius* being

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being his kinsman and entertained fouldier, growing great about Rome, he might escape the more profit. *Ferdinand* found no better foundation for his safety, then to tie all or the greatest part of the Noblemen, within the territories of the Church, to suppress that *Heresies* head, if it should rise too high. This he laboured more carefully, doubting that *Lodowike* authority would prove great hereafter with the Pope, by the means of *Cardinal Ascanius* his brother.

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Charles was but two and twentie yeares old, little experienced in affaires, couetous of glory, and thrust on with a warlike desire; he often neglected the wholsome counsell of D the wisest, namely *James* of Grauille, Admiral of France, preferring the aduice of some of base quality that possessed him, corrupted by the Neapolitans that were retired for reliefe, and by the Ambassadors of *Lodowike*. The Nobility of France, commended the wisdom of *Lewis* the Eleuenth, who refused to accept of the Genouois when they offered themselves, being alwayes loth to attempt any thing vpon Italy, being both painfully and assaile to the Realme. They knew *Ferdinand* to be a wise Prince, rich in money, and of great fame; and his sonne *Alphonso* to be valiant, and well scene in the art of warre (but these were but shewes, and all their reputation turned into a ridiculous smoake). That for the government of Warre and State, the Kings Council was but weak, and their experience small that had most credit with him. He must haue a huge masse of money, and there was not any in his Treasury. Moreover, they objected the subtilty, and policy of the Italians: that *Lodowike* himselfe for a light profit would breake his faith: that hee would be loth to see the Kingdome of Naples, in the French Kings power; finally, to make any conquest beyond the Alpes, were to vnfurnish the Realme both of men and money.

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Articles betwixt Charles and Lodowike.

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would haue doubted, if a poore Earle of Prouence, had conquered the realme of Naples: and did he not apprehend him who had publicly protested, that he would neuer suffer the oppression of his cousin: for Charles and John Galeas were sisters children. Doubtlesse now the time was come, when as that should be verified which Laurence of Medicis spake a little before his death, vnderstanding of the vnion of Britany to the Crowne. That if the King of France knew his owne forces, Italy should suffer much, and the publicke predictions of Fryar Ieremie Sannonarola, whereof we will speake hereafter.

The voyage to Naples.

The Kings army.

The King now takes his way to Lions, to assemble his forces, and diuides them into two armies, at land and at sea. In that at land were about fixtene hundred men at armes, two Archers to a Lance, sixe thousand Archers on foot, sixe thousand crosse-bow-men, sixe thousand pikes, eight thousand Harguebufers carrying two hand swords, twelue thousand of Artillery, of iron and brasse, sixe thousand two hundred Pioners, two hundred expert Canoniers, fixe hundred master Carpenters, three hundred Malons, cleeue hundred men to cast bullets, to make coale, cords and cables, four thousand Carters, and eight thousand horse for the artillery. The army at Sea consisted of eighreene galleys, sixe galeons, and nine great ships. The chiefe Commanders that did accompany the King, were, Lewis Duke of Orleans Lieutenant general for his Maiestic by sea, the Earle of Angoulesme, the Earle of Montpensier, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Nemours, John of Foix Vicont of Narbonne, the Earles of Nevers, Ligni, Boulongne, Bresse, the Lord of Albret, Lewis of Tremouille Vicont of Thouars: the Marshals of Gie, Rieux, and Baudricourt; the Lords of Cruso, Tournon, Pienes, Silli, Guise, Chandenier, Mauleon, Prie, Montaisson, d'Aligre, Bonneau, Genouillac, Fraizezeles, Chaumont, Chafillon, Palice, Vergi, d'Hospital, Beaumont, Myolans, Matthew ballard of Bourbon, the ballard of Bourgongne, with a great number of Noblemen, and voluntary Gentlemen. The Lord of Cordes (so famous in our History, for his singular valour, wisdom, and loyalty) dyed at Bresse, three leagues from Lions. The Lord of Vrfe, Master of the Kings horse, prepared all things necessary for the fleet at Genoa.

Some infection transported the King from Lions to Vienne, from whence the Duke of Orleans parted for Genoa, and there the voyage was fully concluded: for vntill that time the dissuasion of the best advised, and the detraction of the chiefe finewes of War, had held the in suspense: for that an hundred thousand franks, borrowed vpon great interest, in the banke of Soly at Genoa, could not long maintaine the ordinary charge of his house. Yet fifty thousand Ducats lent him by Lodowike Sforze, and the liuely impression of the Cardinal Saint Pierre (the fatal instrument of the miseries of Italy) did somewhat reuiue the fainting courage of Charles. What shame (saith he) what infamy, to giue ouer so honourable a resolution? an enterprife published throughout all the world? the Popes amaze: the terrour of Peter of Medicis? the ruine of the Arragonois? who can stay the violent descent of this army? euen vnto the marches of Naples? Doth he doubt the want of money? At the fearfull thunder of his artillery, yea, at the least brute of his armes, the Italians will bring vnto him: and the rebels spoyles shall feed his army: what shadow then? what dreame? what vaine feare doth cause this inconstant change? where is that magnanimity? where is that courage, which did but euen now brag to ouer-run all the forces of Italy vnitd together? In the end, the King marcheth the 23 of August, leauing Peter Duke of Bourbon, his brother in law, for Regent: who conducted the Queene from Grenoble into France.

Doubtlesse, we must obserue a singular and fauourable prouidence of God, in the conduct of this voyage, vnderaken vpon borrowed money: but where God works, all things are eafie. For a third proofe of his need, being at Turin, the King borrowed the Jewels of the Duchesse of Savoy, daughter to William Marquis of Montferrat, and Widow to Charles Duke of Savoy, and pawned them for 1200 Ducats: and for a fourth, being at Cassal, he pawned the Jewels of the Marquesse, widow to the Marquis of Montferrat, for the like summe: women worthy doubtlesse of our History, hauing loued our France with a singular affection. At Ast the King was toucht with the small pockes, and a feuer, which did hazard his life, but within fixe or seuen dayes he was recovered. Thither came Lodowike Sforze, and Beatrice his wife, daughter to the Duke of Ferrara, to salute him, and withall came very fauourable newes.

Ferdinand was lately deceased. Alphonso his sonne had two armies in field, one in Romagna,

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A magna, towards Ferrara, the which Ferdinand his sonne Duke of Calabria commanded, accompanied by Virgil Vrsin, the Earle of Peitallano, and John Iagues of Triuulce, who afterwards serued the King. This army had to encounter them the Earle of Caiazzo, and the Lord of Aubigni a Scottishman, who stoppt their passage. The other at sea, led by Don Frederick brother to Alphonso, accompanied by Obieto of Fielque a Geneuois, and others, by means whereof they were in hope to draw the City of Genoa into their faction. But the Bayliffe of Dijon entring with two thousand Suisses, assured it for the King. Obieto with three thousand men had taken Rapaille, twenty miles from Genoa. The two Saint Seuerins brethren, and John Adorne brother to Augustin Gouverneur Genoa joynted with the Duke of Orleans, and a thousand Suisses, charged them, ouerthrew them, and slew a hundred or fixscore: (It was much in that age, for then their warres were not bloody) tooke some prisoners, and all that escaped were stript by the Duke of Milans people: so as Frederick could neuer gather them againe together. A disgrace which did much distaste the Florentines, being alwayes more inclined to the house of France, then to that of Arragon, and encouraged the King to proceed, animated thereunto, by the persuasions of Lodowike. My Lord (saith he) doubt not of this enterprife: there are three great parties in Italy: you hold the one, that is, Milan: the other fires not, those be the Venetians: you haue no businesse but at Naples, hauing conquered that realme, if you will giue me credit, I will assist you to become greater then euer was Charlemagne, and we will expell the Turke out of Constantinople. He spake well, if Christian Princes had been vnited.

The first ouerthrow at the Arragonois.

Finally, Charles makes his entry into Pavia, in quality of a King, vnder a canopy, the drums hanged, and the people crying God save the King. Then grew there some ialousie, they would haue the King rest satisfied with the towne for his lodging: but in the end, the Castle was opened vnto him, where he did visite John Galeas his cousin, being sicke, and at the point of death: not without great compassion of such as thought the course of his life would be soone cut off, by the notable treachery of his Vncle.

Placentia receiued him as willingly as Pavia, and thither newes was brought of the death of the Duke of Milan, leauing a son and a daughter. Lodowike posting thither, with promise to returne, vsurped the Duchy absolutely with the title. Thus all Lombardy marched at the brute of this French army, some for loue, and some for feare. They held out men to be religious, loyal, and full of bounty: but coquetoufnesse, robberies and other infolencies of souldiers, made them soone to alter their conceits, and the horror of the artillery (whose thunder was yet strange vnto them) amazed them. The Florentine, a cunning dissembler, had sent twise vnto the King, before he parted from France: at the first came the Bishop of Rhegium, and Peder Soderini: of whom they onely demanded paye, fixe, and a hundred men at armes maintained: at the second time, Peter Caponi, and others, who made answer, that by the commandement of King Lewis the Eleuenth they had renounced the alliance of John of Aniou (if he were associate with Charles of France in the warre of the common-weale) to enter into league with Ferdinando of Arragon, and therefore they could not rashly leaue it. But in either of these troopes, there was still some dexterity to Peter of Medicis, who gaue the King intelligence of the peoples desire, lifting vnto their hands for the recovery of their liberty oppressed by Peters gouernment, enuied euen by his neere kinsmen; and the best families, as the Caponi, Soderini, Nerli and others.

The death of John Galeas.

And for a second baite, Louirice and John de Medicis, cousins to Peter, came secretly to the King at his departure from Placentia, vowing great loue in general to the house of France, and much hatred to their Kinsman, against whom Charles was greatly incensed, for the excuse made to his Ambassador, which was sent from Ast: That the chiefe Citizens were at their houses in the country, and could not so speedily returne him an answer, but they should shortly let him vnderstand their resolution, by special Ambassadors.

Great practices against Peter of Medicis.

In the meane time they arriue ioyntly with the Pope. The King must not leaue Tuscany and the Estate of the Church behind him as his enemies. The Army passeth the Appennin at Pontremone vpon Magre, the which diuides Liguria (which is the country of Genoa) from Tuscany, and is vpon the marches of the Florentines country, of purpose to force them to plant the Standard of France vpon their walls, or else to take the weakest places to winter in.

The second exploit of the Kings army, was at Fiuzane, a towne taken by force, sacked, and

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and all mercenary souldiers, with many inhabitants flaine. A hard stratagem, for men, who (as we haue said) made war rather in pompe and brauery then with blowes.

Serezane was sufficient to wishland, yea to ruine a great power: Serezanele was more strong, a fort built vpon the hill about the towne: but the Florentines diuisions had hindered all necessary prouision, but men. And indeed they were loth to make warre against the house of France, of whom they had of old time depended: and the rather, for that they were forbidden to traffike, and their men banished out of all France, by the especiall aduice of *Caponi*. The army could not continue there, the Country is strait and barren, compassed in by the sea and mountains, no victuall but what was brought from farr, and great store of snow. But the way must be laid open to Pisa, and if they had neglected the first place that resisted, what village but would haue held out? *Paul Vrsin* led some horse, with three hundred foot (meaning to put them into Serezane) who were encountered, beaten, and in a manner all slaine or taken prisoners, by some troopes of the forward going to forage beyond Magre. This terror made the Florentines to protest publicly, *That they would no longer inuade the Kings displeasure, nor the Duke of Milan*. Whereupon they sent fiftene or sixtene Citizens, and offer the King free entry into their City, whole onely designe was to expell *Peter of Medici*.

The Florentines offer the King free entry into their City.

Peter practised (by the means of *Laurence Spinola* his factor in the bankes at Lion) the Earle of Bresse, and *Myolani* the Kings Chamberlaine, Gouvernor of Dauphine. They procure him a safe conduct, and at the first treaty hee grants the King all his demands. *That the forts of Serezane, Serezanele and Pietrofainto* (the keys of the Florentine dominion of that side, those of Pisa, and the port of Liouorne, should be put into the Kings hand, who should be bound to redeliver them after the conquest of Naples. That the King should receive the Florentines into his alliance and protection, upon the lease of two hundred thousand Ducats, and the assurance of these promises should be concluded in Florence. A facility which discouered a wonderful feare and trouble of mind: for the King would haue beene satisfied with more easie conditions.

Lodowike was present at this Capitulation, who to reape some benefit of *Charles* his conquests, obtaines from his Maiesty for thirty thousand Ducats a transport for him and his heires, of the possession of Genoa: (which the King some yeeres before had granted to *John Galeas* Duke of Milan) yet discontented that *Charles* would not giue him *Pietrofainto* and *Serezane* in guard (which places he demanded as forcaibly taken away by the Florentines from the Geneuois, and had serued him as a means to lay hold of Pisa) hee returned to Milan, and did neuer after see the King, leauing notwithstanding *Galeas* of St. Seuerin, and the Earle of Belzoioz to reuer his Maiesty.

Charles is so discontented with the King.

Thus by the confiscation of these strong places, the ports of Romagna are opened vnto the King, he enters Luques being very honourably receiued by the Citizens, crying *God save the King of France Augustus*. From Luques hee goes to Pisa, *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, following the instructions giuen him by *Lodowike Sparze* (who did not forget that the like accident would be the cause of his ruine) called the chiefe Citizens, and aduised them, that rebelling against the Florentines, they should craue liberty from the King: hoping by this means that he should one day draw Pisa vnder the duke of Milans command, to whom they were subiect, before the Florentines held it; this was in the same yeere that the Venetians conquered Padoua. Through this aduice the people trooptogether, men, women, and children: they flocke the next day about the King, going to masse, crying with open throat, *Liberty, Liberty*, beseeching him with hands lifted vp, and teares in their eyes, to free them from the Florentines oppression, by whom (say they) they were most tyrannously intreated. *Rabo* a Counceller, of the Parliament of Dauphine, and Master of Requests, said vnto the Kings, that their demand was iust, and that it was a pitifull thing to see the hard subiection that did oppress them. The King (who did not consider the importance of this action) breaking the treaty of Serezane, and that he could not giue liberty to a towne that was not his, into the which hee was receiued only by courtlike, rashly lets slip these words: *I am content*.

Pisa results asanthee Florentines.

Prickled forward a strong headed horse, and hee will run at random. This multitude doth presently change their cry of liberty, into cries of ioy, and running to the bridge vpon the riuer of Arne, they beat downe the Mazorco (this was a great Lion, planted vpon an high pillar of Marble, with the armes of Florence) and cast it into the riuer, and in the same

A same place they set vpa King of France holding a sword in his hand, and treading this Mazorco vnder his feet. But oh the lightnesse of Italians! few yeares after, at the entry of the King of Romanes, they shall deale with the King as with this Lion.

This ignominious and rash wound, giuen to the Estate of Florence by *Peter of Medici*, contrary to the example of his predecessors, without the aduice of the Citizens, and without any decree of the Magistrates, had wonderfully incensed his fellow-citizens. Being returned to Florence, to prepare his lodging for the King, going the ninth of Nouember to enter the palace of the Seignery, to treat of the Kings arrival, behold *James Nerli* a young man, noble and rich, with other magistrates, being armed, offer him the entry alone, but deny it to all his followers. He retires home to his house, and resolves to get that by force which he could not willingly obaine. He armes, and causeth *Paul Vrsin* to approach with his troope, the which was in the Florentines pay. The State proclaimes him a rebell, the people flye to armes, and cry liberty. *Peter* recouers the gates, and with him were the Cardinall *John* and *Julian* his brethren: they flye to Bolonia, and from thence to Venice. *Peter* had no cloake but one of his grooms: being hated of his fellow-citizens, dildained of his domestical seruants, his house spoiled, with losse of about an hundred thousand Ducats in mouables: and to increase his misery, a factor of his at Venice, refused him for the value of an hundred ducats in cloath: a notable example of the inconsistency of worldly affaires. Thus by the rashnesse of one young man, lately equall in a manner to great Princes, the house of *Medici* tell for that time, which vnder colour of ciuill administration, had gouerned the common-weale of Florence threecore yeares peaceably, and with a respected authority.

Peter of Medici & his brethren expelled Florence.

His miserable estate at Venice

Charles entered the next day triumphantly into Florence, himselfe and his horse armed, and his lance vpon his thigh. The Florentines were not ignorant of his discontent, for that they sought to crosse him in his enterprise, and that many of his followers, thrust on by couetousnesse, gaped after nothing more then the sacke of so rich a City, hauing first of all refused the power of France, and that others also did solicit the restitution of *Peter of Medici*, especially *Philip* Earle of Bresse. And although the City might worthily iustifie that violence whereof *Peter* and his complices were the onely motives, yet did they wisely foresee that the King would not let slip this opportunity to become their Lord. But being vnable to stop this violent streame by any force, they had secretly filled their chiefe houses with resolute men, receiued their entertained Captaines into the city, and did giue order, that euery man, both within and without, neare the City, should arme at the sound of the palace great bell. Thus fortified with men, they stand stiffly vpon the tearmes of composition. Ofttimes we lose the Eele by ouer-gripping. The fauour they did see some breace vnto *Peter*: the insupportable fumes of money that were exacted: the absolute Seignery of Florence which the King demanded, as hauing conquered it by the law of armes, considering in what manner he entered, made them refuse these rigorous demands, with a firme resolution to maintaine their publike liberty with the perill of their liues. Thus they grew angry on eyther side; and for a conclusion of the last conference, the Kings Secretary reading the articles which his Maiesty would resolutely haue concluded, behold *Peter Caponi* one of the foure Deputies for the city (a violent man, and one of the mightiest Families in the State, pulls the articles from the Secretary and teares them. Seeing you demand of vs (saith he) so outrageous conditions, you shall find your trumpets, and we our Bells.

The Kings entry into France.

The Florentines fortifie themselves in their houses for feare of the King.

This audacious brauery did moderate the excessse of their demands: for how lamentable had it beene, to haue fallen to any tragicall decision of their controuersie. The King calms him backe, and containing himselfe within the bounds of reason, passeth this capitulation: *That the Citie of Florence should be a friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of France. That at the end of the enterprise of Naples, the King should yeeld up (without any charge to the Florentines) Pisa, Liouorne, Pietrofainto, Serezane, Serezanele, and all other places taken or recouled: and in case of denial, they might recover them by force: That they should giue the King fifty thousand Ducats in fifteen dayes, forty thousand in March, and thirty thousand in Iune following. They should pardon the Pisans their rebellion and other crimes. They should free *Peter of Medici* from banishment and confiscation, upon condition, that he should not approach within an hundred and fifty miles of their confines: nor his brethren nearer then an hundred miles. This accord was sworne vpon the great Altar in the*

The articles of the agreements.

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Church of Saint John at Florence. But matters succeeded other wise, as we shall see: so the A Florentines changed their red Lillie into a white.

Two dayes after, the King parted towards Sienna, a Citie well peopled, seated in a fertile country, in ancient time rich, mighty, & the second citie in Toscane, which yielded in many factions to the stronger party, so as they enjoyed more the name then the effects of liberty. They tooke off their gates for the Kings entry: notwithstanding the City being suspected of him, (for that it had beene always at the devotion of the Empire) hee left a garison, and tooke his way to Rome. Aqua pendente and Montefalconi (places belonging to the Pope,) received him with royall pompe, and layd the way open to Viterbo. The Florentine Forts which the King held, and the garison left in Sienna, made the Venetians and Milanese to feare, that he would hardly end his conquests with Naples. To prevent this common danger, they treat of a new confederacy, and had concluded it, if Rome had made that resistance to the King which many expected. Ferdinand Duke of Calabria, the Popes forces, Virgil Vrsin, and the remainders of the Arragonois army, had resolved to camp at Viterbo, and there to make head against the King, but the roades which the Coloniois made (who had taken Ostia from the Pope,) and hindered the passage of victuals to Rome by sea,) having put all the countrey about Rome in alarme, being jealous of the Popes integrity, who began to hearken to the French demands, made him retire, leaving the way open for the King to enter into Viterbo by the favour of the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, and the Coloniois, and lo into the territories of the Vrsins.

The Pope is now wonderfully perplexed: he knows himselfe to have bene one of the chiefe motives of Charles his voyage; and since, without any offence, he hath opposed his authority, his counsell and his armes. Hee imagines, that the assistance hee shall draw from the King, shall be no surer then his to the King. He sees the Cardinals Ascanius, S. Pierre, and other his enemies in credit about the King. He feares that this prediction of Sannapola should now take effect. That the Church should be reformed by the sword. He remembers with what infamy he came to the Popedom; his government and his life, controules him. The Cardinals Ascanius, Saint Pierre, Colonne, Savelle, and above all these others, urge the King to suppress a Pope so full of vices; and abominable to all the world, and to proceed to a new election. Hee had no sufficient forces to withstand the stranger. Alphonsus droopes; Ferdinand is weak. Virgilius Vrsinus General of the Arragon army, Constable of the Realme of Naples, allyed to Alphonsus, (John Tourdain, sonne to the said Vrsin, having married a bastard daughter of Ferdinand the father of Alphonsus) bound to the house of Arragon for so many respects, had of late consented, that his sonnes should give the King passage, lodging and victuals within the territories of the Church: and leaues him Champagna, and other places for his assurance, untill the army were past the territories of Rome. The Earle of Petellano, and all the rest of the family of Vrsins, followed the same accord. And now Ciuita-uecchia, Cornette, & in a manner all about Rome, is in the power of the French. All the Court, all the people, are troubled; they demand an vnity. Being thus troubled in minde, hee sends the Bishops of Concord and Terme, to the King: but hee seeks to compound both for himselfe and Alphonsus. The King had not advanced his armes euen to the gates of Rome to that intent. Hee sends the Cardinals Ascanius and Colonne, Lewis of Tremouille, and the President of Gannai, to the Pope, who in an humour brings Ferdinand with his army into Rome, and suffers them to fortifie the weakest places. But where is the meanes to defend it? Ostia cuts off their victuals. The Cardinals being ariued (an act worthy of Alexander) they are presently taken prisoners, to make them to deliuer vp Ostia, and in the same tumult, the French Ambassadors are slayed by the Arragonois: yet the Pope caused them to be presently deliuered, and the Cardinals soone after. Hee sends the Cardinall of Saint Seuerin to the King, being at Nepes, and treats no more but of his owne affairs. And that which vrgeth him most, the King is come to Bracciano, the chiefe towne of the Vrsins: the Coloniois haue many of the Gibelin faction within Rome: the Earle of Ligny (cousin german to the King by his mother) and the Lord of Alegre were joynd vnro them, with five hundred lances, & two thousand Suisses, to spoile the Countrey beyond Tiber, and to keepe Ferdinand within Rome. But hee was more amazed when as about twenty fadomes of the wall fell downe of it selfe, the which invites the King, and forceth the Pope. But hee feares the Cardinals hatred, and the ruine of his estate.

The

A The King frees him of this doubt, and doth assure him, by the Marshall of Gie, the President of Gannai, and the Senechal of Beaucourt, that heing meane to make his passage by force; he is notwithstanding moued with the same reference that his predecessors haue alwayes borne to the Roman Sea, that entering peaceably into Rome, all their courtesies should be converted into amity and friendship. He yeelds, and first he obtains a safe conduct for Ferdinand, to passe safely through the dominions of the Church. Thus the King entered Rome with all his army, by the Port of Saint Mary de Popoly, in the manner as he had done into Florence: euen as Ferdinand Duke of Calabria passed out of Saint Sebastians gate, the last day of this yeare. The Pope, fraught with feare and distress, shuts himselfe vp into the Castle Saint Angelo, which he should treat with the King. And for that he refused to deliuer the Castle vnto the King, the artillery was twice drawne out of the Castle of Saint Marke, where the King was lodged: yet the presents and promises of Alexander preuailed much with some of the priuy Counsell, and the King of his owne disposition, was not inclined to offend the Pope. But what needs there any Cannon to batter a place, which opens of it selfe fifteen fadomes of the Castle wall (they the original) fell at the Kings arriuall. In the end the Pope gives the King the Forts of Ciuita-uecchia, Terracina, and Spolero (yet this was not deliuered) To hold them until the conquest of Naples, and grants impunity to the Cardinals, and Barons that had followed the King. Zemin Ottoman brother to Baiazet the 2, who since the death of Mahomet thirte father (being pursued by the said Baiazet) had saved himselfe at Rhodes, and from thence being led into France, had bene put into Pope Innocents power: for whose guard Baiazet paid yearly forty thousand Ducats to the Pope, that by the greedines of this summe, they should be the lesse willing to yeeld to any Prince, that might make vse of him against him. The King desired to haue him, to make him an instrument of the warre, which hee refused against the Turke, after that of Naples. But Alexanders holinesse, aduised the Turke to stand vpon his guard, and to provide that this young King preuaile not in his enterprise: for a recompence hereof, Baiazet (although he detested the Popes impiety) sent him two hundred thousand crownes, by George of Antie, the messenger of this aduice, intreating the Pope to free him of this lease. It was generally beleued, that he was poisoned, and dyed within few dayes after that Alexander had deliuered him. Moreover, it was said: That Cesar, Cardinall of Valence, the Popes sonne, should follow the King three months, as the Popes Legat, but rather to be a pawne of his fathers promises.

By meanes of this accord, the Pope returns to the Vatican, the Pontificall Palace; where the King made his filiall submission, obtains two Cardinals Hays, the one for the Bishop of Mans, being of the house of Luxembourg; the other for Briconnet Bishop of Saint Malo, and for himselfe the title of Emperour of Constantinople; and a promise to insert him in the Realme of Naples, without any prejudice to anothers right, and then hee cured many of the Kings euill. And to shew, that as eldest sonne of the Church, hee had as great iurisdiction, as the Pope within Rome, hee caused three feats for Iustice to bee done, and execution to be done of some that were guilty of a sedition made in the Iewes street.

Ferdinand was no sooner parted out of Rome, but the hatred which the people bare to the house of Arragon, discouered it selfe. The tyrannous oppressions of Ferdinand and therto Alphonsus were yet fresh. The Ille of Sicily flowed yet with the blood of foure and twenty Princes and Barons which had returned vpon his word, who being imprisoned after the rout of Arragon, Alphonsus (to make his comming to the Crowne famous) caused to bee slaine, amongst others, the Duke of Sessa, and the Prince of Rosane, who had married the sister of Ferdinand his father. Ferdinand had bene a man without faith, a slember, cruell, violent, a great exactor, infamous, a rauisher of women, and irreligious; (witness the Bishopricke of Tarentum, the which he sold to a Iew for thirteene thousand Ducats, for his son, who he had said was a Christian.) Alphonsus had the same qualities: and moreover, he was dissolute, impious, and wicked. Hercunto were added the old reliques of the Angeuin faction, which might helpe much to breed an alteration. Thus the people of Naples title: Aquila and Abruzzo aduance their ensignes, Fabrizio Colonne, keeps all in awe about Albi and Taillouffe, and all the rest of the Realme was ready to rebel. But that which most imports, the furies of his owne conscience torment him. Hee thinks that the ghosts of these murdered Noblemen appeare vnto him, that the

Q 3

trees

The Venetians and Milanese grow jealous of the Kings proceedings.

The Pope is perplexed.

The Pope hath many enemies.

Hee sends to the King.

The wall of Rome fell as if by the Kings entry.

The wall of the Castle S. Angelo falls.

The Popes impiety.

The cruelty of Ferdinand and Alphonsus.

1495

Alphonso at-
triched with
horrible ap-
prehensions.Alphonso
crownes his
fame and
flee.Mont Saint
Ian taken and
burne.The first entry
of the French
into the citie
of Naples.

trees and stones found into his eares the name of France. Hee sees his subjects ready to revenge the blood shed against his faith. Thus, unable to withstand both a for-
raine and a home-bred enemy, he causeth his sonne *Ferdinand* to be crowned, whose young
yeares had yet giuen no cause of scandall; and with foure light Gallies, laden withall
kinder of Wine, (whereunto he was much giuen) feeds to garden withall some Jewes, and
a little money, he fled to Marate in Sicile, where he suddenly changed his horrible excess
into a Monkish life, assisting the religious at all houres of seruice, both day and night, li-
uing in abstinence, almes and prayers; but oppressed with the Hemroids and grauell, hee
died, being ready to shut himselfe vp in a Monastery at Valentia the great.

This fight made the Kings way more easie, and verified the saying of Pope *Alexander*.
That the French were come with wooden shurres, and chafes in their harbingers hands, to make
out their lodgings without any difficulty. Alluding it to the pricks of wood which pagans and
lackeys put in the heeles of their Masters shoes, when they ride vpon their moylees. And
in truth, our Frenchmens backs were not muchouer-heated with their armes in this ex-
pedition; nor any one place staying the King about a day, but the Castles of Naples. The
King going from Rome comes to Velletri, from whence the Cardinal of Valentia (his
fathers right sonne) stole from his Maistie. From Velletri he comes to Montfortin, a
towne belonging to the Church, strong of situation, yet was it battered and taken in few
houres. All that were found in armes were slaine, except the three sons of *James Comte*,
a Roman Gentleman Lord of the towne; who preferring the hatred he bare the Co-
lonnois, before his honour, had left the Kings pay to follow *Alphonso*. These with some
others being rettyred into the Castle, yielded themselves prisoners vpon view of the Can-
non. Mont Saint Ian, a towne belonging to the Marquis of Peicara, seated in the same
plaine, vpon the confines of the Kingdome of Naples, strong both by art and nature, sur-
rised with three hundred strangers, and five hundred inhabitants, which were resolute to
defend their state, yet was it one day besieged, battered, assailed and taken in the Kings
presence. Seauen hundred and sixe men were slaine in the fury of the fight, and but thirty
French: and to terrifie the rest, it was burnt.

We are now ready to enter. The Arragonis must shew his courage. *Ferdinand* the new
King assembles all the forces he can, hauing fifty cornets of horse, and sixe thousand choise
foot, vnder the most expert Captaynes of Italy, and camps at Saint Germaine. The place
is of easie defence, on the one side an high and inaccessible mountaine, on the other side
the waters hinder the approach, and in front is the Garilan, a riuier vncasie to passe; and
not farre off is the passage of Cancellio, a mountaine which of necessity they must passe:
It is the Key of the whole kingdome, here must they fight, or giue way. But this army was
daunted, without courage, and without force: the name of the French had amazed them,
and the Captaynes, partly desirous of inuouation, partly greedy of better entertainment,
wauered in their faith and courage. The Marshall of Gie approacheth with three hun-
dred Launces, and two thousand foot, but terror goes before him. In this amazement
both Cancellio and Saint Germaine are shamefully abandoned, and eight pieces of great
artillery are taken to thunder hereafter in fauour of the French.

Capoua was sufficient to receive the army, which marched after the forward, rather like
traucellers then men of Warre, without order, without commandement, and without obe-
dience, the soldiers gaping after nothing but spoile. The situation is very strong, hauing
Vulturno before it (a riuier very deepe in that place) but their resolution was like to that
of Saint Germaine; and to increase it, as *Ferdinand* made account to defend it, and by that
meanes to hold Naples and Caiette. The Queene his Grandmother sends him word,
that since the losse of Saint Germaine, there was so great a tumult at Naples, as all would
be in vprore if he came not speedily. He goes, and promisseth to returne the next day.
But *John Iagues* of Triuulce (to whom he had giuen the Towne in guard) comes with
some gentlemen of Capua to the King being at Calui: he presents him the towne and his
seruice, and makes an offer to bring *Ferdinand*. The King accepts the Capuans offer, and
the coming of *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that hee retainne no portion within the
realme, but should content himselfe with such meanes as he should giue him in France.
In the meane time the soldiers lack *Ferdinand*s lodging and his stable: the men at armes
disperse themselves in diuers places; *Virgilius* and the Earle of Perrellano craue a safe
conduct from the King, and retire with their Companies to Nola. *Ferdinand* thinking
by

1495

Auerle yeelds.

Ferdinand King
of Naples flies.

Nola taken.

Naples yeelds.

The whole
Kingdome of
Naples recon-
quered by Charles.Charles makes a
royall entry in-
to Naples.

A by this journey to haue assured the Neapolitans, returnes at the time prefixt, when as the
Capuans aduise him not to set forward; seeing they were otherwise resolu'd. Auerle (a
towne betwixt Capua and Naples) sends their Keyes to the King; and the Neapolitans
determined to follow them. *Ferdinand* retired into the Castle, knowing that 500 Lan-
quenets meane to take him prisoner: he giues them the moueables of the said Castle, and
as they were busie to diuide it, he slips from them, sets the young Prince of Rosane at liber-
tie (whom by loue or force he caried with him) and the Earle of Popoli: hee causeth the
ships that remained in the port, to be burnt and sunk, and saues himselfe with the Queene,
Don Fredericke his vnkle, his daughter *Isabe*, and some few seruants, in the Ill- of Elchia:
and whilst he was within sight of Naples, he often repeated this goodly Oracle, if the
Lord keepe not the City, the watchmen watch but in vaine.

Thus all wauer at the Conquerors fame, and with such cowardise, as 200 horse vnder
the command of the Earle of Ligny going to Nola, tooke both it, *Virgilius* and the Earle
of Perillano, without resistance, being retired thither with 400 men at armes, attending
the safe conduct they had obtained from the King, being amazed like to the rest of their
army, and from thence they were led captiues to the fort of Montdragon, and all their
men stript. In the meane time the Neapolitans Ambassadors come with their keyes, de-
siring a confirmation of their ancient exemptions and priuileiges. The King enters the
21 of February, and is receiued with such exceeding ioy, both of great and small, of all
ages, all sexes and all qualities, as euery one runnes as to their dearest redeemer, from a
hateful and insupportable tyranny. Thus *Charles* (without planting of tent, or breaking of
Lance) in foure moneths and a halfe, with an admirall happinesse, came, saw and ouer-
came. They say commonly, that the poyson lyes in the taile, & that the hardest part to flea
of an eele is the taile. The perfection of the victory consisted in the taking of the Castles
of Naples. The tower of Saint Vincent, built for the defence of the port, was easily taken.
Thenew Castle, the lodging of their Kings, seated vpon the sea, strong by nature and by
an plentifully furnished with victuals & munition, and manned with five hundred Lan-
quenets, but abandoned by the Marquis of Peicara, to whom *Ferdinand* had left it in
guard: who seeing the garison bent to yeeld the place, had followed *Ferdinand*, and was
after some small defence yeelded, vpon condition to depart in safety, and to carry what
they could away. And see here the first and greatest error which the King committed in
this exploit, himselfe wanting experience, but his minions & fauorits no counteruesse.
Negue all these victuals and other moueables, to the first that begged them: who fur-
nished themselves with the munition, whereon the preferuacion of the towne and place
depended. The Castle de l'Ouo, built vpon a rocke, hanging ouer the sea, being battered
with the Cannon (the which might only indammage the wall, but not the rocke it selfe)
compounded, if they were not releued within a certaine time, and after foure and twenty
dayes siege, it was deliuered into the Kings hands.

The King made his entry into Naples the 12 of May, in an Imperiall habit, & was recei-
ued as King of France, and of both Sicillies (whereof the Realme of Naples makes a part)
and Emperour of Constantinople. But herein hee made no iust accompt with him that
giues and takes away Kingdomes. The Barons and Commonalties sent away their Cap-
taines and troopes dispersed in diuers parts of the realme. Those which depended most of
the house of Arragon, doe first turne taile. The *Carissier*, who enjoyed forty thousand du-
cats of Inheritance: the Dukes of Melfe, Grauiua; and Sora: the Earles of Montorio,
Randi, Trapaldi, Celano, Monteleon, Merillano, and Popoli, come to doe their homage,
and generally all the Noblemen of the Realme, except *Alphonso Auale*, Marquis of Peica-
ra, the Earle of Acre, and the Marquis of Squillazzo, whose liuing the King gaue away.
Another rigour which shall be a great cause the following reuolts.

Calabria yeelds willingly to the Lord of Aubigny, sent thither with a small troope, ex-
cept the Castle of Rhegium: but they waned meanes to force it, the towne held for the
King. Abruzzo yeelds of it selfe. Apulia erects the Standard of France, except Tur-
pia and Mantia; who notwithstanding had planted the Flower-de-lis, yet refusing any
other command, then of the King himselfe: who had giuen them to the Lord *Peris d'A-*
legre, and they returne to their first master. The Castles of Brundisium & Gallipoli, were
neglected with too great confidence: but they shall serue shortly as a leuaine to stirre vp
a made of rebellion. The rocke of Caiette well furnished with all things necessary, yeelds

Costs of re-
vok from the
French.

at discretion, after some light assaults. Tarentum, Otrante, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredone, Barle, and in a manner all other strong places yielded at the first bruto. But some holding themselves wronged, for that they had in a manner disdained to receive their deputies: others, for that they had sent no man to receive them, will soon returne to their first demand. The Isle of Ischia remained yet, and Ferdinand vpon the first intelligence of the yielding of the Castles of Naples had abandoned it to *Janice d'Alaude*, brother to the Marquis of Pescara, both most taithfull to their Prince, and was retired into Sicile. The King sends thither his army at sea, the which was cast by a tempest vpon the Isle of Corfe: yet in the end they anchored vpon the Realme, but after the last act of the Expedition. This army holding it selfe too weake to force the fort of Ischia, would not assaile it, and therefore the King resolved to send into Prouence and to Genoa for more ships, and to assaile the sea, the which Ferdinand scowred with foureteen galleies ill armed. But prosperity doth oftentimes make vs become insolent; and without considering the consequence, we easily let matters passe at adventure. Our French are now well lodged, they dreame of nothing but feasting, dancing, and tourneys: and the greatest about the King haue no other care, but to make the victory profitable to themselves without any regard, either of the dignity, or profit of their Prince, who not satisfied with the conquest of these goodly and rich estates, determines to advance his victorious forces. Let vs leaue them glured with ease, pleasure, and good cheare, and let vs make an escape into the East, to see how he had sped there, if the Pope had as well vntied the Potentates of Italy, to ioyne their common forces with our Charles, as he now sits them vp to crosse his new conquests.

Mahmet the second, left two sonnes, *Baiazet* the second of that name, and *Zemin*, (they name him diuersly, *Zemin*, *Zizim*, *Gemin* and *Geme*) both resident in their governments when the father dyed. *Baiazet* in Cappadocia, *Zemin* in Licaonia. Their absence sets the Balchaes and Captaines of the Ianifaries at discord, about the succession, for they fell from words to armes. Hereupon the Ianifaries proclaime *Baiazet* Emperour being absent: *Isaac* and *Mesithes*, chiefe captaines of the Turkish army, being then at Constantinople, set *Cochart* the sonne of *Baiazet* in the throne of his ancestors: they deliuer him the forts and treasure, that vnder colour of his nonage they might manage the affaires of the Empire at their pleasure. *Baiazet* posts thither, and by great bribes doth pacifie and win the hearts of the Ianifaries, and of their Captaines, incensed against him through the malice of some Noblemen. So *Cochart* being yet very yong, yielded him the Crowne willingly.

Zemin on the other side, was called by his friends and partisans, holding him to bee a man of greater courage, and better execution then his brother, being more fit for his booke, whereunto he was more addicted, then vnto armes. *Pyrames* Caraman King of Cilicia, and *Caitibey* Sultan of Egypt, incite him to warre against his brother. But he was vanquished in three battells, by *Achanat* *Balscha*, and despairing, fled to the great Master of Rhodes, leaving his mother and two twins, a sonne and a daughter in Carras, whom *Baiazet* caused to be murdered. Many Princes of Europe demanded *Zemin*, as *Lew* the cleuenth French King, and *Matthias* King of Hungary, hoping by his meanes to ruine *Baiazet*: but this was a good pigeon in the Popes Doue-house. Innocent the eight would haue him, hoping that *Baiazet* his brother would giue some notable summe of money to redeeme him, or else to keepe him from any other, that might vie him as an instrument to crosse his new Empire. *Alexander*, successor vnto *Innocent*, (a monstrous man in life, monstrous in his election, and monstrous in his death,) I haue horror to read, and more to report, what writers doe testifie, intreating the curious reader, to see them rather in the Originals themselves) being forced to deliuer him to Charles the eight, and so disappointed of his yearly pension of forty thousand Ducats, which hee received for the guard of him: corrupted by the money of *Baiazet*, he caused him to be poisoned: either grieved for the losse of his pension, or enuying the glory of Charles: or else fearing, lest if things should succeed happily for him against the Infidels, he should turn his thoughts and forces, to reforme the abuses and corruptions which had long before crept into the Church.

A while after the sight of *Zemin*, *Baiazet* caused *Acomath* to bee strangled, for that (growne proud and fierce, by reason of his wealth) he practised to ruine *Baiazet*, and to transport

The Turke
twist ouercome
by the Sultan.

A transport the Empire to *Zemin*. A happy death for the Christians, of whom *Acomath* was an vniust and cruell oppressor. *Baiazet* freed by the death of these two men, he turned his forces against the Christians, and subdued Valachia. Then hee vanquished *Caraman*, reducing his principality into the forme of a Prouince. After that, hee marcheth with his army into Asia against the *Sultan Caitibey*, who had succoured his brother *Zemin* with counsell, men, victuals and money. The Sultan defeated the Turke in two great battels, the one was giuen neere to Adene in Cilicia, the other neere to Tarsis: in the which he tooke both the Commanders of the Turkish army prisoners, *Mesithes* *Palologue*, and *Achomas* *Cherfegle*, sonne in law to *Baiazet*, and slew about threelcore and ten thousand Turkes.

This checke made *Baiazet* to change his climate, and leauing Asia, to passe into Europe, where his aduersaries were not so strong. Hee tooke Durazzo, neere to Valone, and won a great battell vnder the command of *Cadi-Balscha*, against the Sclauonians, Hongarians and Croations, who were ouertrowne in the large plaines of Croatia, neere to Sauer, about the yeare 1493. But *Iohn* *Castrion*, sonne to that braue *Scanderbeg*, recovered that which *Baiazet* had vsurped: forcing him to accept of such conditions as hee propounded. Moreouer, *Cerf-Richin* defeated him in battell in Croatia, and expelled him the Country.

Then all those nations which lye betwixt Valone and Constantinople (being from the one to the other about eighteen dayes iourney) languished vnder the burthen of the Turkish tyranny, Albanois, Sclauonians, and Grecians, hoping for their deliuey by the meanes of our Charles. But what could he do, seeing those that should second the resolution of this yong Prince, were the first to ouertrow his designs by their secret practices? *Charles*, notwithstanding the death of *Zemin*, sent the Archbishop of Durazzo into Greece, an Albanois by birth, hauing an enterprise vpon Scutari, with *Constantine* a Greeke, afterwards gouernour of Montferrat, who had intelligence within the Towne: the Venetians haue no sooner knowledge of the death of *Zemin*, but to gratifie *Baiazet*, they will haue the honor to giue him the first aduice: for the effecting whereof they command, that no ship should passe by night betwixt the two Castles, which are at the entry of the gulf of Venice. This was the same night, when as the Archbishop should depart with many swords, bucklers, and iauelins, to arme those with whom hee had intelligence. But he is taken, and shut vp in one of those Castles: his instructions are viewed, whereby the Venetians informed of the fact, send to aduertise the Turkes in the places adioyning. In truth our French had not yet learned to know him, who guides our hands to fight, and our fingers to the battell. Attending a strange and sudden Catastrophe, they must plant the bounds of their victory in the Realme of Naples. Let vs now see the issue of this iourney. Wee haue left King Charles at Naples, seeking his delights, and his people hunting after profit, neglecting to expell the Aragonois out of those few places which held yet for them. In the meane time the peoples loue and fauour, (who loue not a stranger, but in their need) decreased.

The King had in his bounty freed the Realme of about 200000 ducats by yere: yet matters were not managed with that order and iudgement as was requisite: hee heard not the petitions and complaints of futers, but left the charge thereof to such as ruled him: whose incapacity and couerousnesse confounded all. The Nobility were not regarded, their seruices were not recompenced; they had no access to the King: no distinction of persons, no grauity but by chance: mens courages that were estranged from the house of Aragon, were not confirmed: no restitution of goods and offices to the Angeuins, and other Barons, which had beene banished by old Ferdinand: preferments were giuen to such as purchased them with money, and other extraordinary meanes: to many they were giuen without reason, and taken from others without any cause: the townes which were not wont to obey any immediately but the King, were giuen for the most part to Frenchmen. Things most insupportable to subjects, who had beene accustomed to the wife and well ordered government of Kings of the house of Aragon, and had hoped for better in the change of this royalty. These things did wonderfully blemish the reputation of the French. On the other side, there was no care to keepe the faith ingaged, for the restitution of the townes and fortresses to the Florentines and the Church. A pretext which serued as a principall ground for the following League.

The Venetians
discouer an en-
terprize against
Scutari to the
Turkes.

Causes of dif-
content in the
 Realme of
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In the meane time, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand* lately King of Naples, lay before the Venetians the dangers they incurred by this new purchase to the Crowne of France. The king of Castile is in doubt of his Islands of Sicile and Sardinia. The Emperour is iecalous, and they giue him falsly to vnderstand, that the King desired his Imperiall Crowne. The Duke of Milan could neuer beleue, the King should find so great facility in this expedition, or proceed so farre with his forces. He was vnable to defend his estate newly vsurped. But another feare possesseth him, the seruitude that hangs ouer his head, and all Italy. The Pope opposeth, and the Turke at the Popes instance, threatens the Venetians, if they declare not themselves against the King. The Venetians, hauing seene the violent course of this happy successe, that the King, like lightning, had run through all Italy: that hee had seized vpon Pisa, and other forts of the Florentines, that he had left a garison in Sienna, and done the like in the territories of the Church. They imagined, that his proiects had a further reach then the Realme of Naples, and hold anothers danger to be their owne. To preuent it, they conclude a league, (for three intents, said they to the Lord of Argenton, the Kings Ambassador at Venice): To defend Christendome against the Turke: for the common defence of Italy, and for the preleruation of euery ones priuate estate. They conclude by secret articles to aide *Ferdinand* of Arragon, for the recouery of the Realme of Naples, who with great hope of the peoples loue, was ready to enter Calabria. That the same instant the Venetians should attempt some sea townes of the said Realme: The Duke of Milan (to cut off all succours that might come from France) should seeke to surpris the Duke of Orleans remained with small forces. And the confederates should giue the Emperour and the King of Spaine a certaine summe of money, to invade France with a mighty army. The Florentines had iust cause to forsake the King. He had not seeld them in the possession of their places. He preferred the counsell of such as supported the Pisians before the Florentines, on his faith, perswading him that if these were restored they would vntie themselves to the other Potentates: yet would not they enter into this League, desiring rather to recouer their places from his hand that did enioy it. The Duke of Ferrara dissembling, would not signe it, yet was hee content that his sones should accept the pay of an hundred and fifty men at armes, and the title of Lieutenant generall for the Duke of Milan. This League concluded, made the Courtiers desirous to returne into France, thrust forward rather by an inconstant lightnesse, then any wise consideration, or loue to the Kings honour and good: leauing many important affaires vndecided, and the Realme not wholly conquered: some chiefe forts, either not taken or not furnished, gaue an entry to the Arragonois. We doe oftentimes contemne an enemy ouer whom we haue an aduantage. So the Castles of Caieto, Rhegium, Brundisium, Gallipoli, Mantia, Turpia, Otrante, and other townes neglected, made the way to a generall reuolt. Now the confederates march to field, to ioyne their forces, meaning either to besiege *Charles* within Naples, or to fight with him in his returne. They must therefore resolute either to defend the Realme, or to leaue a good guard, and so depart before this great storme fell vpon them. The Spanish fleet landing at Rhegium, had furnished it, and assured it for the Arragonois. Mantia, Turpia, and Otrante seeing the League, and that they had not regarded them, plant the Arragon Ensignes, and receiue the garisons, which *Don Fredericke* had sent them. The Venetian fleet commanded by *Anthony Grimaldi*, appeared vpon the coast of Apulia. In the end, all the Realme begins to make open demonstration of a new will. But see, he that was euen now the peoples terror, the Iudge of anothers life and estate, the hope of the East, stands in feare to bee controlled. A scourge to abate the presumption which his victory had bred. The King leaues *Gilbert* of Bourbon Earle of Montpensier, for his Viceroy, a hardy and valiant Prince, but faith the History, *Not wise, he did not rise before noone*. And for the defence of the Realme, two thousand five hundred Suisses, a part of his French footmen, 800 French Lances, five hundred men at armes Italians in his pay, some commanded by the gouernor of Rome, some by *Prosper* and *Fabrizio Colonnio*, and by *Anthony Sanelli*, Captaines well preferred in the distribution of places and offices within the Realme, especially, the Colonies. *Prosper* had in the Duchy of Tracette, the City of Fundi, Montfortin, and about thirty other places. *Fabrizio* had the Countreies of Albi and Taillecouffe, which *Virgil* *Prin* did formerly enioy. The Lord of Aubign, a braue and wife Knight, was made Gouernor of Calabria, and had the Earledome of Acri, and the Marquisate of Squillazzo giuen him.

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The Earle of Ligni, yong and vnexperienced, (yet fauoured of the King his cousin) laboured for the Sogues of Pisa and Liurorno, and the Sienois required him for their Lord, promising him an appointment of twenty thousand Ducats by the year, vpon condition he should maintaine three hundred foot for the defence of the place, taking away the ordinary guard, while the order of Monte Nouo (in whose power the gouernment of the City was wont to be) held in the Palace.

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by

1495

The predictions of Sauonarola.

by force. Then liued at Florence, Frier *Ierofme Sauonarola*, of the order of Saint *Domini*, in great reputation of a holy life, and a graue preacher, who by his sermons had greatly confirmed the Florentines affection to the King: he had long time foretold and preached the Kings coming into Italy, saying: *that hee was sent of God to punish the sinners of Italy: that nothing could resist him: that hee should enter Pisa, and such a day the Estate of Florence should die.* And in truth *Peter of Medicis* was banished that day, and many others things fell out as he had foretold (amongst others the death of *Lawrence de Medicis*) and he said he knew them by reuelation: *that the Church should be reformed by the sword.* He likewise affirmed: *That notwithstanding the great forces of the Venetians, the King should returne without any great danger to his person: that he should be encountered upon the way, but the honour should be his, had he but a hundred men in his company. That God which had conducted him in his going, would guard him in his returne: but for that hee had not discharged himselfe in the reformation of the Church, as he ought, and had wincked at the thefts and insolencies of his troopes, that God had pronounced a sentence against him, and hee should haue his chastisement.* The which he himselfe did signifie vnto the King in plaine termes: adding, *that if hee would take pity of the people, and restraîne his men from doing ill, and punish the offenders, as his duty required, God would reuoke, or mitigate his sentence.* To conclude, *that he should not thinke to be excused for saying: I doe no euill.* A lesson for Kings. That the faults they suffer in their subiects, are so many burthens laid vpon their owne backs, to plead one day against them, before his Maiestie, to whom they, like small other men, are accountable. And moreover, that the peoples voyce, is the voyce of God.

In the meane time, the Venetians and *Lodowike Sforze* make great preparations to stop the Kings passage: or at the least, to keepe him from attempting against the Milanais. And for the better effecting of their designe, they entertaine *Iohn Bentiuole*, at their common charge, who ioynd the Citie of *Bologna* to their league. *Lodowike* armed ten Gallies at *Genoa*, vpon his owne charge, and foure great ships, at the common charge of the Pope, the Venetians and himselfe. And to surpris the Towne of *Ast* (as hee was bound by the capitulation,) he leaued two thousand foot in *Germany*, (hauing lately drawne *Galeas* of *Saint Seuerin* into this action) with seuen hundred men at armes, & three thousand foot. By means of these forces he promised to himselfe an assured conquest of the Citie of *Ast*. He sends the Duke of *Orleans* three insolent conditions: *That hereafter he should no more usurpe the title of Duke of Milan, the which his father Charles had taken after the death of Philip Maria V's cont. That he should not suffer any new forces to come from France into Italy. That he should send those into France that were in Ast. And for the assurance of these things, he should deliuer the said town into the hands of Galeas Saint Seuerin, who should keepe it faithfully for the King.* A wretched man, who by a proud ostentation, thinks to amaze a noble courage, and cannot instantly hide the baseness of his owne. But by the aduice of the Lord of *Argenton*, Ambassador for the King at *Venice*, the Duke of *Orleans* had from the beginning furnished the place with foure hundred men at armes, & sixe thousand foot, two thousand Suiſſes, and five hundred men which *Lodowike Marquis* of *Sauces* had sent. The Duke of *Bourbon* had leaued his army to ioyne with the King vpon the Theſin, and to helpe his passage: But the Duke of *Orleans* employed it in the Marquisate of *Sauces*, to take *Gilfrieres*, the which *Anthony Maria* of *Saint Seuerin* held. And although he had expresse commandement from the King, to lay aside all enterprises, and goe to meet with him, yet did he accept the offer made by two *Opizins*, gentlemen of *Nouarre*, who hated *Lodowike Sforze*.

He passeth the Pau by night, at the bridge of *Sture*, accompanied by the Marquis of *Saluces*, and was let into *Nouarre* by the conspirators, without any resistance. In this place the Duke of *Milan* tooke his greatest delight, being most pleasant of all others for hauking, and hunting. This stratagem had bene dangerous in another of meane quality, seeing the question was to succour the Kings person, whom the French esteemed no lesse then a Kingdome. But seeing the Duke of *Orleans* had thus begun, why did he not proceed? *Milan* opened her armes, *Paulia* offered it selfe, and to that end sent twise vnto him. *Lodowike* (as delect in aduersity, as proud in his prosperity,) shewed the baseness of his courage. The Nobility and people desired nothing more then the ruine of this house of *Sforze*.

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A The Venetians had let the King vnderstand, that if he made warre against the Duke of *Milan*, they would succor him with all their meanes. Thus *Charles* foreseeing, that by the taking of *Nouarre*, he should haue the enemies vpon him; & that the Duke of *Orleans* should need succors: he goeth on from *Sienna* to *Pisa*. Then *Sauonarola* comes to him to *Poggibonle*, and the next day to *Castile Florentine*, and vsing (as he was wont) the name and authority of God, he declared vnto him: *That if he yelded not to the Florentines the places wherunto he was bound by oath, he should be rigorously punished.* The King exculging himselfe vpon that which hee had promised to the *Pisans*, to maintaine them in liberty, before he had taken any oath in *Florence*, gaue both the Monke and the Florentine Ambassadors hope of restitution, after his coming to *Pisa*. At *Pisa*, the Citizens teares both of men and women, (beseeching them that lodged in their houses, to intreat the King, not to suffer them to fall again into the Florentines tyranny) made *Charles* to forget the promises and oath he had taken vpon the altar of *S. Iohn* at *Florence*: but most of all, the importunate sute of the Earle of *Ligni*, that the King would leaue him *Pisa* & *Liouerne* at his deuotion. Those which had impugned this resolution in *Sienna*, did likewise contradict it in *Pisador* (said they) if by the opposition of enemies, any disorder should chance, or any difficulty to passe through *Lombardy*, we should haue a sure & fit retreat at *Pisa*: whereas, if we restore them to the Florentines, when as they haue recovered all their places, we shal find them as inconsistent as the other Italians. Moreover, they gaue the King to vnderstand, that for the safety of the Realm of *Naples*, it were expedient to hold the port of *Liouerne*, for if the estate of *Genoa* should change for the Kings good, hee should bee in a manner Lord of all the sea, from the port of *Marſeilles* vnto that of *Naples*.

Finally, the King changed the captaine of the Cittadell, and left one called *Entragues*, a man (saith the original) ill conditioned, seruant to the Duke of *Orleans*, (whom the Earle of *Ligni* had recommended) with some footmen of *Berry*. *Entragues* wrought so, as he had *Pietraſancta*, *Mortron*, and *Librefancta*, nere vnto *Luques*. *Serezane* was giuen (by means of the said Earle) to a bastard of *Rouilly* his seruant, and *Serezanelle* to another that was at his disposing. Thus the King did willingly weaken his forces the which he must distribute into these places, to make his fauorits great. And as he suffered himselfe to be too easily caried away by the rash counsel of those he fauoured, behold vpon a hope giuen him by the Cardinals of *Rouere* and *Fregos*, *obietto* of *Fiefque*, and other banished men, on a sudden alteration at *Genoa*, hee sends with them (against the aduice of his counsell, who did not approue the weakning of his army, for if he should win the battell, *Genoa* would yeld of it selfe, but if he lost it, hee had then no need thereof) *Philip Earle* of *Bresse*, afterwards Duke of *Sauoy*, the Lords of *Beaumont*, *Polignac*, and *Ambeiou* of the house of *Amboise*, with sixe score men at armes, and sixe hundred crosbowmen, newly come out of *France*, sending after them the company of men at armes of *Ytelle*, and those men which the Duke of *Sauoy* had sent, fortified by the army at sea, reduced to seuen galleyes, two galeons, and two barks, commanded by *Miolani* gouernour of *Daulphine*, to countenance that at land.

But how easily doth man deceiue himselfe in his owne conceits? All these that went to take, are taken, euen at the same place where we haue seene our men defeat King *Alphonſes* troopes, and by the same men that they had beaten. *Iohn Lewis* of *Fiefque*, and *Iohn Adorne*, were led captiues vnto *Genoa*, where they lost the fruit and honour of a famous battell, in the which they might haue done good seruice.

But who will not thinke the predictions of *Sauonarola* to bee very true. That God would guide the King by the hand into safety; taking away his enemies iudgement, not to molest him in the most painfull straights of his voyage? Our French are now betwixt *Luques* and *Pietraſancta*, enuironed on the one side by high mountains, and on the other, by deepe marishes and bogges. They must passe a caufie, which a Cart set crosse, with two peeces of Cannon might easily guard. *Pontremc*, lying at the entry of the mountains, was held for *Lodowike* by three hundred foot. The Marshall of *Gy* arising with the foreward, they presently open the gates in fauour of *Triunle*, vpon promise to saue their liues and goods. But alas, the *Suiſſes* had not yet forgotten, that when as the army passed to *Naples*, some forty of their companions were slaine there in a tumult! For this cause, they fall furiously vpon them, kill all the men, sacke the towne, and burne it, and all that was within it, the Marshall not being able to prevent this disorder. The blood being inflamed,

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A foule reuenge by the *Suiſſes*.

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Milan and the whole duchy ready to reuolt against Louis.

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it transports vs beyond the bonds of reason, but as it growes cold, it returns to his right place. These Suisses doubted some punishment: or at the least, that the King should grow in dislike of them for this out-rage, committed both against the lawes of armes, and nations. But what? an vnbridled desire of reuenge, a military fury hath transported them: they are ready, though not to make satisfaction, yet to repaire it, by some notable seruice. And see, an opportunity is offered. The army staid on this side the valley of Pontreme, in extreame want of victuals: and the artillery could not passe these troublesome straights, without great toyle, and losse of time. And this gaue the enemy leasure to make one vnited body of all his forces. The Suisses come and doe voluntarily offer to passe it by force, as the King will pardon them: the which he doth. Leaving the valley, they must mount vpon a very steep hill, where their Moyleis did creepe vp with great difficulty. These men performe the worke of horses of burthen: they couple themselves by two and two, and so vnder take the worke, a hundred or two hundred at once, as the burthen required, and one being weary, another supplied his place.

Repaired by a
notable peace
of seruice.

The fore-ward was lodged at Foinoue (a small, but a good village, seated at the foot of the mountaine, enting into Lombardy) where he had the enemy in front: without doubt they were in great danger, if they had then charged them. But their desire to swallow vp this army in the middle of the plaine: giuing the King meanes (who lay fifteen French leagues off) to ioyne his troopes, laid the way open to shame and confusion, imagining, that to charge our French on this side the Mountaines, were to cut off all retreat to Pisa and other places of the Florentines. And on the other side, to fight without attending their men, were to doe them wrong, seeing that their foot were not excellent. If they mis-caried, they should purchase reproach with the Seignury of Venice. Some light skirmishes made the Marshall retire into the higher part of the Mountaine. Hence vpon the King ioynes with his foreward, on Sunday the 15 day of Iuly: and all the enemies forces ariued, being five & thirty thousand men in pay, two thousand six hundred men at armes barded, making foure men of combat to euery Lance: five thousand light horse, amongst the which were two thousand Albanos, and of the neighbour Princiues of Greece, who retaining the name of the Country, are commonly called Stradiots: as who would say, men of the campe; good soldiers, and well practised in armes. The rest were foot, well appointed with artillery.ouer the Venetian troopes, *Francis Gonzaga* Marquis of Mantoua commanded as Generall, a yong man, but of great courage and desirous of glory, and with him *Luke Pisan*, and *Melchior Treuisan*, were Commissaries of the army, being of the chiefe Senators of Venice: for *Lodowick Sforza* (who opposed some part of his forces against the Duke of Orleans: being nine hundred men at armes, twelve hundred light horse, and five thousand foot) the Earle of Caiazzo, a more polittike then hardy Captaine commanded, and *Francis Bernardin Viscount*, chiefe of the Gibelin faction at Milan was Commissary: and by consequence enemy to *Trinulce*.

Their army camped at the Abbey of Guaiuolo, about a league from Foinoue, vpon a little hill on the right hand of the Kings army. The King had no other forces, but what he brought from Naples, whereof we haue made mention at his departure. Hee must passe neere the enemy (being halfe a league off, and a small brooke called Taro, betwixt both.) There was no likelihood, that this great multitude should part without the hazard of a battell. To try their resolutions, the King (who desired only to passe quietly into France) caught the Lord of Argenton, lately Ambassador at Venice, to write vnto the aboue named Commissaries, that he desired to confer with them. They promise to meet the next day in a conuenient place betwixt both armies. The night was terrible in raine, lightning and thunder, a fearefull prediction of the day following.

Munday morning, the King armes himselfe complete, and mounted vpon his Saueyard (a horse which *Charles* Duke of Sauoy had giuen him) faire and goodly, managing him with all agility, blacke of colour, and answerable in proportion to him that was mounted thereon: he shewes himselfe to his troopes, with a cheerefull countenance, well coloured, and a speech contrary to his custome, strong, resolute, and wise, an assured preface of the honor hee should win that day. Putting his army into battell, hee placed in the foreward 350 French Lances, and *Iohn Laques* of Trinulce with his company of an hundred Lances, and three thousand Suisses; the chiefe hope of the army, commanded by

The army of
the league.

A by *Engilbert* brother to the Duke of Cleues (who did fight on foot, with the Bayliffe of Dijon, that had leauied them) and to second them, three hundred archers, some cross-bowmen on horse-backe of his guards, whom hee commanded to leaue their horses, and the most part of his foot, conceiuing that the foreward should be charged with the chiefe of his enemies forces. His Maiesty was in the battell, hauing about him feuen or eight yong Noblemen armed like himselfe (for the confederates had sent to discover him by a Herald, vnder color of some demand) and for counsell hee had the Lord of Tremouille. The Earle of Foix commanded the rereward: the baggage, by the counsell of *Trinulce*, was left without guard, exposed to pillage, to keepe the enemy occupied with that baite. Thus the army marched, when as *Luke* and *Melchior* the Venetian Commissaries were ready to partee. But the troopes were now in alarme, the Capitaines encouraged their men to fight. The neernesse of both armies calls them from words to blowes, they begin with skirmishes, the Cannon thunders, but with more noyse then effect. The Marquis of Mantua, his vnkle *Ralph* of Gonzagua, the Earle *Bernardin* of Montone, with a Squadron of fixe hundred choice men at armes, a great troope of Stradiots, and other light horse, with five thousand foot, passe the Taro vpon the backe of the French rere-ward, to charge them behind: leauing on the other banke, *Anthony* of Montfetre a ballard of the Duke of Urbins, with a great Squadron, to passe at the first call: ordaining moreover, that at the first shoock, a part of the light horse should charge in flanke, and the rest of the Stradiots should follow, to set vpon the baggage. The Earle of Caiazzo, with foure hundred men at armes, and a great number of foot, passeth likewise to charge the fore-ward, leauing in like sort on the other banke, *Annikal Bentiuale* with two hundred men at armes, to supply whē he should be sent for. And for the guard of their lodging, two great companies of men at armes, with a thousand foot, the Venetian Commissaries reseruing a supply for all euents. Thus the French army is inuironed on all sides, so as being broken, no man might hope for safety: and the King, who to strengthen the fore-ward, had weakened the other two parts, was forced to leaue the Knights he meant to make to some better leysure, & to turne his backe to the foreward, and his face to the enemy, approaching neere the rere-ward. The Stradiots fall vpon the baggage, they wound, kill, and spoile, and the Marquis is ablowes with the rere-ward, who at the first charge breake their Lances, and then valiantly they ioyne pel-mel with their battle-axes, swords, and other short weapons, the Marquis performing the part of a most valiant and vigilant Captaine, and his troope of most resolute men at armes. The King was brought rashly into danger, his followers being disperied here and there in the conflict, assisted with few about him but *Mathew* bastard of Bourbon, and *Philip* of Moulin a gentleman of Solongne, noted for that they had been seene very neere vnto the King in this conflict. The King did afterwards greatly fauour this *Philip*, he made him Keeper of the great Scale, gaue him a company of men at armes, the gouernment of Langres, and a great summe of money, according to the time, to helpe him to build Moulin, (a Caste neere to Romorant in Solongne.) *Robinet* of Fraizezelles (who led about fourscore Lances of the dukes of Orleans) *Louis* of Tremouille, with about forty Lances, an hundred Scottish Archers of his guard, and the Gentlemen of his household, did fight more courageously then their forces could permit, not without great danger to his person, being much esteemed by the Marquis, hoping to haue the like aduenture ouer him, as hee had vpon the said bastard, being wounded, and taken prisoner, neere vnto the King. But the apparent danger of his Maiesty had so inflamed those that were neere vnto him, as falling by heapes vpon the Italians, they couer their masters person with their owne: and so this sudden fury was stayed, by the charge of a Squadron comming at need from the battell broken by the death of *Ralph* of Gonzagua. A death vnworthy of him, for hee saved the French, and if he might haue bene credited, the King should not haue opened his passage by force, and quite ouerthrowne all by the counter-nesse of the Free-booters: for these men (seeing their companions enriched with the spoiles of the baggage, and to carry away ouer the riuer, some Moyleis with their burthens, and some horse or armor) they leaue their men at armes, and runne to the spoile. The other horse-men were moued presently with the like desire of gaine: and the foot stole out of the battell, to follow the like example.

On the other side, *Anthony* of Montfetre appointed by *Ralph* to succor when he should be called, keeping his stand (for that by reason of *Ralphs* death no man called him) the

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French

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the order of
the kings army.

The brenell of
Foinoue.

The King in
great danger.

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French took their field at large, and doubting their courage, they doubled their blows, as so by the death of some, and the wounding and flight of others, the Marquis his troops oppressed with the rough charge of our men at arms, in the end turned their backs, and were chased and beaten even to the rivers side, without taking of any prisoner, or care of booty, our French being loathed of this filthy gain, by that common voice, flying amongst them, *Companions remember Guinegate*, where the greediness of spoile had taken from them the better part of a notable victory. At the same instant the Earle of Caiazzo led his troops against the forward; but this was but a countenance, for even as they couched their Lances, seeing some of his troops unhorsed, *John Piccinin, Galeas of Corcege*, and others, fainted, and breaking of themselves, they had means to recover their battell. The Marshall of Gye seeing on the other side of the river an other regiment of men at arms, prepared for the battell, hee keeps backe his men, the which was held of some to be rather an act of cowardise, then of discretion; but by such a preference reason before danger, wise and judicious. The Swisses took about twenty of these run-aways, and slue them.

The army of
the league o-
uerthrowne.

The Marquis of Mantoua gathered together the remainders of this overthrow, and the Earle of Peillano (being prisoner upon his word, since the taking of Capoua) flying in this tumult to the Italians campe, kept them from a more shamefull rout. For the whole campe talked of a retreat, and the high way from Placentia to Parma was covered with men, horses and carts that retired. Then the King going to his fore ward (which had kept their stand) propounded unto his Captaines, whether he should charge the enemy in his lodging? *Trinulce* and *Pistell* counselled him thereunto, and *Francis Secco* (whom the Florentines had sent to conduct the King unto Ast) thrust him forward: But the passage of Taro being yncasie (by reason of the raine the night before, and the day of the battell) the companies being weary, the night approaching, and the King content to have had the advantage in so doubtful a fight, did moderate the heat of the pursuit, causing them to lodge at Medefane, a village halfe a league from the place where the battell was fought. So this battell ended; a memorable day, being the first of a long time, that had bene obstinately fought in Italy with blood shed and slaughter; (for in former times the Italian combats, were rather pleasant shewes then battells) famous also for the great numbers of Commanders that were slaine, the small number of conquerors, in regard of the huge multitude of the vanquished. There were numbered some five and thirty or forty French horsemen slaine, and some so groomes of the baggage. The Stradiots carried not away (of all their booty) but five and forty of the best horse, which were the Kings & his Chamberlaines: of Italians three hundred and fifty men at arms, amongst the which there were seven or eight of the house of *Gonzagna, Rainucio, Farnese, Bernardin* of Montone, about sixscore Gentlemen of the Marquis his company, & so great a number of others, as they were esteemed to be three thousand five hundred, and not one prisoner. Let vnto member, *That the eternal God scatters the counsels of the nations, and brings to nought the practices of men.* And in another place, *That the King is not saved by a great army, neither doth a mighty man scape by his great force.* The King stayed the next day at the same lodging, and departed on Wednesday the 8 of the month, without any sound of Trumpet, burying the enemy vnder color of a parlee, fearing them that feared him. But if he could have made profit of his victory, and turned head against them, who were yet amazed, as their owne commanders did confesse, all had sought for their safety by flight. And if he had displayed his colors in fauour of little *Francis*, son to *John Galeas* Duke of Milan, the name of the usurper was so odious to all the Duchy, and the name of their lawfull Lord so pleasing, as the people had easily confined *Lodowike* into the castle of Milan, and consequently the Venetians had lost most of the places they possessed in Italy: so ready is that nation to follow the victors happinesse. This was the counsell of *Trinulce*: but the King would not attempt any thing upon the right which the duke of Orleans pretended to the Duchy, being now in possession of Nouarre. Moreover, God which had giuen him the honour of a victory, would take from him all cause of presumption, depriving him of the principall fruits that depended thereon.

This so happy victory, opened a passage for the King, yet was he to encounter a world of difficulties, steepe and craggy mountaines, rough valleys, dangerous forests, rivers hard to passe, want of victuals, & behind him the Earle of Caiazzo had passed the river of

Taro

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A Taro with two hundred Lances, to cut off them that lingered behind. The river Treby gave the first obstacle with some terror: for about ten of the clocke at night, the river swelled so high, as it was impossible to passe it before five in the morning, the boulders wading about breast high. The King did wisely to dislodge without brute, being (besides the enemies Army) so neere to *Lodowike Sforzes* strong garisons, hauing a great number of horse, and twelue hundred Lanquenets, lodged in Tortone and in Alexandria, and five hundred others with the forsaide Earle, who were entred into Placentia fearing some alteration.

Truly Charles did daily feeble the truth of *Sauonarolles* predictions: *That he should endure much, but the honor should be his.* The river of Scruia was kept by *Gaspard of Saurin*, furnished the *Fracasse*, brother to the Earle of Caiazzo, and Captaine of Tortone, but aduerted that the Kings meaning was only to passe, he retired to his charge, furnished the army with victuals, came vnto the King, and excused himselfe, for that he could not lodge him within the towne: the which he kept for *Lodowike*. After a shower comes a sun-shine, faith the *Prouerbe*. The king is now in a friends Country, at Nice, belonging to the Marquis of Monterrat, and from Nice to Ast. Then the great army of the league, which had followed him into the Country of Tortone, hauing no more means to annoy him, went to ioyne with *Lodowikes* troops before Nouarre, the which was in great want, for the duke of Orleans had gouerned the victuals he found therein very ill, and had neglected to furnish it as he might haue done, considering the fertility of the Country. He had of late retained the supply of seven thousand five hundred good fighting men, sent to the King by the duke of Bourbon: and contrary to his Maiesties commandement, he hath taken places from *Lodowike*: and now in stead of succouring, he demands succours, for want whereof he shall be forced to yeeld what he hath gotten.

But Charles had other worke. Naples is in danger: *Ferdinand* sought all means to recover it, and hauing presented himselfe with *Gonsalve* *Fernand* of the house of *Agilifer* of the territory of Cordoua, with sixe thousand men neere vnto Seminare, after the taking of Rhegium, he had fought to draw the whole Realme into rebellion, if the Lord of Aubigni, Gouernor of Calabria, had not by his vigilancy and valour slackt the heat of the peoples rage. And the quarrell had bene ended by the death of: imprisonment of *Ferdinand* himselfe, if *John* of Capoua, brother to the Duke of Termini, (whom *Ferdinand* had brought vp a page) had not performed the part of a most faithful and loyall seruant, who leauing his horse, lost his life to saue his master, *Ferdinand* hauing his horse slaine vnder him. *Gonsalve* fled through the mountaines to Rhegium: *Ferdinand* to Palma, lying upon the sea neere to Seminare, and from thence to Messina. *Ferdinand* grieved with this disgrace, will once againe try the hazard of armes. He is well informed, that all the City of Naples desires him greatly: many of the chiefe, both of the Nobility and people, call him secretly. And therefore, before the brute of this overthrow in Calabria should alter this good humor, he parts from Messina with threecore vessels with top masts, and twenty lesse, furnished more for shew and bravery, then for any good seruice, hauing no forces proportionable to so high an enterprize. The peoples fauor and desire supplied his want of men. The townes of Salerne, Melfe, and Caue, display their Ensignes, and he-houers about Naples, attending some mutiny in the City. But all was in vaine: the Vice-roy had in time manned the approaches, and suppressed the rebellion which began to breed. But according to the aduice of some, he should haue armed such ships as were in the harbor, with footsolders and men of execution, and haue charged the enemy, who being strong in shipping, and weak in men, was retired to Ilicia.

The conspirators faint not, but seeing their practice discovered, make a vertue of necessity. They call backe *Ferdinand*, and intreat him to land, to giue both force and courage to those that would rise in his fauour. He approacheth, and lands at Magdeleine, a mile from Naples. Here the Vice-roy shewed no lesse courage, when he should most fear, then he had shewed himselfe fearefull when as resolution was most necessary. He leads in a manner all the garison out of the City, to disturb his landing. The Neapolitans embracing this occasion, fly to armes, troope together at the sound of the bell, seize upon the gates, and proclaime *Ferdinands* name in all places. Our French are now in danger on all sides: shall they attend the foraine enemy, or shall they goe to charge them within the City? They haue no means to enter by the same way they came forth: all are armed,

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all

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Ferdinand enters Naples.

all is barred vp. There is no other access but by the port ioyning vnto the new Castle: A but the way is long and hilly, and they must goe about a good part of the Towne walles. But during this march, *Ferdinand* enters, and riding through the City, the people receiue him with great cries of ioy: the French hauing recouered the Castle, seeke to winne the heart of the City; but being repulst with crosse-bowes and small Artillery, and finding the entry of euery street well manned, the night likewise approaching abandoning almost two thousand horse, good and bad vpon the place, hauing no means to keepe them within the fort, vnfurnished of prouisions, all put themselves into the Castle, despairing euermore to recouer the Towne.

Caliste facke by the French.

Presently Capoua, Auerfe, Nola, the castle of Montdragon, and many other places follow this example, and the greatest part of the Realme turnes to *Ferdinand*. Some one must needs pay for all. *Caliste* hauing taken armes for *Ferdinand*, the French garison enters the towne with fury, makes a horrible slaughter of the rebels, and sacks it. The Venetia army at sea, besiegeth Monopoli, a City of Apulia, both by sea and land, giues a hot assault, they take it by force, and the Castle by composition, and afterwards the Towne of Pulignan. *Charles* aduerted of these results, being parted from Ast towards Turin, he sends away *Peron* of Basche his Steward, to hasten an army at sea, from Villefranche neere vnto Nice, the which caried two thousand fighting men, with store of victuals, vnder the command of the Lord of Arban, a valiant Captaine, and well experienced at sea, yet very unfortunate in this expedition: for hauing discouered *Ferdinands* fleet about the Isle of Poreze, consisting of thirty saile, and two great ships of Genoua: they presently turne taile to the enemy, leauing him a small Biscaine ship for a pawne, and recouer the port of Lioorne, where the Capitaine could not stay the greatest number of his souldiers from landing, who tooke the way to Pisa.

The French fleet flies voluntarily.

In the meane time, the Arragonois employes all his forces against the new Castle, the Castle del'Ouo, and other forts held by the French. And to makes the way the more easie, he fortifies the Hippodrome, mans Mont Saint Herme, and Puisfaucou, and assailes the Monastery of the crosse. But being at the first greatly annoyed by the Artillery, hee conuerts his force into policy, which proues unfortunate for the Author. There was in it a Moore, sometime seruant to the Marquis of Pescara. The Marquis founds him, and hee promiseth to giue entrance. For this effect, he mounts in the night by a Ladder set to the Abbey wall, to conclude of the conditions, the manner, and the time, but hee discouered not another *Paris*, who lying behind the battlements of the wall, cut the throat of his *Chilles* with a Crosse-bow. The Marquises death was repaired by the reuolt of *Prasjer* and *Fabricio Colannes*, who notwithstanding the great aduancements they had from the King (caried away with a light beleefe, spread abroad by certaine lying letters of *Lodowick Sforze*, that the King was dead at Fornoue, and seeing moreover, that the French affaires declined) they returre to *Ferdinands* pay. The Castles thus beleaguered; the sea shut by *Ferdinands* fleet; famine increasing daily, and all hope of foraine succours cut off by the voluntary rout of *Arbans* navy, made the Viceroy to yeeld vp the new castle to *Ferdinand* after three moneths siege, with promise to go into Prouence, if he were not releued within thirty dayes, departing with bag and baggage: and for assurance of this capitulation, he gaue for hostages, *Tues* of *Alegre*, *la Marche* of *Ardenne*, *la Chapelle* of *Aniou*, *Regu*, *berlin*, *Catelan* and *Iensis*: this was the sixth of October. If any reliefe came vnto them, it must be of those forces that were dispersed within the Realme. So the Lord *Perfi* d'Alegre, brought the Suisses, with many of the companies of men at armes, accompanied by the Prince of Bisignan, and diuers other Barons persisting yet in their fidelity. *Ferdinand* aduerted hereof, opposeth the Earle of Monteleone. They encounter at the Lake of Pizzale neere to Eboli, where our French had a reuenge of that braue fight of their army at sea. For the Earles forces exceeding *Perfi* in nuber, fly at the first approach, without any fight, leauing *Ferdinand* son to *Julius* of Verane Lord of Camerin prisoner, but being not pursued (for that our men came to another end) they retire without any great losse to Nola, and after to Naples. This victory thrusts forward our men to the execution of their designe. *Ferdinand* (to hinder their approach) casts vp a trench from Mont Saint Herme, to Castle del'Ouo, and plants artillery vpon the hills adioyning, the which doth greatly endamage the French, and takes away all means to enter the Castle. This side wanting fresh water, made them retire in disorder, leauing behind them some peeces

The new castle at Naples compounds with Ferdinand.

Monteleone put to flight by the French.

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Castle Nouo abandoned by the Viceroy.

A of artillery, and part of the victuals they had brought for the releefe of the Castles, being discontented with the small endeavour the besieged had vied to receive them.

He that giues ouer, loseth the game. The Viceroy frustrate (by this dislodging) of all hope of succours, leauing three hundred men in the Castle Nouo (a number proportionable to the victuals that remained) and a conuenient garison in that of de l'Ouo, imbarks by night with the rest of his souldiers, being 2500, and takes his way to Salerne. *Ferdinand* complains that the accord is broken: that it was not lawfull for the Earle of Montpensier to depart suddenly, without taking leaue, and with such a company, before he had consigned him the Castles, threatening to be reuenged of the hostages for this iniury & fraud, the which were yeelded a moneth after the prefixed time, when as the garisons compounded for their departure, being vnable to endure the famine any longer: those of Castle Nouo, vpon condition the hostages should be deliuered: those of de l'Ouo, if they were not succoured by the first day of Lent ensuing. But let vs leaue *Ferdinand* confirmed in his throne, and returne to Nouarre.

Nouarre was at the last cast, they had no more corne, no more horses, but for few daies: some dyed of hunger, some languished of sicknesse. Mugnes, Brione, Camarian, Bolgare, and other neere places (with the forts built by the French) were taken by force, and the enemy (lodged in the Suburbs,) were so many block-houses: neither was there any means to succour them without a battell. But how? The King tooke his pleasure at Turin, and at Quiers, he had no will to hazard another battell for our towne onely, which the Duke of Orleans would keepe, and no man would fight but in the Kings presence. The Prince of Orange (who in matters of War had great credit with the King) and all the other commanders, desired rather to end the siege by some friendly agreement, then by the hazard of a battell. Winter approached: euery one sees his store spent, many are sicke, some retire without leaue, others obaine it. The enemies giue care to a peace. His army was newly increased by a thousand Reisters, led by *Frederick Capelle*, of the Countrey of Ferrete, and by eleuen thousand Lanquenets, commanded by *George* of Aberfing, borne in Austria. The leaue which the Bayliffe of Dijon went to make in Suifferland, was not yet ready. Why then (considering the consent of both parties) are not these great numbers dismissed friendly without force? some few sought contention, they had the Kings ears open, and their words were Oracles, as *Brissonne* Cardinall of Saint Malo, and the Archbishop of Rouan: yet would they not leaue their robes to put on armes, but keepe themselves safe from blowes. The King (say they) must not begin, let his enemy speake first, he is here in person: The Pope, the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Venetians and the Duke of Milan are by their Deputies. But whilest they stand vpon this point of honour, their teeth grow and their stomachs shrink at Nouarre. And thus the matter was handled, referring the honor of both parties. About that time the Marquesse of Montferrat died, daughter to the King of Seruia in Greece, leauing two sonnes, whereof the eldest was but nine yeares old. The Marquis of Saluce, and *Constantine* Vncle to the said Marquis, one of the ancient Noblemen of Macedony (the which *Mahomet Ottoman* had many yeares before inuaded) contended for the government of the two pupils. To accord this controuersie, for the safety of the children, and the content of the Countrey, the King had sent the Lord of Argenton to Calal Ceruas, and the Marquis of Mantoua, a Steward of his, to condole this death. These two fall into discourse, to pacifie both armies without blowes: so as by the Stewards perswasion, *Argenton* writes to the Venetian Commisfaries, vnder colour to continue the parle they had vpon Taro. Giuing care thereunto, they impart it to the duke of Milans Captaines. In the end, by common consent, they meete betwixt Bolgare and Camarian. There were for the King, the Cardinall of Saint Malo, the Prince of Orange, the Marshall of Gie, and the Lords of Pienues and Argenton. For the Confederates, the Marquis of Mantoua, *Bernard* and *Contarin* the Commisfary of the Venetians Stradiots, and *Francisco* *Bernardin* *Fisconte*.

Their chiefe controuersie was vpon the deliuey of Nouarre. Milan holds in fee of the Empire, and therefore the King did vrge, that Nouarre, as a member of the said Duchy, should be deliuey to *Maximilian*, by the hands of the German Captaines, that were in the Italianes campe, and the confederates would haue him leaue it absolutely. In the mean time, the famine growes so great, as it kills about two thousand of the Duke of Orleans men; and their great necessity required nothing but expedition. But more difficulties growing

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growing then could suddenly be decided, they conclude a truce for 8 dayes, with permitt: A
on for the Duke of Orleans to come forth with a small traine. For the surety whereof, the
Marquis of Mantoua did willingly offer himselfe, as an hostage to the Earle of Foix, after
an oath taken, that they should proceed sincerely in the treaty of peace, and that it was
not onely to free the Duke of Orleans. The Duke being come to the King to Vercell, for
the prolongation of the truce, vntill a conclusion of peace, all the men of Warre came
forth, and were conducted into a place of safety, by the Marquis of Mantoua, and *Galus*
of Saint Seuerin. So the towne remained in the Inhabitants keeping, with an oath, not to
deliuer it to any, but with the consent of both parties. And thirty men were left in the
Castle, vnder the Duke of Orleans authority, to whom they should daily send viuals out
of the Italians campe for their money.

Twenty thou-
sand Suisses at
Vercell for the
King.

Within few dayes after, arised the Bayliffe of Dijon, with his Suisses, who vnder coler
of ten thousand which he thought to bring, the number was doubled, running at the name
of the Kings purse. So great a number of men of one Nation, was suspicious. The one
moity ioynd with the Kings army nere to Vercell, the other camped apart, five leagues
off. This new supply, reuiued the courage of the Duke of Orleans, and of those whose
fingers itched. But to what end were a battell, seeing that Nouarre had not moued the
King, but onely to free the Duke, and his seruants that were now deliuered from captivity?
And what meanes were there to fight with two thousand eight hundred men at arms
barded, five thousand light horse, eleuen thousand Germans, and an infinite number of oth-
er foot, in a campe intrenched with palissadoes, and deep ditches full of water? a coun-
sell fit for scarlet robes, thrust on rather by their owne couetousnesse, then with any
spect of the Kings honour or the Dukes. This Cardinal of Saint Malo, did hee more at-
fect his Maiesties seruice, or the priuate advancement of his house, seeing that his vnme-
asurable greedinesse extorted this confession from his owne mouth; *That the Duke of Or-*
leans had promised him ten thousand Ducats for his sonne, if he had this Duchy of Mi-
lan? Doubtlesse great Princes vfe good and bad instruments to satisfie their desires, but
the end they abhorre the vnlawfull practises of their workemen.

The treaty of
Vercell.

On the other side, this great number of men, newly arised, who desired nothing but
employment, made the Italians mindes more inclinable to peace. So the Marshall of Gie,
the president of Gannai, the Vidame of Chartres, Argenton, Pienmes and Moruilliers, ha-
ving conferred againe with the Confederates, where the Duke of Milan did assist in per-
son, they concluded an accord, more through the necessity of the season, and want of mo-
ney, desirous to returne home with the shew of an honourable peace, then with any con-
fidence it would continue. It was agreed, That the King should be serued by the Duke
of Milan for Genoa, as of his vassall, against all the world; and in so doing, the Duke should
furnish at his owne charge, two ships to succour the Castles of Naples (the which he
yet, and the year following, should serue the King with three, and go with him in person
to the enterprise of Naples, if by chance he returned, and should suffer the Kings men to
pass. If the Venetians did not accept of the peace within two moneths, but would main-
taine the house of Arragon, he should aide the King against them: and the King should
giue him all that should be taken from them. That of fixscore and foure thousand Du-
cates lent to the King in that voyage, he should forgie fourescore thousand. And for the
expences made at Nouarre, hee should pay the Duke of Orleans fifty thousand Du-
cats, by the month of March following. That for the surety of Genoa, the Duke should
giue two hostages, and deliuer the Chastelet into the Duke of Ferrares keeping, as a
Neuter, for two whole yeares, the guard thereof to be paid at their common charge: and
in case the Duke of Milan should forfeit Genoa to the King, the Duke of Ferrara
should then deliuer the Chastelet to the King, and the Duke of Milan should giue two oth-
er hostages of Milan. That the Duke should not impeach the Florentines, to recouer
what belonged vnto them. That *Trivulce* should be restored to his lands and goods.
And that the prisoners, the Confederates had taken should be deliuered. This peace was
sworne on either side: the Venetians craue respice for two moneths, to accept, or not; and
the King transported with a great desire to see his France, resolved to part the next day.
But aduertised that the Suisses practised either to assure themselves of his person, or to
seize vpon the chiefe in Court, for three moneths pay, which they said was due vnto them,
by an accord made with *Lewis* the Eleuenth, that lo often as they should goe forth with
their

The Suisses
practise to seize
vpon the King.

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A their Ensignes displayed, they should receiue that payment; he parted from Vercell (into
the which may Suisses were gotten) and went towards Trine, a Towne belonging to the
Marquis of Monterrat. This humour possessed them by the instigation of those to whom
this peace was not pleasing.

From Trine, the King sent the Marshall of Gie, the President of Gannai, and Argen-
ton, to *Lodowike Sforze*, to moue him to an interview. But he grounded his excuse vpon
some speeches which the Earle of Ligni, and the Cardinal of Saint Malo had vied. That
they should take him (when he came) to the King to Pauis, yet would he willingly parlee
with the King, hauing a barre and riuer betwixt them. He had heard talk of the parlee be-
twixt *Edward* and the Constable of Saint Paul, with *Lewis* the eleuenth. *Charles* taking
this distrust in ill part, receiued his hostages of Milan, and impatient to attend the Gene-
uois, aduancing to Quiers, he sent *Peron de Bafche* to Genoa, to receiue the two carrakes
promised by the treaty, and to arme foure others, wherein he made account to ship three
thousand Suisses, to relieue the Castles of Naples, knowing that the army of Nice had bin
altogether vnprofitable. But it was sufficient for the Milanois to promise: hee knew well
that hunger would force the Wolfe out of the wood, that is to say, that want of viuals
would shortly expell the garisons out of those Castles. Moreouer, being perswaded, the
King would hardly repasse the Alpes, he seckes the friendship of *Ferdinand*, arming two
ships for his seruice.

Charles did then send the Lord of Argenton to Venice, to know if they would accept of
the peace, and to passe three articles. To re-deliver Monopoli, which they had taken from
him: to draw backe the Marquis of Mantoua, their Lieutenant generall, and others they
had in the Realme of Naples, for *Ferdinands* seruice: and to declare King *Ferdinand* to
be none of the league lately made, in the which there was only named the Pope, the King
of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the D. of Milan. For answer, they flatly refuse all the
Kings demands, as hauing no warre with him, and that their meaning was onely to suc-
cour the Duke of Milan as their ally, whom the King fought to ruine.

And for the making of an agreement, they offer to be a meanes: that *Ferdinand* should
doe homage to the King, for the Realme of Naples, with the Popes consent: and should
pay hundred and fifty thousand Ducats yearly; and a present summe of money, the
which they should lend: for the loane whereof they should haue Brundisium, Otranto,
Trani and some other places in Apulia in pawne: that *Ferdinand* should giue the King
some places for safety, to make warre against the Turke, according to the hope wherewith
Charles had fed all Christendome. The which, if hee would vndertake, all Italy should
contribute thereunto. That the King and they should dispose of all Italy without con-
tradiction: and for their part, they would serue the King with an hundred galleies at their
owne charge, and with five thousand horse by land. But this Turkish warre was but a
glorious cloake for eury priuate mans couetousnesse. And who can wonder if God did
suddenly frustrate our designs, hauing another ground then we made shew of? Who
will not iudge, but this offer had beene as honourable for France, as the generall losse of
the sayd Realme was dishonourable? *Charles* would willingly haue vnderaken it, and
the greatest part of his Councell did allow it. But *Tacitus* obserues of *Vitellius*, *That his*
iudgement was such, as he found all harsh that was profitable, and took nothing in good part
but what was pleasing, and that proued hurtfull. A lesson for Princes, not to trust so confi-
dently to some particular persons, for the gouernment of their affaires, but to impart it
sometimes to others: neither to aduance any one so high; as all the rest should bee his
inferiours, for making himselfe to be feared and respected aboue all (as the Cardinal *Bri-*
gones, his brethren & kind-folke did) he commonly makes his house great at his masters
cost. But it was the humour of this young King, fearing (saith the History) to displease
them to whom he gaue credit, and especially such as gouerned his treasure, as the aboue
named.

The Venetians
propositions
to the King.

Our Conquerors are now arised at Lions, in the moneth of October, not greatly care-
full of those they had left at Naples, without any intelligence or letters from the King, but
onely counterfeit, and nothing but promises for assignations of pay, whereof follow-
ed the generall losse of the Realme: who for a signe of their conquest, left them nothing
but the possession of a stinking and contagious disease, which afterwards spread ouer all
France: the which (being till then vnkowne in our parts, and the Phisitians not acquain-
ted

The begining
of the Pocks.

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ted with the cure thereof)lodged many in the graue, leauing many deformed and lame A of their limbes , and subiect to continuall aches.

Charles, hauing continued two months at Lions, he received two very troublesome and vnpleasant aduertisements: one was domestically, the death of his Sonne the Dauphin, deceased at three yeares age: *A goodly childe (saith the Originally) and bold in speech, who feared not those things which other children are accustomed to feare.* The other was foreigne, the yielding of the Castles of Naples. The King passed ouer his mourning lightly, for being little both of body and vnderstanding, he began to feare, lest the Dauphin growing in these generous dispositions, which they noted in his infancy, should soone blemish the fathers power & authority. A lamentable thing, that so great a Monarch should feare his owne Child lying in a cradle. But that was certain that Charles the seuenth, his Grand-father had bene jealous of Lewis the eleuenth his sonne. Lewis had terrified his father, and was in feare of his sonne Charles the eight: and now Charles apprehends some decay in his estate by his sonne. Jealousie is a disease which doth commonly infect Princes houses. The other accident was of greater consequence, and toucht him more neerely, But were not these crosses sufficient to afflict him, but he must receiue a publike shame, by means of a priuate mans couetousnesse?

The Florentines prest the performance of their treaty, sworne at Florence, confirmed at Ast, and afterwards at Turin. Charles writes to this effect to *Entragues*, Capitaine of the Cittadell at Pisa, and to the bastard of *Saint Paul*, to restore those places to the Florentines which they commanded. But these gentlemen are good Merchants, they sell the which they are commanded to giue. *Entragues* interprets the Kings Letters-Patents according to his owne couetousnesse, and excuseth himselfe with a secret charge, he said he had receiued it, not to deliuer it without the Earle of *Lignies* hand-writing, in whose name he commanded Pisa. But this was the chiefe cause, he must haue money. Florence did not offer any, Pisa must pay it, or else fall into their hands whom they hated to the death. To draw them vnto it, he hath another wicked practice. He sends to the Florentine Commissaries, to bring their Army to the Port of the Suburbs of *Saint Mary*, that if the Pisans would not receiue them friendly, he would force them to abandon the said gate, being so commanded by the Cittadell, as it could not resist without the Captains sufferance. He did not beleue the Florentines should so easily haue taken the Bulwarke of the said suburbs. But when he sees the assailants enter pell-mell, kill some, and take others prisoners, he turnes his artillery vpon the Florentines, kills and hurts them, and forceth the Florentines to abandon the place. In the end, prest by the Kings commanding letters, both to the Earle of *Ligni*, to him, and to all the Garisons, to leaue the said places, he deliuers it them for twenty thousand Ducats, and after sells *Pietresanta* to the Luquois, and *Libresanta* to the Venetians. And the aboue named Bastard, as good a Merchant as the other, sells *Serezane* and *Serezanelle* to the Geneuois. And all to the Kings dishonour, his subjects shame, and the absolute losse of Naples. *Saillant*, who commanded in the Port of *Liorno*, is commanded to haue yielded the place to the Florentines at the first summons, and *Entragues* banished the realme of France, by a decree of the priuy Councell. Yet the Duke of *Orleance* (his Master) caused this sentence to be repealed. The Pisans, being masters of their Cittadell, razed it to the ground. And rather then they will submit their necks to the Florentines yoke, they implore aide from the Pope, Emperour, Venetians, Geneuois, Siennois and Luquois. But whilst that *Lodowicke* consults whether he should receiue them into his protection, the Venetians prevent him. So, many dogs fighting for one bone, pull one another by the throat, whilst the most politicke carries it away.

The Viceroy in the meane time gathers together the remnant of his Shipwracke. And as the ruolt of the Colonnois had greatly weakened the Kings party, so hee hoped to repaire it by the means of *Virgilius Vrsinus*, who seeing the Colonnois his enemies newly advanced to great authority with *Ferdinand*, he accepted of the Kings entertainment, being agreed, that he with the house of *Vrsin*, should make a leauy of fix hundred men at armes, and with the *Vielli* cross *Ferdinands* attempts, who by diuers euents laboured vehemently to recouer that which the King held yet. And let vs now see the successe of their affairs. The successe of armes is variable, but God holds them in balance, and giues the aduantage to whom he pleaseth. Our men had sometimes the better, and sometimes

The treachery and couetousnesse of *Entragues*.

The King dishonoured by two of his subjects.

Virgil Vrsin in the Kings pay.

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A times the worse. But this is but a languishing fit. Our French being encamped at *Nocera*, had by an intelligence taken and slaine seuen hundred Aragonois, going to surpris *Gifone*, neare to *Saint Seuerin*: but seeing *Ferdinand* fortified with the Popes troops, they leaue *Nocera*, to take *Saint Seuerin*, and *Gofenze*, which was lately rebelled against them.

Abruzzo continued firme through the valour of *Gratian de Guerres*, against the attempts of the Earle of *Popoli*: and the comming of the *Vrsins* and the *Vitelli*, did greatly molest the lands of *Moncassin*, and the neighbour country of *Labour*. *Calabria* (although the long sicknesse of the Lord of *Aubigni*, had staied the course of his prosperity) remained yet at the Kings deuotion. The Viceroy had mounted and armed such as came with him from Naples. All these considerations gaue courage to our men, and made the way to a battell, which the Viceroy and *Vrsins* greatly pressed. But the want and necessity of money to pay their strangers doth cast an Apple of discord in the Army: eight hundred *Lanquenets* for want of pay, goe to the Aragonois, who fortifying the enemy, make our French so much the weaker. Behold a fore blast for a house that threatend ruine, and now comes the blow which in few months shall strike vs dead.

At the first the Venetians would not receiue *Ferdinand* into the league of the Potentates of Italy, to the end that vrgent necessity might force him to yeeld them something, watching lo long for an opportunity, as in the end they finde it. *Ferdinand* had a great action in hand: he must hazard all to become (as they say) a rich Merchant, or a poore pedler. He accords with the Venetians, and in regard of a succour of seuen hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horse, and three thousand foot, led by the Marquis of *Montoux*; and their Navy entertained which then lay vpon that coast, with a loane of fifteene thousand ducats, he deliuered vnto them *Otrante*, *Brundisium*, and *Thrane*, and consents they should retaine *Monopoli*, and *Pulignano*, which they then held, vpon condition to deliuer them vpon payment of such money as should be imploied in the guard thereof, so as it amounted not to about two hundred thousand Ducats. Moreover, the Pope, they, and the Milanois sent other companies of men at armes leauied in common. And *Lodowicke*, who would not directly breake the treaty of *Vercell*, agreed secretly to pay ten thousand Ducats monthly towards the wars of Naples. If the Earle of *Montpensier* were in want, *Ferdinand* was as needy, and the Venetian succours could not bee so soone ready. So the weakenesse of both parties, being sick of one disease, kept them from attempting much, yet idleness makes the souldiers slothfull. To keep them in exercise, the Viceroy practiseth an intelligence vpon *Beneuent*: but he was preuented by *Ferdinand*, who had notice thereof: he leaues it to take *Ferezane*, *Apice* and many other neighbour townes, wanting victuals: and the season approaching to collect one of the most important reuenues of the realme, which was the custome for Cattell in *Apulia*, he marcheth to frustrate the enemy: it mounted yearly to fourescore thousand ducats. *Ferdinand* followes to stay the Viceroyes course, attending his succours.

At that time there arises a French Navy at *Caiete*, of fifteene great ships, and seuen lesse, wherein they had shipped eight hundred *Lanquenets* at *Sauona*, and the troops appointed for the great ships that should haue bene armed at *Genoa*. This army takes lirt at their landing, with other neighbour places. *Don Baptista Caraccio* had promised to giue him entrance into *Sessa*, but *Don Fredericke*, *Ferdinands* Vncle, preuented him, committing the Bishop, and others guilty of this practice to prison. The fury of the war was in *Apulia*, and the successe was variable, for both parties lodged in diuers townes, who rather by their ordinarie roads then any valor, made warre against the poore Cattell. *Virgilius Vrsinus*, and *Marian Saualle* had gathered together an infinite number of cattell, being the custome betwixt *Saint Seuer* and *Porcine*, and *Ferdinand* with six hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and fifteene hundred foot, comes by night to driue them away: who by the breake of day being planted before *Saint Seuer* with his men at armes, to make head against *Virgilius* if he issued forth; hee caused his light horse to driue away about threecore thousand head of cattell. *Saualle* issued forth of *Porcine* to the rescue, but being too weake, hee was forced to retire with the losse of thirty men at armes.

This checke drew the Viceroy against *Ferdinand*, being at *Fogge*, to recouer both the honour and prey that was lost. Vpon the way hee encounters eight hundred *Lanquenets*

Ferdinand admitted into the league.

He capitulates with the Venetians.

A new French fleet in the kingdom of Naples.

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*Ferdinand
Lanquenets
defeated by the
French.*

nets, betwixt Nocere and Troy, which went to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: he chargeth them, A and being obnoxious in fight, defeats and kills them all, with some losse of his men: and so presents himselfe in battell before Fogge, but none issuing forth save the light horse, helay in ambush in the wood of the *Incoronate* and recovered the greatest part of the cartell. Then presenting himselfe before Fogge, hee retires to Saint Seuer: when as the light horse, falling vpon those that did drue away the boory, deprived either party of the greatest profit, for the cartell being dispersed here and there were abandoned to the first that could take them. Hereupon the army at sea ioynes with the Viceroy, and the Marquis of Mantoua with the Arragonois. So the chiefe forces of both armies approach, The French were stronger in foot, and the Italians in horse, which held the estate of a faires in suspense.

*Charles returns
to Lions.*

The King began againe to affect the affaires of Italy, and having made a progresse to Toures and Paris, to performe (saith the History) some vowes which hee had made at Fournoue, he returns to Lions. His owne inclination drew him naturally to this warre: glorious, for that he was the first of the Kings of France, after many ages, that had renewed the French armies in Italy. Moreover, the Florentines, the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, *John Laques* of Triulce, the *Prins*, the Earle of Montoire (sent to that end by the Barons of the Realm of Naples, who yet did cary the flower de Lize): but with more efficacy than all the rest, the Cardinall of Saint Malo, and that Mignon the Senehall of Beaucare, gaue him a certaine hope of Victory, by meanes of a great and speedy succour; and contrariwise of an apparant losse, if matters were more neglected. Euen those which before had dissuaded this enterprise of Italy, grieved now exceedingly to see their conquests cowardly lost, and the French Nobility to perish, who (vsurnished of aide) were ready to suffer shipwracke. The Admirall of Grauille alone could not fauour this warre.

These resolutions were somewhat hindered by the warre which the King supported in the County of Roussillon, from whence the Spaniards made ordinary roads and robberies in Languedoc. *Charles* of Albion, grandfather to the deceased Marshall of Saint Andrew defended the frontier, as Lieutenant to the Duke of Bourbon, Governor of that Province, the which was greatly endamaged by the Gascon of Saules, a little towne in the said County, strong of men and situation, and defended by some Gentlemen of the King of Castiles house, who were seconded by an army in field, bigger then the French. *Albon* undertakes to besiege Saules, batters it, makes a breach, and giues an assault, and within ten houres carries it by force, where he slew some forty Spanish gentlemen of mark, and about foure hundred men of defence. A worthy reward for the wrong which the Castilian had done to *Charles*, who had so willingly restored him the possession of his Countrie, hoping to binde him by this good turne not to crosse him in his designs vpon the realme of Naples, as vpon the contract of reddition hee had promised. This exploit kept the Snailles within their shells, who vnder pretence and colour to continue their conquests vpon the Moores, whom they lately ouercame and chased out of Granada, in the end they mentioned a truce, the which (being concluded from March to October, E for themselves and such of their faction as would accept it) diuided the Castilian from the other confederats, attending that a mutuall assembly at Montpellier should end all their controuersies by a firme and durable peace.

*A truce betwixt
the Kings of
France and
Castile.*

*Charles greatly
affects the en-
terprise of Italy*

Thus *Charles* freed from this incombrence, returns more vehemently to his first designs: and to draw his counsell therunto, he said, that hee felt a diuine inspiration in his soule, which called him into Italy. It was according to the predictions of *Sasaparola*. In the end it was concluded, that *Triulce* should return to Ast, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Launces, and foure thousand French and Suisses: that the Duke of Orleans should soone follow, and then the King: that thirty ships should passe the straights into the ports of Prouence, and should be armed for the passage of Naples with men, victuals, money, and all other munition. A braue designe and a goodly order if it had taken effect. But it is a great errour in Kings, to giue the chiefe places of authority, rather to Church-men then to their Princes, or to Noblemen of merit: seeing that these men haue but one oath, which is to their King, and the other hauing two, they commonly preferre that which they owe vnto the Pope. The Cardinall of Saint Malo, gouerning the treasure, and in a manner the whole state, did not directly contradi the Kings will (having so greatly affected the first voyage) but so slackt the expeditions, delaying the necessary

*The Cardinall
of Saint Malo
hindereth the
Kings voyage.*

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A necessary payments, that no prouision was effected, and who would not beleue but the Pope giuing to this man a Cardinalls hat, would likewise draw him to his faction.

But let vs heare another disturbance, when as *Curry* man supposed that the King would speedily passe the mountaines, he makes a posting voyage to Paris, and to Toures, for three reasons. The first vnder colour of deuotion; to take leaue (saith he) of *S. Denis* and *S. Martin*, according to the ancient ceremonies of the Kings of France. The second, to bid the Queene farewell, who was resident at Toures. The third, to draw all the Cities of the Realme to aide him with money, after the example of Paris; to auoid the necessities of the year before. But he did not set downe the fourth, and it may be more vrgent, the loue of one of the Queens maides; an importune passion, which doth so restrain all the spirits of man, as he neglects all other cares. *Charles* departs and returns not in foure moneths: he sends *Triulce* to Ast, with a small troope, more to confirme the friendship of *Philip* the new Duke of Sauoy, by the death of the little Duke his Nephew; then for any preparation of war: and for the prouision of Naples, six ships were provided laden with victuals, and laden with hope to be soone followed by a great army, and to receive forty thousand ducats due at Florence: This was physicke after death: for if they had arriued in time, they had preferred, or at the least staied for a season the losse of the Realme: If *Brissone* were so dull in these commissions in the Kings presence, Iudge if he made any halt in his Maiesties absence.

C Yet the body of the Neapolitan state was so shaken, as for want of speedy remedy it was ready to fall. The two armies approach, both so tyred, as the war must suddenly end by the ruine of the one. The French were camped before Circello, ten miles from Beneuent: and *Ferdinand* to diuert this siege, was before Franget of Montfort. For the succouring whereof, our men leaue Circello: but the Lanquenets apprehending a second assault, left the place at random, this was a losse which did greatly import our men.

They had meanes in shew to defeat this army, so busie at the sacke of Frangette, as the Captaines aduertised, that there was but a valley betwixt the French and their lodging, they could not in time call backe the souldiers from the spoile to armes. The Earle of Montpensier would haue embraced this occasion, *Virgilius Prinsius* did vrge it, *Perfi d'Allegre* by an enuious or malicious shew of hazard which they should incur in passing the valley at the mercy of the enemy, loathing the Suisses and Lanquenets, which hee commanded, discontented moreover with the small entertainment they had giuen him when he presented himselfe to succour the Castles of Naples hindered the execution: and moreover vnder colour of pay (as they say) he caused the strangers to mutine. Thus the Viceroy forced to found a retreat, went to follow the siege of Circello, where *Camillo Vitelli*, performing the office of an excellent Captaine and souldier, during the assault was wounded in the head with a stone wherof he died. An accident which causeth the French to abandon both the assault and siege, to retire towards Arriane, and to seeke some meanes to draw the Arragonois to battell. But they had to deale with cunning temporizers, who knowing our men to bee pressed with the want of meat and money, and foreseeing that the slacknesse of their succours would breed greater di commodities and disasters, they suffered them to keepe the field, and lodged in their forts, where their commodities could not be cut off.

*Camillo Vitelli
dies.*

Not only the Army, but also the other parts of the realme were greatly distressed. *Antibal* the bastard sonne of the Lord of Camerin, had of late defeated the Marquis of Bitonte of the French faction, in Abruzzo: for a reuenge, *Gratian de Guerres* being in field, ouerthrew the Earles of Selane and Popoli, leading three hundred horse, and three thousand foot for *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding, the losse of an occasion of a victory at Franget, the extreme necessity of all things, the discord of the Captaines, and continuall contradiction of *Perfi*, refusing to obey the Earle of Montpensier, for that (saith he) he had against reason abandoned the castles of Naples, the disobedience of the souldiers, the discontent of the Neapolitan troops following the King, not paid, and inuiously intreated in the diuisions of booties or victuals, the departure of many from the campe, the mutinies of the Suisses and Lanquenets, who cried out tumultuously for their pay, the neighbourhood of many townes, supported by the enemies army, & many disasters concurring, daunted the courage of our souldiers, engendred a contempt & harred in the people

*Diuers variable
exploits.*

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The last Act of
this tragedy.

people, and forced our men to flie from place to place, without any hope of meane to fight with the enemy, who to spare the blood of his people would not hazard any thing.

All these difficulties carried our French into Apulia, and as they were busied in the king and sacking of Atelle, and then to possess Venouse, a strong towne, and abounding with victuals, Ferdinand takes Gualdo in one day (the which in former times had endured a siege of fourteene moneths) and taking from them all hope of Venouse, he forceth them to retire to Atelle, and presently campe before it, desirous to winne a Victory without perill and losse of men: and cutting off all the passages, he takes from them all meane of reliefe. But this accident made his designs more easie. The remainder of the Languedocers, who since their departure from their houses had received but two moneths pay, seeing the time of their entertainment past, they went to the Arragon party. And that which hastened the total ruine of our men, was the cue in Calabria. By reason of the Lord of Aubignis sickness, many of his men were gone to the Viceroyes Army. The Duke of Melere, and Albert of Saint Seuerin, with many other Barons of the Country (as vnto the King) lodged at Laine, vpon the river of Sapri, couered with the Castle on the one side of the river, against any one that should assaile them vpon the high way, and from some other places belonging to the Prince of Bisignan. It is very dangerous to be too confident especially in matters of war. These Noblemen assembled all the forces they could, to charge *Gonsalues*, who made war in that Prouince, and after the taking of some places, was camped before Castrouillare: *Gonsalues* prevents them, and coming neere the river, he causeth his foot to march toward the bridge, which lyeth betwixt the Castle of Laine and the Village; which bridge was negligently guarded, relying vpon the above-named places, whilst he passeth with his horse at a Ford two miles about, both might charge our men at once instant. The effect succeeded: he arises before day, findes them without Sentinell, and without guard, chargeth, and breaks them in many places, takes eleuen Barons prisoners, and almost all the Souldiers, who flyng towards the Castle, fell among the foot, who had already seized vpon the bridge. This Victory laid the way open for *Gonsalues* to ioyne with Ferdinand, with six thousand men, and this lieste was the ruine of our troops, pressed with three armies, the Arragonois, Venetian, and Spanishe. So as being no more able to be relieved with victuals, nor goe to forrage, neither to haue any passage to the river to water their horses, being themselves in great extremity for water, vanquished with so many difficulties, and abandoned of all hope, after two and thirty daies siege, they obtained of Ferdinand a truce for thirty daies, and necessary victuals for that time: during the which none of the besieged should goe forth: Licence for the duke *Montpensier* to signify this accord vnto the King, the souldiers, their liues and goods saved, with the which they might retire into France by land or sea, and the *Vrbin* with other Italian Souldiers whether they would, out of the realme: Impunity to the Barons and all others that had followed the French faction, and restitution of their goods and offices, so as within fifteene daies they returned to Ferdinand. All this is good, but there follows a very dishonourable promise: That if the Earle of Montpensier be not relieved within thirty daies, he shall deliuer Atelle, and all that hee holds within the Realme of Naples into Ferdinand's hands, with all the Artillery. Thus reason yields where force commands.

The time expired, all were conducted to the castle of Stabbia vpon the Sea, and the Viceroy was summoned to yeeld vp all the other places, which the King possessed. But pretending that his authority did not extend to the Capitaines which commanded in Calabria, Abruzzo, Caiete, and other places, which the King himselfe (and noche) had gotten them in guard. The Arragonois making shew to dismisse them, caused them to be conducted (but more properly confined them) vpon this controuersie to Blay and Pozzol, where (vnder colour that shipping was not yet ready) part of them by the want they had endured, and part by the indisposition of the aire, being hot and vnhole some, and part feeding intemperately vpon grapes, and other fruit halle ripe: but with more likelihood, hauing (as some write) seasoned their meats, and mixt their wines with drugs insupportable for the stomacke, the Earle of Montpensier died: and of six thousand men, scarce fifteene hundred returned safe to their country. There is but one hazard to lose all. A battell (although very desperate) had bene far more honorable and lesse fault.

But let vs rather note the examples and errors of others, then reprooue them.

Virgilus

1496

Virgilius, and *Paul Vrsin*, by the Popes commandement (who had sworne the rithne of that house) were shut vp in the Castle de l'Ouo: their men (led by *Iohn Jordan* the sonne of *Vrsin*, and *Bartholomew* of Aluian) were stript in Abruzzo by the Duke of *Vrbin*; and these two commanders called by Ferdinand to Naples, were likewise imprisoned. *Aluian* escaped soone after, the rest died in prison. Now all things smile vpon the Conquerour, but he pursues the victory otherwise then we can doe: and in these garboiles, euery one flies to the stronger, and makes his peace as he may. Ferdinand sends *Don Fredericke* his vncke, and *Prosper Colonne* before Caiete, and *Fabrizio Colonne* into Abruzzo, who received *Aquill* for the Arragonois, tooke the rocke of Saint Seuerin by force, and caused the Captain and his sonne to be beheaded, to terrifie the rest: then he went and encamped before Salerne, where the Prince of Bisignan made his peace, for himselfe, for the Prince of Salerne, for the Earle of Cappacio, and some other Barons. *Gratian des Guerres* (forced to give way to this violent streame) leaues Abruzzo, and retires himselfe with eight hundred horse into Caiete, were *Don Fredericke* doth presently inuest him. *Gonsalues* returned into Calabria, where the Lord of Aubigni (after such resistance as his forces could make, being gotten into Gropoli, in the end promisth to leaue all the Prouince, hauing liberty to returne into France by Land. The other Capitaines (either for that they had filled their bags with the prouisions of their places, or had by disorder consumed that in few daies, which in time of necessity might haue serued long; or through feare, or impatience of the discomforts which follow a siege) were forced to yeeld them at the first summons.

But shall Ferdinand long enjoy the happy successe of his armes? Behold, hating not yettasted the sweetnesse of his conquests, nothing remaining for the recovery of the Realme but Tarentum, Caiete, and a few other places, held by *Charles* of Sanguin and Mont S. Angelo, where *Don Iulian* of Lorraine commanded, who caused the neighbor counties to feele both the greatnesse of his courage, and the weight of his armes, death comes and cuts off both the course of his victories, and the thred of his life, and transports his Crowne to *Don Fredericke* his vncke. Thus the fate of Naples, felt the diuers humors of five Kings in three years: Ferdinand, *Alphonse*, King *Charles* the eighth, Ferdinand, and the incestuous (hauing married his Aunt, sister to *Alphonse* his Father) and *Fredericke*.

Fredericke leauing the siege of Caiete, comes to enjoy his Nephews succession, and those which had before followed the French party, as the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, the Earle of Cappacio and others, were the first to proclaim his name in Naples, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of the war against our men. Tarentum (besieged by the Venetians) was forced to yeeld through famine, who hauing held it some daies (not without suspect that they would appropriate it to themselves) in the end they consigned it vnto *Fredericke*, at the Popes entreaty, and the King of Spaine. Caiete might haue held out some moneths, but iudging the King would haue as little care to succour them, as many other places negligently lost, to the preiudice both of a great number of the Nobility, and also of the crowne, they compounded with *Fredericke* by the meanes of the Lord of Aubigni, giuing them leaue to returne by Sea into France, with bag and baggage: And consequently, all other places did quite reiect the French command in the State of Naples. And *Fredericke* (hauing obtained the inuestiture of the Realme, from the Pope) was solemnly crowned.

Thus *King Charles* was freed from the care he had for the recovery thereof, but the losse and infamy thrusts him on to reuenge vpon the next neighbour. Many Potentates of Italy perswade him thereunto, the Duke of Ferrara knew well, that the Venetians (hauing taken Polefan from him) sought his ruine, and amidst these diuisions he was like vnto a sheepe betwixt two Wolves, that is to say, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan his sonne in law, who (preferring his safety and his childrens, before the loue of the Duke of Milan) offered the King five hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot: The Marquis of Mantoua (being discontented with the Venetians) fell from them with three hundred men at armes. *Iohn Beniuole* offered a hundred and fifty men at armes, and the companies which his two sonnes led, with a good number of foot: The Florentines (not to lose Pisa and other places, and to warrant themselves from the wrongs which the Venetians practised against them) promised eight hundred men at armes and five thousand

S s 2 foot

A dishonourable
compromise
made by
the French.The Earle of
Montpensier
dies, was most
of his troops.King Ferdinand
dies.The Princes of
Italy incited
the King against the
Venetians and
Duke of Milan.

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The Duke of Orleans
slew to make
war against the
Duke of Milan
in his own
name.

foot at their own charge. The Visins and the Gouverneur of Rome, a thousand men at arms. Moreover, there was in Aft eight hundred men at arms, and fixe thousand foot. If all these forces with the French, had ioyntly charged the duke of Milan, either his estate had bene in danger, or he must have followed the Kings party, the which obtained, the Kingdom of Naples had bene easily recovered. The duke of Orleans was appointed to this effect, for the King would not directly breake the treaty of Verceil, desiring the duke should make this warre in his owne proper name. The Duke refused to march with other title then the Kings Lieutenant, either iudging his provisions not well grounded, or seeing the King ill disposed of his person, whose next heire he was, if he miscaied. Thus both the enterprise and the intelligences which *Trinulce* had against the Milanais, were made frustrate.

There are other actions which succeed as unhappily. The Fregoses being expelled Genoa, by the faction of the Adornes, could not returne without some notable support, who coming to the gates, they hoped with great facility to raise their partisans, to take away their adherencies, and to reduce the towne to the Kings obedience. The King upon this hope, commands *Trinulce* to assist *Baptista Fregose* with those forces which he had in Aft; and the Florentines with *Ottaviano Fregose* to assault Lunigiana at the same time, and the ruler to the East, whilest that *Baptista* should molest the West. This enterprise did much trouble the Duke of Milan: and if it had bene continued, it had produced greater effects in the estate of Milan then at Genoua. For *Lewis* of Fiesque & the Adornes had brought many men into Genoa, and armed a flecte to Sea, at the common charges of the Venetians, and of *Fredericke*, King of Naples. And *Lodowicke* had not yet received his Venetians. But in stead of Genoua, they went to Nouis, a towne able to containe many men, and the Fregoses held the Castle fit to make warre in the Country, and to stop the passage from Milan to Genoua. The taking of Nouis made the neighbour places to yeeld to *Baptista*, and at the same instant the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, with two hundred Lances, and three thousand foot of *Trinulces* troops seized on Vintemille, and presented himselfe before Sauonne, hoping that in disdaine of the Geneois (whom he yoake they bare) he should finde both the Citizens hearts, and the City gates open, but no signe, no shew of alteration.

John Adorne followed the Cardinall, and forced him to retire into Altaré, a place belonging to the Marquis of Monferrat. *Trinulce* had another designe: and although he had an expresse commandement from the King, to surcease from making war against the Duke of Milan, and so second *Baptista* and the Cardinall, yet did he seek by all means to kindle troubles in the said Duchy: and if he had bene suffered to proceed, without doubt there had followed some notable effect, vnder colour, to assure the companies that were raised into the river upon the East; that he thought it necessary to shur vp the passage betwixt Alexandria and Genoua, whereas *Lodowicke* assembled his forces, by the taking of Bourge, and other places of importance in the country. But to obey the Kings will, he lost a goodly opportunity to doe great service to the Crowne. For now the whole Country stood at a gate, some for feare, others being desirous of innovation: and *Lodowicke* (as much perplexed in this adversity, as in all other) flies to the Duke of Ferrara his father in law, to mediate an accord betwixt the King and him. But the fruitlesse stay of *Trinulce* betwixt Bourge and Nouis, gaue the Venetians meanes to send many men at arms, and light horse-men to Alexandria, and fiftene hundred foot to Genoua: and finally, to send the Earle of Penthiene to succour the estate of Milan. Thus the Fregoses practices came to nothing, the which they imputed to the Florentines, who would not assault the river of the East, being loath to enter into a war vntill they might see the French affaires more successful. And *Trinulce*, leaving Garisons in Nouis, and Bourge, takes his way to Aft. It may be the dissuading of these companies did hinder their enterprise: and it may be, if all together, had gone directly to Genoua, the success had bene more profitable: for besides the diuers humors of Nations, most of the Rectors and Landgrazers, which *Lodowicke* had sent thither, were after some stay, returned vnto waies into Germany.

About the end of this year, the Kings of France and Spaine, began their assembly, promised at the last truce, the which they had transpired from Monpelier to Narbonne, and afterwards broken off by the Castilians excessive demands. There they found the same difficulties: the King would restraue to himselfe full power to continue his enter-

The Venetians
succour the Duke
of Milan.

Truce continu-
ed with the
Spaniard.

1001

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prise in Italy, refusing to yeeld to any agreement, wherein it should bee comprised. The King of Spaine desired to haue no warre with him beyond the mountaines, which might draw after it many inconueniences, and yeeld him small profit: finally, they continued their truce, not comprehending any of the Potentates of Italy. The Spaniard seeing the King to meditate of a second voyage beyond the mountaines, hoped to perwade him to the conquest of Naples with their common forces, and to take from the Venetians many ports, and other places which they possessed. The usurpation whereof was very suspicious vnto him. But neither of them had made his account with him, who doth prolong and shorten the daies of man at his pleasure, and who doth found the secret thoughts of men. But not able to obtaine this condition of *Charles*, with all his policy, hee procured it of his successor, to the great prejudice of his Crowne.

Then expired the two yeares, during the which, the Castle of Genoua had bene left in guard with the Duke of Ferrara. The King (pretending the forfeiture and disobedience of the Duke of Milan) demands the possession thereof, offering to lay downe in a third mans hand halfe the charge spent for the guard of the places, according to the treaty of Verceil; and in the meane time the law should determine, to which of them it should be restored. But the great pursuit of *Lodowicke*, and the imminent danger he feared, if he should breake with the Venetians, made him to yeeld it vp vnto *Lodowicke*, vpon restitution made of all his charges for the guard thereof. And the Venetians, to shew that they held themselves more bound, for that he had deliuered it to *Lodowicke* rather then to Count *Charles*, they entertained *Ferdinand* the Duke of Ferraras sonne, paying him for a company of an hundred men at armes.

The Kings desire to returne into Italy increased daily, and it seemed hee had greater occasions then euer. Experience had made him wise: Hee remembered the errors hee had committed in his first iourney, and obserued them well, hoping (if hee might recouer his losses) to provide better for the guard of the realme. His intelligences from all parts called him: he had a truce with the Castilian: he had a new league with the Swisses. The Emperor was discontented with the Venetians, and fought his friendship, being desirous to ioyne with him, to seize vpon the States of Italy with their common forces and charge, imitating the Castilian. Pope *Alexander* laboured to reconcile himselfe. The Venetians denied how to estrangeth themselves from *Lodowicke*. The Florentines had resolved to free themselves as soone as *Charles* should begin the warre. And to this end they demanded the Lord of Aubigni for their Generall, with a hundred and fifty Lances, whereof they should pay a third part. The Marquis of Mantoua was discharged from the Venetians pay, and should bring to the King, with the Visins, the Vitelli, and the Captaine of Rome, brother to the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, fiftene hundred men at armes Italians. He had the friendship of the Duke of Sauoy, and the Marqueses of Salutes and Monferrat. *John Bentiuole* promised to ioyne with his troops as soone as he should passe the mountaines. But he is diuerted by diuers meanes. Some of his fauorites thrust him forward to this enterprise, but with so huge a preparation both by sea and land, and so great provision of money as it required a long time. Others entertained him in his delights, and loathed him with all difficulties, and the Cardinall of Saint Atalo (according to his vsual manner) slackt the provisions of money. Thus the time was lost, and matters made fruitlesse, being almost brought to their perfection. There were no dispatches for the Lord of Aubigni: no money for the Visins, Vitellies, Fregoses make their peace with the Duke of Milan. The Vitelli had passed to the Venetians pay, if the Florentines had not entertained them for a yeare. The Florentines themselves (counsellled by *Lodowicks* sforce, in the beginning of the yeare 1508) sent an ambassage to Rome, signifying (although in doubtful termes) that if Pisa might be yeilded vnto them, they would ioyne themselves with the rest, for the defence of Italy against the French. A Florentine policy: but made frustrate by a Venetian shift.

The Venetians, being laboured to yeeld to the restitution of Pisa, seeing there was no other meanes to separate the Florentines from the French, they couer their discontent with many colours: they complaine that this counsell proceeds not of any care they haue to the common good, but from the bad affection which some one carries to their estate. For say they (by their Ambasadour at Rome) the Florentines hoping thereby the greatest part of Tuscany by the returne of the French into Italy: the yeelding

Reasons to
draw the King
into Italy.

The Venetians
oppose against
the Florentines

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of Pisa were not able to diuert them from their naturall inclination to the house of France: but contrariwise, the more mighty they are, the more means they shall haue to disturbe the quiet of Italy. Why then haue the Confederates by a common consent promised the Pisians to defend their libertie, and now to violate both their honour and faith? Is this the reward for the exceeding charge we haue so willingly maintained, when as all the other Confederates were unwilling to disburse any thing for the common good? By what means was Italy preferred? With what forces did they fight at Taro? With what armes haue they recovered the realme of Naples? Where with haue they forced Nonarre to acknowledge her first Lord? Can any one denie, but these actions did proceed from a sincere affection to the good estate of Italy? (seeing we were not the nearest unto dangers, neither are the disorders growne by vs, whereof we suffer the paine.)

The Castle of Amboise built by Charles.

Whilest these things were treated of at Rome among the Confederates, not without apparent signes of future diuision: a new humour carries away our Charles to his Castle, which he caused to be built at Amboise; a building of admirable worke and charge, hauing (to that end) brought the rarest worke-men that could be found, from Naples, and all other parts: and for the beautifying thereof, he had gathered together the goodliest plots that could be found in France, Italy, Flanders, and elsewhere: not able to foresee, that in stead of a proud and stately Palace, hee should end his life in a base and stilly Gallery.

Hauing his minde inclined (besides his building) not onely to a second voyage beyond the Alpes, but to reforme his life, honouring the Queene his wiues bed with a chastite respect, whereas many loose allurements had transported his youth. To restrain the pompe and ambition of the Clergie; to order iustice, giuing audience twice in a week to all complaints, and free access to any that would desire iustice. Doubtlesse, *The King sitting in his throne of iustice* (saith the Wiseman) *disperseth all ill with his looke*: to reforme his house, to dispose of his treasure, to ease his subjects, restraining all taxes (which had become vpon his subjects) to twelue hundred thousand Frankes, besides his reuenues: a summe which his Estates had granted at his coming to the Crowne, for the defence of the realme. It chanced the seventh of Aprill, going after dinner with the Queene into the Castle ditches, hee stricke his forehead against the doore of a Gallery, whereas he meant to see a set at Tennis: this blow being a certaine aduertisement, to driue him to the premeditation of his approaching end, the last pang of death moued him presently, with a godly and holy resolution (but wisely conditioned according to mans weakness) the which he testified by these words, talking with *Iohn* of Beauuois, Bishop of Angiers his Confessor, touching the faults hee had committed in his yonger age: *I hope* (saith he) *never to commit mortall nor veniall sinne, if I can auoide it*. Presently vpon this protestation he fell backward, falling into an Apoplexie, wherewith hee had bene a little before troubled, which closed his eies with the sleepe of death, about eleuen of the clocke at night.

A notable example, wherein wee read the pittifull estate of Princes, when as death knocketh with an euen hand, both at Kings palaces, and at poore mens cottages, giuing them an end like to all other men; and the inconstant loue of Courtiers. Behold a King, who commanded ouer so many Prouinces, whom so many great Cities obeyed, who had such numbers of sumptuous Castles at his pleasure, & now building a magnificent house, giuing vp the ghost in a chamber neare to a Gallery, sinking with the Vrine which euery one made as hee passed through it, laid vpon a matresse, such as they could finde out by chance. And before his eies were shut vp with this last sleepe, euery one forgetteth the course which this declining sunne had runne, to follow the hope of the Easterne Starre, which came to lighten this realme.

King Charles died.

His disposition.

Thus Charles the eighth liued, and thus hee died: an humble Prince, liberall, religious, courteous, familiar, and of easie access; of a good and tractable disposition, small of stature, but of an inuincible courage, loving iustice and his people, capable of counsell, commended for his great attempts, hauing in his youth purchased so much glory, and giuen so great hope both within & without Christendom, that if God had granted him a longer life, without doubt hee had equal'd the fame of the most excellent & rarest Prince. In him failed the direct line of the Kings of France, descended from Philip of Valois, and the crowne fell to the collateral line, of the which the nearest, and most capable of the succession, was Lewis Duke of Orleans and Valois.

L. a 1191

LEWIS the Twelfth,

1498.

The 57 French King.



NOW behold our France (hauing vnder Charles the eighth happily breathed, after the troubles and confusions which had so long afflicted the State during the reignes of his Predecessors) takes her rest vnder the protection of a Prince, excellent in bounty of nature, in sweetnesse of manners, in temperance and moderation of minde and affection: Finally, in the happinesse and felicity of his reign. Who hauing extended his Empire beyond the limits of Gaule, subdued vnder his obedience two of the noblest and mightiest Cities of the world, Milan with Lombardy, and Genoua with her two riuers, East and West, together with the Islands of Corsica, and Chio: reconquered and diuided the Realme of Naples with the Castilian: but in the end, lost it by treachery and disloyalty: vanquished the Venetians in that memorable battell, the fiftenth of May 1509: suppressed the Popes insolencie: defeated the Verians againe before Breschia: made a peace with the Spaniard and Venetian, and consequently allied himselfe with the King of England. Hee hath haue this honor and content, to see his subjects in so great prosperity, that by the conference of things passed before his time, the Realme was neuer so mighty in armes and men; neuer so plentifull in all kinds of commodities; neuer so fortified with such strong places: and which imports more, neuer so blessed in concord: neuer so void of diuisions, neuer so able to endure a great charge, and to produce noble attempts.

The happinesse of his reignes.

A godly King, chaste, vpright, courteous, good to his seruants, gracious to his enemies, mercifull to all men, a friend to iustice and sincerity, and enemy to flattery, liberrall, but without oppression of any; loyall, respected in all parts of the world: who in regard of learning, shall open a way which his thrice worthy successour shall bring to a most happy perfection. But to crowne him with titles of honor, hee was called *The Father of his people*. A King commanding a nation most willing to obey: a people multiplying by millions, in Nobility, Merchants, Tradesmen, and the common sort: a people replenishing the Townes before halfe desolate. To conclude, a people testifying the excellency and greatness of their Soueraigne. For the greatness of a King (saith Salomon) is in the multitude of people, but when his subjects decrease, it is the fall of his Soueraignie. But let vs see, by the relation of the History, the course of this admirable prosperity: and first of all, his rights of Succession, as well to this Crowne, and that of Naples, being King of France, as also to the estate of Milan, by reason of Valentine his Grand-mother.

King Charles the 5 had two sonnes. The eldest, Charles the 6 his successor, who was father to Charles the seventh, of whom was borne Lewis the eleuenth, father to Charles the eighth, who died without children. The yongest, Lewis Duke of Orleans, married Valentine daughter to John Galeas Earle of Verus, and first Duke of Milan, by whom hee had three sonnes, Charles his successor Duke of Orleans, John Earle of Angouleme, and Philip Earle of Verus. The said Charles freed from his long imprisonment in England, had by Mary of Cleues his wife, our Lewis the 12, heire (for want of heires male in the direct line) of this Realme, and of the dependencies thereof, and so was anoynted at Rheims the 27 of May 1498: assisted at this solemnity, by John Duke of Alancou, serving as a Peere in the place of the Duke of Bourgongne, Peter Duke of Bourbon, for the Duke of Normandy; Anthony Duke of Lorraine, for the Duke of Guenne; Philip Earle of Rauenstein, in the place of the Earle of Flanders; Gilbert of Cleues, for the Earle of Champagne; and Gaston of Foix, for the Earle of Tholousa: and for the Peeres of the Clergie, the Bishops that were then resident. Afterwards hee receiued the royall Crowne in the Abbey of S. Denis in France, the first of Iuly, and the day following made his triumphant entry into Paris.

The genealogie of Lewis the 12.

Wee iudge of the inward beauty of a Palace, by the entrie thereof. Who would not then by these happy first fruits of this reign, conceiue a constant hope of a heavenly blessing? Lewis, after hee had worthily performed the funerals of his Predecessor, hee first purchased

1498

The Vniuersity
of Paris mutinsLewis his title
to the Duchy of
Milan.

purchased the loue of the Noblemen of his Court, maintaining euery man in his dignity at state, and the Magistrates in their Offices. Hee applied his minde to order and cutt off the tediousness of suites; freed his Subjects of the third part of the subsidies which oppressed them: yea, even the rites which they are accustomed to pay to their new King, for the charges of his funerall that is deceased; and for his coronation: and for a second benefit to the country, he put the men at armes into their Garisons, reducing them to the ancient discipline of war, which the disordered liberty of troubles past had much corrupted. This done, by the aide of his best States-men, hee made many goodly lawes vpon the abusive charges in the pursuit of Iustice; neither did he euer publish an Edit, before it was confirmed by the iudgment of Soweraigne Courts. His decrees contained some limitation of the priuileges granted in old time to Vniuersities, the which they abused to the oppression of the people. The Vniuersity of Paris opposeth against the publication thereof, and were ready to make a sedition, many publishing infamous libells, both against the King, and against the Chancellor of Rochfort. The Scholers troope together, and resolute to abandon both study and the exercise of learning. *John Cane* being Rector, forbids the Regents to read any more, and the Preachers to preach, vntill the Vniuersity had recovered her ancient priuileges. The King aduertised of these mutinies, draws many men at armes into Paris, and sitting in Parliament confirms the aboue named ordinances by an Edit. The Rector fearing a checke, keeps all the Scholers within their lodgings, and reuokes the commandement he had giuen. *John Standon*, a Doctor of Diuinity, a Brabançon, and one of the chiefe authors of this counsell, was banished the Realme. *Thomas Warner* of Cambray, (who preaching, had barkt out something against the Kings authority) prevented this decree, and banished himselfe. Being thus content in minde, and quiet within his realme, his thoughts soared beyond the Alpes, and now he takes vpon him the title of Duke of Milan. He was grounded vpon the right of succession, *Valentine* besides her dowry (which was the City and country of Ast, with a great summe of money) had obtained this claue expressly in her contract of Marriage, *This for want of heires male of Galeas, Valentine should succeed to the Duchy, or else being dead, her next descendants.*

This conuention was of no force, but the Imperiall seat was then vacant: and the Pope confirmed it. The Popes pretending (the Empire being without an Emperor) that the administration belongs to them. And seeing that by the death of *Philip Maria Visconti*, the masculine line of *John Galeas* failed, who then should succeed in this goodly estate? many contended for it, the Emperour *Fredericke* maintained, that it should be vniuerse to the Empire, considering the line specified in the institution made to *John Galeas* by *Winceslaus* King of Romans was extinct. *Alphonso* King of Arragon and Naples armed himselfe with the testament of *Philip*, by the which he was made his heire. But in worldly affaires the strongest most often carries it. *Francis Sforce*, one of *Philips* Captaines, son to *Sforce Attendule*, an aduenturer, a braue and active spirit, had married *Blanche*, bastard daughter to the said *Philip*: and hauing no man at that instant that might resist his violence, he did so cunningly win all the greatest families of Milan, as by their support and succourance he soone seized on the State: the which he might easily effect, hauing all the forces at his command, and no competitor. For neither *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, nor his children had any meanes to recouer this Duchy from *Francis*, by reason of the great wars which followed in France, by the murder of the said *Lewis*, and of the Duke of Bourgogne slain likewise at Montreau, vnder *Charles* the sixt and seventh, *Charles* sonne to the said *Lewis* (taken at the battaile of Azincourt, languishing twenty five yeares a prisoner in England, and deliuered by *Philip* Duke of Bourgundy,) could neuer obtaine any aide from *Lewis* the eleuenth, being crossed by home-bred warres from the beginning of his raigne. Moreouer, *Lewis* did alwaies make account to settle his authority, by the suppression of his nearest blood. And for this cause our *Lewis*, his sonne in law, sonne to the said *Charles*, had no whit the more credit with his father in law, for the recovery of his inheritance. And the sword which he did vntheath against *Charles* the eight his brother in law, (of whom he pretended the Regency) and after in the wars of Britany, tooke from him all meanes to attempt this enterprize, vntill such time as (the King hauing left him in Ast to cross the attempts of *Lodowicke Sforce*) he seized vpon *Nouarre*, but with a fruitlesse event.

Now

1499

The Popes
affection.He capitulates
with the KingBorgia comes
to CambrayHe commends a
treacherous
murther.

A Now is he seated vpon the royall throne of his Ancestors, peaceable within himselfe, and peaceable with his neighbors. *Trinande* doth not cease to lay open vnto him the necessity to expel *Lodowike*. To make the way easie, *Pope Alexander* friendship, the Venetians, Florentines; and other Potentates of Italy was very requisite. He seeks it by his Ambassadors, and finds that the death of *Charles* the eight, had bred an alteration in their dispositions. The Pope conceiuing, that the peace of Italy was the decay of his priuate estate, did easily allow of new troubles. The Venetians (being freed by the Kings decease, from the feare they had of him, for the indignities he had receiued,) did not beleue that a new King would so vehemently embrace the quarrell of his Predecessor: and fore-seeing also, that if *Sforce* were once quiet, he would oppose himselfe against them, for the affaires of Pisa, whereof he did sollicite (but coldly) the restitution vnto the Florentines by the Popes meanes. The Florentines had not yet so much estranged their affection from the French, but there was good meanes to recouer it.

Being thus affected, they all send their Ambassadors to the King. The Pope (who aspired to nothing more then the temporall aduancement of *Cesar Borgia* his son, being then Cardinal) did willingly embrace this occasion, to plant him in the Kings good fauor, and by some especiall bond to purchase his Masters loue. He knew well, that *Lewis* would willingly put away *Ioane* his wife, to marry with *Anne* the widow of *Charles*: and euen then he refused to exchange spirituall graces for temporall commodities.

C He then agrees with the King for thirty thousand Ducats, and draws a promise from him, to aide him presently after the conquest of Milan, to reduce to the obedience of the Apostolike see, the townes possessed by the Governours of Romagna. And for his sonne *Cesar*, a company of a hundred Lances, twenty thousand frankes pension, a wife in France to his liking, and Valence in Dauphine, with the title of a Duchy. Then he commuted the matter of diuorce to *Ferdinand* Bishop of Septa, his Nuncio in France, to *Philip* Cardinal of Luxembourge, and to *Lewis* Bishop of Alby (some name *George* of Amboise, Archbishop of Rouan) who vpon report of the protestation made by *Lewis* to a Notary, the day of his marriage, that his meaning was not to contract any marriage, and that the solemnity which hee did celebrate, was only to please the King: whom hee knew to be cruel against those, by whom he thought himselfe to be wronged. And moreouer, if by chance *Lewis*, either by the expresse commandement of his father in law, or after of his brother in law, did lie with his wife, hee did interpose secret witnesses, that should depose of his abstinence. And besides, the Physicians hauing iudged her incapable of issue, they declared the said marriage voyde, and gaue him liberty to marry with *Anne*: who contracting herselfe to any other should haue diuided the Duchy of Britany from the Crowne of France. The Venetians sent to congratulate his coming to the Crowne, and by way of excuse, gaue him to vnderstand, that the controuersies they had with King *Charles*, proceeded only of distrust and ialousie, whereof he had giuen them cause, seeing that not content with the Realme of Naples, he had cast his designs vpon all Italy.

The Florentines did not forget their ancient customes in like cases to the Crowne of France; but especially, to put him in mind of their despending to the deceased King. Solicited therein by *Lodowicke Sforce*, to the end that when the two common weales of Venice and Florence, should come to treat of the affaires of Pisa, the Venetians practices (whose greatnesse *Lodowike* did much feare in Italy) might be crossed by the Florentines: and they purchasing fauour and credit with the King, he might employ them, to mediate some accord betwixt the King & him, the which he desired with all his heart. *Lodowike* did seeke the storme, and laboured to auoyd it, but in vaine: for the time of his shipwracke was at hand. Then *Cesar Borgia*, the new Duke of Valentinois, came vnto the King with the Bull of dispensation: where he was no sooner arriued, but as the sonne of his father, hee plaied the first act of a bloody tragedy, vpon the alliance which the King did contract with the Pope his father. *Cesar* following the instructions of *Alexander*, dissembled the bringing of this Bull, iudging the Kings disposition to be like vnto those, who desire that more, which is refused, to make him the more pliable to his designs. But the Bishop of Septa, hauing sent intelligence vnto his Maiesty of the truth, the King thinking it sufficient to haue the Bull dispatched, concluded the marriage with *Anne*, giuing for a portion to his wife, diuorced, the Duchy of Berry. *Cesar* hauing discovered the author of this aduice, caused the Bishop to bee soone after poisoned. The peace with other Princes, which might

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Peace with the
Catholins.Troubles in
Bourgonne.The Kings aff-
liction with
the Venetians.The first ex-
ploits of this
voyage.

might somewhat disturb the projects of *Lewis*, was no lesse expedient: he therefore con- cluded with *Ferdinand* King of Castile, and thereby did associate him in the conquest of the Realme of Naples: he confirmed that which his Predecessor had with the English, and renewed the alliance with the Suisses, granting them the pensions which *Lewis* & *Charles* were accustomed to giue.

Maximilian alone, working vpon the old leuaine of his Ancestors, shewed some bitter- nesse amidst these contents, calling the coales of diuision in Bourgonne and Cham- pagne, by the Lord of Vergi Comtois, when as they least doubted it, seeing that *Lewis* be- ing taken prisoner at the battell of Saint Aubin, and hauing, aboue all others, imployed *Maximilian* for an intercessor to *Charles* the eight, they thought that *Maximilian* should reioyce at this new succession, more then any other Prince, and that the discontent he had against *Charles* (hauing forsaken his daughter, and married with *Anne* of Britany) had bene mortified by the death of the said Prince. The Emperor was thrust on by the duke of Milan who being perswaded, that the King busied at home, should haue no leisure to attempt any thing in Italy, or any accord being made betwixt them, he should bee com- prehended therein. This warre put the Realme in alarme: but *Lewis* opposed fo great power, vnder the command of *Iohn* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne, his brother in law, as it was quenched as soone as kindled, by a truce of many moneths, without any mention of *Lodowike Sforze*. And to the end that *Philip* Arch. duke of Austria, and Earle of Flan- ders, son to *Maximilian*, might reape the fruits of their reconciliation, he did homage to the King, for the places he held of the Crowne: and those of Artois were restored vnto him. In the meane time, they consult at Venice, vpon the termes of confederation with the King. The difference was, the holding of Pisa. The Venetians offering all other con- ditions, would not haue this string toucht, and the King being resolute to haue it restored vnto him in fauour of the Florentines, refused to treat, vnlesse this Article might be gra- ted. But the Duke of Valentinois and other Agents for the Pope, the Cardinall of Saint Pierre, *Triuinle*, and all the Italians (who for their owne priuate interest perswaded him to warre) hauing layed before him the losse he should receiue, by the want of the Venetians ayde, considering their power and meanes to annoy the Duke of Milan, hee yeelded without any more speech: that at the same time, as hee should innade the Duchy of Milan, they should doe the like vpon their frontiers: That hauing won the rest of the Duchy, *Cremona* and *Guairadade* should be taken by their common forces for the Venetians, except the breadth of forty faddome along the riuier of *Adde*. That after the conquest of Milan, the Venetians should be bound to defend that for a time, with a certaine number of horse and foot: and the King should doe the like for *Cremona*, and other places which they possessed in *Lombardie*, euen vnto the *Marches* of *Venice*. This conuention tooke all hope from *Lodowike*, both of peace with the King, and reconciliation with the Venetians. Being thus abandoned, hee resolute to defend himselfe, and begins by the fortification of *Anon*, *Nouarre*, & *Alexandria*, towres lying nearest to the French, meaning to oppose against their violence *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, with the greatest part of his forces, & the rest against the Venetians, vnder the com- mand of the Earle of *Caiazzo*. He commands *Galeas* to passe the Pau, with sixtene hun- dred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, ten thousand Italian foot, & five hundred *Lansquenets*: but rather to defend his places, then to keepe the field, hoping that the pro- longing of the war would breed him some aduantage, for that he expected an issue of the accord, which he did mediate betwixt *Maximilian* and the Suisses: the which effected, he had promise of notable ayde. On the other side, the King called *Lewis* of Luxembourg, Earle of *Ligni*, to march with *Euerard* Steward Lord of *Aubigni*, and *Iohn* *Jaquet* of *Tri- uilce*, leading 6000 horse, and 25000 foot. The Castle of *Arazze* vpon *Tanare*, was the first obiect of their armes, a place kept by 500 foot, assailed the 10 of August, and taken within few dayes. Seven hundred men being lodged in *Anon*, did likewise suffer it to be lost in two dayes, and all those put to the sword that were retired in armes into the Castle. *Donat* *Raffagnin*, a Milanois, Captaine of the Castle of *Valence*, well furnished with men and artillery, corrupted by the promises of *Triuinle*, gaue entrance to the French the same day as he had by the like treachery twenty years before, deliuered one of the gates of *Tor- tone* to *Lodowike Sforze*, to the preiudice of *Bonne* of Sauoy, and of the little Duke *Iohn* *Galeas*. All the soldiers were slaine or taken, amongst others, *Ottavian* brother to *Saint Seuerin*, was prisoner.

The

1499

A The same deluge ouerflowed (euen vpon the very brute) *Basignagne*, *Voguerie*, *Châsse- zaneuf*, and *Pont Coronée*. *Anthony Maria Palamessin* yeelded vpon *Tortone*, not attending any assault. *Alexandria* makes head against the army, and whilest they presse it, *Lodowike* thus himselfe into Milan, and seeing his estate lost by peace-meales, hee flies to those re- medies which are vsuall in greatest despaire. Hee iuroules all that could carie armes; as- sembles the peopies, discharged them of a part of their ordinary impositions: theweth them with most vehement words, "That if happily hee had ouer charged them, nor any desire to gather treasure, nor his owne disposition (being an enemy to oppression of his subjects) but rather the time and the common dangers of Italy had prest him thereto: to: first to countercheeke the Venetians greatness: then, to oppose against the entry of King *Charles*. That the fruits which they had reaped thereby, were peace and public quiet, wherein he had happily maintained them many yeares, with a general increase of riches, beauty of buildings and inhabitants, with mildnesse and moderation of spirit, care- full to administer good and briefe iustice to euerie man indifferently. That the meins of his gracious gouernment of his father layed before their eyes, how insupportable would be insolent and proud command of the French bee vnto them. That abhorring the rough and vnciuill manners of strangers, they should resolute for the common defence of their liues and Countrey. That the French are but a brunt, which being withstood, it should then be easie to resist them. That the Emperor made haste to succour them in person; C That *Prosper Colonne* marched with the troopes of *Fredericke* King of Naples; That the *Marquis* of *Mantoua*, was already in the Countrey of *Cremona*, hauing pacified all con- trouersies. That to all these aydes, if they did but ioyne their loyalties and good will, hee should find himselfe strong enough to incounter all the power of France vnted together. But these admonitions came too late: it was very apparant, that necessity, & not any good meaning, had forced him to this humilty, whereof hee had neuer giuen them any testimo- ny. Thus his ruine approached. The Venetians for their part made war in *Guairadade*, and had taken *Carravage* and other towns vpon the riuier of *Adde*. The Earle of *Caiazzo*, discontented that his brother being yonger of yeates and of lesse experience, should bee preferred before him in the command of the army, had secretly passed his word to the King. In the meane time they thunder against the walls of *Alexandria*, and *Galeas* of S. Seuerin hauing with him 1200 light horse, and 3000 foot (not discouering his intent to any Captaine, but onely to *Luke Malvezzo*), flies secretly out of the towne in the night, after the third daies siege, with a part of his light horse, shewing by the effect, that hee had a brauer arme, and was more experienced in lusts and *Tourneyes* (in which exercise all other Italians gaue him place) then in the gouernment of any army. This flight daunted the courage of the besieged, and made the passage easie. The army enters in at the breach of the day, spoiles the gari on, and sacks the towne. The losse of *Alexandria*, and the fol- lowing siege of *Mortare*, opened the gates of *Paula*.

Milan rich, the Citizens arme, and respect *Lodowike* so little, as they giue good testi- mony of their affection, by the murder of *Anthony* of Landriano his Treasurer generally, comming at noone day from the Castle. *Lodowike* foreseeing his owne by anothers ruine: being well informed that his gouernment was exceeding hateful vnto the Milanois, and moreover, amazed at the report which *Galeas* made of the valour of the French men at armes, he sent away his children, accompanied with the Cardinalls *Alcanius* his brother, and of S. *Seuerin*, with about two hundred thousand Ducats which he had in treasure (well shortned of a million and a halfe which hee made thow of few yeares before) hee left the guard of the castle to *Bernardin* of *Corte* borne at *Paula*, whom he had bred vp yong, and 3000 foot, furnished with victuals, munition, & money for many moneths: hee restored to the *Borbomes*, Gentlemen of Milan, the lands hee had taken from them. But was this any bounty, seeing he could not keepe them? and the 2 day of September he departed for Ger- many, followed by the Cardinall of Este, and *Galeas* of S. Seuerin, with a good number of horse, and foot, vnder color to hasten the imagined troops, with *Maximilian* prepared for him. The towne thus abandoned, being loath to be a prey vnto the enemy, who approach- ed towards the wals, prevented their comming, and willingly consented to bring them in, reseruing the cap tulation to the Kings arriuall, from whom they hoped, (considering their voluntary submission) to receiue goodly exemptions, & great priuiledges. All other places of the Duchy conformed themselves to the pattenre of their chiefe City.

Cremona

Alexandria ca-
ken.Milan murins
against *Lodo-
wike Sforze*.

Milan yeelds.

1499

Cremona allied to the French.

Cremona abhorring the Venetian yoke, stretched out both arms and hearts to the French: but the King unwilling to infringe the treaty made with the Senate, they were forced to yield to the yoke after some daies siege. Genoua follows this example. The *Adornes* (to whom *Lodowike* had given the government) *John Lepis* of Fiesque, and the people, contend who shall have most honor in yielding it to the king, who gives them for Gouverneur, *Philip* Lord of Rauastin, and *Baptista Fregose* for his Lieutenant. But force could not take the Castle; by the aduce of *Trinuice*, gold makes a breach. *Bernardin* without any other approach, by the consent of the other Captaines, namely of *Philip* of Fiesque, bred likewise and brought up by *Lodowike*, sells it twelue dayes after *Lodowike*'s departure, and receiues for payment a hundred thousand Crownes: some report but ten thousand (yet I should tearme this sale the capitulation of a foole, considering the place which he commanded) halfe the moueables in the Castle, a company of an hundred Lances, an annuall pension, with many other graces and priuiledges. But this infamous merchant (hatefull to all the world, fled from by euery man, as vnworthy to hold any ranke amongst men of honor, cast off from all companies, with words full of reproch, confounded with shame, and tormented in his owne conscience, accusing his villany and base ingratitude,) dyed of griefe within few dayes after.

Thus all things fore-tell the ruine of *Lodowike*: his owne indiscretion; the peoples hatred; the cowardlinesse of his Captaines and souldiers, and the treachery of his household-servants, so as in twenty dayes he is dispossessed of this mighty Estate which he had before usurped. The King receiuing intelligence at Lyons, of a speedier victory then he expected, departs presently in post, and makes his entry into Milan, granting to the people exemptions of many customes, impunity to all such as had followed *Sforze*, restitution to the Gentlemen, who through the tyranny of former times had lost their goods; if they were extant, or not to discontent them that were in lawfull possession, hee gave money to many to buy them againe, or other lands if any were to be sold. He repealed by Edict the Regents and professors of learning, giuing to some lands, to others increase of their entertainment, honored the gentlemen of the Country with his table, and their houses with his presence. And to make this government more popular, he made *John Laques* of *Trinuice*, a Milanais Gouvernor of Milan, giuing vnto him *Vigueue* & many other things. In regard of his merits & loyall seruice. As the French Forces prospered thus in the Duchy of Milan, and the Venetians busied in the Country of Cremona, the Florentines gaped after the restitution of Pisa: and to obtaine it, they giue vnto *Paul Vitelli* their Generall, an Army of ten thousand foot, with a great number of horse, with the which (hauing taken Cascine and other places that supported Pisa) hee incamped before the City the last day of Iuly. An enterprize of difficulty, as well for the strength of the Towne, as for the valor and resolution of the Citizens, who willingly would haue suffered any misery, rather then to haue false vnder the Florentines command. Hee batters the fort of Stampace, and the wall of either side with twenty peeces of artillery.

Pisa besieged by Vitelli.

Vitelli giues an assault and forceth it, with so great a terror to the Pisans, as abandoning the rampiers, euery man seeks to save himselfe by flight. And if the Generall had pursued it vigorously, that morning had crowned him with honour, whereas it proued the beginning of his downfall: for seeing his souldiers vpon hope of spoile run together by heapes, he stayed their heat, causing most of his troopes to retire, and gaue the besieged the surer, (seeing this first brunt past) to resume new courage, and returne to the guard of the rampiers. So as whilst he laboured to win a victory, with the least preiudice to the army that might be, being lodged in a Country full of pooles and marshes, which lie betwixt the sea and the towne, and the season being subiect vnto pestilent winds, a generall contagion infects to many of his men in few daies, as the healthy were not sufficient for a generall assault, so as he raised the siege against the Florentines will, who promised to renew his troopes with fresh supplies. So as the bad opinion which the Florentine people had conceived of him, increased in such sort, as being called into Cascine, by the Commissaries of the army, vnder color of lodging the Companies, they tooke him prisoner, and from thence hee was led by the Magistrates commendment to Florence, and there publicly beheaded. An ordinary reward for generous minds that subiect themselves to the seruice of a multitude.

Vitelli beheaded.

During *Lewis* his aboad at Milan, all the Potentates of Italy, except *Fredericke* King of Naples,

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A Naples, either came, or sent vnto him, some to congratulate, some to purge themselves from suspicion to haue been more affected to *Lodowike* then to him, as also to assure their priuate estates. The King receiuing them all gratefully, compounded with them according to the qualities of their persons, and the benefit he might reape by them. The Marquis of Mantoua, and the Duke of Ferrara, came in person. The King gaue the Marquis a company of an hundred Lances, and the Order of St. *Michel*, with an honorable pension. The Ferrareis (being in disgrace in Court since the time that he deliuered the castle of Genoua vnto *Lodowike*) was glad to buy the Kings loue with ready money. *John Bentiuole* sent his sonne *Hannibal*: the Florentines had some trouble to make their peace. They had offended all the Court, for that fearing to incense *Lodowike Sforze*, touching the affaires of Pisa, they had held themselves newters betwixt the King and *Lodowike*. Moreover, the death of *Paul Vitelli* (to whom the Crowne of France was beholding) made the King strange vnto them: and the credit of *Trinuice* did them harme: who aspiring to the Seigneury of Pisa, was as much desired of the Pisans, to warrant them from the Florentines oppressions: finally, the King had need of money, and the Florentines paying a fine as the rest did, were receiued into grace, vpon condition: To ayde one another for their common defence, to take armes in Italy for the King, and the King for them for the recovery of Pisa, and some places held by the Siennois and Luquois: that being repossessed of Pisa, they should furnish the King with five hundred men at armes, and fifty thousand ducats: paying also vnto the King six and thirty thousand Ducats, which *Sforze* had lent them, abating that which they had disbursed for him.

The Pope also did not forget himselfe, but vrging the performance of the treaty made with the King, obtraines for the Duke of Valentinois (who hauing married the Daughter of the Lord of Albrecht, had repassed the Alpes with his Maiesty) three hundred Lances in the Kings pay, and foure thousand Suisses to be paid by the Pope, to ayde him to make war in Romagna. The King (hauing settled such order as he thought fit for his conquest) and prolonged the truce he had with the Emperor, vntill May following) tooke his way to Lyons, leading with him the Grand-child of *John Galeas*, whom the mother had vnadvisedly deliuered; him hee made a Monke. Then he receiued newes of a faire daughter that was borne vnto him, the which shall hereafter bee viue to *Francis* the first of that name, and Queene of France. Another accident, but farall, made that season famous: The fall of our Ladies bridge at Paris, drawing after it the ruine of threescore houses, and a great number of persons swallowed vp in the riuer.

Our Ladies bridge at Paris falls.

This year Italy (beside foraigne and homebred deuils) felt also the Turks forces. *Baiazet* Ottoman (being expressly drawne by the perswasions of *Lodowike Sforze*, hauing no other meanes to be reuenged of the Venetians) assailing with a mighty army by Sea, such places as the Venetians held in Greece, he sent sixe thousand horses by land to spoile *Trinuice*, who finding the Country without defence, expecting no such guests, did spoile, sacke, and burne all euen vnto Luincer: they chained together an infinite number of prisoners, and being come to the riuer of *Tagliamente*, they refused such as they thought fit to carry with them, and murdered all the rest. In the meane time, the Duke of Valentinois (hauing ioyned the forces of the Church, with those troopes he receiued from the King) took *Imola* (with ease) in the end of the year. And in the beginning of the next, famous for the celebration of the great *Jubile* at Rome) *Furli*. But as hee marched to other townes, the course of his conquests is stayed by vnexpected accidents, bred by diuers motiues. The most part of the Lombards could not fit with the French humor, and all were discontented, for that they had not tasted this great bounty of the King, whereby they were promised a general exemption of all imposts and tributes.

The estate of the Emper.

The Duke of Valentinois exploits.

Moreover, the Gibelin faction (very mighty in Milan) was wonderfully grieved to see *Trinuice* (chiefe of the Guelfe) preferred to the government: and he by nature factious, proud, and stirring, did much increase this bad disposition, fauouring them of his partie beyond the bounds of reason. This did greatly estrange the peoples hearts from him. He slue with his owne hand some butchers, who according to their common rashnesse, refused to pay the ordinary customes, and withstood the receiuers with armes. Doubtlesse, if such as haue the guard of a mighty estate newly conquered, displease both Nobility and People, what may be expected but a generall alteration: Adde thereunto the lightnesse of an inconstant multitude, alwaies desirous of innovations: now they lament him

T t whom

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Milan revolts.

whom before they hated. *Lodowike* aduertised of these broyles, strikes while the iron is hot, and without any longer feeding himselfe with the Emperors vaine & frustratorie hopes, he makes a sudden leauy of 3000 Suisses, and five hundred men at armes, Bourguignons, by the helpe (but not entertained) of the said *Maximilian*, and flies to Coma with all speed, the which being abandoned by the French Garison, finding the humor of these habitants inclined to change, gaue him an easie entry.

Triunlice felt this storme coming, and to auoyde it, hee demands speedy succours from the Venetians, according to the association which they had made with the King, and makes knowne to the Lord of Alegre (who commanded the French troopes, and the Suisses in the Duke of Valentinois army) the necessity which calls him speedily to Milan. The Venetians send *Nicholas Earle* of Pettilliano, to ioyne with *Triunlice* or *Aubigni*, and if hee were debarred, to spoile the Milanois Country. The Earle not able to ioyne with *Aubigni*, spoiles the Country, and then returnes towards the Towne vpon the riuier of Adda, to preuent any new alteration. *Aubigni* departs suddenly with the Suisses, and all the horle, obtaining free passage through the Countries of Parma and Placentia, vpon condition to abstaine from all acts of hostility. And coming neerer to Tortone, at the perswasion of the Guelles of that Towne, (who had bene expelled by the rest that were at *Lodowikes* deuotion) he enters and sacks the whole towne, Guelles and Gibelins, without any distinction: then he went towards Alexandria, whereas the Suisses for want of pay, went to *Sforzes* army.

Suisses revolt.

The losse of Coma hauing stirred vp the people of Milan, and the chiefe of the Gibelin faction, *Triunlice* leaues within the Cattle such forces as the present necessity could furnish: he fortified Nouarre with four hundred Lances, and puts himselfe with thier into Mortare, thinking that *Lodowike* would force it before hee passed, and in the meane time, giuing the King aduertisement of this sudden alteration, hee should haue means to stay the enemies proceedings. But it chanced otherwise. *Sforzes* army neglecting both Mortare and Nouarre, flies to the most important, and recouers Milan as easily as they had lost it. *Paula* and *Parma* presently set vp *Sforzes* armes. *Loda* and *Placentia* had done the like, if the Venetian troops had not suddenly entred. Alexandria and other places neerer to Aft then to Milan, would not declare themselves, before they had seen the last act of this Tragedie. The Geneuois refused to returne vnder *Lodowikes* command, and the Florentines reject his request, touching the restitution of money which he had lent them, for the which, they had past their promise vnto the King.

Sforze recouers Milan.

The Marquis of Mantoua sent him his brother, with some men at armes. The Lords of Mirandole, Carpi, Corregge, the *Rosers*, those of Verme, and Bobie, with other such weathercockes, follow the wind that blowes: finally, this new Conqueror finds more affection, and ioy at his returne, then he had left at his departure. Milan being recovered, *Lodowike* leaues the Cardinall *Afcanius* his brother before the Castle, and (re-enforced with fiftene hundred men at armes, besides the Bourguignons, and great troopes of foot) hee takes Vigean by composition: and the Kings succours, not able to come in time, for the defence of Nouarre, they compound to yeld the town, and to depart with all their baggage. But the Castle (which holds yet for vs) shall shortly be the meanes of *Lodowikes* ruine. At *Triunlices* first summons, the King had dispatched the Earle of Ligni, with a good number of foot, and horle. But he found the two commanders, *Triunlice* and *Aubigni* so diuided, as if the King had not speedily and wisely preuented this pestilent contagion, it had doubtlesse ended with a pitifull and bloody Catastrophe. *Aubigni* & *Triunlice* held themselves equal in power and vertue. The first would haue them presently to force Milan: the other would attend about Nouarre the new army which the King leauied in Suissierland. If *Aubigni* set at liberty any prisoners taken in warre, *Triunlice* ransomed them. Finally, what the one built, the other pulled downe: and they tormented one another with continual riots.

The King aduertised of this dangerous faction, he sends vnto them *Lewis* of Bourbon, younger brother to *Gilbert*, late Vice-roy of Naples, and *Iohn* of Foix Vicount of Narbonne: but by reason of their young yeares, they were guided by *Lewis* of Tremouille Lord of Thouars, being accompanied by the Lords of Grauille Admiral of France, *Latrece*, and many others, followed with fiftene hundred Lances, ten thousand Suisses, fixe thousand French, and the Cardinall of Amboise, who was Lieutenant for his Maiestie

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A on that side of the Alpes. *Tremouille* being arriued, treating with these two Commanders, easily drew them (in regard of his Maiesties seruice) to lay aside all rancor, and to become good friends, handling them so wisely, as there appeared no change in their government: but in stead of two, they afterward seemed to bee three heads in one hood. Thus vniited, they resolute to send some companies of light horse vpon the way to Milan, to cut off the passage to foure hundred horle, and a great number of foot that came from Milan: and to preuent *Lodowike* of all maines to get vnto Milan if he were prest, and then they turne the force of their army against *Lodowike* being at Nouarre. There were among the Suisses, that were entertained by *Sforzes*, many Captaines which had serued in the voyage of Naples, and at Nouarre, who complained of their entertainment, not payed at the appointed time. *Tremouille* deales with them vnderhand, and vpon promise of a great summe of money, withdrawes them from *Lodowike*.

The Suisses, by the perswasion of their Colonels, begin tumultuously to demand their pay. *Lodowike* giues them all his plate, and intreats them earnestly to attend the men and money that came from Milan. But fearing, lest by the coming of these Milanois, they should be forced to winke at *Lodowike* and to saile *Tremouille*, they caused the French army to approach neerer to Nouarre, to draw *Lodowike* to field, who was loth to ingage himselfe among men whom hee sees ill affected to him. They are not deceived in their hopes. He goes forth with his army, & puts his light horse to begin the charge. *Tremouille* makes

Disloyalty of the Suisses.

it good, vntill the Admirall *Grauille*, and *Edmund* of Prie arriuing, the Italian troops giue way, and are put to rout. The Suisses being prest to fight, answer: That they will not fight against their brethren, kinsmen and others of their nation, without leave from their superiours. And approaching neerer their Country-men, making as it were but one army, they protest, that they mean to returne, and so obaine free passage through the French army. *Lodowike* compassed in by this nation, could neither by prayers, nor promises, diuert them from their dysloyall intent: only he got a promise, To set him in a place of safety. So they agreed, that disguised and armed like a Suisse on foot, hee should march in their rankes. But going betwix two great troopes of men at armes, this poore Suisse disguised, is discovered, in one of their battalions, with *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, *Fracasse*, and *Anthony*

Lodowike taken.

Maria his brethren, and stayed: the Italians were stript, but the Lansquenets and Bourguignons were sent away without touch, and *Lodowike* was led prisoner to Lions, where the King remained: and within two daies after was sent to the great Tower at Loches, where he continued captiue about ten yeares, vntill his death. Behold the ambition and aspiring conceits of him, whom all Italy could not containe, now restrained in a straight prison. And to auoyde a greater corrasue, he intreats *Tremouille* that hee might not see *Triunlices* enemy: who being aduertised, and hasting thither, *Sforze*, (saide he with a bragging speech) thou seest the wrongs thou hast done me, are now repayed in the same measure.

This happened the Thursday before Palme-Sunday. Doubtlesse the circumstances of *Lodowikes* *Sforzes* miseries are remarkable: wherein we may learne, that the diuine Iustice doeth alwayes punish offenders, and takes from them at need, both iudgement, courage, wit, and all other faculties. Let vs obserue in this tragedy, that *Lodowike* being fearful, promising, praying, fighting, and flying disguised: is mockt, taken, and finally, dies in a most pitifull estate. A Prince excellent in many perfections of nature, industrious, eloquent, of an high and buisie spirit, but infamous for the death of his nephew, couetous, vaine, ambitious, turbulent, proud, trecherous, impious, cruell, paying a Crowne for every Frenchmans head that his host should murder going to the table. So as it is not strange, if hee hath felt the rigor of Gods Iustice in his owne person.

Lodowikes disposition.

An to fill vp the measure of affliction in his family, the Cardinall *Afcanius*, vpon the brute of this defeat, flying from Milan to recouer some place of safety with many Gentlemen of the Gibelin faction, (who hauing affected *Lodowike*, depaired of pardon) refreshing themselves at Riualte, in the territory of Placentia, *Conrad* of Lande, Lord of the same place, (his kinsman and ancient friend) sends presently for *Charles Frin*, and *Soncin Benzon* (Captaines vnder the Venetian pay) and trecherously deliueirs vnto them the said Cardinall, with *Hermes Sforze*, brother to the deceased Duke *Iohn Galeas*, with most of the Gentlemen in their copany, who presently conveyed them to Venice: but the Senate, at the Kings instant request (who considered how necessary it was for the safety of the state of Milan to haue these men in his power) deliuered both the Cardinall

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Baptista Viconti, and *Hermes*, with all other Milanois that were retired for the same cause, into the Townes of Guairadadda.

The Cardinall was sent to the great Tower of Bourges, vntill that hauing the whole Realme for his prison, he obtained leave, by the intercession of the Cardinall of Amboise, to go to the election of a new Pope, promising vpon his oath neuer to attempt any thing to prouide the Crowne: and to be a meane to aduance one of the French Cardinals to Saint Peters chaire. But oh the ingratitude and treachery of this Milanois! the Colledge of Cardinals inclining to chooe the cardinall of Amboise, he alone by his faction wrote the Popedome from the French, to giue it vnto *Innis* the second, a Geneuois, in the year 1503. Milan being restrained from all meanes of rebelling, sues presently for pardon, the which they obtaine of the Cardinall of Amboise in the Kings name, vpon condition to repaire their rebellion, by the payment of three hundred thousand Ducats, whereof his Maiesty did afterwards remit the greatest part.

Milan pardoned by the King.

The rest of the rebell ng Cities were euery one taxed, according to their ability. Thus all the Duchy of Milan was quiet: the Suisses were dismissed, who returning to their houses, seize vpon Belinzon, (king in that mountaine, the which (not drawne out of their hands, as the King might haue done for a little money) shall hereafter grieve the author of this error, being a most conuenient passage to stop the Suisses entry into the Duchy of Milan, and shall giue occasion to liberal tongues, to scuffle both in publike and private, at the greedinesse of *Lewis*, whereof these braue Commanders returning into France, had had more cause to complaine, if the Queene had not supplied this defect with that bounty which the King did owe vnto their merits. Doubtlesse she did bountifully repaire those errors, which the King did often commit in that respect. And the King restraining his liberty, within the bonds of frugality, would not seeme bountifull with the oppression of his people.

Now let vs see how the remainder of the year was employed. The exceeding profpérité of a Prince is suspected vnto other great personages, who feare some diminution in their estates. *Maximilian* considering how the alienation of so goodly a see, was prejudiciall to the Empire, and the blame hee did incur by suffering *Lodowike* to be thus spoyled, who had cast himselfe into this protection, hee dismissed the Ambassadors of France and Venice, being ready to proclaim warres against them, as vsurping the lands of the Empire. With this designe hee acquaints the Princes Electors with the injury done to him, to them, and to all the Germane nation, and the apparent danger, lest their too still patience should make the French King seeke to ioyne the Imperiall Crowne vnto his owne, like vnto some of his predecessors. That partly through necessity, and partly through the ambitious desire which the Pope had to aduance his sonne *Borgia*, Duke of Valentinois, hee would willingly winke at these proceedings. This consideration made the King to put off the warre of Naples vnto the next year. But as the forcers of Germany moue but heauily, so had he leisure to assist the Florentines, (who had shewed themselves ready in the recovery of Milan for the King: and discharge the oath made by his Predecessor, and his owne) with 600 Lances maintained by his Maiesty, and seuen thousand Suisses (but payed by their common-weale) and diuers companies of French, with artillery and munition necessary for the recovery of Pisa, Pietresancte, Montpulcian, Murren, and other places, vnder the command of the Lord of Beaumont, whom they demanded, but ill chosen for them.

The King succours the Florentines.

To auoyde this storme, the Pisans, Geneuois, Siennois, and Luquois, (enuying the Florentines greatnesse) offered the King a hundred thousand Crownes in ready money, to the end the Florentines should not benefit any thing by the recovery of those places so important for their states; promising to pay him fifty thousand Crownes yearly for cuer, vpon condition that the Pisans should recouer their liberty by his meanes, and the fortresses of Luorne, with all the territory of Pisa. *Triunice* and *Fiesque*, pleaded for the Pisans, shewing how expedient it was for the King to weaken the Florentines, and some other Potentates of Italy: but offering a great sum of money to the king, they discovered their inward greedinesse, to make themselves Lords thereof. Finally the matter was concluded in fauor of the Florentines. And whilst this army remaynes in Lombardy expecting their pay, the King causeth the Lords of Mirandole, *Carpi* and *Corregio* to pay their fines, who for 20000 Ducats obtrayned remission of their rash rebellion.

The

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The potentates of Italy recommended to the King.

The Marquis of Mantoua, (to auoyd the like centure,) humbly craved pardon. *John Bentiuole* (hauing fauored *Lodowike* as the rest,) payed forty thousand Ducats: and the King by this meane, tooke both him and the City of Bologna into his protection, whilst that the army (to lole no time) tooke Mont Chiarucole in the territory of Parma, belonging to the *Torrelli* fauorers of *Sforze*: then returning backe, to passe the Appennin, by the way of Pontreme, at *Fregoses* request they spoiled Aubri Malepine Lord of Massa, (with small credit,) and other places, although hee were in the Florentines protection. In the end the Cardinall of Amboise (performing his promises but badly with the Florentines) received (for a summe of money) the Luquois into the Kings protection, agreeing, that his Maiesty should hold *Pietresancte* in guard, vntill it were decided to whom it did appertaine. The Pisans (being resolu'd to make a defensive war) repaire their fortifications: men, women and children worke with great affection: and to coole the heat of the French comming to their siege, they made knowne the affection they bare to the Crowne of France, by an autentick instrument sent to the Lords of Beaumont and Rausstein Gouernors for the King at Genoua, who received them in the Kings name: and Beaumont (summoning the Towne of Pisa) had for answer; That they desired nothing more then to liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty, and therefore they yielded vnto the King, vpon promise not to deliuer them into the Florentines power. Doubtlesse hee was ill practised in politike and military affaires, to seeke that by force, which hee might haue without toyle or shame.

And was it not a hard thing, to ruine a people which made such shew of tender loue and voluntary obedience to this Crowne? Beaumont campes before Pisa the 29 of Iune: batters it all night, and some part of the day following, beats downe about threecore fadome of the wall: and mounts to the assault both with foot and horse. But hee discovered not a deepe and large trench, which the Pisans had made betwixt the wall and the rampier within, so as the bredth and depth amazing our men, they remained vpon the breach, rather as spectators of the worke, then hauing any desire to enter. Strangers speake truly, that we are but a brute, and that being withstood at the first, wee are easily broken. The quality of the rampiers, the obstinacy of the Citizens, their ancient inclination to the French, ingenders such a familiarity, betwixt the besiegers and besieged, as conferring familiarly together, going into the towne of Pisa, and coming out safely as from a friend towne, the souldiers now fall to accusing their Commander of rashnesse, and support the Pisans against their Captaines, so as in stead of assailing them, they themselves encouraged them to defend and suffer *Tarlattin* (borne at Castello) to enter the towne with some old souldiers, to receive the command for matters of warre, as hee did euery after, with much honor. This sufferance both of horse and foot, breeds other disorders. They desiring to haue the siege raised, spoiled the victuals that came to the camp: and Beaumonts authority being vnable to stay this insolency, the Falcons first leaue the army, in tumultuous manner, and giue example to all the rest of the foot. The Suisses likewise found a retreat, and the horse returne into Lombardy, leauing the Florentines affaires in great confusion and disorder.

Pisa besieged.

The French army fauours the Pisans.

The Pisans embrace the opportunity, and with one breath take *Libresacta*, freeing themselves towards Luques. And the King complaining, that the Florentines had preferred Beaumont before the Lord of Alegre, would haue sent backe his men at armes, to winter about Pisa; that roading vp and downe the Country, they should keepe it, as it were blockt vp; giuing them hope, and promise of a new siege in the Spring. But the Florentines refusing this offer, despairing of any better successe by the French forces, exposed themselves to the common injuries of their ill willers the Geneuois, Siennois, Luquois, and all others, who desired their ruine. On the other side, the King considering that the Popes vnion with the Emperor would bee wonderfull prejudiciall vnto his designe for the reuenge of the reuolt at Naples, although hee had some reason of discontent against *Alexander*, who had nothing assisted him during the warres of Milan: yet his Maiesty shewed himselfe alwayes most tractable to second the Popes continuall designs, in fauor of the Duke of Valentinois, sending vnto him, (vnder the command of the Lord of Alegre) three hundred Lances, and two thousand foot, accompanied with threats, To be reuenged of those that should oppose themselves against the Popes designs, as an injury done to his owne person. And the Pope likewise promised him both

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The exploits
of Cesar Borgia.Ferdinando
died.The pitiful
death of the
Lord of Faenza
murdered
by Borgia.Affection of a
sonne to his
father.The Florentines
in great
perplexity.

his sonnes person, and his men, whensoever hee should recover Naples. So Borgia (joyning fixe hundred men at armes, and fixe thousand foot, to the French troops) enters Romagna, takes Peisera, Rimini, Brisquelle, and runnes without any resistance throughout all the vntill that Faenza staid for a time the violence of this stream. Hee camps before the Towne in Nouember, batters it, makes a reasonable breach, and the fifth day of the siege gives a fierce assault, so valiantly defended, as the death of *Honore Sancelli*, and a great number of his men, slaine at the first charge, forced him to found a retreat, and the snow, falling with an exceeding cold, to raise the siege. The former threats had terrified the Potentates of Italy: and the Kings request vnto them in private, made them abandon Romagna. The Venetians renounced the protection of *Peter Astor*, Lord of Faenza. *Iohn Bentinole*, his vncke, contains himselfe fearing to incense the King, and the Popes forces; and the Duke of Valentinois, could not endure, that an vnwarlike people, (hauing no other head but a yong man of eightene yeares of age) should obscure the fame of his first exploits: hee returns in the beginning of the new yeare, laden with ladders, and seeks to surpris it, but in vaine. Policy not succeeding, hee returns to force, and by the taking of Ruffy, and other places of the Country, hee makes the enterprise easie. A new breach is made, and new assaults given: the first with our effect, the second gaue hope of victory: but the violence of the Cannon which battered in flanke, the encountering of a deepe and large trench; the death of *Ferdinand Farnese*, with many other men of worth, and the number of the wounded, makes them to leave the assault. But at length hee carries it. The losse the *Florentines* had received in this assault, and the despair of succours, cooled this first heat, and fcare making them apprehend hard conditions, if force reduced them into the victors power, they treated to yield, their liues and goods saued, vpon condition that *Astor* their Lord, should with his liberty choote what retreat he pleased, enjoying the reuenues of his patrimony. But poore *Astor* (oh Borgia who ouer thall read the detestable life and horrible death of thy father) will alwayes iudge thee a right and worthy sonne of such a father! being yong and very beautifull, was with goodly thewes & honorable demonstrations of loue retained in the Valentinois Court, and loone after conducted to Rome, where some one (saith the Original, naming no man, but noting the villaine with his finger) *hauing taken his pleasure of him, and glutted his lust*, caused him to be secretly murdered with his bastard brother: and the Pope with the approbation of the Colledge, giues to his sonne Borgia, the auncienture and title of Duke of Romagna. This Estate seemed to him imperfect, without the adiuunction of the territory of Bologna. But the Kings expresse commandement, not to attempt any thing against the estate of *Iohn Bentinole* (whom he had taken into his protection) caused the Valentinois to content himselfe for that time, with a transaction from *Bentinole*, to haue pasture and victuals through his Country, a tribute of nine thousand Ducats yeerely; a certaine number of horse and foot, and Castle bologne, (a place vnder the iurisdiction of Bologna) and so he transported his forces into Tuscan. Make here a notable example of a child to his father. One of the sonnes of *Gilbert Earle of Montpensier* going to Pozzuolo, to visit the sepulcher of his father, suffered himselfe to be so much ouer-ruled with passion, as after hee had bathed all parts of the monument with his lamentable teares, hee fainted, and fell downe dead vpon the Sepulcher, who had as little sense of those his latest sorrowes, as he had feeling of so great an error, to giue such liberty to the rage of nature.

The Florentines are mightily perplexed, they had greatly moued the King by their bad order in the recovery of Pisa, as we haue heard before, but there springs vp new motives of discontent. The exceeding charge they had bene at, and were still forced to beare for the wares of Pisa; the ialousie of the Popes forces and of his Borgia, made them slacke in paying the King the money, which the Duke of Milan had lent them: and the debt which hee pretended to be due vnto him by reason of the pay, made by his Maiestie to the Swisses which he had sent against Pisa, whom he had maintained with his owne money, vpon refusal which the Florentines had made them, vnder color that they would retire into their Country before their time prefixed: and the King (who sought to empty their coffers, to the end hee might gouerne them more absolutely) demanded it very earnestly. Moreover, they grew more weak by their owne ciuill discords, which troubled them in the popular gouernment, wherein many of the citizens being suspected, ey-

ther as friends to the Medici, or desiring an other kind of gouernment, matters were managed with more confusion then counsell: and to increase their crosses, the King did prestat them for the aids and summes of money promised for the voyage of Naples: pretending, That he had performed the conuentions they had made together, whereunto they were bound, seeing that by their owne fault they had hindred the recovery: therefore he was no more bound to protect them. And in truth *Iulian de Medici*, beseeching him in person, and at the Popes perswasion, to restore him and his brethren into their estates, vpon promises of a great summe of money, he most willingly opened both eares and heart to theise offers.

All these considerations drew the Valentinois into Tuscan, with seven hundred men at armes, & fixe thousand choise foot which *Bentinole* gaue him, (the French companies lodging apart, to attend the Kings army which began to march): But hee knew that the King would not bee pleased with this craftie in hostile manner into the Florentines Country, and that otherwise his Army was both weak of men and munition, to force any Towne.

The Florentines also knowing themselves naked both of horse and foot, others then of the Country, oppressed with ialousie, feare, and diuisions, hee makes this accord with them: That there should be a confederacy betwixt the Common-wealth of Florence, and the Duke of Valentinois, with a prohibition not to ayde the Rebels on either side: and that the

Florentines should entertaine him for three yeares at their charge, with three hundred men at armes, and six and thirty thousand Ducats yeerely, which men at armes he should send to them whensoever they had need, either for themselves, or any other, and should not oppose themselves against him for the defence of the Lord of Plombin, who was in their protection. But this composition was onely to disarme the Valentinois, and to send him packing. And hee well informed of the policy, staying in the country; spoiled it in reuenge, both by fire and spoile, most like to an open enemy, trying them with demands, which partly they refused, partly deferred, hoping that the Kings authority should free them from these bonds, which necessity of the time, and Borgia force had extorted from them. The King indeed, held the rod, but stayed his arme: he was pleased the Valentinois should terrifie them, but not tyrannize ouer them. For although he would willingly haue seene some other forme of gouernment at Florence, yet an alteration then, would haue bene very prejudiciall vnto him: the King being loath to see the Valentinois aduanced to any other authority, or by any other forces then his Maiesties. So, by the commandement of Lewis he leaues Florence, and enters the territory of Plombin, taking Surgeret, Scarline, and the Islands of Elbe and Pianosa, were leauing a sufficient garison, as well to guard the places, as to molest them of Plombin, he returned towards Rome to ioyne with the army that was marching to the conquest of Naples.

Nothing crossed the course thereof, but the alarms which the Emperour had formerly caused. But when one treats with a Prince that is flexible for money, the accord is loone made. The gold of France must now stay the iron of Germany. *Philip* the Archduke might doe much, he was a Prince inclined to peace (and it may be he died too loone for the good of France, leauing an heire, whose birth and all the course of his life hath bene most fatal to the Crowne) and the trafficke of his subjects made them loath to heare speake of war with the French. But that which did most import, the King offered to giue *Claude* his onely daughter in marriage to *Charles*, sonne to the said Archduke, and for a dowry, when they should be both of age to consummate the marriage (for neither the one nor the other was yet three yeares old) to giue the Duchy of Milan. So by the means of *Philip*, & for money, Lewis obtained a prolongation of the truce, in the which the King of Naples was not comprehended, who notwithstanding, by the means of forty thousand ducats, and a bond of fifteene thousand more monethly, purchased a promise from *Maximilian*: Not to make any accord, but to comprehend him in it, and to make war in the Duchy of Milan, when as need should require, to disort the Kings forces. There yet remained one scruple, *Ferdinand* King of Arragon and Castile by *Isabel* his wife, might stir vp the Venetians, and happily the Pope (both prompt enough to oppose ioyntly against the greatnesse of this Crowne.) He was concurrent with our Lewis, in the right of the succession of Naples: for although *Alphonso* King of Arragon had disposed thereof to *Ferdinand* his bastard, as his owne proper good, gotten without the rights of the crowne

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The Florentines
were forced by
a League to
submit to
Borgia.The wares
of Naples
reduced.Lewis's
confusion
at
the
Emperours.

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crowne of Arragon: yet *Iohn* his brother (successor to the Realme of Arragon) and since *A Ferdinand*, sonne to *Iohn*, had alwaies protested of their lawfull pretensions to the estate of Naples, as a good, purchased by *Alphonso*, with the forces and treasure of Arragon.

And thus *Ferdinand* King of Arragon temporized like a Spaniard, watching his opportunity to attempt some great matter for his owne benefit, he did not onely make demonstration of all the duties of a good kinsman to *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and his other successors; but the better to lull him asleepe, he allied himselfe to the Neapolitan, giuing him his sister *Lane* in marriage, and consenting that *Lane* her daughter should marie with young *Ferdinand*.

This concurrence of two Kings in like desire, caused the one to free himselfe from lets and crosses, and the other to get a part of that which he could not compass wholly, and so then to share betwixt them, the conquests of the said realme, vpon condition: That, the King of France should haue the City of Naples, with all belonging to the land of Labour, and the Province of *Abruzzo*: *Ferdinand* should for his part haue all the landward territories belonging to *Apulia*, and likewise to *Calabria*; agreeing that euery one should conquer his owne part, without any bond to aide one another, but onely not to hurt one another, and that they should doe homage vnto the Pope; *Lewis* with the title no more of King of Sicile, but King of Ierusalem and Naples, imitating the example of *Fredericke* the second, Emperour of Rome, and King of Naples, by his wife the daughter of *Iohn* King of Ierusalem (in name but without effect) and of Naples; and *Ferdinand* in quality of Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. The capitulation was no soone concluded, but the King prepared his army vnder the command of *Lewis* of Armagne, Duke of *Nemours*, sonne to *Jamez* beheaded at Paris vnder *Lewis* the eleuenth, and the Lord *Aubigni*, an ancient, wise, and well experienced Captaine.

In the which were *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of *Saint Pol*, brother to *Charles* Earle of Vendome, sonnes to *Francis* of Vendome, who died at Verceil, *Lewis* of Bourbon, Prince of la Roche-sur-Yon, great Grand-father to the Duke of Montpensier last deceased, *Charles* of Bourbon, afterwards Duke of Bourbon, and Constable of France, *Lewis* of Bourbon Earle of Montpensier his brother, *Gaston* of Foix, Vicount of Narbonne, the Kings Nephew, sonne to *Iohn* Vicount of Narbonne, but by reason of their young yeares, obeying the aboue named Commanders. The troops were a thousand Lances, foure men to a Lance, six thousand French foot, foure thousand Swisses, and the Duke of Valentinois with his forces. The army at Sea, commanded by the Earle of *Raueffen*, Gouvernour of Genoua, consisted of three Caragues of Genoua and sixteene ships, with many other small Vessells, with many footmen, so as they esteemed their footmen to be twenty thousand: who by the Popes fauour and *Borgias* his sons, passed through all Italy without any resistance.

Fredericke King of Naples, had not yet discovered the secret convention of the two Kings, who proceeding plainly, did solicit *Gonsalue* (who lay at anchor in Sicile, vnder colour to succour him) to come to Caiete: and very simply put some places in *Calabria* into his hands, as he demanded: but this was but to make the conquest of *Ferdinands* portion the more easie. So hoping (that *Gonsalue*, hauing ioyned with his army) hee should haue sufficient forces to withstand the French; he went and camped at *Saint Germaine* with seven hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and six thousand foot, with the troops which the Colonos brought vnto him, hauing likewise sent his eldest sonne *Ferdinand* to Tarentum, to commit the Prince of *Basignan*, and the Earle of *Melere* to prison, accused to haue intelligence with the Earle of *Caiazzo*, who was in the French army: the which being come neare vnto Rome, the Ambassadors of France and Spaine giue notice vnto the Pope of this diuision made betwixt their Masters, with an intent Afterwards (say they) to make warre against the enemies of Christian religion: and according to the renour of this agreement, they demand a league, the which was presently granted. Doublelesse the more we seeke to shadow and colour an iniustice with goodly shewes, the greater it appears.

Behold the desires of two Kings, discovered and laid open to all the world, and both jointly blamed. Ours, for that he had rather draw a corinall into Italy, to whom his enemies and ill-willers might see, then to leaue the full possession vnto *Fredericke*, offering (as we haue

The realme of Naples diuided betwixt the Kings of France and Arragon.

Fredericks sumptuary.

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A haue said) to hold the Realme of him, and to pay him a yearly tribute. The other, for that, desire to haue a part of the Realme, had made him to conspire against a King of his owne blood, whom (the more easly to raine) he had alwaies entertained with lying promises of succours, blamishing the glory of that noble title of Catholike King, which hee and his wife *Isabel* had lately obtained. This league amazed *Fredericke*, but more the generall mutinie, whereby *Saint Germaine* and the neigbour places had rebelled at the brute of the French forces, euen before that *Aubigni* departed from Rome: so as in stead of keeping the field, as he had pretended, he shuts himselfe vp, meaning to defend his townes. Capoua was the first place of defence that hee made choice of, and did fortifie it with three hundred men at armes, some light horse and three thousand foot, vnder the command of *Fabricio Colonne*, and *Rainucio* of Martiane: and leaving *Proper Colonne* for the guard of Naples, heloged in Auerse. *Fabricio* had caused the messengers of some Neapolitane Barons of the French faction to be murdered at Rome, being sent to treat with him touching an accord for their matters: and see now, these murders are reuenged, if not vpon the person, at the least vpon the authors goods. *Aubigni* in passing, burnes Marine, Cavi, and certaine other places belonging to their house: then drawing towards Montfortin, he findes that *Iulius Colonne* had shamefully abandoned it, leauing by the same meanes, all the other Townes about Capoua, euen vnto Vulturno, at the Victors discretion.

C *Fredericke* aduertised that *Aubigni* had passed Vulturno, leauing Auerse, hee retired into Naples. Auerse, Nalo, and other places, yeelding vnto the French, prepared then the way to Capoua, the which inuested on either side the riuer, and battered furiously on all parts, endures a hot assault, and repells them with great losse; the Cannon shakes the strongest wallies, and the rough assaults amaze the most resolute; they renew the battery, and all prepares to a second assault. The people mutined, the Captaines and souldiers fainted, and *Fabricio Colonne* perled from a bastion with the Earle of *Caiazzo*, when as our men, grieved with the first affront, force the breach, overthrow the defences, enter it, kill all they meet in the fury, ranfome such as they finde after their fury past, and lacke the towne. A happy victory, if the horrible infoleny and licentiousnesse of the Victors had not defamed it. Many women, maidens, and Nuns, to auoid this first fury, were retired into a tower. *Borgia* would see them, and chose out forty of the fairest, the rest serued as a prey for the souldiers lust, who afterfold a part of them at Rome. *Fabricio* seeing the towne taken, fled away speedily, but some galloping after, brought him backe prisoner to the Campe. *Don Hugues* of Cardonne, and all the other Captaines and men of quality saued their liues by ranfome. *Rainucio* of Marciane being hurt at the assault, died in the Duke of Valentinois mens hands.

Capoua being lost, it made them lose all hope euer to defend any place: Caiete yeelds presently, Auerse opens her gates. Naples compounds suddenly for threescore thousand crownes, payable to the Victors. And *Fredericke* being shut vp into Castle-Nouo, commands with *Aubigny*; "To deliuer into his hands within six daies all the townes and forts which were of the Kings portion, onely reseruing the Isle of *Ischia* for six moneths, during the which it should be lawfull for him to goe whither he pleased, but not into the realme of Naples: To draw what hee would out of the Castles of Naples, except the artillery of King *Charles* which remained there: That all offences should be pardoned which had beene committed since the first conquest of the Realme by *Charles*: & that the Cardinals, Colonne, and of Arragon, should enioy the spirituall liuings they possessed within the Realme.

Thus *Fredericke* detesting the treachery of the Arragonois, and desiring rather to flie vnto the Kings protection, he came into France to accept what his Maiessty should giue him: which was the Duchy of Aniou, with thirty thousand crownes of yearly pension. An ill aduised resolution, for keeping himselfe in some place of safety, happily he might (during the partialities which shall soone grow betwixt *Lewis* and *Ferdinand*) haue found meanes to recouer his realme, yet was hee happy in his misery, changing a crowne of thornes, a state full of troubles, to a quiet life, and yet honourable: for euen after the French were expelled Naples, hee was still maintained in the same honour, and in the same estate, by the Kings great loue and bounty.

Gonsalue at the same time conquered the portion for his Master, and although all the Country

F rebellion in the state of Naples.

The Imperialists taking of Capoua.

The capitulation of *Fredericke*, who was King of Naples is made Duke of Aniou.

Gonsalues exploits.

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Country did more affect the French command, yet having no man to receive them in his name, nor to defend them, all the townes did willingly submit themselves vnto him, except Manfredonia and Tarentum, the which after some shew of resistance, did in the end vndergoe the Castilian yoke. *Ferdinand*, eldest Sonne to *Fredericke*, was at Tarentum, with secret commandement from his father not to come into France, though he should be forced to strike faile. But seeing that both were wholly spoiled of their estates, and that our *Lewis* did nourish the Father, the Castilian might well entertaine the Sonne. *Gonsalve* sends him vnto him, against his solemne oath taken at the receiuing of the sacrament, *To leaue him at his liberty*: but some nation preferres the interest of state, before the feare of God and the respect of his owne reputation.

The conquest of Naples had made the Valentinois returne to his enterprize of Plombin, and *Lames Aprian* Lord of the Towne, hauing manned it with a sufficient Garison, came vnto the King, who long before had taken him into his protection. But whilest he did sollicit in Court for the preferation of his estate (though without any hope of fauour, by reason of the Kings promises made vnto the Pope, *Not to hinder him in his legnes*) *Pandolfo Petruccio* deliuered vp the town to the Valentinois, who by the authority of the Apostolicke Sea, and the support he had from the King, made it well knowne in Italy that his excecutive countenell had no restraint nor bounds. In the meane time the King treats a peace with the Emperour very effectually. Many reasons moued him therunto: the desire to obtaine the possession of Milan: to offend the Venetians, who (the prosperity of this realme being very offensiu vnto them) did vnder-hand hinder the conclusion of this peace, and to recouer Cremona, with *Guaradade*, at the great instance of the Milanois, with Brescia, Bergamo and Crema, the ancient appurtenances of the Duchy of Milan, and vsurped by the Venetians, in the time of *Philip Maria Visconti*.

For this treaty the Cardinall of Amboise, Lieutenant General for his Maiesty at Milan, went to the Emperour to Trent, where first they treated of the mariage of *Charles* the eldest sonne to the Archduke *Philip*, with *Claude*, the only daughter of *Lewis*, the Emperour granting to either of them, the inueftiture of Milan, but not to the Kings heires males, in case he had any: to recouer whatsoeuer either of them pretended to haue been vsurped by the Venetians: to call a generall Councell to reforme the Church, not only (say they) in the members, but euén in the head. Doubtlesse there is small assurance in the loue of Princes, who gape after nothing but their owne greatnesse. Moreover, did wee euer see any thing succeed well with them who haue coloured their passions with the name of the Church, and the reformation thereof? This is directly, *To take the name of God in vaine*. And likewise all the malicious practices and schoole-trickes of a Cardinall (whose ambitious spirit gaped after a Popedom) what could they bring forth but smoke for France, and combustion for Italy? Truly the reading of Histories doth teach vs, *That she politike gouernment of Priests is vnfortunate and fatall*.

This treaty, hauing onely in shew made way for a peace, was ended with a promulgation of a truce, giuing hope, that these things treated on should soone take effect. And this opinion was confirmed by the comming of the Archduke *Philip*, with his wife (daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, and *Isabell* Queene of Castile) who as appointed to the succession, meaning to goe and receiue the oath of fidelity of their subjects, they passed through Paris the five and twentieth day of Nouember, and from thence to Blois, where the King and Queene remained: and there they concluded the mariage of their children: but man purpoeth, and God disposeth.

For with the new yeere, the Emperour brought forth new designs, refusing flatly the inueftiture of the Duchy of Milan to the King, and treating with the potentates of Italy touching his passage to Rome, to receiue the Imperial crowne, he found the Florentins tractable to the articles which he propounded, considering the hard conditions the King demanded, seeming to be wholly estranged from them, saying that he was acquit of the articles accorded at Milan, and they remained still bound. Thus *Hermes Sforze* Ambassador for *Maximilian* at Florence, had obtained a promise of the common-weale, to aide him in his voyage with a hundred men at armes, and thirty thousand ducats, when as hee should be entred into Italy. But the King, fearing lest the Florentins despairing of his loue, should make some accord with *Maximilian*, in the end he made a new agreement with them, vpon milde conditions: *That the King (receiuing them againe into his protection)*

Plombin deliuered to the D. of Valentinois.

Arragon betwixt the Emperour and K. Lewis.

Philip of Austria passed through France

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The King makes a new accord with the Florentines

The beginning of diuision betwixt Lewis and Ferdinand.

And should defend them against all men, with his owne force and charge for three yeares following, during the which they should pay vnto his Maiesty forty thousand ducats yearly, and it should be lawfull for the Florentines to proceed by force against the Pisans, or against any other that with-held their places. The Pisans are againe abandoned to the spoile, and the Florentines refused to vanquish by a general waite (the fore-runner of famine) that plague which they had in vaine tried to subdue by the sword. This passed in Tuscane, when as no man perceived what followed thele garboiles.

But two Nations of such contrary humors, could they liue so neare neighbours, but some feedes of dislike should bring forth fruits of diuision? There suddenly growes great contentions betwixt our French and the Castilians for their confines. And why doe wee not vfe a graue deliberation in our contracts, to make them so strong as nothing may ingene them? *Alphonso* of Arragon King of Naples, the first of that name, had (to make collection of his reuenues the more easie) diuided the realme of Naples into six principall Prouinces, the land of Labour, the Principality, Bazilicate, Calabria, Apulia, and Abruzzo: wherof, Apulia was sub-diuided into three parts, the land of Otrante, Bari, and the Capitanate ioyning to Abruzzo, and separated from the rest of Apulia by the riuer of Lofante (otherwise called Laufade.) Seeing then that in the diuision, Abruzzo was fallen to the French, had they not reason to dispute the possession, the said Capitanate being rather a portion of Abruzzo, then of Apulia? and the matter of greatest importance was, that not inioyning the Capitanate, they lost the reuennue growing of the custome of Cattell, being one of the clearest of the realme.

Moreover, the Capitanate is a corne Country, and might easly in a time of dearth furnish the land of Labour and Abruzzo, whensoever the Spaniards should forbid the traffike of graine from Apulia and Sicilia. Hereupon either part drew what he could out of their reuenues of this custome, feeding still their contentions with new motives. The Spaniards maintained, that the Principality and Bazilicate were comprehended in Calabria, which is diuided into two; the higher, and the farther; one high, and the other low, and that the valley of Beneuent, possessed by the French was a portion of Apulia. And therefore *Gonsalve* chalet the French Magistrates out of Tripaldi, and sent orders to aduise Iustice vnder the command and authority of *Ferdinand*. All things tended to open diuision. But let vp not flatter our selues. Was it not reason, that they which had deuoured others, should afterwards consume themselves? The chiefe Barons of the Country, desiring to quench these first fire-brands of discord, did mediate an enteruiew betwixt the Viceroy *Neumors*, and *Gonsalve*, who agreed to enioy those places in common, that were in controuersie; and in the meane time fet vp the banners of the two Kings, expecting what what they should determine.

The Viceroy was hot and vehement, and could not endure a brauadoe. *Gonsalve* (of whom the Spanish and Italian Authors make no lesse account, then of a *Furius Camillus*, or a *C. Scipio*, or a *C. Caesar*) had doublelesse goodly parts of a Captaine. Braue in armes, vigilant, industrious, patient in trauell, stately, prodigall, liberal, not voluptuous, and a man of a strong and vigorous complexion. He sometimes by liberality, sometimes by sufferance, gaue liberty to his souldiers; then againe would restrain their insolvency imperiously, within the bounds of duty; he loued and honoured men of Valour, and veyingennously did fit himselfe to occurants, iudging of things to come with a good natural discourse, by the comparison of the present, and what was passed, neuer grounding his designs vpon any vncertainty. But all these goodly vertues were blemished with perpetual dissimulation and treachery, no feare of God, no loyalty, where hee felt any profit, being accustomed to say, *That a braue souldier must grossly weaue the web of his honour*.

As *Gonsalve* then (following the instructions and letters of *Ferdinand*, who already in imagination had deuoured the whole realme of Naples) had sowed the seeds of warre on all sides, the Viceroy proffers by a publike declaration, that he will make war against *Gonsalve* if he speedily depart not out of the Capitanate. And seeing the King of Spaine refused not to leaue the possession, he enters Tripaldi by force, the nineteenth of Iune, and consequently the other townes which *Gonsalve* held in that Country. They are now imbarcked in war, and the King is at Lions, to provide necessary things, more commodiously to crosse the vniust practices of his aduersary. Vpon this designe he sends two thou-

His vices.

and

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and Suiffes by sea to supply his men, and entertaines the Princes of Salerne and Bisceglia, with an intent to passe into Italy if need required.

New broyles in Italy.

The new tumults which *Vitelloze* (impatient of the death of his brother *Paul Vitelloze*, beheaded at Florence as we have said) did raise in Tuscane, drew him thither. They begun by the revolt of Arezzo against the Florentines, at the perswasion of the said *Vitelloze*, of the *Prins*, *John Paul Bailion*, *Pandolfo Petruccio*, and others which desired the returne of *Peter of Medici* into the state of Florence. The Florentines protecting themselves with their new league with the King, flew to him, accuse the Pope and the Duke of Valentinois, to be the Authors of these things: found forth the imminent danger of the Duchy of Milan, if the above named (vnited and conuined to ruine their estate) reduced it into their power.

Zanis succours the Florentines

The King had bene long tired with the insolency and ambition of the Pope and his sonne: Hee did foresee that the treaties of accord being broken with *Maximilian*, the Venetians would soone crosse him; and that hauing open war with the Spaniard, the vading of Tuscane, done by the secret practices of others, would proue very prejudiciall vnto him. And therefore he sent foure hundred Lances to succour the Florentines, with commandement to *Vitelloze* and his adherents: Not to molest those any more whom he had receiued into his protection, the which hee declared to all those that should feare to incurre his indignation. In the meane time the Duke of Valentinois vpon the confusions of Arezzo, went out of Rome with his army, and vnder a false pretext to take *Camerino*, (hauing before to weaken *Gualdabald* Duke of Urbino, drawne men and artillery from him) leapes into that Duchy, and takes all his estate without any opposition, except the Rock of Saint Leon, and Maiuolo, to the great discontent and amazement of *Vitelloze*, the *Prins*, and *Petruccio*, who by anothers ruine began plainly to discouer their owne. This conquest had made the Valentinois to assaile the Florentines, if the commandement made him from the King, or rather the comming of his Maiesty had not diuerted him. *Camerino* was the object of his armes. He tooke it, and with a barbarous inhumanity caused *Julio* of Varane Lord of the said place, to be strangled with the two sonnes. The King grieues at All, and *Lewis* of Tremouille comes into Tuscane with two hundred Lances, three thousand Suiffes, and great store of artillery, for the recouery of Arezzo in honour of the Florentines.

The Duke of Valentinois his study.

The Pope with his *Borgia*, foreseeing that the King (being incensed against them, as the chiefe motives of this war) would spoile *Borgia* of Romagna, & other places which he possessed, and that they were too weak to withstand this storme, they returne to their accustomed practices, imputing the rebellion of Arezzo to *Vitelloze*, and his associates, whom they could not (say they) neither by prayers nor authority diuert from this enterprise. And to pacifie the King the Valentinois sent word to *Vitelloze*, that if hee did not giue vp Arezzo and other places belonging to the Florentines, hee would cast him out by force. *Vitelloze* was ready to beare the whole burthen, but by what means? considering the weakenes of his forces, and that the strongest were ready reconcile themselves, and to leaue him in the mic: he therefore makes no delay but consignes Arezzo and the other Florentine townes, which the violence of his forces had put into his power, *Mont Saint Souin*, *Chastillon d'Arezzo*, *Cortone*, and the rest of *Valdichiane*: all which were presently by the Kings command restored to the Florentines. The affaires of this world require euery man to shroud himselfe vnder the strongest. The King hath no sooner set footing into Italy, but all the Princes and Common weales (according to their accustomed manner) flee vnto him, some to get pardon, some to maintaine their estates, and all in generall to draw his Maiesties forces against the Pope and his sonne. But doth it not commonly fall out, that what many desire succeeds but seldom? Their priuate interest and respects, are most commonly contrary to their outward shewes and desires. So the King, not so much moued by the Popes exact diligence (who by all meanes and messages sought to pacifie him, and to returne againe into fauour) as by the Cardinall of Amboise perswasion (who to entertaine the Pope in vnion with the King, presumed to frame himselfe a ladder to mount vnto the Popedom, and to aduance some one of his house to be Cardinall) he happily followed of two waies the worst, fauouring the Pope and his followers. The wife reader may iudge thereof by the cuent of the history.

Another alliance between the King and Pope.

True it is, the Emperour was a chiefe motive to draw our *Lewis* to this accord. His friends

1502

As hee itched, he could not be quiet: and vnder colour of his passage (which hee did so much affect) to receiue his Imperiall Crowne of the Pope, he might happily trouble the state of Italy, to the Kings great prejudice; and indeed hee had already sent many horse and foot to Trent, making great offers to the Pope in fauour of this passage. Moreover, the King was not ignorant how vnwillingly the Venetians did see the state of Milan and the realme of Naples in his hands. Adding therunto, the Imperious threats which foure Cantons of the Suiffes made. That if the King did not yeeld them the rights hee had to *Bellinzane*, and giue them *Volceline*, *Schafonze*, with other outrageous demands, they would compound with *Maximilian*. But to add more crosses, hee must dispute the conquest of Naples by the sword. All these considerations made our *Lewis* desirous to entertaine the Popes friendship, whereby *Maximilians* designs were suddenly disappointed. So the King (hauing more liberty to prouide for the estate of Naples) sent a fresh supply by Sea of two thousand Suiffes, and ten thousand French, the which ioyned to the Viceroy, who had already taken all the Capitanate, except *Manfredonia* and *Saint Angelo*. They camped before *Canose*, the which *Peter* of Nauarre yeelded by composition, to depart with bag and baggage. The taking of this place did shut *Gonsalue* into Barlet, without money, with little victuals, and lesse munition. And the French Captaines alledging (against the aduice of the Lord of Aubigny) that the army could not all campe about Barlet for want of water, and many other reasons, they resolved, a part of the army should remaine thereabouts, to maintaine a kinde of siege, and the other should seeke to recouer the rest of the realme. After this counsell, the Viceroy seized vpon all *Apulia*, except *Tarentum*, *Otranto*, and *Gallipoli*; and then he returned to Barlet. The Lord of Aubigny entering *Calabria* with the other part of the Army, tooke and sackt the Towne of *Cosenza*, with some other places.

The Suiffes braue the King.

The exploits of the French in the Kingdome of Naples.

But our prosperity lasts not long, wee commonly sleepe in the midst of our course. This happy beginning made our *Lewis* more careless then the cause required, the which if hee had continued, he might easily haue expelled the enemy (before hee had bene supplied) out of all the State of Naples: but hee tooke his way for France, after hee had treated anew with the Pope, and receiued the Valentinois into fauour againe, vpon condition, To aide him in the wars of Naples, when neede should require: and a promise from the King, to giue the Valentinois three hundred Lances, to helpe him to conquer *Bologna* for the Church, and to suppress the *Vrins*, *Bailion*, and *Vitelloze*, against whom the King was wonderfully incensed for the outrages they had done to the Florentines, and for that they had shewed themselves too slacke in the execution of his Maiesties commandements, especially *Vitelloze*, who had refused to yeeld the Florentines the artillery which hee had taken from Arezzo.

The Valentinois is fearfull to the Potentates of Italy.

This reconciliation made the Valentinois fearefull to all Italy. And doubtlesse who soeuer is neighbour to a cruell and inexorable man, hath neede to stand vpon his guard. Moreover, a wicked man hauing so firme & strong supports in the Kings Council (where the Cardinall of Amboise ruled all) how could he but daily presume to commit new insolencies? The Venetians were wonderfull ialous of *Borgias* greatness, increasing daily, shewing the King by their Ambassadour, how much it did derogate from the honour of the house of France, and the glorious surname of most Christian King, to fauour a Tyrant, borne for the ruine of people, and the desolation of Prouinces, disloyall, cruell, thirsting for humane blood, by whom so many Gentlemen and Noblemen had bene treacherously slaine: who sometimes by the sword, sometimes by poison, glutted his cruelty vpon his allies, his kinsmen, his brethren, and vpon them, whose age cuen the barbarous Turkes would haue respected.

But the King did not build so much vpon the Popes friendship, as he doubted his hatred. Moreover, he thought (being firmly vnited to him) no man should dare to attempt any thing against the authority of his crowne in the estates of Milan and Naples. The Kings answer was, That hee neither would nor ought to binder the Pope from disposing at his pleasure, of places belonging to the Church. The Venetians therefore forbearing to crosse the prosperity of the Valentinois, for his Maiesties respect; beheld, many small brookes ioyned together make a streame. The *Prins*, the Duke of Graigne, *Vitelloze*, *John Paul Bailion*, *Liuero* of Fermo, *Hermes* for *John Bentinole* his father, *Anthony Penafre* for the *Siennesis*, with many other heads, make an offensive; and a defensive

A league against the Valentinois.

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fiue league; by meanes whereof, and by the surprize of the Castle of Saint Leon, *Gualdard* recovered all his Duchy of Vrbino. They goe to field with seven hundred men at armes, and nine thousand foot, but they displease the King, arming themselves with his authority, hoping (it may be) that he would not bee discontented to haue the Valentinois molested by another.

The Valentinois flies to the King, and speedily provides for conuenient remedies: first he pacifieth the Cardinal *Vrsin*, by the meanes of *Iulius* his brother, and by diuers policies did so cunningly pacifize, first one, then another of the confederates (confused and troubled with the succours, which the King gaue commandement to the Lord of Chamoont to send to *Borgia*, with expresse charge to countenance his affaires by all meanes) that the first which was taken in the snare, was *Paul Vrsin*, whom he held to be a fit instrument to dispose of his companions, and to draw them innocently into danger. But what did these poore Commanders, capitulating with a wicked wretch, whose sweet words were snares for their death, and who must shortly serue as an instrument of Gods wrath against them. Truly whilst they employ the forces (which they had leauied to suppress him) in his fauour, for the taking of some places, and that they suffer themselves to be lulled asleepe with his goodly shewes, and sweet speeches, he prepares for their ruine. After they had by his commandement taken the towne and Castle of Sinigalle: he comes thither the next day, with all his companies in order: he causeth them to be taken prisoner, strips their troops: and to make the last day of this yeare famous, he strangles *Pitellus*, and *Linerot* of Fermo, the first must follow the miserable course of his house, all his other brethren (and according to the order of their ages) being dead of violent deaths. *John* was slaine with a Cannon before Ofime, vnder Pope *Innocent*, *Camillo* with a blow before Circelle, *Paul* was beheaded at Florence, and *Linerot* felt in his person, the treason whereby he had in a bankrupt treacherously murdered *John Frangiane* his Vncle, with many Citizens of Fermo, to vsurpe the Seignoury thereof.

Now wee shall see a yeare full of memorable and famous accidents, begun with the Popes impiety and treachery, but hee was ignorant what should presently befall his owne person and state. Being advertised of his sonnes exploits at Sinigalle, he calls the Cardinal of Vrsin to the Vatican: who (trusting in his faith, whom all the world knew to be faithlesse) was lately come to Rome. Being arrived, he is taken prisoner, and with him *Rainold Vrsin* Archbishop of Florence, the *Protonotaire Vrsin*, and the Abbot of *Alouano*, brother to *Bartholomew* and *James* of Saint Croix a Roman Gentleman, whom some few daies after hee caused to bee deliuered vpon a good caution: but the Cardinal ended his daies there by poyson: and the Valentinois hearing that the Cardinal was prisoner, hee caused the Duke of Grauing, and *Paul Vrsin* to be strangled. Then he approached to Siena, meaning to seize thereon vnder colour to expell *Pandolfo Perusio*, as an enemy and disturber of the quiet of Tuscan, promising, that when hee had chased him, hee would presently returne with all his troops to Rome without endamaging their territories.

The Sienois thinking it no reason, that the whole city should incur so great danger to maintaine the power of one priuate Citizen, and *Pandolfo* desiring rather to accept that with euery mans good liking, which in the end the peoples hatred and the perill of his person would force him vnto, parted out of Siena, leauing the same guard and the authority with his friends, so as his departure bred no alteration in the government. This enterprize displeased the King, for although he were not sorry to see *Pitellus* and his adherents punished, yet desired hee not their total ruine, the which with the conquest of so great estates made the Pope and his *Borgia* too mighty. He desired therefore from this attempt, not so much to obey the King, as finding the taking of Siena difficult, being a great towne and strong: conuerting all his forces to the total destruction of the house of *Vrsins*, *John*, *Iulio*, *Francis*, *Fabian* and *Organtino*, who hauing ioyned with the *Sauelli* were in Ceruette, and had taken the bridge of Lamentane, and scoured all the Country.

When he had restrained their courses, he invaded the possessions of *John Jordan*, who was then in the Kings protection and pay, bearing armes for his seruice at Naples: The King was greatly moued herewith, and to controule the presumption and insolency of the Valentinois, he commands him to forbear to molest the estate of *Jordan*, & to restrain his excessive

A excessive courtoisnesse, he procures an vnion betwixt the Florentines, Siennois, and Bolognais for their common defence, to take from the Pope and his sonne, all meanes to extend themselves any farther into Tuscan. The Spaniard fortifies himselfe in the meane time in the realme of Naples, and our affaires decline. The Earle of Melet, the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, were incamped at Villanoua, and *Don Hugues* of Cardone (passing from Messina into Calabria, with a thousand fix hundred foot, Spaniards, Calabrians, and Sicilians, and an hundred men at armes) marched to succour it, going through a narrow plaine betwixt a mountaine and a little riuer, ioyning to the way with a caufey, desiring rather to enter into Villanoua, then to fight. The Earle encounters them beneath the riuer, and not able to draw them into the plaine, he passeth the water to cut off their way to Villanoua, and to charge them. But very indiscreetly, for being troubled with the caufey, they were easily defeated and the towne relieved. And behold, *Mannell* of Benaude (hauing *Anthony de Leua* with him, who of a simple souldier became a braue Captaine, and shall win many victories) leading two hundred men at armes, two hundred Genetaires, and two thousand foot, takes Lofarne at the second assault, where the Lord of Ambricourt was lately entred with thirty Lances, and the Earle of Melete with 1000 foot. Ambricourt was taken, but the Lord of Aubigni, approaching with three hundred Lances, and five thousand foot, forced the victors to retire to Villanoua, and gaue the Earle meanes to saue himselfe and to keepe the Castle. Aubigni following them in the C taile to the foot of a high mountaine, cut off threecore men at armes and some 2000 foot, with thirteene hundred prisoners, taking 15 Ensignes. But this was with the death of *Grigni*, a braue Captaine, who led the company of the Earle of Caiazzo, being dead of sickness a little after the taking of Capoua. At the same time *Porta Carrera* brought two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse, and two thousand foot, who dying at Rhegium, left the command of his troops to *Ferdinand Andrada* his Lieutenant.

Few daies after, *Gonsalues* departing from Barlette, set vpon the Lord of Palisse who lodged in Rubos with a hundred Launces, and three hundred foot, as securely as in an assured peace, and hauing surprised him suddenly, battered it furiously & made a breach: he forced him to yeeld the place, and to remaine prisoner with his troope, and then he retired safely to Barlette, notwithstanding the Duke of Nemours Companies lodged for their ease in diuers places about Barlette, whilst *Gonsalues* endured (with an admirable patience) both hunger and peffilence within the same City. Morgouer, fifty French Lances sent to surprize some money which was brought from Trani to Barlette, were defeated by such as *Gonsalues* had sent for the conduct thereof. All these petty losses were without doubt foretellings of a change of our good fortune. But what need was there in the beginning of this so visible Catastrophe, to hazard a fruitlesse combat, for falling to our disadvantage, it must needs greatly diminish our reputation, and make the whole nation to be scorned, although the honour and valour of a whole Country consists not in the combat a few priuate persons? A trumpet returning from Barlette (where he had treated of the ransom of some prisoners) reports some speeches which he had heard to the prejudice of the French: who offended therewith, they desie the Spaniards and Italians. Thirteene French, make offer to fight with thirteene of theirs. The field was chosen betwixt Barlette, Andrie, and Quadrate. It chanced that hauing broken their Lances, with no aduantage to either party: falling to their other armes, a French-man overthrew an Italian, and aduancing to kill him, hee himselfe was slaine by an other Italian that came to rescue his companion. In the end, after a rough and bloody fight of some houres, the Italians (hauing slaine many of the Frenchmens horses) remained masters of the field and bodies, leading their enemies prisoners to Barlette.

Whilst a State stands firme, every one feares to attempt against it, but vpon the first disauour euery one seeks to pull a plume. Some Cantons of the Suissees seeke to sithe in a troubled water, and to obtaine by force what they could not get by fauour: which was Bellinzone, the which they had surprised in Lombardy. To this end they come before Locarne, camping towards the wall, vpon that great lake which stops the descent from the mountains into the plaine: and the other Cantons seeing the enterprize succeed well in fauour of the first assailant, runne to aide their companions, to the number of thirteene thousand. These were too many mouths in a straight and barren Country, whose fury must soone faint, for want of Artillery, Victuals, Money and Horse.

Y u 2

The

The violence
death of *Pitellus*
and *Linerot*

The notable
enemies of the
Valentinois.

The Cardinal
poysoned.
The Duke of Gra-
uine and *Paul*
Vrsin strangled.

The King dis-
contented with
the Pope and
his Sonne.

The French
defeated.

The Spaniards
defeated.

The French de-
feated in com-
bat.

Troubles by
the Suissees.

The Lord of Chaumont did wisely foresee all this, who furnishing his Castles vpon the mountaines, and keeping his troops in the plaine, kept this great swarme from coming into open places, whilst that hee assembled all the forces of Lombardie, and the allies of Bolognia, Ferrara, and Montoua. The Venetians (being required to send the succours which they were bound vnto for the defence of the State of Milan) sent some companies, but so late as they were vnprofitable. Thus the Swisses wanting victuals, the French hauing sunke many Barikes which brought them prouision vpon the Lake, and the Swisses themselves beginning to be diuided, for that the whole gaine of their armes redounded to them alone that possessed Bellinzone, they retired in the end, vpon condition to deliuer what they had taken of the Kings, except Musocque, as not belonging to the Duke of Milan, and Bellinzone at a certain time.

A counterfeite
peace with the
Spaniards.

Thus ended this great shew, and Philip Archduke of Austria, returning from his voyage, armed with authority from his Father in law, and Mother in Law, to make a peace with the King, it was concluded at Blois: *That the Realme of Naples should be enjoyed according to the first diuision; but Philip should keepe those Provinces, for the which they had taken armes. That from that day Charles his Sonne, and Claude the Kings daughter should be called themselves Kings of Naples, and Dukes of Apulia and Calabria: and both the King's Princes should be gouerned in the name of the two Children, untill the consummation of the marriage: when as the King should giue his part for his daughters dowry. This peace was of a happy consequence. Armes were laid aside betwixt two mighty Kings. It bred loue betwixt the Emperour and our Lewis; and new designs against the Venetians, whom the King desired to annoy: and it may be the Pope (being hated of all the world) had beene forced to vndergoe a Councell, a matter which he feared exceedingly. Doubtlesse there is alwaies an Antipathy betwixt bad Popes and good Councells. But this peace was but counterfeited by the Spaniards: yet it seemes not that Philip proceeded therein like a Fox, considering his quiet spirit, and the alliance he made with this Crowne. Lewis and Philip sent presently to proclaim it at Naples, and to command the Captaines; *That attending the King of Spaines ratification, and holding what they did possesse, they should abstaine from all acts of hostility.* The Viceroy foresaweth: but *Gonsalue* had his warch-word, howe else durst he disobey Philip? *Gonsalue* answered, *That untill he had received commandment from his King and Queene, he wight not lay downe armes.* He grew the prouder for that the King trusting in this peace, had neglected things necessary for wars, and kept backe three thousand foot which should haue beene imbarcked at Genoua, and three hundred Lances lea- ued to that end, vnder the Lord of Perfi: contrariwise, *Gonsalue* was newly re-enforced by two thousand Lanquenets, which the Venetians (against the articles of their accord made with the King) had suffered safely to passe by their Gulph. The Viceroy (foreseeing that he must stand vpon his guard) sends for all the French companies which hee had dispersed into diuers parts, and the forces of the country, except those which made war in Calabria vnder *Abignii*. but in the assembling thereof, he gaue the first blow to the ruine of the French in the realme of Naples. The Duke of Atri and Lewis of Ars, a French Captaine, were ioyned together to goe vnto the Viceroy, knowing well, that *Peter* of Nauarre was so lodged, as he might endamage them being diuided. Lewis of Ars finding his opportunity, passed without attending his companion, and the Duke advertised that the Nauarrois had taken the way of Matera, to ioyne with *Gonsalue* followed the tracke of Lewis of Ars. But it chanced at the same time that Rutilliane, (a towne in the Country of Bari) being revolted, had called backe the Nauarrois, who being vpon this occasion turned from Matera to Rutilliane, incountred the D. of Atri, charged him, and defeated him, *Iohn Anthony* his Vncle being slaine, and himselfe prisoner.*

The Duke of
Atri defeated
by the Spaniard

And to increase these mischiefs, *Prian* Pringinal knight of Rhodes, was come into the hauen of Otranto with foure French Gallies, with promise from the Venetian Magistrate, not to suffer them to be molested by the Spanish Fleet, which hovered neare about; who entering soone after into the same Port, *Prian* (to the end his losse should not benefit the enemies) freed his Gally-slaves, sickes his Gallies, and saues himselfe by land with his people: another injury which shall greatly incense our Lewis against the Venetians. Hereafter all things fall out opposite for our men: but see, their violent heat makes them run headlong to their totall ruine: Calabria is the meanes. They had commandment from the King to temporize, and only to keep themselves from surprize, expecting

A expecting either a confirmation the peace, or some greater succours. But what meanes is there to temper the furious courage of the French, the enemies lying to neare them? *Manuel* of Benauide hauing repaired his army, and fortified it with fise thousand men, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, was ioyned vnto *Iohn* of Cardone, and the two armies approached within a league and a halfe. *Abignii* within Gioie, the Spaniards at Seminara. *Abignii* was fortified with foure peeces of Cannon vpon the riuer side, whereas Gioie is seated to hinder the enemies passage: the Spaniards being resolute to passe, they caused their foreward (led by *Manuel Benauide*) to march on directly to the riuer to encounter *Abignii*, who was planted on the other side, vnder colour of some parle, whilst the battell and the reerward passed a mile and a halfe alone Gioie. *Abignii* discouraging this cunning stratagem, flies thither in great hast without any artillery, to charge them before they were all passed, but it was too late. All marched in order of battell to withstand our French, running thither without order, and almost out of breath. The charge was furious, and the issue doubtfull, fighting with great obstinacie; and no man seemed desirous to turne his backe. Doubtlesse the full decision of controuersies approached to the confusion of our men; who being the smaller number, and hauing lost many in this obliuious encounter, they were in the end forced to giue way to the Spanish horse, and euery man to seeke for his safety as he could. *Abincourt* was againe taken prisoner, and some other French Captaines, with the Duke of Somme, and many Barons of the Realme. *Abignii* saued himselfe in the fort of Angriole, but being presently inuaded and vnsustained of succours and defence, he was forced to yeeld himselfe prisoner. Such is the alteration of the affaires of this world. This noble and valiant Captaine had but few years before defeated *Ferdinand Gonsalue* in the same place: and now by a strange alteration he is charged, defeated, and a prisoner. Moreover, that the end of a misfortune in Calabria, might be the beginning of another in Apulia: *Gonsalue* being forced by famine and pestilence, to abandon Barlette, and to retire to Carignole, a towne betwixt Conese (where the Viceroy remained) and Barlette: the Viceroy (foreseeing that *Gonsalue*, putt vp with this first successe, would attempt some higher enterprizes) he calls vnto the Lords of Ars, Alegre, Palisse, Chondion, *Tristan* Caracole, and other Commanders. And as he propounded vnto them on the one side the enemies forces, growne glorious by many notable victories, and now presenting themselves to make triall of a new battell, on the other side, their owne weak troops diminished and daunted by reason of the former disgraces, asking their aduice, whether they should accept or fly the hazard of a battell: many were of opinion to referre it vntill the next day, saying there remained scarce an houre: when *Alegre* (in a manner alone among many) blamed the feare and cowardise of such as sought delays. Then the Viceroy said: *For my part I am ready to fight, but I feare this brave Councillor will repose more trust in his couriers legs, then in the valour of his arme, when it shall be needfull to fight: foretelling the issue of the fight, and the flight of Alegre.* He therefore puts his men in battell, and leads the foreward with Captaine *Ars*, the battell he giues to *Chondion*, and the reerward to *Alegre*.

The French
defeated.

Abignii taken
prisoner.

It is a triuolous ceremony to call a councill, and contemne good aduice, preferring opinions that doe but resemble the truth. And what reason had our men, so far from succours, hauing so many enemies in front, to hazard all vpon a shew of valour? Seeing the discommodity of the way, being barren of water, and the exceeding heat, beyond the ordinary of the moneth of May, required rest. But man cannot auoide his fortune, when it approacheth he runs after it. The Duke of Nemours takes the way to Cirignole, sending some troops before to seize vpon the place: but the Spaniards being armed first, lodged in certaine Vineyards, & entrenched their lodging with a large ditch. The French arising (not able to iudge whether those they did see before them, were all, or a part of the Spanish army), for that the light horse led by *Fabrizio Colonne*, the Lannces of the men at armes, and the fennell stakes which were very high in the Country, took from them all knowledge: did assaile the enemy with great fury. But the smoke and dust which the Spanish Cannon raised in the ayre, blinded our men, who could not come to handy blowes by reason of the enemies trench. The Viceroy seeking to force them by another way, is slaine with a Harquebuse, extinguishing in him the name and familie of the Earles of Armagnac, and daunting the courage of the whole army, the which by the death of their Commander presently fled, being fauoured by the approaching night

A generall
withdrawall
of the French:
The Duke of
Nemours
slaine.

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whose darkenes couered their retreat) preferring some from death, & others from prison. A *Chandion* (otherwise called *Chandénier*, a Gentleman of Poitou, neere vnto Niort) was likewise slaine fighting at the same ditch: & *Ars* seeing the most part of his men slaine, and that *d'Aligre* had fulfilled the Viceroyes prediction, cursing the wilfulness of the man, who by his contumacy, at an vnseasonable time, had made a shamefull breach in the honour of the French nation, and diuerted the Viceroy from the true meanes to make war: in the end he saues himselfe in Venouise. *Aligre* running vp and downe, gathers vp the peeces of this shipwrack, with the Prince of Salerne, and many Barons of the country, whildest that *Gonsalues*, following his good fortune, tooke his way to Naples: at whose approach the French shut themselves vp into the new Castle: and the Neapolitanes the fourteenth of May, receiued *Gonsalues*, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights, and priuileges. Auersa and Capoua were as light in their change.

But what vrgent necessity thrust our men to this hazard? They had strong places enough to maintaine themselves foure or five moneths, during the which either some notable succours, or the approaching winter, might breede some alteration. Out of doubt the impatiency of the French (who cannot temporize) was the cause of this last losse of the realme of Naples, rather then any necessity that forced them: yet *Leuis* of Armagnac had equalled the reputation of the brauest Captaines that had beene long before him. When as good Commanders haue managed an vsfortunate war, wee must iudge modestly of the issue of humane forces, and confesse that they haue done their duties: & that others might haue encountered the like difficulties; and raise our considerations higher, to him that placeth and displaceth Kings from their thrones, as it best pleaseth his diuine providence. The King resolued to send two mightie Armies, one by sea, and another by land, to saue the Castles of Naples, Caiete, and some other places, which yet held good: and to invade Spaine with two other armies, the one in the Countie of Roussillon, which ioynes to the Mediterranean sea; the other towards Fontarabie, and other places lying vpon the Ocean: and at the same instant, with an army at sea to invade the Coast of Catalognia and Valencia. But whildest these were preparing, *Gonsalues* battered the Cittadell, and *Peter* of Naurre made a myne, where hauing giuen fire, the violence of the powder made a breach, by the which the Spaniards (attending in battell the issue of this Stratagem) enter some by the breach of the wall, some by scallado. On the other side, the French issuing out of the new Castle, to expell them the Cittadell, the Spaniards turne head, and repelling our men towards the rauenin, they enter pell-mell with them: and aduancing with the same fury to the gate, they force the French to yeeld them the Castle. Very happily for the enemy, for the next day there arised from Genoua, to succour them, six great ships, and many other barks, laden with victuall, armes, munition, and two thousand foot. But this was physicke after death, and the worke being ended, this army retires towards Caiete. The Castle de l'Ono was taken by the like myne.

The French enioy Caiete yet, with other places thereabouts, and in Abruzzo, Aquila, the Rock of Euander, Rossane, Matalone, with many other places belonging to the Barons of the Angueuin faction: and *Leuis* of Ars, being with the Prince of Melis (worthy doubleesse of our history, seeing that *Gonsalues*, hauing offered to leaue him his state absolute, if he would ioine with the Spanish faction, he chose rather to depart with his wife and children) being fortified in Venouise, hauing surprisid and vanquished *Valentine Benauides* with some Spanish troops, he annoyed the whole countrey. The conclusion of this war consisted in the keeping or losse of Caiete: hauing a very convenient haven for Ships that came from Genoua or Prouence. *Gonsalues* therefore bends his forces thither. But *Aligre* hauing drawne forth foure hundred Lances, and foure thousand foot, preferred at the battell, the which he had lodged in *Pendi*, *Iri*, *Tracette*, the son *Guillanne* and elle-where, enters into Caiete, abandoning the other places to the victors discretion, to saue that which did most import: who hauing battered the wall, made a breach, & receiued great losse at two assaults, hauing intelligence of the arriual of the Marquis of Saluce (made Viceroy by the King in the D. of Nemours place) with six great Genoa Carackes, six other ships, and seuen Gallies, followed by others, carying a 1000 foot of the Ile of Crofica, and three thousand Gascons, he retires his men to Naples wel diminished with skirmishes, assaults, & with his retreat; amongst others, of *Sanchio*, *Armentell*, *Alphonso Lopes*, *John Liteffan* a Germane: but about all *Gonsalues* grieved for *Don Hugues* of Cardone.

The Castles of
Naples taken.

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A Cardone and *Rodericke Mairigue* slaine with a Cannon shot. These finall good haps were crowned by taking of the fort of Euander, Aquila, and all other places of Abruzzo, the which drew all Calabria to the Spanish obedience. The King in the meane time sent 7000 foot, and eight hundred men at armes, commanded with the title of general, by the Lord of Tremouille (who then by common consent was held one of the chiefe for martiall affairs: but surprized by sicknesse at Parma, he gaue the charge thereof to *Francis* of Gonzague Marquis of Mantoua) and eight thousand Suiſſes, to the which the Florentines did adde two hundred Lances: the Duke of Ferrara, the Bolognois and Gonzagua a hundred men at armes, and the Siennois a hundred more: the which being ioyned with those troopes that were in Caiete, made about the number of a thousand eight hundred lances, French and Italian, and aboute eighteenth thousand foot, besides the army at sea, wherein were great forces. For the passage of this army by land, the King desired to be satisfied of the Popes intention, and of the Valentinois; for the Pope (who made an ordinary traffick of other mens losse and calamity) signified, that as a common father (said he) to both parties, he would remaine a newter, suffering either of them to leaue troops indifferently in the territories of the Church, hee granted free passage to the said army. And the Valentinois offered the King to ioine vnto his army six hundred men at armes, and two thousand foot, but some letters intercepted from the Valentinois to *Gonsalues*, discovered the very bottom of his thoughts, capitulating, that *Gonsalues* hauing taken Caiete, and consequently all the Realme of Naples, the Valentinois should seize vpon Pisa, and then ioyning their forces they should invade Tuscanie. But as the Pope and his *Borgia* would serue two masters, and the King pressing them vehemently to declare their minds plainly, beheld a strange Catastrophe of the Popes Tragedy. The Pope and *Borgia* had before time poisoned the Cardinals of Saint Angelo, of Capoua, of Modena, Vrsin, and many other rich men, whom commonly by their death they did rob of their goods. They had likewise sworne the death of *Adrian* Cardinal of Cornere. They were to sup coolely in an arbor in a garden belonging vnto *Adrian*: and for the effecting of their designe, the Valentinois had sent before some flagons of poisoned wine, whereof he gaue the charge to a groom that was ignorant of the businesse, with expresse commandement, that no man should touch them. It chanced that the Pope comming before the cloth was layd, distempered with heat and thirst, called for wine.

The taster, thinking this flaggon had been especially recommended for the Popes own mouth and his sons, filled of this wine to the Pope; And as he was drinking, the Duke of Valentinois comes, to whom (being desirous to drinke) they gaue of the same flaggon. Thus Pope *Alexander* the sixth, dyed the next day, the 18 of August: whose immoderate ambition, vn-restrained arrogancy, detestable trechery, horrible cruelty, vnmeasurable couerousnesse, selling both holy and profane things, had infected all the world, verifying in his person: *That the wicked man labours to bring forth out of rage, but he shall bring forth that which shall deccine him: he had made a pit, and is fallen in it.* And, *The Vernall God searcheth out murderers and remembers them.* The Valentinois, through the vigor of his youth, and speedy counter-poisons, (being put into the belly of a moyle newly killed) prolonged his daies, to feele many deaths in his soule not dying so soone.

He had often tore scene all accidents that might hap vnto him by the death of his father, and provided remedies for them all: but he reckoned without his host, not supposing to see his father dead, and himselfe at the same instant in extreme danger of death. And whereas he did alwaies presume after his fathers deceale, partly by the feare of his forces, partly with the fauour of the Spanish Cardinals, which were eleuen, to cause a Pope to be chosen at his pleasure, he is now forced to apply his Councils to the present necessity. And imagining, that he should hardly at one instant withstand the hatred of the Colonois and Vrsins, if they were ioynly banded against him: hee resolved to trust them rather whom he had onely wronged in their estates. So restoring to them their lands and possessions, he presently reconciles himselfe with the Colonois, and others of their faction, who by the comming of *Prosper Colonne* to Rome, had already filled all the City with ieaousies and tumults: some fearing lest this reconciliation should draw the Valentinois to the Spanish party: others apprehending the comming of the French army. Moreover, the Vrsins assembled all their partisans, and thursting after the Valentinois blood, sought to reuenge the outrages which all their family had sustained. So as in haue

The Kings new
army for Na-
ples.

The estate of
the Church.

The death of
Pope Alexan-
der.
His disposition.

tried

tered of the deceased Pope and his sonne, they burne the shops and houses of some Spanish Merchants and Courtiers at Mont-Jordan. All the other Barons in the dominions of the Church, by their meanes, returne to their lands and goods.

The French returne to Citade Castello. *John Paul Bailon* chased from before Perugia at the first siege, returns, and by a furious assault takes it. The towne of Plombin receives her first Lord. The Duke of Vimin, the Lord of Pescara, Camerin, and Singalga are established in their possessions. The Venetians assemble many men at Ravenna, and give cause of suspect to invade Romagna, which onely remained under the Valentinois command, desiring rather to serve one onely and a mighty Lord, then to have a particular Lord in every Towne. Notwithstanding all these disgraces, yet both the French and the Spaniard made great instance, to entertaine him, or to winne him to the party: the French, for that he might (being armed) crosse their passage into Italy, if hee discovered himselfe in favour of the Spaniard, and molest them in the estate of Naples: the Spaniard, for they desired to make use of his forces, and to get (by this meanes) the suffrages of the Spanish Cardinal for the election of a future Pope. But the French army approached Rome, and the King might hurt or helpe him more then the Spaniard, both within Rome, and his other Estates. He therefore passed this accord the first of September, the Cardinal of Saint Severin, and the Lord of Trans, Ambassadour, vndertaking for the King, *To ayde the King with his forces in the warre of Naples, and in any other enterprise against all men, except the Church.* And his said Agents bound his Majesty, as well to protect the person of the Valentinois, as all the Estates which he possessed, and to ayde him to recover those which hee had lost.

The Cardinal of Amboise upon the first newes of *Alexanders* death, posts thither, to labour for the Popedom, building chiefly upon Cardinal *Ascanius* promises: whom two yeares before hee had drawne out of the Tower of Bourges. But so many ambitious braines, fraught rather with diuisions and partialities, every one for his owne private interest, then assisted with the holy Spirit, to whom notwithstanding they give the first voice of their election, did in due frustrate both the French and Spaniard, to install *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal of Sienna, being old, weak, and sickly: to the which the whole Colledge agreed both for that this neutral election might disperse the diuers pursuits of the contending nations: as also, for that the new Popes infirmities gave them hope to proceed shortly to the subrogation of another. To reuise the memory of *Pius* the second his vncle, who had made him Cardinal, he was called *Pius* the third.

Yet this election did noe pacifie the troubles within Rome. The Valentinois and the Vrsins being within the walles, fortifie themselves daily with new companies, resolved to obtaine by force, the Iustice which their reasonable demands could not get of the Colledge of Cardinals, when as their partisans should be ariued. This contention did greatly trouble both the Court and the people of Rome, and did mightily preiudice the French affaires: for this vehement affection, wherewith they see the Valentinois supported by France, drew the Vrsins to the Spaniards pay, whose forces were of no small consequence for an absolute victory. But the desire the Venetians had to see the King disappointed of the Realme of Naples, and the liberty they gave the Vrsins to leave their pay, made the world to iudge, that either they had perswaded this family to the Spanish party, or at the least they had consented therunto. And this was another cause of discontent, to be reuenged of them in time.

The Vrsins being intreated by the Spaniard, and reconciled with the Colonnois, by the mediation of the Ambassadours of Spaine and Venice, and ioyntly retolued for a common reuenge upon the Valentinois, they fall upon his troops in the Suburbs: the which (being vnable to withstand so furious a charge) were forced to give way vnto their violence, and the Commander to fuel himselfe in the Castle Saint Angelo, hauing likewise with the Popes consent taken the Captaines oath, to depart when he pleased. The tumult being thus pacified, it gave them free liberty to attend a new election: for *Pius* nothing desiring their continued hope, of his short Popedom, dyed the 26 day after his creation. But alas! *Alexander* had serued but as a scourge for that great Iudge; but now he takes his rod in hand, to break Italy in peeces. The Cardinal *S. Pietro*, mighty in friends, in reputation and in wealth, was chosen, the last of October, and named *Julius* the second: by name factious, and terrible, vnquiet and turbulent: but stately, a great defender

the Vrsins and Colonnois, reconciled by the mediation of the Ambassadours of Spaine and Venice.

The Vrsins and Colonnois, reconciled by the mediation of the Ambassadours of Spaine and Venice.

Julius the second, chosen Pope.

A defender of the liberties of the Church, and a most franke receiuer of the loue and fauour of all those that might aduance him to this dignity.

The Valentinois flight to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and the dispersing of all the troops he had with him, made the Townes of Romagna (which had till then continued constant and firme in his obedience) to call home their ancient Lords, or to embrace sundry parties. And the Venetians, good fishermen in a troubled water, alpiring to the command of all Romagna, had seized upon the Castles of the valley of Lamone, of the towne of Forlimpopole, of Rimini, Faenza, Montefiore, S. Archangelo, Verruque, Gattiere, Saugnagne, Meldolese: in the territory of Imola, Tossignagne, Sotaroiole, Montebate: and had easily seized upon Imola and Furli, if by the new Popes complaints (whom they had strangely discontented) they had not put their men into garison. The Venetians vsurpations did wonderfully displease *Julius*: but what could he doe, being newly advanced to the chaire, vnprovided of forces, of money, or of any hope of succours from the Kings of France and Spaine, being not yet resolved whole enignes to follow? To retaine (in fauour of the Church) some places which the Valentinois yet held, and to oppose him in some sort against the Venetians (although he loued the Valentinois heeles better then his face) he agrees with him, that he should goe to Ferrara and Imola, to recleue such forces as he could leaue. But he is no sooner parted, but a new desire of command suggests, that it should be good the Valentinois should deliuer vnto him such Castles and places as he commanded, to the end the Venetians should not invade them in his absence. And to this end he sends vnto him the Cardinals of Volterre and Surenne. Upon the Valentinois refusal, the Pope being offended, sends to arrest the Gallies, wher-in he had embarked at Ostia, and caused him to be brought from Magliana to Vatican, honoured and much made of, but safely guarded. Thus you see the Valentinois power reduced to nothing, spoiled in a manner of all he had vsurped, his troops stript by the Florentinois, and himselfe at this instant so well watched as he could not goe the length of himselfe. But let vs see what becomes of so many great and goodly designes of our *Lewis*. He intends not onely to recouer his losses in the realme of Naples, but also with one breath to crosse the affaires of *Ferdinand* in Spaine.

The Valentinois a prisoner.

The Lord of Albret, and Marshall of Gié, marched towards Fontaraby, with foure hundred Lances, among the which *Peter* of Foix Lord of Lautrec, and the Lord of Lescun, so famous in our historie, made first shew of their vertues, and five thousand foot, Gascons and Suisses. And to make warre in the countie of Rouffillon, was sent the Marshall of Rieux, accompanied with *Gaston* of Foix, Duke of Nemours, by the death of *Lewis* of Armagnac, the Vicounts of Paulin and Bruniquet, the Earle of Carmain, the Lords of Montaur, Terride, and Negrepelisse, leading eight hundred men at armes, and eight thousand foot, French, Gascons, and Suisses. And at the same instant an army was ready at Sea to invade the Coast of Catalonia, and the realme of Valentia: but he that overgripes himselfe holds little: these were but shewes without effect. For the Lord of Albret being entred into the Prouince of Guiscolcoa, whether that the enemies forces were greater then his, or fearing lest the Castilian should be reuenged of the King of Nauarre his sonne, he retired and went into Languedoc, to the Marshall of Rieux, to besiege Saules with their ioynt forces.

But the King of Spain, hauing assembled a great army at Pargipan from all his realms, and marching in person with a resolution to raise the siege by some notable stratagem: our men finding themselves too weak, retired to Narbonne; with a successe contrary to the Lord of Albons, in the yeare 1496. And the Spaniards after some roads and spoiling on this side the mountaines, content to haue repelled the enemy, concluded a truce for five moneths, mediated by *Fredericke*: (whom *Ferdinand* King of Arragon and Castile, sed with hope to restore him to his throne) and *Queene Anne* moued our *Lewis* therunto, onely in regard of that which concerned the affaires of France.

A truce betwixt Spaine and France.

By this truce, the thoughts and forces of these two Kings are conuerted to the warres of Naples. The French army hauing passed the territories of Valmontone, and of the Colonnois, marched through the possessions of the Church, with an intent to take the Castle of Seque. Here our men receiued their first affront, Seque well affailed, was well defended, causing our men to retire: who despairing to win Saint Germaine, take their way by the Sea Coast. But the question was how to passe Garillon, which was not

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to be waded through at that season. *Gonsalve* was encamped on the other side: our French by reason of their Cannon, win the passage of the river, make a bridge thereon, and adventure to passe. The Spaniards repulse them, even to the middle of the bridge, and by the fury of their shot, force them to goe to land, having lost five hundred men, French and Suisses, and some hundred drowned: the enemy two hundred, and *Fabius* the sonne of *Paul Virginius*, a young man and of great hope.

It is a matter of dangerous consequence, to attempt to passe a river in the face of a mighty army, and commanded by a discreet Captain, if they be not well fortified with trenches. This second disgrace encouraged the Spaniard, terrified our French, and made them lose all future hope. Doubtlesse the most important part of an army, is a good Commander, and commonly few do willingly vndergoe the command of a stranger; if he be not especially favoured by the heavens, and hath won great credit, and given great testimonies of his valour. Herein the Spaniards did exceed them: and this defect in the French armie, had bred great contempt of their General: and more confusion than concord among the Captaines. So as the Marquess of Maxoura Lieutenant for the King, either thinking himselfe unfit to gouerne a great army, or (as *Sandricourt* charged him) carrying away with him the Italian forces, that the French might bee so much the weaker, or for that having received this double repulse, hee would no farther engage his honour, parted from the army, laying all the fault vpon the contumacie of the French.

All difficulties conspired their ruine, the hard season of the winter, the situation of the moorish Country, the continuall raine and snow, want of pay, the impatience of the royales of war, and moreover the great sufferance of the enemy, who fortified with a deep ditch, and two battions in the Front of the enemies army, continually guarded the passage, whilst that our men wasted themselves with fruitlesse attempts, and by their unreasonable stay, the which quailed as much the heat of their courage, as the courtesie of their Victuallers, the ordinary theft of the Treasurers, the dissention of Captaines, and the disobedience of souldiers, vsual in troops, wanting a vigilant Commander, and of authority, and the increase of ordinary diseases did hurt them. Being inuironed with these difficulties, the enemy hath a new supply by *Bartholomew* of Aluiano with the rest of the Virgins. And *Gonsalve* finding himselfe to haue nine hundred men at armes, a thousand light horse, and nine thousand Spanish foot, advertised moreover of the disorders and continuall decay of our army, the which being stronger in chueallery then in footmen, those being cut in peeces which they had lately left at Castle Guillaume, were so dispersed as their lodging contained ten miles in circuit; a grosse error of the Marquis of Saluce, having an enemy in front, who could well embrace all advantages: he secretly casts a bridge ouer the Garillon, foure miles about that which our men had made at the passage of Suie, where the French kept no guard: he passeth the 27 of December in the night, and possideth Suie. The Marquis vnderstanding that the Spaniard did passe, riseth suddenly, breakes his bridge, and causeth the army to march towards Caiete, *Gonsalve* E hinders his passage by *Prosper Colonne*, and the light horsemen: that being molested by them they should be enforced to march the more slowly: he ouertakes them right against Scandi, and stues them with continuall skirmishes, vntill that *Gonsalve* comes vpon the rereward of them. An army that retires with feare, receiues the first stroke of death when they are skirmished with. Our French were driuen to the passage of the bridge which is before the Mole of Caiete, & whilst the Viceroy layed there to giue the Cannon time to passe, the battell and rereward of the Spaniards arriue. *Bernardine Adorne*, the Lords of Cramont and Saint Colombe, with some Coynets of French and Italians, make it good a long time, and fauour the retreat of the foot, vntill that by the death of *Adorne* and many others, with the wounding of *S. Colombe*, the rest of these horsemen seeing the troops to haue gotten some ground, doe likewise take their way to Caiete, alwayes beaten behinde, even vnto the head of two waies, whereof the one leads to Ieri, and the other to Caiete. Here all disband, those which are best mounted saue themselves: the slowest, the wounded, the sicke, the Cannon, and the munition, remaine at the victors deuotion. At the same time *Fabrizia Colonne* (having passed the river with five hundred horse and a thousand foot) spoiled the companies of *Lodowike* of Mirandolli, *Alexander* of Triuice, *Peter* of Medicis (who followed the French army) retiring by Sea to

The Marquis of Maxoura General of the French, ouercometh the charge of the army.

The French defeated quire.

A to Caiete with many Gentlemen, and foure peeces of artillery, their barke ouer-taken with a storme in the mouth of the river was swallowed vp in the waues, and all in it drowned. *Gonsalve* knew well, that so great a multitude of men being retired into Caiete, would breed a sudden famine, and soone yeeld him the Towne; Hee besieged it, and our men not able to dispose themselves, to endure the tediousnesse of a doubtfull expectation of succours, made the first day of the year, one thousand five hundred and foure, famous by this accord with him: To depart with liues and goods out of the Realme of Naples, either by land or by sea, and that the Lord of Aubigni, and all other prisoners, should be deliuered on either side.

B So our French are againe dispossessed of the estate of Naples, and exposed to cold, hunger, and to a long and painful retreat, that although of so great an army, few were slaine by the enemies sword, yet the most part of them which departed after this capitulation, found their graues in hospitalls, market places and streets: and of such as tooke their way by sea, few suruiued the extreame discommodities which they had endured: amongst others, the Marquis of Saluce, *Sandricourt* and many Gentlemen of marke. It were better to fore-see all these difficulties, before we part from our houses, then to goe so farre to seeke our graues. Captain *Bayard* returned, admired greatly even by *Gonsalve* himselfe, having purchased great glory and reputation amongst the French.

C Doubtlesse, besides the discord and bad gouernement of Captaines, the sharpnesse of the time, and impatience of our men in military labours: two things principally had wrested this victory from the King. The one was the long stay of his army in the territories of Rome for the Popes death, so as winter came, and *Gonsalve* had leisure to practise with the Virgins before this army entred the realme. The other was the treacherous couetousnesse and theft of the Commissaries and Treasurers, who commonly empty the Kings coffers to fill their owne bagges, to the preiudice of the souldiers pay, and the order they should take for victuals. *John Herouet* Treasurer, condemned of theft, was publicly executed: *Alegre Sandricourt* and others, were for a time in disgrace with the King. The losse of Naples, the death of so braue a Nobility, the infinite numbers of men slaine in these attempts, had filled the Realme and Court with great heauinesse and mourning, every man cursing the day wherein that miserable desire to purchase new estates in Italy, had first entred into the hearts of our Kings of France. The King seeing well how much his reputation would bee blemished with strangers, and how much the losse of so flourishing an army, would weaken his forces, was not without feare: either that *Maximilian* would alter something in the state of Milan; or that *Gonsalve* (following his course) would employ his victorious army to the subuersion of the said duchy: and those which followed the French party in Italy, feared, lest in his way he should alter the estate of Tuscane. Without doubt it was likely, that the King, wanting money, weak of men, and the French daunted in courage, and without any desire to repaile the Alpes, would without any resistance, haue giuen place to the victors violence. But *Gonsalve* content with the surname of Great Captain, which the Spanish boasting had giuen him, restrained his desires within the limits of this happy victory. True it is, that many extremities kept him backe. Hee did owe much vnto his army, who made great instance to be paid, and put into garisons. Moreover, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, to lead his Army out of the Realme, from whence the enemy was not yet fully expelled. But that which stayed the course of his prosperities, was a dangerous sicknesse, so as hee could not execute any enterprise in person: hee sent *Bartholomew* of Aluiano, against *Lewis* of Ars, who during the stay of the army vpon the bankes of Garillon, had seized vpon Troy and Saint Seuer, and had put all Apulia into armes.

F This stay of *Gonsalve*, held the rest of Italy rather in ieaousie, then any way troubled it. And the Pope (forbearing yet to discover his designs,) laboured to get the possession of such Castles as the Valentinoi held at Furlie, Celene and Bertinoire. The Valentinoi was content for Celene: but the Pope hauing sent *Don Pedro d'Oniedo* a Spaniard, to receiue it in his name, the Capitaine of the place holding the composition of no force, (for that the Valentinoi was a prisoner,) caused him to be hanged. So as the Pope despairing to get it without his liberty, agrees with him. That hee should bee put into the Castle of Ostia, with commandement to the Cardinall of Saint Croix to enlarge him,

The Realme of Naples wholly lost by the French.

The chief causes of this succrow.

The King much perplexed with these losses.

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1505

The Duke of
Valenciais
prisoner in
Spain.A truce with
the Spaniard.

him, when he had consigned the said Castles. This consignment made, the Valentinois escapes with the Cardinals permission, and retires to Naples, from whence *Gonsalve* sent him afterwards to *Ferdinand* his King, who confined him prisoner to the Castle of *Medina del Campo*. An act in truth unworthy the sincerity of a great Prince, but most worthy of this Duke, who not satisfied with the wickedness he had formerly done, desired a new, to trouble other mens estates, and to sow diffentions throughout all Italy. A prison which did greatly comfort all Romagna, being freed from the evil spirit, which so tormented it.

A common necessity is usually the mother of a peace, or truce betwixt Princes, thus have long tormented one another. Behold the Kings of France and Spain, both weary of war, conclude a truce. *Lewis* bought it, and *Ferdinand* accepts it willingly, thinking by this means to confirm his new conquests, with more safety, upon condition: That it should be lawful for the subjects of either party, to trafficke throughout all their Realmes and dominions, except at Naples. The Kings of Spain have alwaies treated upon advantage with our Kings. *Gonsalve* doth cunningly make his profit of this clause, placing upon the frontiers of those places, which the French did yet possesse, (as *Rosene* in Calabria, *Otranto* in the land of *Otranto*, *Venouse*, *Conseruan*, and the Castle of *Mont* in *Apulia*) guards to watch that no man living should converse in any place that was held by the Spaniard. The which brought the inhabitants to so great a fright, as resolving to yeeld to the enemy, *Lewis* of Aris, was forced to retire into France.

But what avails it to auoyde one danger, and fall into another? Wee haue not yet breathed from our trauels past, and see, wee now study on new iarres and confusions. In truth the estate of this world is like a chesse-board, where Princes with a vari. ble change, play most couetous games, sometimes with losse, sometimes with gaine: and oft-times (treating with men in whom there is no trust) they fall out of one mischief into a greater incontinencie. At the same time, Ambassadors being come from *Maximilian* and *Philip*, to confirme that which had bene proposed, by the coming of the Bishop of Cifferson, and the Marquis of Final, fell expressly by the Pope for that businesse: this peace was in the end concluded: "That the mariage of *Claude* the Kings daughter, with *Charles* the Arch. Dukes eldest sonne, should take effect: that all the former inuestitures of the Duchy of Milan being disanulled, *Maximilian* should grant the inuestiture vnto the King, for himselfe and his heires males: and for want of males, should giue it in fauour of the mariage of *Claude* and *Charles*: and if *Charles* should die before the consummation of the said mariage, to *Claude* and the Arch. dukes yongest son, in case he married with her: for which possession the King should pay vnto *Maximilian*, vpon dispatch of the letters patentes, threecore thousand florins of the Rhin, and threecore thousand more within sixe months after, and euery yeare, on the birth day of our Lord God, a paire of purres of gold.

All these Princes were wonderfully incensed against the Venetians, by reason of the vsurpations made by them in their estates. They make a League for their common defence, and to offend the Venerians, meaning to pull from them what they had vsurped. And for that the promises which *Maximilian* had vainly giuen to *Lodowike Sforze*, were the cause to hasten his ruine: hee was a meanes the King should let him at libertie, and giue him some good pension to liue withall in France. But this was a short comfort for *Lodowike*, whose turbulent spirit would haue praetised some alteration. This capitulation being so profitable to all these Princes, the Pope being comprehended therein, it was likely it should hold. But there must be stronger bands to tie it: that is, a reciprocalall love, without the which all treaties are fruitlesse. The end of this yeare is famous by the death of *Fredericke*, sometimes King of Naples, who was deprived of all his vaing hopes to recover his Realm of Naples, by the accord of these two Kings, and by that of *Isabel* Queen of Castile, a vertuous Princeesse, noble, wife, and beloved of her subjects.

The yeare following disposed the two Kings and the Potentates of Italy, to lay aside arms: *Ferdinand* of Arragon hauing new designs, and foreseeing that by the death of his wife, *Philip* his sonne in law would challenge the Crowne of Castile, (as hauing married the inheretrix of the said Realme) desired onely to preserve the Realme of Naples; by meanes of the capitulation lately made. Our *Lewis* was not altogether freed from doubt, for that *Maximilian* delayed (according to his vsuall tediousnesse) to raise the peace;

A peace. The Pope desired innouation, but his forces were too weak without the support of some mighty Prince. The last League had put the Venetians in alarme, hauing thereby three mighty enemies against them. To pacifie the nearest, they offer vnto the Pope to restore all they had vsurped, except *Favosa*, *Rimini*, and their appurtenances. And the Pope knowing, that the Emperours warre against the Elector *Palatin*, would hinder his passage into Italy, ioyntly with the King, for that yeare, accepted the obedience the Venetians offered him, in regard of the said places, without making them any shew of a more mild and tractable disposition. The King (for the accomplishment of that which had been treated of) sent the Cardinall of Amboise to Hagenau a towne of Alsacia (newly taken from the Count *Palatin*) where the Emperor did solemnly sweare, and proclaim the articles agreed vpon, according to the which, the Cardinall payed halfe the money, promised for the inuestiture of Milan.

During this ratification, there grows new seeds of diffention in Italy. The Cardinall *Ascanus*, brother to *Lodowike Sforze*, treated with the Ambassador of Venice at Rome, and had also (according to the common opinion) some secret intelligence with *Gonsalve*. It was in shew to invade the Duchy of Milan, the which they knew to be vnfirm of French soldiers: the people inclining again to the name of *Sforze*: and (that which made them the more bold,) the King being surprisid with so dangerous a sicknesse as the Physicians depaying of his health, the *Queene* prepared to send all her jewels into Britany; if the Marshall of Gie had not placed men upon the way to stay them: for the which, the king afterwards was as well pleased, as the *Queen*, by her dislike, fought to bring him in disgrace. Doubtlesse the people should oft times suffer much, if their counsels were not staid by the providence of God. The King recouers his health, and the Cardinall *Ascanus* dies suddenly of the plague, at Rome, interring with him the designs of Milan.

The King is freed of one danger. And as God by meanes vnknowne to men, doth change great stormes into calme sun-thines: our *Lewis*, who till then had the greatnesse of the Archduke *Philip* in iealousie, fearing to make him his enemy, hee findes now that the death of *Isabel* of Castile doth free him of his feare: for that the Archduke (reiecing the testament of his mother in law) deuised to take the government of the Realme of Castile from *Ferdinand* his father in law, the which could not bee done but by their common quarrels, and the weakening of their forces, the King (remaining betwixt both, free from troubles,) should thereby fortifie himselfe, with men, money & munition, for the aduancing of his designs. And the Arragonois, on the other side (forced to seek a support against his son in law, desiring a peace with the king, he obtains it, by the mariage of him and *Germaine*, sister to *Gaston* of Foix daughter to his Maiesties sister, upon condition, that the King should giue her in dowry that part of the Realmes of Naples which belonged vnto him: the king of Arragon binding himselfe to pay him within ten years 700000 ducats for the charges past: and to indow his new spouse, with 300000 ducats. Which dowry *Germaine* dying in mariage without children, should reuiewe to *Ferdinand*: but if he died first, it should go to the Crowne of France. A happy conclusion both of a peace, and of the yeare, if it could haue entertained long betwixt these two Princes: But it shall be soon broken, and alwaies our peace with the Spaniards hath been full of discord.

Let vs now open the Springs of new warres. The Pope had without the Kings priuiey giuen all the benefices that were fallen voyde in the Duchy of Milan by the death of Cardinall *Ascanus* and other Clergy men. Moreover, in the creation of many Cardinalls, he had refused to admit into the Society the Bishop of Auch, Nephew to the Cardinall of Amboise, and the Bishop of Baiex Nephew to the Lord of Tremouille. And moreover, he had armed some galleies, to be in a readinesse (as some gaue out) to free *Gonsalve* from the government of the French, in case the King died, as some feared, and others did hope. All these considerations, together with the Kings discontent, seemed to breed some diffention with the Pope: yet his friendship was profitable for the King in the warre hee pretended against the Venetians, against whom he knew the Pope to bee ill affected, for that desire hee had to recover the towne of Romagna. He therefore sent the Bishop of Cifferson his Nuncio into France, to propound vnto him many offers, and designs, for the execution of this common enterprize. Moreover, the Pope seeing himselfe as it were forced at the Kings instance, to prolong the Cardinall of Amboise his legation in France, and for iealousie he had that this Cardinall aspired by all meanes to the Popedom, hee could

1505

The Venetians
reconciled to
the Pope.A peace be-
twixt the king
and Alexander.Mortyes of
new troubles.

X x

not

1506

not resolute to ioyne in all points with the King. But he knew moreover, that being divided from his Maieſty, his counſells could not ſucceed happily : in the end they treated new amity and league together, and to make the King the better affected, he gives a Cardinalſſ hatt to either of the forenamed Biſhops, and power vnto the King to diſpoſe of all benefices within the Duchy of Milan.

The more the King confirmed himſelfe in the Popes alliance, the more he loathed that of *Maximilian* and of *Philip* his ſonne : the paſſage which he pretended into Italy with a mighty army to receiue his Imperiall Crowne, and to cauſe his ſonne to bee choſen King of Romans, being greatly ſuſpected vnto the King : and the greatneſſe of *Philip* (who by capitulation had lent his Father in law *Ferdinand* backe into Arragon) hauing already ſo apparently eſtranged the Kings loue from him, as he gaue *Claude* his daughter in marriage to *Francis* Earle of Angoulême (the next heire to this Crowne, after the Kings deceaſe without heires males) at the ſute and ſupplication of all the Parliaments of his Realme. The which ſerued for an excuſe to *Philip*. And the more to diuert *Maximilians* paſſage into Italy, the King lent men to ſcourge the Duke of Gueldres (a great enemy to *Philip*) proſperity) and to moleſt his Prouinces of the Low Countries in his abſence. As theſe things paſſed, the Pope (burning with deſire to reſtore vnto the obediēce of the Church, all ſuch places as had bene taken away) intreated the King (according to their agreement) to ayde him in the recovery of Perugia and Bologna. This requeſt was very pleaſing vnto the King; it was a meanes to tie the Pope, whom they had in ſome ſort loue in Court, to haue bene priuie to ſome practice, which *Ottavian Fregos* had made to diſpoſſeſſe the King of the Seigneury of Genoua. Moreover, *Bentinole* Lord of Bologna, ſeemed more affected to *Maximilian* then to him : and *John Paul Bailion*, then ſuror of Perugia, was in diſgrace with the King, hauing reſuſed to ioyne with his army, when it was vpon the Garilan.

Notwithſtanding the proteſtation which the Venetians made vnto the King, to take armes for the defence of Bologna, if the Pope did not firſt make them grant of the right of Faenza belonging to the Church, did ſome what diuert him, referring the execution to another time. Yet the Pope (being vehement and peremptory by nature) goes out of Rome with 500 men at armes, and gives notice of his coming to the Bolognois, commanding them to prepare to receiue him, and to lodge 500 French lances in their Country, whereof he had yet no aſſurance. Then *Bailion* fearing his coming, goes to meet the Pope, and deliuer him the ſorts of Perugia and Perouſin. In the end, by the perſwaſion of the Cardinal of Amboiſe, the king commanded *Charles* of Amboiſe Lord of Chaumont, to aſſiſt the Pope in perſon with 500 Lances, and 3000 foot, amongſt which were *Gaſton* of Foix the Kings nephew, and Duke *Nemours*, *Peter* of Foix Lord of Lauree, his couſin, the Lord of Palſſe and others. *Bentinole* and his children amazed at this ſudden arriuall, beſeech *Chaumont* to be a mediator, and to procure them ſome tolerable conditions, who dealing with the Pope, obtained leave to depart ſafely out of Bologna, to remaine in what part he pleaſed of the Duchy of Milan, to ſell and cary away all his mouables, and to enioy the reuenues they poſſeſſed by any iuſt title, without any moleſtation. Thus Bologna returned to the obediēce of the Church, and the Pope hauing given the Duke of Nemours a ſword enriched with precious ſtones, amongſt which there was one Diamond of inſeſtimable value, 8000 Ducats to *Chaumont* and 10000 for his men: he conquered all his thoughts to annoy the Venetians. At this time died *Philip* the Archduke, of a feuer, within few daies in the city of Bruges, young of yeers, ſtrong and healthfull of body, leauing an heire (the ſecond ſourge of the French Monarchy) who within few yeeres ſhall moue vpon the Theater of our Hiſtory, to as many & diuers tragicall parts. And the Duke of Valencinois, to ſiſt in the laſt part of his tragedy, hauing ſlipped downe with a cord from the ſtore of Medina del Campo, and fought for refuge with *John* of Albrer King of Nauarre, brother to his wife, was in the end ſlain before *Vitau*, fighting for his heeſter in law: 200 honorable dead for ſuch a tyrant.

Chaumont was no ſooner returned, but there ſprung vp a new ſeaſon to employ his forces : the Genouois taking occaſion, not of any deſire they had to rebell, but only of ciuill diſcords betwixt the people and the Nobles (the which doe often tranſpire into beyond their firſt reſolutions) did ſacke the Nobles houſes, and tumultuouſly created a new Magiſtracy of eight popular men, whom to authoriſe them the moſt chiefe ſorted

Tribunes

1507

A Tribunes of the people : they ſeized by force vpon Spetie, and ſome other townes lying vpon the Eaſterne riuer. The Lord of Rauaſein being abſent, flies ſpeedily to Genoua, with a hundred and fifty horſe, and ſeuē hundred foot. The King had ſent vnto them *Michel Riccio*, a Doctour, baniſhed from Naples, to perſwade rather to ſeeke rather the mildneſſe of his mercy, then to try the rigour of his forces. But a mutinous people is like vnto a wilde horſe, which runs furiously, vntill ſome downefall ſlay him : for in ſtead of giuing care to his counſell, they goe to beſiege Monaco, lying vpon the ſea, in a commodious place, and of great importance for the City of Genoua; they create *Paul de Noue*, a diſt of Silke, Duke of Genoua, beat downe the Kings armes, and ſet vp *Maximilians*: they take Caſtellar, a Caſtle built about Genoua on the mountaine : and againſt their faith, cut the French mens throats that were in garriſon.

So the King imputing that to the Genouois as a rebellion, which they had done by ciuill diſcord, marched himſelfe in perſon, followed by 800 Lances, 1800 light horſe, 12000 foot : and an army at ſea, conſiſting of eight Gallies, eight Galleons, and many Foits and Brigantines : he raiſeth the ſiege at Monaco, takes the Baſtion which they had built on the top of the mountaine, forceth the Genouois to yeeld to his mercy, diſarmes them : and the 29 of Aprill, enters into Genoua, in complete armor, with his ſword in his hand, vnder a Canopie, accompanied with all his companies of men at armes, and Archers of his Guard : and (at the pittifull cry of the people, demanding mercy of his Maieſtie) hee grants them pardon, paying an hundred thouſand Ducats in ready money, and two hundred thouſand more to be payed at certaine dayes, for the charges of this expedition, and to build a Cittadell. And in token of his abſolute authority, he commanded that the money of Genoua ſhould from that time be coyned with the ſtampe of France : and then he ended all this Tragedy with the death of *Demetrius Inſulin*, one of the chiefe Tribunes, who by his examination laid open all the practices and hopes the Pope had giuen them : and ſooner after by the death of *Paul de Noue* the new Duke of Genoua, with threeſcore others, which he put into the hands of the Magiſtrate.

In the meane time the Pope (who found himſelfe ſo ingaged in the rebellion of Genoua) ſeemed diſcontent : he accuſeth the King, that he had perſwaded *Bentinole* to ſurprize Bologna, meaning to declare himſelfe afterwards an enemy to the Church, and by violence to inſtall the Cardinal of Amboiſe in St. Peters chaire, preſſing the Emperour and the Venetians to make war ioyntly againſt the King. *Maximilian* had (in a Diet held at Conſtance) got the conſent of the Princes of the Empire therunto : and the King, to prevent this ſtorme, which threatened him from Germany, and to free both the Pope & the Venetians from iealouſie, ſooner after the taking of Genoua, hee diſmiſſed his army, and himſelfe had preſently returned, if the deſire of a parlee with the King of Arragon his nephew had not ſtayed him. *Sauone* was appointed to that end, where hauing promiſed reſpectively a mutual preſeruation of loue and good intelligence, they treat of the reformation of the Church, by meanes of a holy & free counsell, and to reconcile our *Lewis* with *Maximilian*, and they two to aſſiſt the Venetians with their common forces.

Moreover, the Pope had ſent the Cardinal of Sainte Croix, for Legat to *Maximilian* : and the Venetians, Florentins (whom the King would not receiue into his proteſtation, againſt the paſſage of *Maximilian*, but with this claue, Excepting the right of the Empire) and all others that depended of themſelues (except the Marquis of Mantoua) had ſent their Agents to this Imperiall Diet of Conſtance, ſome for deſire of innouation, ſome for hope, others for feare. Which things troubled the King : eſpecially the Ambaſſage of the Cardinal of St. Croix, whom he knew to be alwaies deſirous of *Maximilians* proſperity. In the end, the concluſion of this Diet (the which the Pope attended, wauering betwixt hope & feare, ſometimes deſiring *Maximilians* coming into Italy, and ſometimes apprehending the memory of ancient quarrels betwixt the Emperours and Popes) was, That they ſhould giue vnto *Maximilian* to attend him into Italy, 8000 horſe, and 22000 foot, entertained for ſix moneths, and that the companies ſhould bee in field nere vnto Conſtance, by the midſt of October. Vpon this concluſion, *Maximilian* demands paſſage of the Venetians, through thoſe Countries which they held in Italy. They grant it, ſo as hee come without an army, elſe not. But they excuſe themſelues vpon the neceſſity of the league they haue with the King, and vpon the conditions of the preſent time : yet notwithstanding, except that which they ſhould be forced vnto by vertue of the ſaid alliance,

X x 2

for

The King goes with his army againſt the rebels at Genoua

Genoua recovered.

An enteruew of the Kings of France and Arragon.

Claude of France married to the Earle of Angoulême.

The king ſeeks by all meanes to reſtore *Maximilian* and his ſon *Philip*.

The Popes exploits.

The death of *Philip* Archduke of Auſtria

The Duke of Valencinois ſlaine.

1508

for the defence of the state of Milan, in fauour of the King, they would not oppose them. As
 felues to any of his aduancement. And in truth, being loth to offend *Maximilian*, or to
 giue to the King occasion to presume too much, they did not seeke vnto him for any new
 league, hoping it may be, that *Maximilian* leauing their frontiers in peace, would turne
 his forces either against *Bourgongne*, or against the duchies of Milan and Genoua.

Yuehling seeks
to hinder the
Imperious
passage.

To prevent all inconueniencies, the King had sent great troopes of horse and foot, towards Milan; and did leaue (with the permission of the Catholike King his nephew) two thousand five hundred Spaniards, five hundred Lances in Bourgongne vnder *Tremouille* command, foure hundred French Lances, and foure thousand foot, ioinly with the Venetians; to prevent any alteration that might happen towards Trent: and to disfract the Emperors forces into diuers parts, he fauoured the Duke of Gueldres, who molested the Countie of *Charles*, grand child to *Maximilian*. And to begin his voyage, *Maximilian* being come to Trent, caused a proclamation to be publicly made, the third of February: That he was refolued to passe in hostile manner into Italy. And from that time taking the name of King of Romans, tooke vpon him that of chosen Emperor. But this was to brag of mountaines, and to bring forth mole-hills. He goes from Trent with fifteene hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, nor of that number which had beene promised him at Constance, but of the ordinary traine of his Court, and leaued in his owne territories, and the Marquis of Brandebourg with five hundred horse, and two thousand foot. But there was no reason the feruant should be more happy then the master. The Marquis C. returns, hauing only presented himself before Rouere, and demanded in vaine to be lodged within the towne. And *Maximilian* hindred by many trenches which the Mountainers of Siague had made, retired backe foure daies after his departure. If he had gone backe to take a greater leape, (as the Prouerbe saith) it had beene a good signe, but to turne his backe, it was a disgrace.

2000 Suisse
Orfale the
Lumpstot.

Behold an open warre, and the Venetians are nettled with these weak beginnings: but conquests of Villages, are like benefices of *Itaw*. *Maximilian* taking the way of *Friul*, for the commodity of the passage, and the Country being more open, with five thousand men leaued in those marches, hee did runne about forty miles into the Venetian territories: hauing taken certaine villages of small moment (performing the office of a *sumptuous* Captain; rather than of an Emperour) hee returned towards *Iusbruch*, to engage some Jewels, and to make prouision of money by some other means, which failing had caused eight thousand *Suisses* to leaue his pay, whereof five thousand went to the King, and three thousand to the Venetians. And to increase the mischief, *Maximilian* had left nine thousand *Friul* and horse at *Trence*. *Bartholmeu* of *Aluiane* (sent by the Venetians to succour *Friul*) seized vpon the passages of the Valley of *Cadore*, by which the Germans might saue themselves: he charged them, slew about a thousand, and took all the rest (in a manner) prisoners. So the careful valor of *Aluiane* made vaine the former exploits of *Maximilian*.

Maximilian
forces defeated
1863.

mer exploits of *Maximilian*. It is all one to be well or ill beaten. The Venetians put in practice this common saying, and not without some offence to the King, who did not willingly behold the prosperous course of their victories, in regard of his own designs. They were forced to take arms, and before they lay them downe, they take from the Empire Trieste, Portonaro, and Fiume: then pass gth the Alpes, Poissonia. On the other side, the Germane army towards Trente, had put to sword three thousand Venetian foot, set to guard Mount Bretonic. The Bishop of Trente incouraged by this small stratagem, with two thousand foot, and some troopes of horse, went to besiege Rive Trente, a great burgh vpon the Lake of Garde, but as he did batter it, two thousand Grisons, which were in the Germane Campe, fell into a mutiny by reason of their pay, and spoile the victuals of the whole Campe. So all being in disorder without respect of command, and without obedience, the Grisons being gone, all the rest of the army (being about 7000 men) were forced to retire. Thus ended all these great shewes; and *Maximilian* hauing rashly giuen

A truce betwixt
the Emperor
and Venetians.

A but with more dangerous effects. This was the 20 of April. In corrupt bodies, the remedies we apply to diuert one inconuenience, doe commonly ingender another more dangerous. So the truce (made betwixt *Maximilian* and the Venetians, wherein they had exceedingly neglected the king) iustified of quiet and rest which they expected, bred more horrible calamities then the former wars. The Venetians fought it by their insolent manner of proceeding. The Emperor studied by what means hee might repaire the infamy and losse he had lately receiued: and now they incensed him more, receiuing *Aluian* into Venice, in a triumphant manner. And the King found himselfe much wronged, for that presuming to name him in this truce, and to comprehend him as an adherent, they had notwithstanding provided for their owne safety, and left him charged with the cares and troubles of the warre: seeing that in their fauour hee had opposed himselfe against *Maximilian*, as we haue scene. The Emperor being then so weakely assisted by the forces of the Empire, and finding his owne too feeble, deuised to vntie himselfe with the King against the Venetians, as the only remedy to recouer both his estates and his honor lost. Moreover, this new diffidence reuiued in the King the ancient remembrance of the wrongs hee had receiued by them in the warres of Naples, and since in diuers other accidents: thrust forward with an exceeding desire to wrest out of their hands Verona, Cremona, and many other Townes possessed of long time by the Dukes of Milan. And the Pope crossing them, possessed with that first desire to recouer those places which they vsurped of the Church, taxing them that the banished men of Furl had late dayes, by means of their Senate, sought to enter into the said towne, discontented moreover, that the Venetians had, (in contempt of the authority of the Sea of Rome) giuen the Bishopricke of Vincenza, to a Venetian Gentleman, contrary to the Collation which the Pope had made to his nephew *Sixtus*, he perswaded the King against them, desiring rather to remaine a neuter in the midst of these contentands, and be a spectator, then to invade. In the end (vnder a colour to treat a peace, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, sonne to *Philip*, and the Duke of Gueldres;) they must meet at Cambray. For the King, came the Cardinal of Amboise: and for the Emperour, *Marguerit* his daughter Gouvernesse of Flanders, assisted in this treaty by *Matthew Langry*, a trusty Secretary to the Emperour: and for the King of Arragon, an Ambassador of his. The ninth of December they conclude a peace betwixt their Masters, and a perpetual league against all men, euery one to recouer from the Venetians the places which they had taken from them, and to spoile them of the territories of the Church vsurped by them: whatsoever we treat, the Church must be one, but more with a colour, then any deuotion. The Emperour did solemnely confirme this new league. The Arragonois feared the increase of the King his Vncles greatnesse, and preferred the safety of the Realme of Naples before any thing which the Venetians enioyed: yet dissembling his conceits, he performed all solemnities required. The Pope was more scrupulous: hee had sent his commission, but had not yet consented. Many considerations moued him thereunto: a desire to recouer the Townes of Romagna, and a diffidence against the Venetians. Moreover, hee feared to incense the King, rejecting this affociation: yet he held it a very dangerous thing for him, that the Emperour should extend himselfe in Italy. Thus troubled in minde, hee resoules, for the mildest course, to obtaine a part of his desires by an accord, rather then all by warre. He lesse the Venetians vnderstand, that the storme which threatened them by the vniou of these Princes, would proue farre more tempestuous, if they forced him to giue his consent. That yielding willingly the places they had taken from the Church, it should make him refuse to raise the treaty of Cambray, made in his name, but without his approbation: without the which their alliances would easily turne to smoke; if they refused, hee would pursue them with spirituall and temporall armes. Oft-times, those which haue the name, the age, and countenance of wife men, conclude to the ruine of their Country. The Venetians at this time follow the worst aduice. And the Pope raises the treaty which he had deferred vntill the last day assigned for the ratification.

A League be-
twixt the
French King,
the Emperour,
and *Ferdinand*,
against the
Vincians.

The King armed and paffeth the Alpes in perfon, followed by the Princes of his blood, *Charles of Bourbon* Earle of Vendofine; *Charles of Bourbon* afterwards Conftable of France, fonne to the Earle of Montpenfier, *Lewis of Bourbon*, Prince of Roche-fur-Yon. *René Duke of Alençon*, and his fonne *Charles the Duke of Longueuille*, *Gaston of Foix Duke of Nemours*, *Prize of his Vicars of Languedoc*, *Antoine of France*, *Urbain*

The King goes
into Italy.

Tho-

1508

Thouars, the Earle of Montmorency grandfather to the Comtable that now liues, the A Lords of Paisle, Andouins, Grandmont, Curton, Boissi, Coligny, Estouteville, and al most all the Nobility of France, which followed (as to a certaine victory) with ioy and courage, amounting to three thousand fighting men, besides three thousand horse, and six thousand foot, which *Chamont* brought out of the Duchy of Milan, and the troops of *Anthony Duke of Lorraine*, who accompanied his Maiefty in this voyage. The King hauing passed the Alpes, sends *Monny* his Herald presently to proclaime warre against the Senate of Venice. And for that the Pope complained that the time specified in the capitulation expired without any effects of warre, the King commands the Lord of *Chamont* to begin.

He thereupon passeth the river of Adde, the fifteenth of Aprill, and camps before *Treuti*, batters and forceth it to yeeld at discretion, taking prisoners *Infinian Morosin*, Commaissary of the Venetian Stradiots or light horse, *Vincelli de Cita de Castello*, *Vincen* of *Nalde*, and other Senators, and with them a hundred light horse, and a thousand foot: then he repasseth Adde, to attend the Kings coming at Milan. The Emperour was gone into Flanders, to require a leauing of money, from the subiects of *Charles* his grandchild, a testimony that hee could not begin the warres within forty dayes after the King, as his promise was.

The Venetians prepared, and seeing a great part of Christendome armed against them, they seeke to dissuade this vnion by reasonable offers. But the Pope could no more accept that which he had before desired. The Catholike King had not credit enough to diuert the rest. The Emperour full of disdain, would not so much as see *Iohn de l'Esquille* their Secretary. As for our *Lewis*, they hoped for nothing from him, but by the sword. They therefore entertaine two thousand men at armes barded, foure fighting men for every Lance: 5000 light horse and Stradiots, fiftene thousand foot, of the flower of Italy, and fiftene thousand others chosen out of their territories: they arme many vessels to guard the banks of *Romagnia*, the towne of *Apulia*, the approaches of the Lake of *Gard*, *Po*, and other neighbour places, fearing to be molested by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantoua* their enemies. But behold bad signes, and prodigious fore-runners of losses, wherunto (besides the threats of men) the Venetians shall bee shortly subiect. D A Barke carrying ten thousand ducats to *Rauenna*, was drowned. The Castle of *Brescia* was fiered with lightning, the place where the Charters of the common-weale did lie, was suddenly ruined. And that which did most terrifie them, their great Councell being assembled, fire tooke their Arceball, whereas the salt-peeter did lie, and burnt twelue galies, with a great quantity of munition.

Moreover, hauing entertained *Julius* and *Rance Vrsins*, & *Troile Sauelli*, with five hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, the Pope commanded them vpon grievous censures (as dependants of the Church) not to depart out of *Rome*. And presently he did publish in forme of a monitory, a horrible Bull, containing "The Vsurpations of the Venetians had made in the fea of *Rome*, the authority they did arrogate to the preiudice of the Ecclesiasticall liberty, and the Popes iurisdiction: to greeue Bishopricks and other spirituall livings being vacant: to decide spirituall causes in secular Courts, and other things belonging to the censure of the Church: specifying moreover, all their disobediences past, and admonishing them: To yeeld vp within foure and twenty dayes next ensuing, the townes of the Church which they possessed, with the fruits receiued since they enioyed them, vpon paine to incurre not only the censures and curse of the City of *Venice*, but also of all the territories vnder their obedience, and of all others that should receive any Venetian, declaring them guilty of high Treason, and detested as perpetual enemies to all Christians, to whom he gaue power to take their goods in all places, and to make their persons slaves. Against this Bull, they cast forth a writing about *Rome*, containing (after a long protestation against the Pope and our *Lewis*) An appellation from the monitory, to the next Councell, and for want of humane iustice, to the seet of *Iesus Christ*, a most iust iudge, and the soveraigne Prince of all.

The Venetian army being assembled, made their beginning famous by the recovery of *Treut*, after the retreat of *Chamont*. But it was dismall to the conqueror: for during the heat of the spoile, the King (who came to releue it) passed the river of Adde with his whole army, without any lett, the ninth day of May. And *Triunles* seeing the army pass, this

1508

A This day (said he) O most Christian King, haue we wonne the victory. The King lodged within half a league of the Venetian campe, and holding it more glory, it of himselfe without the assistance of any other, he ended this war. He drew the enemy by all means to a battell. The enemies designe was, to keepe themselves close in places of strength, to the necessity of fighting, and to keepe the French from attempting any matter of importance. So both armies continued a whole day one in view of another. The next day the King stood foure houres before the enemies lodging, with his troops in battell, and took *Silvete*, in their view, without making any other strewe, then to want courage to fight. Necessity must then force them to it, hunger drives the Wolfe out of the wood. The King to cut off the victuals that came to them from *Cremona* and *Crema*, raised his Campe to lodge at *Vaile* or at *Pandin*: and the Venetians (to ingage their enemies in the like difficulties) resolue to follow them at the heels, and always to lodge in places of aduantage. There were two waies to the said places: The one was longer and lower, which going by as against the river of Adde, was in forme like a bow: the other shorter and higher, but straight as a line. The King takes the lower, the enemy the higher, *Chamont* led the foreward of the French, *Aluiane* the Venetian. They approach neere vnto *Agnadel*, when as *Aluiane* being forced of necessity to fight, plants six peeces of artillery vpon the causey of a brooke which was then almost dry, which parted the two armies, & his foot in the Vineyards adioyning to it, & comes resolutely to charge our foreward. The combat was long and doubtfull; for that by reason of the flockes and branches the French hurle could not fight commodiously. And now the Swisses begin to wauer, when as the King sending *Charles* of *Bourbon* to encourage them, and advancing himselfe with his battell into a more large and open place, he redoubled the shocke, fauoured by his artillery: the which the enemy could not discourt by means of certain small trees and bushes. So as after an obstinate fight of either side about three houres, the Kings preference not suffering any one to faint, and the Swisses returning to their first heat, the Venetians wonderfully spoiled by the horse and Cannon, and hindered by the raine and haille which bore in their faces, began to yeeld both in courage and force: and finally resolving to sell this victory to the French very deare, failing rather in force than courage, they desired rather to lose their liues then their honours, by turning of their backs.

The Earle of *Petillano* (with whom was the greatest part of their forces, encountered with a Squadron of their owne men flying, grised that *Aluiane* had contrary to his aduice presumed to fight, and thinking that his endeauiours would preuaile little to obtaine the victory) desired rather to saue the rest of the army, then to see all lost by the rashnesse of another. The Earle *Bernardin du Mont* was slaine, and some men at armes, and about ten thousand foot. *Bartholomew* of *Aluiane* was prisoner, and hurt in the eie, and twenty peeces of great artillery lost. Of the French, no men of marke, but some 500 foot were slaine. The King caused the dead to be buried, and for a trophie he built a Chappell in the place of battell, the which he named *S. Mary of Victory*. So ended the battell of *Agnadel*, or *Guaradade*, or (as others call it) of *Vaile*, the 15 of May. This happy Victory purchased the King the next day *Carrauge*, and then *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, *Pisqueton*, *Pesquiere*, and other places, whereof the King would not accept one but vpon condition, that the Venetian Gentlemen that were within any of them should yeeld themselves prisoners vpon ranfome. On the other side, the Pope with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horse, eight thousand foot, & the artillery of the D. of *Ferrara*, tooke *Scruia*, *Solarole*, *Bresquille*, all *Valdelanone*, *Granarole*, all the townes of the territory of *Faenza*, *Rauenna*, *Imola*, and all the townes of *Romagnia*, but more through fauour of the Kings Victorie, then by his owne forces. The Marquis of *Mantoua* recovered *Alole* and *Lunata*, which the Venetians had vrsurped from *Iohn Francis* of *Gonsagua* his great grandfather, and the D. of *Ferrara*, *Polefine* of *Roussac*. In *Ilustis*, *Christopher Frangipan* invaded *Pisone* and *Diuinje*. The D. of *Bruswick* entering into *Friul*, for the Emperour, tooke *Feltri*, *Bellone*, *Trieste*: and then *Verona* and *Padoua* returned to the obedience of the Empire. The Earles of *Lodron* seized vpon some Castles and Villages in their iurisdiccions, and the Bishop of *Trent* got for his share, *Riuede* *Trente* and *Agreste*. The King of *Arragon* making his prefer of another mans painted charge, recovered *Brindes* and *Tarentum*. So euery one pulling his plumes, the Crow (according to the *Prouerbe*) remained almost bare. Such are the fruits of a battell

The Venetian army.

Fatal Prognostications for the Venetians.

The Venetians censured by the Pope.

The battell of Agnadel.

The exultation of the Pope's army.

1509

tell won in a Country not fortified. This cheeke had abared the naturall pride and haughtinesse of the Venetians, but their ruine toucht the hearts of the Italians diuinely. Some were well pleased, for that without any obseruation of faith or equity (thrust on with an insatiable ambition and couetousnesse) they made profession to seize vpon all that opportunity offered them. Others began to sigh, lamenting the generall calamity of Italy, ready to yeeld to the seruitude of a stranger. The Pope was one of the first that grieved at this great fall, and fearing the Emperours power and the Kings, he deuised how to crosse their affaires, and to take from them all meanes to ruine this Common-weale, the ancient seat of liberty. He accepted of the Venetians Ambassage and submission, and reuoked the sentence by the which they were excommunicate. The which gaue them a beginning of hope, but more when they see the King content to haue recovered his owne, and not to exceede the limits of the capitulation of Cambray. And that which reuiued their spirits, certaine banished men, newly restored at Treuifo by the Venetians, to make the memory of this benefite famous, troope together, plant the banner of S. Marke in the Market place, and expell *Leonard* of Dresseine, who without any armes or force, had receiued the City in the Emperours name, they bring in seuen hundred Venetian foot, and consequently, all the forces they had assembled in Sclauonia and Romagnia.

The Venetians
begin to re-
cover their losses.

Without doubt *Treuifo* alone repaired the Venetians honour, and the chiefe cause of this accident, as also to put the Venetians in more hope, was the negligence and ill government of the Emperour, who during the course of so many victories, had made them C but of his name onely; and these importune delays had caused the King to take his way towards Milan, to returne speedily into France. The Kings dislodging of his army, gaue courage to the Venetians to recouer Padoua, which they knew to be vnfortified for men for the defence thereof. *Andrew Gritti* one of their Commissaries, had assembled 2000 men of the Country, with 300 souldiers, and some horse, & finding by chance the port of Codalunge halfe open, by reason of some Carts laden with hay, that were lately entred, he seized thereon without noyse, and kept it, vntill the Companies led by *Chesluis Volpe*, *Zitole* of Perugia, and *Ladance* of Bergamo were arriued, who held it almost an houre before that any alarme was giuen in the towne. This reprisall made the way to recouer Legnague, a very commodious towne to annoy Vincenza and Verona.

One of the ancients said, That we must reuerence fortune, else she will shew her selfe terrible. Hereafter she leaues the Emperour and returnes to the Venetians. The Marquis of Mantoua lodgeth in the Isle of Elcale, in the country of Verona, attending the preparatiues which the Bishop of Trent, Gouverneur of Verona, made to besiege Legnague. *Luke Maluozze* with 200 light horse, and *Zitole* of Perugia, with 800 foot, and 1500 of the Country, besides the garison of Legnague, entring one morning into the said Isle, surprised the Marquis his troops sleeping, spoile them, leading the Marquis, with his Lieutenant *Bossi* (Nephew to the Cardinall of Amboise) prisoners, leauing a lessonto Commanders in the war, to be vigilant to weigh their owne forces, and not to contemne their enemies. On the other side the Venetians in Friul recovered Valdesere by force, *Bellone* by composition, & fortified themselves in the Vincenrin, by the taking of many other places, as of Serauale, a passage of great importance, the which *Maximilian* recouered soone after, with the like crueltie vpon the Italians, as the Italians had vsed vpon the Germans at the taking thereof; for hauing not yet assembled sufficient forces to go to field, they make small attempts, besieging now one bourgh, then another, with small honour and reputation for the quality of an Emperour: solliciting notwithstanding all his confederates, to vnite their forces for the taking of Venice. But who should haue reaped the profit? The Pope would neither haue the Emperour nor King possesse it; and the Catholike King detested this enterprize as vnjust and dishonest, moued thereunto, nor with the loue of vertue, but with enuy the which he bare to the greatnesse of our *Lewis* his Vncle, who he thought should haue the greatest benefit by this conquest.

Whilist that the Emperour filled all Italy with a vaine feare of his force, he sent the Prince of Anhalt with 10000 men into Friul, who at his entrie tooke Cadore with a great butchery of those that defended it, and the Duke of Brunswicke (whom the Emperour had likewise sent) did put to rout 800 horse, & 500 foot, which *John Paul Gradenigo*, Commissary of Friul, brought to the succour of Ciuital of Aultria, which the Germanes besieged. *Christopher Frangipan* did also defeat the Venetian Officers, followed by the forces

1509

A of the Country, he wasted the Country, and seized vpon Chasteauneuf, Fiume, and Raspruch. And the Venetians sending *Angelo Trenisan* generall of their army at sea thither, recouered Fiume and Raspruch. To conclude, by sundry prizes and reprints, mens goods and liues were continually in prey.

The siege of
Padoua.

The Emperours
army.

The Emperour hauing now assembled all his forces, prepares for the siege of Padoua. Besides the forces of the Empire, he had seuen hundred French Lances, commanded by the Lord of Palisse: two hundred men at armes, which the Pope had sent him. Two hundred more from the Duke of Ferrara, vnder the command of the Cardinall of Esté: six hundred men at armes vnder diuers Italian Captaines, eightene thousand Lansquenets: six thousand Spaniards, six thousand aduenturers of diuers Nations, and two thousand foot, which the said Cardinall brought vnto him for the Duke: with so wonderfull a preparation for peeces of battery and munition, as the issue of this siege held all Italy in suspense. The Emperour had already taken Limini, neer vnto Padoua by force, when as there chaunceth a signe of happy successe for the Padouans and Venetians. *Philip Rosse*, and *Fredericke Gonzalues* of Bossole, went with two hundred light horse, to guard the artillery that came out of Germany: five hundred horse issuing out of Padoua, hauing intelligence thereof, charge them in the night, defeat them five miles from Vincenza, and take *Philip Rosse*.

And in exchange, *Maximilian* hauing extended his companies about twelue miles off C from Padoua, to be assured of the commoditie of victuals and pasture, takes by assault and sacks the bourgh of Esté, *Montsilice*, and *Montagnane*, ouerthrowes 3000 peasants at the bridge of Bouolente, and caries away a great prey of Cattell, which they had gathered together. At length after many delaies (which gaue the Padouans leasure to fortifie and furnish themselves with victuals) he is planted before the towne walls the 15 of September. As for the defence of Padoua, the Venetians had furnished it with 600 men at armes, 1500 light horse, and 1500 Stradiots or Albanos, commanded by Caprines of great experience, the Earle of Pentillane, *Bernardine* of Montone, *Anthony Pic*, *Luc Maluozze*, *John the Gree*, and twelue thousand choise foot, vnder the charge of *Denis de Nalade*, *Zitole* of Perugia, *Ladance* of Bergamo, *Saccocio* of Spoleto, and many other of D meuer quality, and 10000 foot, Sclauones, Greekes and Albanos. And why should not 20000 foot, and 3600 horse defend Padoua, with that multitude of Venetian youth, who (to make prooue of their valour and piety to their Country) had willingly thrust themselves into the towne, seeing they could not haue forced them in field, within any small trench? Padoua was furnished with great store of all kinde of artillery, victuals, and a great number of peasants, who continually labored in the fortifications.

The fortifications
of Padoua.

The ports, and other fit places were furnished with bastions without, and euery vault vnderneath full of barrells of powder, to blow vp such as did assaile them. And within round about the City a Palissade, or fortification of piles, trees, and peeces of timber, fortified with a deepe ditch, sixteen fadome broad: flanked with Casemates and small B Towers full of artillery: and behinde the ditch a rampier of the same breadth, round about the towne, except some places where they could not plant any artillery, and before the rampier, a parapet of seuen cubits high, to couer them that should defend the rampiers.

Behold all the Imperiall army is now planted before Padoua, but this was not to attempt a towne besieged, but rather an army camped in a towne, which made head against an army, holding the field. The artillery thunders eight daies together, and preuailes so much, as it seemes they need not to shot any more. They giue an assault to the Bastion, at the point of the port of Codalunge.

The Spaniards and Lansquenets (seconded by some men at armes on foot) win the bastion, and plant two Enignes: but both the fortresse vpon the ditch, the valour of the defendants, the abundance of instruments for defence, artillery, stones, wilde-fire, and all other kinde of offensive armes, force them to abandon it in haist, many remaining dead or wounded, so as the army being ready to assaile the wall (the bastion being wonne) hee retired and disarmed without any further attempt. *Maximilian* despairing of victory by these preiudiciall beginnings, after seuentene daies siege raiseth his campe, and passing (in his retreat) by Vincenza and Verona, receiues their oath of fidelity, he then dismisseth almost all his army, and tooke the way to Trente, determining to make a truce with the Venetians for some moneths. But growne proud with this prosperity, seeing his asso-

The Emperour
raised the siege.

ciates

1510

ciates to aide him so coldly, and supposing that a surceasing of armes would be preiudiciall. All vnto them, they prepared to recover Vincenza, Ciuitelle, Bassan, Montefice, Montagnagne, Este, Polesine, and in the end to make war against the Duke of Ferrara.

But he that undertakes too much, repents sometimes. Desire of reuenge is a dangerous Counsellor, and the resolution not to endure a wrong either done, or pretended to be done, grounded rather vpon passion then reason, is commonly the cause of the authors ruine. *Alphonso* D. of Ferrara recovering of Polesine, had (in hatred of the Venetian name) wonderfully spoiled the gentlemens houses of the country; he receiued the towne of Este from *Maximilian* in fee, and Montagnagne in mortgage. The Venetians (building the motives of their disdain thereon) send their Generall *Angelo Trevisan* with 17 Gallies, B and a great number of other small vessels, towards Ferrara, and a good number of horse by land, to second their army at sea, the which being entred into the Riuer of Po, and hauing burnt Corbole, and some other Villages neare adioyning, they spoiled all the Countrey euen vnto the Lake of Scure, and without difficultie recovered all the territory of Polesine. To withstand these violent courses, the Ferrarois plants his artillery vpon the banks of Po, to stop the passage of this army, and forceth *Trevisan* to cast anchor in the midst of the riuer, behind a small Island right against Pulicelle, a commodious place to molest the Ferrarois, and there he fortifies himselfe with two bastions vpon the banks, the one on the side of Ferrara, the other opposite, whilst that other vessels assailing the Duke of Ferraras country in another part, take Comache.

The Venetians
army in 1509.

The Duke strengthened with 150 Launces, which the Lord of Chastillon brought him, and 200 men at armes which the Pope sent him (discontented that the Venetians had invaded this Duchy, without respect of the superiority which the Church hath ouer it) fauoured with the knowledge of the country, and the nature and opportunity of the riuer, hauing brought his cannon to the bank opposite to the enemy, being covered with a strong cauley, after an assault giuen to the bastion, where his men had the worst, he saluted the Venetian ships so furiously, as some not able to resist, yielded: others fired with the shot, were miserably burnt with the men that were in them; others sinking, escaped the enemies hand, and the Generall saved himselfe by flight in a cocke-boat, his Gallie flying, shooting and defending it selfe, was in the end suncke.

To conclude, the riuer being full of blood, fire and dead men, fiftene gallies came into the Dukes power, some great ships, many foists, and other small vessels in great number: three score ensignes taken, and 2000 men slaine. This army defeated, *Alphonso* sent presently *Hippolito* Cardinall of Este his brother, against that army which had taken Comache: but the losse of the other hauing forced them already to retire, the Cardinall employed his forces to recover Loreto, which the Venetians had fortified.

This done, the Pope desirous to tie the Duke of Ferrara vnto him, to the end that acknowledging the good he should receiue by his intercession, he should depend more vpon him, then on the King, against whom hee laid the foundation of great hatred, was a meanes the Venetians should yield Comache to the Ferrarois, & should no more molest his estate. And to reconcile them with *Maximilian*, he sends *Achilles de Grassé* B. of Pesca his Nuncio vnto him. But through the Emperours excessive demands, and the Kings Ambassadors crossing it, *Achilles* returned without effecting any thing. The season made them proceed coldly in matters of war, vntill the end of this year. *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand* had contended before the King for the gouernment of the realme of Castile: the first for *Charles* his grand-child, the second building vpon his wifes testament, as wee haue seene before. In the end, the Cardinall of Amboise (not considering how much this accord did preiudice the Kings affaires) drew *Maximilian* to consent, that the Catholike King, in case he had no heires male, should be gouernour of the realmes of Castile and Naples, vntill that *Charles* his grand-child should come to the age of 25 yeares, and should pay vnto the said *Charles* forty thousand ducats yearly, fifty thousand to *Maximilian* at one payment, and should aide him according to the treaty of Cambray, to recover that which belonged vnto him. A convention which gaue courage to *Ferdinand* to encounter the Kings greatness, the which in regard of the realme of Naples hee alwaies feared. Doubtlesse ambition did so blind the eyes of this good Cardinall, as he could no more discouer this grosse policy, then fore-see that death prepared him a Biere in stead of a pontificall Chaire. In the end of this year died the Earle of Perillane, generall for

1510

A for the Venetians, old and of great experience in martiall affaires.

Although they proceed slowly in matters of war, yet Princes mindes were distracted with many diftemperatures, especially the Emperours, who desparing to get the victory of the Venetians by his owne proper forces, perswaded the King to attempt the recovery of Padoua, Vincenza, and Treuifo, receiving a sufficient recompence. The King knew well, that whilst the Venetians possessed a foot of land, he should still be subiect to continuall charge and dangers. But he was diuerted from repassing of the mountaines, by the sickness of the Cardinall of Amboise, to whom onely he committed all his affaires: fearing likewise lest a new army should wholly withdraw the Popes attention, who long before desired, by what meanes he should dislodge the French out of the estates of Italy, and fearing (as we haue said else-where) lest the King (being armed) should dispossesse him of his chaire, to place the Cardinall of Amboise in it, he laboured to draw the English from the Kings friendship, he practised to ioyne with the Suisses, by meanes of the Bishop of Sion, to the preiudice of this Crowne, and protected the Venetians.

In truth, we may behold three Princes at three diuers personages vpon this Theater, The King of a faithfull alie: the Emperour of a weak; and the Pope of a disloyall. In the end, the King (the better to supply the affaires of Italy) goes to Lyons with an intent to pacifie the Pope, or at the least, to keepe him from being his enemy. To this end hee sends *Albert Pie* Earle of Carpi, with commission to offer the Pope both the Kings forces and authority in all occurrences, to impart vnto him the affaires that were now handled: the request which the Emperour made vnto him, and to leaue it to his discretion, to passe or not into Italy: Were not these sufficient submissions to pacifie any discontented minde?

Contrariwise, *Julius* receiued the Venetians into fauour, and the 24 day of February gaue them full and absolute remission. He still sollicit the English to take vpon him the title of Protector of the sea of Rome, against the French King, against whom (said he) if he made war, many others (to whom his power was odious) would take armes. But he drew the Suisses with more efficacy to the protection of the Church, paying a thousand florins yearly to euery Canton. The boldnesse and presumption wherewith they refused to renew their alliance with our *Lewis* (but vpon condition to augment their pensions) had intily displeased the King: but this vnseemable repulse shall proue very preiudiciall to this Crowne. The King in exchange allies himselfe with the Valaisans and Grisons, who binde themselves to giue passage to his people, and to deny it to his enemies, and to serue him for pay, with such forces as they could make. The Pope fortified with this new alliance, bends all his thoughts to support and raise the Venetians, to reconcile them to the Emperour, and by their rising to pull downe our *Lewis*.

But the Popes alienation serued onely to kinde new fires in Italy. The Emperour and the King discontent with the shewes which the Pope made in fauour of the Venetians, vniued themselves more strictly together: and the D. of Ferrara gaue the King occasion to aduance his forces, for the protection of his estate: for the Duke hauing set an impost vpon all the merchandise that passed by the Po to Venice, the Pope commanded him to free it, as not being in the disposition of the Vassall to impose a tribute without the liberty of the Lord of the see. And in case hee disobeyed, he denounceth war against him. The Duke thus threatened, flies to the King, who had before taken him into his protection, giuing thirty thousand ducats; his estate also importing the King much for his affaires of Lombardie: yet loath to contend with the Pope for the Duke of Ferrara, he propounded conditions, whereby the Pope might rest satisfied of the interst, which the Church and he pretended against the Duke.

In the end, as the Pope (the more hee sees himselfe sought vnto) shewed greater signes of bitterness, the Lord of Chaumont enters into Italy with fiftene hundred Launces, and ten thousand foot: to whom the Duke of Ferrara sent two hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and two thousand foot. At their first entry they take Polesine, Montagnagne, and Este. Then the Prince of Anhaulr, Lieutenant to the Emperour, passing from Verona with three hundred French Launces, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand Lanquenets, ioyned with *Chaumont*, and ioynly together they march against Vincenza.

The Vincennes abandoned by the Venetians army, which retired towards Padoua, sic

The Suisses
forbade the alliance of France
and ioyne to
the Pope.

A French army
enters Italy.

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flie to *Chaumont* to obtaine some reasonable conditions of the Prince, who wonderfully moved with their rebellion, would not receive them with any other condition, but to have their goods at pleasure, and their lives saved. These victories were fruitlesse, without the taking of Legnague, the which the river of Adice diuides into two parts, whereof the less is called Porto. This river is diuided into many branches about Legnague, passing the last branch, they encounter some footmen, set to guard Porto. Our men charged them, repulse them, kill a great number, chase the rest, and enter pell-mell with them into Porto. The taking of Porto made the meanes easie to batter the towne on either side the river: for the effecting whereof *Chaumont* sent Captaine *Molard* with 4000 men, and six peeces of artillery, who having in a manner battered downe the bastion, which was upon the causey, at the point of the towne; the Venetian Commissary retired himselfe into the Castle, and the Captaine which commanded the bastion, yielded to depart with bag and baggage. The bastion taken, the towne was sackt by *Molard*, and the Castle battered, yielded the next day, upon condition, that the Venetian Gentlemen remaining *Chaumont's* prisoners, the souldiers should depart with white wands in their hands. At this time died the Cardinall of Amboise, uncle to the Lord of *Chaumont*, a man of a great spirit and long experience in affaires, but with the service of his master he did not forget the content of his owne private ambition.

The death of
the Cardinall
of Amboise.

Ciuitelle, Marollique, Basciane, Feltré, l'Escale, and other places thereabouts (abandoned by the Venetians) opened their gates vpon view of the Cannon. To conclude, all places where the armies passed, were exposed to takings and retakings, sacking and burning, and all persons were at the victors mercy. *Monfice* remained yet. The towne is seated in a plaine, and the Castle on the mountaine, compassed in with three walls, whereof the lower required 2000 men for the defence thereof. By reason then of a new convention betwixt the King and the Emperor, that his army should continue yet a month longer in Italy, and that the extraordinary charge, about the payment of the Companies which the King had till then defraided, should afterwards be payed by the Emperor, and the footmen also for that month, and in consideration of 50000 crownes, which the King should add to 30000 others that he had formerly lent the Emperor, Verona with the territories thereof should remaine in pawne to his Maiestie, vntill it were satisfied: *Chaumont* besieged it; Seuen hundred foot and some companies of horse, hauing vpon their approach abandoned the towne, kept the first wall. He batters it, and makes a breach in diuers places. The French (followed with 1500 Spanish Launces, newly arrived, vnder the command of the Duke of Termini) mount to the assault, chase the Garison, and skirmishing with them, they enter pell-mell within the other two walls, and so into the Castle, the most part being slaine. Such as were retired into the dungeon, yielded: when as the Germans setting it on fire, burnt both the place and the men, so as of this number few escaped either the fury of their armes, or of the fire. The towne was likewise consumed to ashes. This done, a new commandement from the King, calls backe *Chaumont*, with his army, into the Duchy of Milan: which the Pope began to disturbe. Moreover, two armies of diuers nations ioynted together, to make priuate conquests, hardly can the Commanders remaine long vntied in one will. And the Germanes (who can doe little alone) lodged in Lonigie.

The Pope
seeketh to expell
the French out
of Italy.

We haue hitherto seene, that Pope *Iulius* designs tendred, not onely to restore the Church to her pretended estates, but also to expell the French out of Italy. His first project was effected; And now many considerations draw him to the second. The Venetians are partly restored, and all at his deuotion, hauing reuoked their censures. He is strictly allied with the Suisses. He knowes well, the Arragonois will be alwaies glad to see the Kings greatnesse diminished, to haue the better meanes to settle himselfe at Naples. He findes the Emperors forces and authority to be feeble. He is not out of hope to draw the King of England into armes. And that which feeds his couetous passion, he is well informed, that the King hath no will to make war against the Church, and that at all euents it shall be in his power to make peace with him, and this is the last helpe the Popes haue alwaies relied on. But with what colour may *Iulius* arme against our *Lewis*? The King will not giue ouer the protection of the Duke of Ferrara, and *Iulius* desires exceedingly the possession of his Duchy, grounded (although the Seigneurie of Comache, from whence *Alphonso* drew the salt, belonged directly to the Emperor) vpon the discord for the

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A the salt pans, and customes which *Alphonso* leauied vnlawfully, and without the leaue (said he) of the Lord of the Fee. This was a crosse deuice to cloake his couetousnesse. To colour this, he vrgeeth the King againe to renounce the protection of the Ferrarois: vpon his refusal, he protesteth to fly from the treaty of *Cambray*: that he will not ioyne with him, neither yet be opposit vnto him, and that without tying himselfe to any person, he will hereafter seeke to maintaine peace in the Church. But on *S. Peters* day, he discouers in effect the motions of his minde: that day the rents due to the Apostolike see are paid; he refuseth to accept those of the Duke of Ferrara, alledging for his reasons, that *Alexander* the sixth marrying his daughter *Lucrece*, could not (to preiudice the Sea) redde foure thousand Ducats to an hundred. And the same day (hauing before refused to giue the French Cardinals leaue to return into France) aduertised that the Cardinal of Auch was goneto field with his dogges and nets, he sent to pursue him, *after la fugitive*; and held him prisoner in the Castle of Saint Angelo. And to win vnto him the Catholike King, against the Most Christian, he grants him the inuasioure of the realme of Naples, vpon condition to pay the same rent which the ancient Kings of Arragon had paid, and entertainment for three hundred men at armes, for the defence of the Church, when it should be demanded.

A leaue he
twice refused
and the Pope
against the
King.

But behold a strange turbulent spirit, who attempting at one instant to assaile Ferrara, Genoua, and Milan, toiles himselfe infinitely to bring forth paine and confusion. The Ferrarois offered to giue him the salt made at Comache, & to binde himselfe, there should be no more made: yet proceeding against him, as against a notorious offender, he lends himstopped by the D. of Vrbin into the territory of Ferrara: who at his first arrival, and at the onely summons of a trumpet, takes Cente, Pieue, Bagnacaul, and Lugo. But as he camped before the Castle of Lugo, *Alphonso* coming with his people & some French companies; the D. of Vrbin raised the siege, leauing three peeces of Cannon behind him (it is a dishonour for a Commander to lose his artillery) & retired into Imola, giuing *Alphonso* means to recouer that which they had taken from him in Romagna. But the army of the church was no sooner refreshed, but they take the same places, & likewise Modena.

Hefent eleven Venetian Gallies against Genoua, whereof *Grille Centurion* was General; and one of the Popes, in the which were *Ottavian*, and *Iohn Fregose*, *Ierome Dacic*, and many other banished men. And by land *Mark Anthony Colonne* with an 100 men at armes and 700 foot. About the same time 6000 Suisses (in the beginning of September) passing by Bellinzone, camped at Varese, where 4000 more ioyne with them: but this proues but a fire of straw. *Iulius* hoped that Genoua being assailed both by sea and land, it would breed some infallible alteration; that the greatest part hating the French command, would easily maintaine the name of *Fregose*, and that the French amazed with this alteration at Genoua (being likewise prest by the Suisses) would recall into the Duchy of Milan, all such Companies as they had both with the Emperor and the Duke of Ferrara: that by consequence the Venetians would recouer Verona, and he enjoy Ferrara; and then with their united forces invade the estate of Milan. But he reckoned without his host: let vs now see the proceedings of these armes. They shut those gates against him which he expected to finde open. *Chaumont* at the first bruce of the enemies approach, had manned Genoua with some Companies. *Pretian* a *Prouenzal* was entred the port with six great gallies, the sonne of *Iohn Lewis* of Fiesque, with 800 men of the Country, and a Nephew to the Cardinall of Finall, with no lesse number, was come into the towne, for the King; and these together preuented all insurrections. So the Pope and the banished men, frustrate of their chiefe hope, retire to Rapalle. And *Colonne* foreseeing that he should hardly recouer any place of safety by land, for that the Commons were risen, hee shipt himselfe in the gallies, with three-score of his best horse, and sent the rest by land to Sperie, who for the most part were spoiled vpon the Marches of the Genouois, Luquois, & Florentines. On the other side, the Suisses which camped at Varese, vnder colour (as they say) to go to serue the church, found in the end, to their losse, that they did but serue the ambition of one private man. *Chaumont* hauing manned all the passages with sufficient forces, sends *Trinulce* to *Mont Brianse*, that with his troops, & the helpe of his Country-men, he might keepe the Suisses from seizing on the passage: and he himselfe coasting along by them, and still skirmishing with them, with his horse and foot, and many field peeces, cuts off their vituals, and performing the duty of a good Captaine, without hazarding

Y y

of

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of any thing, he annoyed them at the passages of rivers. To defeat a poore but a warlike Nation, there is nothing but blowes to be gotten : & in losing, they hazard an estate. In the end, besides the continuall charges of the French army, oppressed with want of victuals & mony, they free out men (who are not accustomed to spend much in spies) of the doubt which troubled them, whether they would passe to Ferrara by the Duchy of Milan, or turne by the hills vnder Como, Lecque, Bergamo and Brescia, or else by the Guairadade, through the territory of Mantoua: for taking their way by the high places of Como, they went to lodge at the bridge of Trefe, where (brought to extremities for want of bread and money) they retired by troops to their houses. Whilest the French were else where busied, the Venetians (making profit of their absence, & of the Germans retreat) recover'd (without toyle) *Este, Monfice, Montagnagne, Marosique, Bassiane, & Vincenza. Legnago* staied their victories, but *Verona* ouerthrew them. They besiege it with 800 men at armes, 3000 light horse, and 10000 foot, besides an infinite number of peasants, and batter it from a mountaine opposite, being counter-battered, and wonderfully spoiled by the artillery from the towne. But the Venetians desire was great to conquer this City, and the valour of the besieged was no lesse to defend both their honours and liues.

They had foure hundred French Lances, three hundred Spaniards, a hundred Germans, and Italians, siue hundred French foot, and foure thousand Germans, which the Prince of Anhaule (dead some few daies before) had left there : a thousand foot, with some cornes of French issue forth in the night, put them to the sword that kept the artillery, killed two peeces, and caried them away, when as *Zitole* of Perugia, flying to thereloe, and being slaine with almost all that followed him, *Denis* of Nalde ariued, who recovering the prey, repulsed and beat them within their walls. But the Venetians daunted with this checke, seeing no rising of the people, as they expected, aduerted to the Suisse retreat, and that *Chaumont* came to succour them, retired to *S. Boniface*. The wars continued in Friul and Istria, with the accustomed insolencies and cruelties on either side, but more to the ruine of the Country and buildings, then of the people. At the same time the Marquis of Mantoua came out of prison at the Mantouans suit to *Baia* & Prince of the Turkes, in whose loue the Marquis had many years held himselfe.

The Pope was not grown wife neither by his owne nor other mens losses : his vnifortunate attempts had nothing daunted his hopes : and they found the prouerbe to their cost ; *He that hath a companion hath a Master*. A wit blinded with presumption : who (seeing his practices now discovered ; the port of Genoua furnished with a strong army ; the Towne provided of all things necessarie for defence) hopes to obtaine that now which he could not get when the port was disarmed : he periwades the Venetians to a second attempt : they come to Genoua with fifteene light gallies, three great, one Galleasse, and three Biscane ships. The French fleet going out of the haven, with two and twenty light Gallies, after they had giuen order that the contrary faction should not rise, met with them at Porto Venere : where by the thunder of their Cannons, and by the Tower of Codifa, they forced them to retire to *Ciuita-uecchia*, whence the Venetian fleet parting to recover the Gulfe, a tempest cast siue Gallies vpon the Coast of Messina : the others beaten and bruiued, were driuen vpon the Coast of Barbary, and in the end recovered the port of Venice, halfe lost. The army which came by land led by the Archbishop of Salerne, brother to *Ottavian Fregese*, by *Iohn* of Safarelle, and *Renier* of Safate the Popes Capraines, seeing the fruitlesse attempts of the fleet at Sea, instead of Genoua, went to take *Fanane* in the mountaine of Modena. A small recompence for so many vaine attempts.

This disgrace did rather increase the Popes obstinacy, then make him faint. Hee might easily obtaine a peace of the King, and with such conditions, as might well content a Conqueror. The King was content to referre the Duke of Ferraras cause to Justice, and gaue power to the Pope, to name such Iudges as he pleased. But *Iulius* (following the holy Oracles, *Loned cursing, and cursing followed him : and for that he took no pleasure in blessing, it forsooke him*) seeing the King yeeld to so reasonable conditions, he impatiently demands, that Genoua be set at liberty, & with such bitterneffe, as the D. of Sauoyes Ambassador (offering his Princes intercession for their peace) hee puts him in prison, & tortured him as a spy. He converts all his thoughts against Ferrara. The Venetians thrust him forward, fearing (lest in the end, losing the hope of his designs) hee

A should be reconciled to the King. And the King sufficiently informed of the Popes bad affection, resolues to defend the Ferrarois, and both by spirituall and temporall armes, to crosse the Popes insolencies.

In the end of September the Pope comes to Bolonia, with an intent to assaile Ferrara, both by water and land ; the Venetians on the one side, and he on the other, periwading himselfe, that at the same of his forces, the people would rebell against *Alphonso*. But the Venetian companies hauing brought many barks by the river of Po, into the territory of Mantoua to make a bridge, the D. of Ferrara, with the French forces, let vpon them vnawares, tooke them, and many vessels in certaine Chanells of Polesine, with the Venetian Commissary. Then was there discovered a practice which the Venetians had in Brescia, for the which the Earle *Iohn Maria* of Martinongue was beheaded there. This stay of the fleet did nothing discourage the Pope, but periwading himselfe that his owne forces were sufficient to conquer Ferrara, he assembled them all at Modena, vnder the D. of Verbin being Generall, the Cardinall of Pauy, *Iohn Paul Bailion*, *Marc Anthony Colonne*, and *Iohn Pueli*, Capitaines of authority : whilest that *Chaumont* encamped right against them at Rubiere and Marfaile, trying them with daily skirmishes ; he gaue the Ferrarois means, with the Lord of Chastillon, to recover Polesine, Final, and Cente. Hauing sacke and burnt it to ashes, he went to ioyne with *Chaumont*, euen as three hundred men at armes, many light horse, and foure thousand Venetian foot came to win the passage of Po, and to ioyne with the Popes forces, hauing already taken *Figueiras* and *Sellate* on the other side, and forced *Alphonso* to goe to the succour of his Country. Thus the two Venetian fleets, hauing free passage vpon Po, did greatly annoy the Ferrarois territory by daily inroads and spoiles : when as the D. issuing out of Ferrara put to rout that fleet, which was entred the river of Po, by Primare, & came vnto Adria : the other which consisted of foists and small vessels, being entred by Fornaces, and come to Puliselle, seeking to passe into the river of Adice, by a river adioyning, they found the water so low, as they could not enter, but were so battered by the Ferrarois artillery, as they abandoned their ships, seeking to saue themselves and their Cannon.

The Pope seeing he could preuaile nothing by his temporall forces, he flies to the spirituall, communicating *Alphonso* of Este, and all those that were or should come to his succour, namely *Charles* of Amboise, with all the chiefe of the French army. This furious course made the King to assemble all the Prelates of his realme at Tours, with the most famous Doctors of all his Vniuersities, as well in diuinity, as in the ciuill and canon lawes, who resolue vpon eight notable conclusions against the Pope. " That it was not lawfull for the Pope to assaile any temporall Princes, by force, in their territories not belonging to the Church. That it was lawfull for any such Prince for the defence of his subiects and Country, not onely to repell this injury by force, but also to invade the territories of the Church possessed by any such Pope ; not with an intent to hold them, but to the end (the Pope being dispossessed thereof) should haue no more means to molest his estate : seeing the Pope had, through the aide of the said Prince, recovered the same lands, vsurped before by certaine tyrants. That for so manifest a wrong and vniust attempt, any such Prince might withdraw himselfe from the Popes obedience, for the defence of his temporall estate, seeing he had stirred vp many other Princes and Common-weales, to invade the Dominions of the said Prince, who deserved reward and loue of the Apostolicall see. That this subtraction being made, they should obserue in France the common and ancient law, and the Pragmaticke sanction, enacted at the Councell of Basill. That any such Prince might by force defend another Prince his confederate, and of whom hee had lawfully taken the protection, for those Seigneuries which he had long enjoyed, and with a iust title, seeing this confederacy had been made with the consent of the said Pope, & who as the chiefe was comprehended therein and that this Prince allied according to the forme of the league, had giuen aide for the recovery of the patrimony of S. Peter : that the Pope pretending any thing due for any rights belonging to the Church of Rome, and the Prince on the other side challenging to hold of the Empire, and should refer this controuersie to the censure of indifferent Iudges, as equity required, that in this case it was not lawfull for the Pope, without further knowledge of the cause, to make war against any such Prince : the which if he did, the said Prince might oppose his forces, with other princes his confederates, so as that right had not been possessed by the Romane church within

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The Popes
vires the war
against the
Ferrarois.

The Venetians
renewed their
renewed their
renewed their

The Venetians
make attempt
against Genoa.

Eight con-
clusions
made by the
French
Church
against the
Pope.

1510 an hundred years. That if the Pope would not accept this honest and lawfull offer, but
 1511 contrary to order and right, should give sentence against any such Prince, maintaining
 his right not to depend vpon the Church: neither he, nor any other by opposing, should
 incur the censure of that sentence, seeing that Prince had no free access, neither to go
 nor send to Rome to defend his rights. That if the Pope vnjustly (the due course of law
 not observed) should by maine force, pronounce any censure against any such Prince,
 their allies and subiects resisting in such a case, the sentence were of no force, neither
 could it by any means binde.

These conclusions taken, the King (according to the resolution of the Councell) sent
 Ambassadors to *Julius*, in the name of the French Church, to admonish him by brotherly
 and spiritual correction, that leauing his desires, he should attend to peace, concord,
 loue and charity, and reconcile himselfe with the foresaid Princes: vpon refusal, they
 should summon him to call a general Councell, according to the decrees of the holy
 Councell of Basill. That his answer heard, things should be ordered according vnto rea-
 son. In the meane time forty light horse and five hundred foot (hauing at the first sum-
 mons of a trumpet yielded Carpio to *Albert Pie*) were encountered by foure thousand
 foot, led by *Palisse*, defeated, and in a manner all slain. And *Chaumont* desirous to charge
 the Church forces, before they should ioyne with the Venetian companies, and three
 hundred Spanish Launces, which *Ferdinand* had sent him, in consideration of the inuasi-
 on of Naples: but not able to draw them, but to some light skirmishes, by the per-
 suasion of the *Bentiuoles*, he turned his forces against Bologna, where the Pope remai-
 ned sicke, both doubtfull of the peoples faith, being besieged, and so discontented with
 the long stay of the Venetians, as he protested publicly to *Ierome Donat* their Amba-
 sador, that if their succours entred not the next day into Bologna, he would agree with
 the French. And at that instant sent he *Iohn Francis Pie*, Earle of Mirandole, to treat
 with the Lord of Chaumont. Chaumont, not to alter this good disposition, understand-
 ing the Kings pleasure, keeps his troops within their lodgings, and sent backe the Earle
 with these propositions: That, *Alphonse* of Esté, and all those the Pope had comprehen-
 ded in his censure should be abolished: That in regard of the Venetians, nothing should
 be done contrary to the treaty of Cambray: That the controversies betwixt *Alphonse* and
 the Pope should be decided within six moneths by Iudges chosen by their common con-
 sent: That Modena should be restored to the Emperor, Cortignole to the King; and
 the Cardinal of Auch set at liberty: and that the gift of all benefices within the
 Kings dominions should be according to his nomination.

But *Chiappia Vitelli* entring into Bologna with six hundred Venetian light horse, and a
 squadron of Turkes which they had in pay, made the Pope to sing another note. That
 there was no means of accord, if the King did not absolutely abandon the defence of the
 Ferrarois. And Chaumont seeing that neither by the treaties of Peace, nor by force hee
 preuailed any thing, the people of Bologna holding themselves quiet, and at the Papes
 deuotion, being also afflicted with the winter, and want of victuals, hee returned to
 Chastilaufranc & Spilimberte, the which he had lately taken. Chaumont is no sooner gone,
 but the Pope strangely incensed, exclaims against the King to all Christian Princes, as
 thirsting after his blood and the territories of the Church, hauing caused him to be be-
 sieged with all his Cardinals and Prelats in Bologna: and returning to his former course
 with more vehemency, he sends his troops to field augmented by 500 men at armes, 1600
 light horse, 5000 foot, and 300 Spanish Launces. But whilst this army iournes about
 Modena, some squadrons running toward Rhegium, being defeated by the French, they
 lost an hundred horse, and the Earle of Marel que was taken prisoner. Moreover, the D.
 of Ferrara with the Lord of Chastillon encamped vpon the Po, betwixt Hospitalet
 and Bondin, opposite to some other Venetian companies that were on the other side of the
 riuier: they sunke nine of their vessels, & forced the rest to returne to Venice. These small
 victories were crost by taking of Saffuole & Forminge, whilst that Chaumont refreshed him-
 selfe within Pavia & Aubigni at Rhegium. These conquered towns incited *Julius* more
 violently against Ferrara, the which he knew was well furnished with men, and things ne-
 cessary for defence: & the French through the continual toile of the war, were tired both
 in bodies & minds. And presuming to make the enterprize more easie, he went himselfe in
 person the 2 of Ianuary before Mirandola, advertised that Chaumont had made an escape

A to Milan, drawne thither (as they said) with the loue of a young Gentlewoman: A iour-
 ney which did greatly quail the courage and hope of them that defended Mirandola,
 who see themselves abandoned, not so much by the negligence, as by the dissention be-
 twixt Chaumont, and *Iohn Iaquies* of Triuulce, (who then was gone into France:) where-
 by it may be, he was not much displeased to see the Earles of Mirandola (grand-children
 to Triuulce, by reason of Francis their Mother, his bastard daughter) deprived of that
 place. In the end, after all the duties that might be performed by men besieged, despairing
 of succours, seeing a breach made, and the water of their ditches so frozen, as it bare
 the souldiers, they obtained in the end (by the intercession of the Cardinals which as-
 sisted the Pope) to depart with bag and baggage: vpon condition, that Alexander Triuulce
 Governour of the towne, and all the Captaines should remaine prisoners: and to
 redeeme the towne from sacke, which he had promised to his souldiers, they should pay
 a certaine summe of money.

After the taking of Mirandola, two things were propounded in Councell by the
 French: whether they should assaile the enemy, or besiege Modena or Bologna, to draw
 the Papes forces out of the Estate of Ferrara, and by that means to draw them into a
 convenient place for a battell. Great Captaines hold it for a firme maxime, and experi-
 ence hath alwaies taught it, That we ought neuer to vndergoe the hazard of a battell, but
 for some great aduantage, or when as vrgent necessity doth constraîne. This was the ad-
 vice of Triuulce, newly returned to the campe, and accordingly resolution was taken to
 go to Modena. But let vs obserue a Spanish trick. The policie & secret aduertisements
 of Ferdinand did more harm to the King his vnkle, then the Papes open force. He thinks
 this to be a means to pacifie the Emperors spleene, and to sow some diuision betwixt the
 King and him. Modena was held time out of minde, to be a sea of the Empire, and the
 house of Esté had not enioyed it but by the Emperors inuestiture. Ferdinand then adu-
 iseth the Pope, to the end the French should not haue it, to restore it to the Emperor, as
 a token of his iurisdiction. So *Vitfruch*, Maximilians Ambassadour, hauing recieued it
 in that forme, gave notice vnto Chaumont, that Modena did no more belong vnto
 the Pope, but to her ancient and lawfull Lord. And to enioy this restitution quietly, *Vitfruch*
 and Chaumont agreed together, that the French forces should not offend Modena, nor
 the territories thereof: and during these garboiles betwixt the King and the Pope, it
 should fauour neither party.

Then died Charles of Amboise, a Captaine, whom the name of the Cardinal of Am-
 boise his vnkle, and the government of the Estates of Milan, and of the Kings armies,
 held in great reputation in Italy: a faithfull seruant to his King, but (to beare so great a
 burthen) he wanted a longer experience in the art of war: seeing that after the death of
 his vnkle, through that defect, he was become contemptible to his souldiers: to whom
 to keepe them the better at his deuotion) he gaue too much liberty, *Iohn Iaquies* of Triuulce,
 as Marshall of France tooke vpon him the command of the army, attending the Kings
 pleasure, and inflamed with an honest ambition to performe something worthy of his
 vncle, hauing in the month of May gathered together twelue hundred Launces, and
 seven thousand foot, he besieged, rooke, and sacked in one day the towne of Concordia,
 and won Chastilaufranc by composition. Then approaching Bologna, hee loosed the
 Pope, as hauing founde the Bolognois minde, and drawne from them an oath of fideli-
 ty, he left the Cardinal of Pavia there, and retired to Rauenna. He is no sooner gone,
 but the people looking to the preservation of their priuate and present estates, and see-
 ing themselves lyncharged with two armies, they take armes and hinder the Cardinal of
 Pavia, from bringing in of any forces. The Cardinal fainting, & fearing the armed multi-
 tude should seek reuenge for their honourable Citizens, whose heads hee had lately
 cut off, as fauours to the Bentiuoles, flies in the night disguised into the Citadell, and
 from thence towards Imola with an hundred horse.

The Legats flight being knowne, the people began to sound out the name *Popolo*, with
 great mutiny and tumult. *Laurence Ariosto*, Francis Rinsch, and other Captaines of the
 towne, affected to the Bentiuoles, runne to the gates of S. Felix and Lames: breake them
 downe, call the Bentiuoles, and receiue them into the towne. The Duke of Vrbins aduer-
 tised of the Legats flight, and of the peoples rising, dislodged in the night, (leauing most
 part of his tents and pavilions standing) with all his army, except such as for the guard of

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the campe were on the other side of the river towards the French, to whom he gave no intelligence of his departure. The people understanding of his retreat, and the peasants coming downe from all parts, with great cries and shouts, pursue them, take fifteen peeces of great artillery, and many lesse, the D. of Urbins handred, their munition and baggage. The fouldiers had time to save themselves, whilst that *Raphael* of Pissi, one of the capitaines of the Church, made a stand at the bridge of Rene, vntill that by the taking thereof, and rout of all his people, the whole army had a free passage to Bologna. A victory extraordinarily happy, having in one night conquered a great city, and without perill or fight broken a whole army. The Bishop *Vitelli* held the Citadell, and *Vilfranch*, posting thither in the night, perswades him to deliver it into the Emperors hands: but three thousand Ducats which the Bolois gave him, made him to open the gates: the people having recovered it, and to free themselves both from subiection, and the jealousy of nations, and also from the feare they had lest the King should retaine it, ruined it to the ground. The Duke of Ferrara making his profit of this victory, recovered Cente, Pieve, Cotignole, Lugo and other townes of Romagna.

At the same time the Emperors and the Kings Deputies, assisted by the Cardinals *S. Croix*, *S. Male*, *Baioux*, *Cosenso*, *Albert*, and many others, publish a Council at Pisa for the first of September, which was lately returned to the obedience of the Florentines. To crosse this Council, the Pope (following the advice of *Anthony de Mami* of *S. Sanjoun*, one of the eight Cardinals newly created at Rauenna, appointed a general Council the 1 of May, at *S. Iohn de Lateran* in Rome. And to keepe the Kings for ever quiet, he colourably gave care to a peace, which the Bishop of Tiouli his Nuncio, and the King of Scots Ambassador treated for him with the King, and the Cardinals of Nantes and Strigonia with the Pope. But these practices of Peace are broken by the Popes infirmity, which having brought him euen to the pits brink, gave him yetre spit to stir vp long calamities. *Iulius* is no sooner freed from the danger of death, but makes a new league with the Senate of Venice and the King of Arragon, against the French: to maintain (said he) the vnion of the church, to defend it from apparant schisme, and to recover all such places, as mediately or immediately depended on the Church.

The first of September was come, when as the Cardinals Attornies, in their names do celebrate the acts appertaining to the opening of the Council of Pisa. And the Pope much incensed, that the Florentines had yielded to the celebration of this petty council (as he termed it) in their estate, declared Florence and Pisa, subiect to the Ecclesiasticall censure, by vertue of the Bull of the council which he had caused to be published: and he pronounced the aboue named Cardinals fallen from the dignity of Cardinal, and subiect to the punishments of hereticks and schismaticks. The Florentines and Pisans appeal from this curse to the holy Council (not of Pisa, but to erre least in their termes) of the vniuersall Church: and by the Magistrates commandement, the Priests continue the publike celebration of diuine seruice in their Churches. The pretext to reforme the Church was goodly and of great profit. But oh pleasant reformers! the Authors of this Council, thrust on by their own priuate ambitious designs, vnder colour of a general good, contented of their own priuate interest, so as euery one might plainly see, that whoeuer should be chosen Pope, would haue no lesse neede of reformation, then those they now undertook to reform. So as euen at their first entry the Cardinals tried both the contempt & hatred of the Commons. They call the Clergy to assist in the cathedral Church at the first session. No one appeares, the Priests deny their ornaments to the Cardinals offering to celebrate the masse, and shut the Church doores, so as the Cardinals, fearing they should not remaine safe at Pisa, vnlesse they were backt with foraigne forces, and the Florentines vnwilling to admit any, remembering the Pisans rebellion vnder *Charles* the eighth, they decreed to haue the Council transported to Milan. They found the like difficulties at Milan. The Clergy abstaing from saying seruice, as before accused persons: the Commons curse them and laugh at them in open streets, namely at the Cardinal of *S. Croix* chosen President of the Council, whom euery one noted to bee the author of this assembly, hoping by fauour thereof to make himselfe a foot-stoole to climbe to the Popedom. This refusal of the Milanois made them againe to transport the Council to Lions. Where *Iulius* being suspended from his Popedom, and prohibitions made throughout all France, not to send any money to Rome, nor to bring any bulls from thence, he

A new league
against the
French.

A Council be-
gin at Pisa.

The Council
transported to
Milan.

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A he did not only excommunicate all the French, but also granted Bulls of pardon & remission, to any one that should kill a French man: giuing the Realme of France (& that of Nauarre, in hatred of *Iohn* of Albret allied to the King, and at the perswasion of *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, who had long gaped after some occasion to lay hold of it,) in prey to the first conqueror. So this council did nothing but increase their spleenes and kindle new troubles. But as the King had an intent to assaile Romagna, or to maintain the war in anothers Country, attending his owne coming in person the next spring with all the forces of his Realme, beheld 10000 Suisses, with seven field peeces (new raised by the Cardinal of Sion, vnder the authority of *Iulius*) enter by Varese and Galete, and from thence they send a trumpeter to desire *Gaston* of Foix, D. of Nemours, who with the Council of *Triuulce* commanded the French armies, as Lieutenant General to the King his Vncle. *Gaston* (having speedily assembled 700 horse, and such foot as the vrgent necessity would suffer him, the companies being diuided into sundry garisons) presents himselfe before Galete, with much artillery. The Suisses go forth in battell: yet vnwilling to fight in so open a place, they retire to Busli. In the meane time, the companies of men at armes, and foot, come from all parts to Milan. Captaine *Molare* with his *Gascons* came from Verona, & the Lanquenets from Carpi, who reuiued the spirit of the Milanois, being somewhat danted by this sudden descent. And the more, for that certaine letters were surprised which the Suisses had written to their Lords, that they had no newes, neither of the Pope, nor of the Venetian army. So as having found some difficulty to passe the river of Adde, they tooke (as in their first journey) the way to Como, and to euery one to his home. Shewing, that for want of conduct, assistance and pay, they doe commonly terrifie more then hurt.

After the Suisses retreat, behold all the townes the Ferrarois held in Romagna were exposed in prey to the Spaniards, being ioyned to the forces of the Church, who assembling at Imola, a thousand men at armes, eight hundred Genetaires, and eight thousand Spanish foot, with many Barons of the Realme of Naples, vnder the command of *Fabrice Colonne*, their General, and for the Pope eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, and eight thousand Italians, vnder *Marke Anthony Colonne*, *Iohn Vitelli*, *Ma-*
D lastly son to *Iohn Paul Bailion*, *Raphael* of Pissy, and others, all subiect to the command of the Cardinal of Medicis, Legat in the army, resolving to besiege Bologna. The Duke of Nemours had put into it, (besides the inhabitants and some horse and foot entertained by the *Bentiuoles*) two thousand Lanquenets, and two hundred Lances vnder *Odet*, son to *Peter* of Foix Viconte of Laurec, *Tues* of Alegre, *Anthony* of Fayet, *Peter Terrail*, surname Captaine *Bayard*, and in the meane time assembled all the forces of Italy together at Final, to preserve Bologna from the enemy. Already a hundred fadome to the wall nere to *S. Stephens* gate was layed euen with the ground, the Tower at the gate was already abandoned, and the Spaniards had planted an ensigne vpon the wall, when as the besieged placing their Cannon in counterbattery, and hauing slaine some of them that were mounted, they forced them to retire in disorder.

These first attempts had troubled the people, if *Gaston* had not suddenly re-enforced the Towne with a thousand foot, and a hundred and fourescore Lances. The besieged thus fortified, a strange successe doubles their courage. *Peter* of Nauarre hauing set fire to a myne which he had made at the port of Chastillon, where there was a chappell, both the wall and the Chappell leaped so into the aire, as the army without discovered the towne plainly, and the fouldiers prepared to defend the assault, but both the wall and Chappell falling downe, settled in the same place from whence the violence of the fire had forced them. Doubtlesse the Bolois had reason to make a miracle of this accident, and to beleeue, that this fall vpon the same foundation, was a manifest testimony of Gods assistance. This happy successe brought *Gaston* to Brescia, whither the Venetian army marched, to effect some intelligences: but perswaded by the Captaines of Bologna, that his absence would double the enemies courage, he parts from Final, and marching all night (notwithstanding the snow, and violent winds) entred the City in the morning, with thirtene hundred lances, six thousand Lanquenets, and 8000 French and Italians, before the enemy had any notice thereof: who being assured of the truth, retired their artillery secretly, and tooke the way to Imola. In the meane time *Andrew Griiti*, general of the Venetians (perswaded by Count *Lewis Auogare*, and the most part of the Countrymen) had

Warre in Ro-
magna.

Bologna be-
sieged by the
Spaniards.

A wonderfull
chance.

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Brescia taken by
the Venetians.Nemours by
the French.A new league
against the
King.

had taken the towne of Brescia by assault, where James of Aillon Lord of Lude kept the Castle still. People newly conquered do commonly the like in all occasions. Bergamo (the two castles excepted) Orciuiche, Orcinoue, Pontuque, and many places thereabouts, obey the victors. The Duke of Nemours leaving 300 lances, and 4000 foot in Bologna, posted with all speed to Brescia, and having intelligence that John Paul Bailion lodged in the Isle of Elcale, with 300 men at armes, 400 light horse, and 1200 foot, he goes to charge them with 300 lances, and 700 Archers; having overtaken them (as they were ready to passe the river of Adice) at the tower of Magnanine, he chargeth them, defeats them and kills almost a hundred horse, takes many prisoners (amongst others Guy of Raigon, and Balhazar Signorel of Perugia) dispersed all his foot, (whereof the most part were drowned in passing) and takes two Fauconeux which he had. The next day in an encounter, he defeated Meleager of Furl, Captaine of the Venetian light horse, the commander remaining prisoner: for continuing his designe, he arrived at Brescia nine daies after his departure, besieged it, takes it by force, and sacks it. Doubtlesse this braue Prince did hazard his owne ruine, if he had not, with great judgment and order, commanded, that no man should looke to any spoile, before the towne were fully at his command. And hee did well put it in practice, as the first that made shew to abandon his ranke, was slaine by his companions. But who doth vie such discipline at this day, when as being greedy of booty, they lose to goodly occasions? Our French lost some men at armes, and many foot: but the enemy lost about eight thousand: some being inhabitants armed, some Venetians, who were five hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, two hundred Stradiots or Carbins, and eight thousand foot. Frederick Contarin Commiffary of the Stradiots was slaine. Andrew Gritti, Anthony Iustinian, John Paul Manfron and his sonne, the Cheualier Folpe, Balhazar of Scipione, one of the sonnes of Anthony of Picé, Count Lewis Augere his two sons, and Dominique Busche captaine of the Stradiots were prisoners. Count Lewis and his children (the chiefe authors of this rebellion) were afterwards behadded. A renolt dearly bought by this City, which yielded not to any other in Lombardy, in Nobility and dignity, and in wealth (next vnto Milan) it exceeded all the rest.

This chastisement made Bergamo and the other revolted Townes, to call backe the French whom they had lately expelled. These prizes and reprints, conquests & happy successesse, prolonged the stay of the French in Italy, and yet they did nothing fertile their safeties, seeing what they enjoyed, was rather a charge and expence to them, then any profit. But behold strange crosses both by land and sea, doe hereafter bandy against the happiness of our men. They give the King intelligence from Rome, that Henry the eight King of England (notwithstanding his promise) was ioynd in league with the Pope, and it was confirmed by writing, that a Galliesse laden with wines, corne, & other provision, arriving in England from the Pope, had exceedingly altered Henry, with the Nobility, Clergie, and commons of England. That he should with his army at sea invade the coasts of Normandy & Britany, and send 8000 foot into Spaine, to begin war in Guienne jointly with the Arragonies. And they made already great preparations of men and shipping in England, and likewise of ships in Spaine, to passe into England.

Moreover, the Emperor was altered and changed in his affection, complaining that the King (contrary to the capitulation of Cambray) did hinder the advancement of the Empire in Italy. He required that René the Kings youngest daughter should be promised to Charles his grandchild, giuing him Bourgogne in dowry; and that the Lady should then be presently deliuered into his custody. That the controuersies for Ferrara, Bologna, and the Countess should be referred to him. And moreover, having made a truce with the Venetians for eight moneths, hee protested, not to suffer the King to increase his estate in Italy: But these were but bare shifts to couer his bad intent. Besides, the Cantons of the Suisses were so incensed against this Crowne, that although the King sought to win their loues with store of gold, yet the persuasions of the Cardinall of Sion (whereby wee may see that Cardinals haue beene alwaies dealers in matters of State) had newly made them grant to the confederates a leauie of fixe thousand men. And the Pope, to straine all his strings against our Lewis, fearing lest his extreame rigour should induce the Florentines to follow the Kings fortune, to the prejudice of his designes, hee reuokes, without any lute, the censures whereunto he had bound them.

To quench this fire before it flamed farther, the King commanded his Nephew to march

A march with speed against the confederates army, of whom he promised himselfe the victory, being amazed and the weaker, and then to assaile Rome & the Pope with all violence, desiring that this war (so seeme the lesse odious) should be made in the name of the council called first at Pisa, and that a Legat deputed by the Councell, should receive the conquered Townes, in the name thereof. The Cardinall of S. Seuerin was appointed Legate of Bologna in the army. So the duke of Nemours furnishing all places with men necessary for defence, gathers together all the forces the King had in Italy, hee makes an army of 1600 Lances, 5000 Laniquenets, 5000 Galfons, and 8000 French & Italians, to whom the Duke of Ferrara added an hundred at armes, two hundred light horse, and a great quantity of good artillery: Gascon having left his at Finall by reason of the bad way. The enemies army was 1400 men at armes, a thousand light horse, seven thousand Spaniards, and three thousand Italians newly leauied.

Gascon thrust forward aswell by the Kings command, as by his owne valour and desire of glory, was desirous to see if the enemy would willingly try the hazard of a battell. They on the other side temporized, attending their Suisses, and that the English and Spaniards beginning war in France, should force the King to call backe all, or the greatest part of his troopes: and yet coasted alongst the French army, lest the townes of Romagnia should be leit in prey, and the way layed open to goe to Rome, lodging alwaies in strong places, neere to some strong towne, which might serue them for a retreat at need. So the Duke of Nemours (not able to cut off their victuals through the commodity they had of the townes of Romagnia, nor force them to fight, without great disadvantage) goes and incamps before Rauenna, hoping they would not be so base minded, as to suffer such a City to be lost before their eyes: and by this means an occasion should be offered to fight with them in an equall place.

The enemy discovering this purpose, sends Marke Anthony Colonne to Rauenna, with three score men at men of his company, Peter of Castre with an hundred light horse, Sallear and Parades with fixe hundred Spaniards. The towne is seated betwixt two riuers, Ronque and Montone, which defending from the Appenine hills, straiten themselves neere vnto Rauenna, with so small a distance, that on either side they passe close to the D wallen, then ioyning together they run into the sea three miles from thence. Gascon incamps himselfe betwixt the two riuers, and plants his artillery, some against the tower of Ronconne betwixt Port Adrian and Ronque, and some on the other side of the riuier Montone, whither almost halfe his troopes were passed to batter in diuers places, and to hold the riuier at his will. He barters the wall, makes a breach of thirty fadome, chooseth ten out of euery company of men at armes to couer the foot: diuides his army into three squadrons, and gives a furious assault, although they could not mount but with ladders, the wall remaining yet about three yards high. Those within maintaine it valiantly, and fighting the space of three houres, in the end they repulse our men with the losse of three hundred foot and some men at armes, with a great number hurt: amongst others the Lord of Chafillon, master of the Ordnance, and Spineuse, who being hurt with the Artillery from the Towne, died within few daies after. In the meane time the Citizens amazed, and fearing a more dangerous charge, treated of their yielding without the consent of Marke Anthony Colonne, when as behold, the enemy comes, marching to their succour, who camps at Moulinache three miles from Rauenna, fortifying themselves with a trench, such as the shortness of time would permit, leauing an entry of about twenty fadomes.

Gascon raised the siege, turnes the mouth of the Cannon towards the enemies, on Easter day the eleuenth of Aprill, passeth Ronque, leauing his rereward led by Iues d'Aligre vpon the riuers side towards Rauenna, to succour the army at need; to make head against those that should issue out of the towne; and to keepe the bridge which they had made vpon the riuier of Montone: then disposing of his troopes, hee giues the auant guard to the Duke of Ferrara, the battell to the Lord of Palisse, and the Cardinall of Saint Seuerin, who great both in mind and body, couered from the head to the foot with most glittering armes, performed the office of a captaine rather then of a Prelate. Gascon referred to himselfe no private charge, but would be free, to see, and succor in all places: the beauty of his armes, his callooke, his cheerefull countenance, his eyes full of vigour & sparkling for ioy, made him very apparent. The enemy seeing our French passe the riuier, were ranged in battell

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The French
army in Italy.

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battell. *Fabrice Colonne* led the foreward, the Cardinall of Medicis, Legat of the Council of Lateran, the battell: but (a fatal sign) in a peacefull habit: *Carnagial* a Spanish Captaine, the reerward. So the two armies approaching one the other, stood immovable about two houres, the enemies being loth to abandon the circuit of their palisado, The Spaniards artillery thunders, and at the first volley ouerthrew many French.

The French answers, but with a greater losse to their horse. *Peter of Nauarre* having caused the foot to couch flat vpon their bellies, *Fabrisio* cries, presteth, and importunes, to go to the battell, and not to suffer them to be consumed by the Cannon. The *Namarois* contradicts, presuming that the more the danger increased, the more famous would the victory be which hee expected. But the Cannon had so scourged their men at armes and light horse, as they could no longer keepe their ranks. There might you see men and horse fall dead to the ground, heads, armes and legges flie into the aire, when as *Fabrisio* cries out: *Shall wee die shamefully here, by the obstinacy and malice of a villaine? Shall this army be consumed, without the death of any one enemy? must the honor of Spaine, and Italy, be lost for the pleasure of a Namarois?* Speaking thus, he presteth out of the trench with his company, all the horsemen follow him, the foot rise, and with fury charge the *Lanque- ners*. All the squadrons ioyne, danger, glory, hope and hatred of nation against nation, flesh them in the combat. *Fabrisio Colonne* is already taken by the Duke of Ferraraes companie, *Alegre* chargeth in flanke with his reerward. The Viceroy of Naples and *Carnagial* are put to flight, leading with them almost a whole squadron. The light horse are dis-ranked, and the Marquis of Pescara their Captaine prisoner, being covered with wounds and blood. The Marquis of Padilia is likewise defeated with his squadron, and taken prisoner. The Italian foot shrunke and began to turne their backs, if the Spaniards had not speedily come to second them against the *Lanqueeners*. But all the horsemen fled, and the Spanish Battalion retired in order, when as *Gaston* turning to charge them with a great troop of horse, not holding the victory absolute, if those retired whole, he went courageously to assaile them. But alas, as they charge the hindermost, they are inuironed by this battalion, cut in peeces for the most part, and hee (throwne vnder his horse) was slaine, being thrust into the flanke with a pike. Doubtlesse a happy death for him, hauing this content in his soule, to die in so yong an age, honored with so much glory, the which he had purchased in few months by so many and so notable victories: but a fatal victory, polluted with the death of so braue a Commander, who but euen now began to make his name and his valor knowne, and by his fall caried with him the happiness of the French, and the strength of this army.

The Vicount of Laurec his cousin, remained almost dead by him, maymed with twenty wounds: but led after wards to Ferrara, and being carefully looked vnto, hee escaped, to doe the King notable seruice. *Gaston* being dead, the Spaniards retire without trouble or lett: the rest of the army is broken and dispersed. The baggage taken, ensignes and artillery: prisoners of marke, *Fabrisio Colonne*, the Marquises of Pescara and Padilia, Ekelle and Bitonto, the Earle of Monteleone, *Iohn of Cardone*, *Peter of Nauarre*, many Barons and Noblemen Spaniards, Neapolitans and Italians, and the Legat of the Council of Lateran. There were slaine according to the common estimation, ten thousand, and a third of the French, amongst which were *Alegre* and *Vincerois* his sonne, *Raimond* of S. Maur, *Molere* and some other Galcoine Captaines, *Iacob Colonnell* of the *Lanqueeners*, a braue man, and commended to haue assisted much with his troope for the winning of this victory. Two thirds of the enemies, but almost all their chiefe Captaines and the brauest of their army, a great number hurt, and most of them that fled, were stript & beaten downe by the Countrymen, which lay in troopes by the way. And (for the last act of this Papall tragedy) *Raenna* is taken by assault and cruelly sackt, and spoiled. *Imols*, *Furly*, *Cesena*, *Rimini* and all the farts of *Romagnia* followed the victors fortune, and the Legat of the Council of Pisa, receiues them all in the name of the said Council. The body of *Gaston* was caried to Milan, with an honorable conuoy, in a litter followed by the aboue-named prisoners, and interred with a wonderful mournfull pompe, namely of the fouldiers, whose hearts he had so wonne, as they protested that nothing was impossible vnto them, vnder the leading of such a Commander. And the King his vncle, receiuing these heauy tidings, *I would to God (said he) I were driven out of Italy, so as my Ne- phew de Foix and the other Noblemen liued. I wish such victories to mine enemies. If we van-*

The battell of
Raenna won
by the French.

death of Foix
slaine.

Raenna taken
and sacked.

A quibse once more after this sort, we shall be vanquished. Without doubt hee had reason; for that thurtime this armie (not able to finde a Commander of that credit) on the one side rich with spoile, on the other weak both of force and courage, by this so bloody a victory, seemed rather vanquished then victorious. This battell had filled the Court of Rome with terror and tumult, and the Cardinalls running to the Pope, prest him with instant prayers to accept a peace, with such conditions as the King offered by the Cardinalls of Nantes and Strigonia, wherewith the King was yet content, notwithstanding the happy successe of his affaires: *That Bolegnia, Lugo and all other towne, which Alphonsus held in Romagnia, should be restored, and the Council of Pisa dissolved.* *Iulius* seeing these conditions very honourable for him, and that vnder colour of these parties he should stay the Kings army, vntill he heard the resolution of those, on whom hee grounded the rest of his hopes, subscribed these articles nine daies after the battell, promising on his faith to the Cardinalls, to accept them. But our *Lewis* must try once more, how dangerous it is to moue a warlike nation. The *Suisses* wonderfully discontented with the Kings refusal to increase their pensions, by whose valour (said they) hee had conquered so great Estates without his Realme, and for that he had entertained *Lanqueeners*, as if he had meanes to make warre without their forces, they haue no sooner receiued a florine of the Rhine for euery man from the Pope (whereas before the King was enforced to giue much gold, and great presents to their Colonels, to haue them fight) but descending into Lombardy with *Cleuen* or eight thousand men, they force *Palisse* Lieutenant generall of the Kings army, to retire to defend the Estate of Milan, *Robert Yrfin*, *Pompey Colonne*, *Anthony Saucelle*, *Peter Margane* and *Rance Mancin* had (since the battell) accepted the Kings pay, and now the descent of the *Suisses*, and the dislodging of *Palisse*, makes some to lead such men as they had leauied with the Kings money vnto the Pope, others retaine the money to themselves, only *Margane* (more modest then the rest) restores it againe. All this freed the Pope from feare, and confirmed him in his obstinacy. He begins the Council of Lateran the 3 of May, pronounceth a monitory vnto the Kings: *That he deliver (vpon the paines set downe by the holy Canons) the Cardinall of Medicis, taken prisoner in the warre, being at Milan: and after some sessions he surceaseth, to attend the war.*

Iohn Paul Bailon, Generall of the Venetian army, attended the *Suisses* in the territories of Verona with foure hundred men at armes, 800 light horse, and 6000 foot: being ioynd, they surpris'd a letter which *Palisse* did write to the Generall of Normandy, who remained at Milan: *That it would be very hard to resist the enemies, if they turned towards the Duchy of Milan:* A sufficient instruction to direct them in their course, which makes them to march towards Milan. *Palisse* had not with him aboue a thousand lances, and fixe or seuen thousand foot, all his other troopes being diuided into places for defence, and this generall of Normandy, as bad a warriour as a treasurer (I would not forget to name him, if I had learned his name) hauing after the battell of *Raenna*, vnder color of sparing for the king, contrary to the disposition of present affaires, indiscreetly discharged the Italian foot & some French. And besides the small number of men, the diffention and disobedience of Captaines, and the fouldiers contempt of their Commander, ioynd with the discomforts of a tired army: a Generall little regarded, ill accompanied, in a Country farre from succours, enuironed with mighty and many enemies, must needs produce some great and sudden disorder.

The best meanes our Captaines could finde, was to abandon the field, and disperse their troopes into the most important places. In *Brescia* 2000 foot, a hundred and fifty lances, and a hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*: in *Crema* fifty lances, and 1000 foot in *Bergamo*, a thousand foot, and a hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*. The remainder of the army consisting of six hundred lances, two thousand French foot, and foure thousand *Lanqueeners* retired to *Pontique*, a strong place of situation, and fit to succor *Milan*, *Cremonia*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and to withstand the enemy. But it is a great inconuenience to rely most vpon foraigne forces, so subiect to change. The Emperour giues the first stroke, hee calls home his *Lanqueeners*, and their departure making *Palisse* lose all hope of possibillity to defend the Duchy of Milan, he retires to *Pisqueton*. So the *Cremonois* abandoned yeeldes (except the Castle) at the first approach of the confederates, and pay forty thousand Ducats to the *Suisses*. Certaine banished men returning into *Bergamo*, cause a revolt, and *Palisse* being too weak to stop the enemies passage ouer

The treachery
of Iulius.

A new descent
of Suisses.

Disorders in
the French
army.

The estate of
Milan lost by
the French.

ouer the river of Adde, puts himselfe into Pavia. But hee fought to prevent the ruine of a great building with a rush. Then *Iohn Iaques* of Triulce, the Generall of Normandy, *Anthony Maria Paluissin*, *Galas Visconte*, and many other Gentlemen and seruants to the King, sauing themselves in Piedmont, leaue Milan in prey, which bound it selfe to the first summons to pay a great summe of money. Pavia battered, and abandoned by the French, is saued by the same means from spoile. All townes except Brescia and Crema, make haste to doe the like.

All the Country calls vpon the name of the Empire. All is taken and governed in the name of the holy League (for so they called it) the Cardinall of Sion governs all at his pleasure, and causeth all the taxes of the conquered townes to be given to the Swisses, so as vpon the brute of this money, an infinite number of other runne and ioyne with the first. Rimini, Cesenne, and Rauenna returne to the Popes obedience, Placentia and Parma yeeld willingly vnto him, as members of the government of Rauenna. The Swisses seize vpon Lucerne, the Grisons (who also in this crosse left the French alliance) vpon *Volturne* and *Chiaouenne*. Genoua rebels, expels the French, and *Iohn Fregese*, a Captaine in the Venetians army, returning, causeth himselfe to be created Duke, as his father had beene. At the same instant the Pope recouers all Romagna, the *Bentiuoles* abandon Bologna, and the Duke of Vrbino seizeth thereon in *Iulius* name. So euery one pulls his peece from the whole, and all these estates conquered with so great toyle: so much money, and such losse of blood, are lost at the first attempt, after this great victory of *Ravenna*, with little labour and lesse blood-shed. Truly, the best wits are confounded in the iudgement of these things, and we must confesse, that the issue of humane affaires depends of a higher Councell than that of Man. Notwithstanding, according vnto man, to whom shall wee impute the cause of these accidents, but to the death of the Duke of Nemours: for if he had liued, it is likely, that governing well his victory, hee had (with his helpe that giues and takes) reaped fruits worthy thereof. But *greauisse comes neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the desert; for it is God which governes, heuple downe one and raise up another.*

The Pope still gaped with his old ambition, to haue Ferrara in his power. But by the reuercession of the Marquis of Mantoua, the Ambassador of the King of Arragon (for that *Alphonso* was borne of a daughter of old *Ferdinand* King of Naples) and the Colonies, *Alphonso* hauing demanded and obtained pardon of the Pope, vpon promise hereafter to doe the deeds and duties of a faithfull feudatary & vassall of the Church, *Iulius* turns his reuenge vpon the companies, wherewith the Florentines had ayded the King, whom he caused to be spoiled by the Venetian souldiers, with the content of the Cardinall of Sion, who notwithstanding had giuen them a passport to passe safely into Tuscane. And by the practices of the said *Iulius*, who (according to the ancient desire of all Popes) sought to haue authority in this common weale, the Medicis, with the helpe of the confederates, returned to Florence, and serled themselves by force in the dignity which their father was wont to enjoy. Italy being for this time freed from the feare of the French forces, the King holding nothing but Brescia, Crema, Legnague, the Chastelet and the Lanterne at Genoua, the Castles of Milan, of Cremona, and some other forts: all these confederates gaged after the Duchy of Milan: and the Swisses (on whom the Pope then partly depended) opposing themselves, not to suffer this estate to fall into the hands of any other Prince, but of such one as could not maintaine himselfe without their ayde and succor; *Maximilian* grand-child to *Lodowike Sforze*, was named D. of Milan, who made his entry in the end of December, receiuing the keys into the hands of the Cardinall of Sion, as confirming the said *Maximilian*. That hee held the possession of Milan in the Swisses name. An honorable act and worthy of their generosity, not to yeeld the honor which belonged vnto them to the other confederates, the which notwithstanding they should much esteeme, and (it may be) might haue obtained it for money: Nauarre returns soone after to the obedience of *Sforze*.

Then the Genouois recouered the Chastelet of Genoua, for ten thousand Ducats giuen to the Captaine, and the Venetians besieging Brescia, *Aubigni* who defended it, resolues to deliuer it to the Spaniards, to breed a ialousie betwixt them, euen as a few daies before *Palisse* had giuen Legnague to the Emperour, to nourish a discord betwixt the Emperour and the Venetians, who besieged it. *Ottavian Sforze* Bishop of Lode, and

Sforze recovered
to Milan.

gouernour

Anew league
where the Venetians are excluded.

A gouernor of Milan, sent foure thousand Swisses to conquer Crema, for *Maximilian Sforze*: but *Benedict Cribario*, corrupted by gifts, deliuered it to the Venetians, with the content of the Lord of Duras, who kept the Castle. This was of purpose to breed a diuision betwixt the Swisses and the Venetians. A Councell generally concluded by the French, which remained of this shipwrack, the which in the end wrought some effects: but the losse fell vpon the French, for with this first disdaine of the Venetians against the Emperour by reason of Legnague, beheld a new leaue of discontent is layed by the Bishop of Gurce, *Maximilian* ambassador at Rome. He made great instance, that the Venetians should deliuer Vincenza to the Emperour, whereunto, neither solicitings, intreatings, nor the Popes threats could induce the Venetians. The Pope (desiring to gratifie *Maximilian*: that in his fauor hee should approve the Councell of Lateran against that of Pisa) protested to the Ambassadors of Venice: That he should be forced to pursue their common weale both with spirituall and temporall armes. So as nothing moued with this protestation, the Pope, the Emperour, and the Arragonois renew the league of Cambray, declaring the Venetians to be excluded. So the Emperour (by the Bishop of Gurce, in the next session of this Councell of Lateran) disauowed all them that had fled his name in the Councell of Pisa, and allowed that of Lateran.

In the meane, the six thousand English (promised by *Henry* King of England) were arriued at Fontaraby, a towne seated vpon the Ocean, and frontier of the realme of Spaine towards France, to assaile ioyntly (according to the conuentions of the two Kings of Arragon and England, father in law and son) the Duchy of Guienne, vpon this pretext the Arragonois had intreated *Iohn*, sonne to *Alain* of Albret King of Nauarre, (by reason of *Katherine* of Foix his wife, heire of the said Realme) to remaine a neuter betwixt the King of France & him, and that for the assurance thereof, he should deliuer certaine places into his hands, promising to re-deliver them when the war should be ended. But the Nauarrois, knowing well the demanders intent, obtains a promise of succor from King *Lewis*, who, to free himselfe from the Arragonois forces, treated with the Duke of Alua Lieutenant generall for *Ferdinand* in this army. But when the one party is vigilant and polike, and the other slothfull, there soone appears great effects. The industry and vigilancy of *Ferdinand*, the slacknesse and too great facility of *Lewis*, who (abused with the policy and deuices of his nephew) did equally hurt the Nauarrois, who surred himselfe likewise to be deceived with the fraudulent hopes wherewith the Arragonois entertained him, who (seeing the succors of France far off, the Realme vnfurnished of forces, and the places not yet fortified) enters into Nauarre, takes Pampelune, and the other Townes of the Realme, abandoned by *Iohn* (being vnable to defend it) who fled into Bearne.

And hauing no lawfull title to possesse it, publisheth, that he is lawfully seized thereon, by the authority of the Apostolike see, whereby the said Realme was giuen to the first that should conquer it, by reason of the alliance which *Iohn* had with the French King, a sworn enemy to the Church, and by the Popes bull, who being subiect to the censure, as Heretikes and schismarikes. Without doubt the Pope holds not this prerogative of *Iesus Christ*, to giue Kingdomes, and to expose them in prey: for he exhorted to yeeld to, and not to take from *Cesar*: & the Apostles did not busie themselves, to diuide earthly possessions. Moreover, it is lawfull for the Pope to vsurpe another mans right, giue away that which is not his owne, and consequently to vse the spirituall sword against those he cannot iudge, hauing declared himselfe a party: After the Conquest of Nauarre, the English perswaded *Ferdinand* to the siege of Bayonne, who without this place made no reckoning of the rest of Guienne. But he held that which he long wished for, as a commodious Country and very necessary for the safety of Spaine, and could not affect the war on this side the Pyreneé mountains. So as the English, seeing that *Ferdinand* did vse them onely to satissie his priuate couetousnesse, tooke shipping and sayled into England.

To recouer this viurped Realme, the King sent *Francis* Duke of Longueuille, gouernor of Guienne, *Charles* duke of Bourbon, son to *Gilbert* late Vice-roy of Naples, *Odet* of Foix Vicount of Lautrec, *Iohn* of Chabannes Lord of Palisse Marshall of France, *Peter* of Terrail, the Lords of Maugiron, Lude, Barbezieux, Turenne, Elcars, Ventadour, Pompadour, and other valiant Captaines, with the old bands and Gascons, which hee assembled from all parts. But the army being diuided by the dissention of the Duke of Longueuille, who as Gouernour of Guienne, pretended the command to belong vnto him:

Nauarre taken
by the King of
Arragon.

and the Duke of Bourbon unwilling to yield unto him, by reason of his quality, proued a fruitlesse for the King of Nauarre. Thus the Realme of Nauarre was invaded by the Spaniard, who remained master thereof. The departure of the English, and the enterprise of Nauarre being made frustrate, the King affects the affaires of Milan, with greater vehemency, whilst that the Caffe, and that of Cremona held good: but the opposition of so many enemies bred many letts. There were many hopes to draw some one of these from this common alliance. The Bishop of Gurche had courteously giuen care to a friend of the Cardinall of Saint Seuerins, whom the Queene of France had sent vnto him, and held one of his people at the Kings Courto make a motion, that the King should bind himselfe to aide the Emperor against the Venetians: that Charles grand-child to Maximilian, should marry with the Kings yongest daughter, to whom he should giue the Duchy of Milan in dowry: that the King should yield vnto them the rights he pretended to the Realme of Naples, and that the said duchy being recouered, Cremona and Guiradade should be held by the Emperour. Morouer the Venetians were wonderfully grieved at the Popes new treaty with the Emperour: which put the King in hope to draw the Venetians vnto him. The Arragonois came betweene by a politicke stratageme: to assure his new conquest of Nauarre, he had sent two Fryers into France (it is the Spaniards custome to manage affaires by the meanes of religious persons, to make their negotiations the more graue, and to colour their policies with more subtilty) to treat with the Queene, touching a general peace, or a priuate betwixt the two Kings. The amity of the Swisss did import much, but rememb'ring that by their forces, Charles the 8 had first troubled the peace of Italy; Lewis his succellour, by meanes thereof had conquered the estate of Milan, recouered Genoua, and outthrowne the Venetians; that at this present the Pope and other Porentates of Italy paid their annual pensions, to be receined into their confederacie: They grew obdurate in refusing the Kings alliance, which hee fought by the Lords of Tremouille and Triuulce. In the end, the King (being reiecte by the Swisss) seekes to the Venetians, who conclude to make a league with the King, according to the capitulations made formerly betwixt them, by the which Cremona & Guiradade should remaine to them. Robertet, Secretary of State, Triuulce, and almost all the chief of the Councell approued this league. But the perswasions of the Cardinall of S. Seuerin opposit to Triuulce, and the Queenes authority, (who desired much the greauesse of her daughter by the foresaid marriage, so as the might remaine with her vntill the consummation thereof) made the King and his Councell incline to the Emperors partie. But discouering that these were but practises of the Emperour, to make the King proceede more coldly in his courses, he loone gaue it ouer.

Whilst that armes ceased on all sides, the Popes passions increased. Hee reuolued his designs against Ferraro, Sienna, Luques, Florence and Genoua; and as if it had beene in his power to beat all the world at one instant: he thrust the King of England into war, in whose fauour he had dispatche a Bull in the Councell of Lateran, whereby the title of Most Christian was giuen vnto him, and the Realme of France againe abandoned to him: that should conquer it. But as he deuised of all these things, and without doubt of many other greater designs (according to the capacity of his turbulent spirit) death ended the course of his present toyles, the one and twentieth day of February at night.

A Prince doubtlesse of great courage, of admirable constancy; and most worthy of glory, if he had directed his intentions to aduance the Church by peace, as he sought to grow great in temporall things, by policies in warre. John Cardinall of Medice succeded him, and was called Leo the tenth. The happy memory of his father, his lawfull election, free from bribes and simmony, his faire conditions, his liberality and mildnesse of spirit, gaue great hope of the quiet of Christendome. Yet soone after his enstallment, he shewed plainly that he was rather a successor of his predecessors hatred and conetous passions, then of S. Peter. According to the treaty of the above named Fryers, the Kings of France and Arragon concluded a truce, whereby our Lewis, having more liberty to thinke of the warres of Milan, refused to send an army, knowing well that the people of that estate, oppressed with excessive taxes, leauied to pay the Swisss, and with the lodging and payment made to the Spaniards, desired earnestly to returne to his obedience. And to make this enterprise more easie, the accord proposed before with the Venetians was againe renewed: so as the Venetians considering, that a concord with Maximilian

(keeping

Peace betwixt the King of France and the Venetians.

A (keeping Verona from them) was not sufficient to protect them from troubles and dangers, and that hardly they should get such an occasion to recouer their estate, they binde themselves by Andrew Gritt: To aide the King with eight hundred men at armes, fiftene hundred light horse, and ten thousand foot: to recouer Als, Genoua and the Duchy of Milan. And the King, to assist them, vntill they had recouered all they had possessed in Lombardy, and in the Marquisate of Treuise before the treaty of Cambray.

The King knew well, it was but labour lost to seeke the Pope, who desired to haue no Frenchman in Italy. Yet the deuotion hee had to the Romane sea, made him sue vnto Leo, not to hinder him in the recouery of the above named places, offering not onely to passe any further, but also at all times to make such peace with him as hee pleased. But Leo treating the steps of his Predecessor, perswades the King of England to ioine with the Arragonois in the inuasion of France, according to the Bull giuen by Iulius, hee protested to continue in the league made with the Emperour, with the Catholike King, and with the Swisss.

The King thus frustrate of a peace with the Pope, sends the Lord of Triuulce, with fiftene hundred Lances, eight hundred light horse, and fiftene thousand foot, halfe French and halfe Venetians. The whole Country was already in a mutiny, the Earle of Mufficque, son to John James of Triuulce, was entred into Als & Alexandria, the French had taken Cremona, Sonzin, Lode, and other places neere, and the Milanois had excused themselves to their Duke, who was at Nauarre: for that hauing no man to defend them, they made their composition with the French, yet giuing him hope to returne to his subiection, when as the Swisss and his confederats should ioine in field. Bartholomew of Aliuane, Generall of the Venetian army, had taken Valege, Pelquier & Brescia, when as the Kings army at last approaching to Genoua, and finding Othobon and Sinibaud, the sons of Lewis of Fiesque, leading foure thousand foot, and on the other side Antonel and Ierome Adornes, with a great number of the Countrymen: they tooke Genoua from the Fregoses, where the victors entring (transported with the fury of reuenge) the two Fiesques brethren, caused Zachary brother to the duke of Genoua to be slaine, and then to be tied cruelly to a horse taile, and dragged through the City, being present a little before, at the death of Ierome their brother, who coming out of the Palace, had bene murdered by Lodowike and Fregosin, brothers to the Duke.

Genoa taken.

All this succeeded well, but forty thousand ducats, lately sent by the Pope to the Swisss, had drawne an infinite number into the estate of Milan, thrusting themselves into Nauarre, at the first brute that the French meant to besiege it. It was the same Nauarre, wherein Lodowik Sforze, father to this present duke, was taken prisoner. In the Kings campe were the same Capitaines, Tremouille and Triuulce, some of the same Ensignes and Colonels which had sold the father, accompanied the son in this warre. And these presumptions caused Tremouille to make this ouer-bold promise to the King: that he hoped to deliuer him the sonne prisoner in the same place, where before he had giuen him the father. The representation of what had past, comforts this hope: but let vs take heed, lest under this colour we grow insolent and carelesse. Now the arrogancy of our French, finds a firme resolution in the Swisss, whereof follows a strange catastrophe, and an overthrow of the designe. The army batters Nauarre furiously, and layes a great part of the wall euen with the ground: but whereas the descent was wonderful hard and dangerous, so as Tremouille aduertised, that new Swisss were entred into it, and that Alaisse, a very famous Colonell, brought a great number, which coming by the valley of Aoust, approached to Iuree, despairing to take the Towne, hee retired his campe, to goe fight with the succors that came, making his accompt to breake the enemies, rather by their owne disorders for want of pay, then by the force of his armes.

But by the perswasion of Adoin, one of their capitaines, ten thousand Swisss issue forth in the night, the sixt of Iune, without horses or artillery, against a mighty army, and better provided: they set vpon our French, not asleepe, but in a lodging vnfortified. The men at armes assemblé at the first alarme of their Centinells, range themselves in battell, and the foot vnder their colors. The artillery layed many Swisss on the ground, when as the Sunne beginning to appeare, the body of their army resolving rather to bee cut in peeces then retire, seuen thousand of them fall violently vpon the Lansquenets, who guarded the artillery: and 3000 of them plant themselves with their pikes charged against

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the

Pope Iulius dies.

A truce betwixt France and Arragon.

1513

French defeated at Norwiche.

The memorable valor of Robert of la Marck.

the horse. The Suisses and Lanquenets, thrust on with a mutuall hatred, and a desire of A victorie, hew one another with a bloody fury: one while the one shrinkes, is chased and recoyles, and then the other: filling the field with dead bodies, wounded men, and with blood, in view of the men at armes, lodged so as the could not succour the foot, by reason of brookes and ditches, that were betwixt them. So the Suisses after two houres combat remained victors, win the artillery, tunc the mouth of it against our men, and put both foot and horse to flight, of whom there is nothing remarkable observed, but that *Robert of la Marck* Lord of Sedan, understanding that *Loranges* and *Lamets* his sons, Colonels of the Regiments of Lanquenets, lay among the dead carcases, moved with fury and a fatherly affection, he runs into the midst of the Suisses troopes, and in despite of them, layes the eldest vpon his horse, and the youngest vpon one of his men at armes, bringing them aliue out of the conflict, being referred to shew future proofes of their valor. There died about fiftene hundred Suisses, with the author of this glorious Councell: Of ours, the most part of the Lanquenets fighting and of the French flying, vnto the number (as the Italian Authors say) of ten thousand. All the horse in a manner saued themselves: the Suisses not able to pursue them for want of horse, all their baggage was lost, and two and twenty peeces of great artillery, with all the horse appointed for the same. Doubtlesse it was one of the most glorious battels that euer the Suisses won: whereby wee observe, that to be surprized and preuented, takes away all iudgement of command from the best commanders, dants the fouldiers courage, and breeds confusion in order. This victory being got, ten, all places which had declared themselves for the French, craue pardon, and purchase their peace for money. Milan for two hundred thousand Ducats, and the rest according to their power, to be distributed to the Suisses, to whom was due the glory and profit of this victory gotten by their blood and valour. *Ottavian Fregose* (aided by three thousand Spaniards, commanded by the Marquis of Pescara) enters Genoua, and causeth himselfe (to the preiudice of *John* his brother) to bee created Duke of Genoua. *Aluiane* (feareing lest this happy successe of the Suisses and Spaniards should draw them vpon him) retires himselfe, takes Legnague from the Germanes, besiegeth Verona, but in vaine, and then lodgeth his army within Padua. The two chiefe Authors of the Councell of Pisa, *Bernardin*, *Carnagial*, and *Fredericke* of S. Seuerin, amazed with this rout, went and craued pardon of the Pope, and were restored to the ranke of Cardinals. In the end of the year, the Castle of Milan and Cremona, returned to the Duke of Milans obedience, so as the King held nothing in Italy, but the Lanterne of Genoua, the which we shall see taken and razed by the Genouois. Without doubt, he that seekes profit farre from his owne home, is oft times forced to returne poore and naked.

The King thus dispossessed of his estates in Italy, now turnes his thoughts and armes, to cross the attempts of *Henry* King of England, who having (at the Popes perswasion) resolved to invade the Realme of France, agrees with the Emperour to giue him sixscore thousand Ducats, to enter into Bourgongne at the same instant, with 3000 horse, and eight thousand foot, Germans and Suisses, promising the Suisses a certaine sum of money, to ioyne their forces with *Maximilian*, being content they should retain a part of Bourgongne, vntill they were fully satisfied. According to this agreement, the English enters the marches of Picardy, and camps before Therouenne, with sixe thousand horse, and about forty thousand foot. But the English forces did not molest France at land only, the Admirall of England ran along the coasts of Normandy & Britany. And the King to resist their incursions, caused foure Gallies to passe the straight of Gibraltar, vnder the charge of Captain *Pregent*. At the first encounter the Admirall chased *Pregent* into Brest. Here *Pregent* turnes his force, fights with the Admirall, and hurts him, whereof hee died within few daies after. After that, fourescore English ships, and twenty Normands and Brittons ships, fought with equal forces, ours hauing the winde. But in the end *Primoguet* a Britton, Capitaine of the Nunne, which *Queene Anne* had caused to be built, beset by ten or twelue English ships, and resolute to sell his death dearly, grappled with the Regent, the chiefe ship of the enemies fleet, and firing it, burnt both the one and the other, with all that was in them.

Therouenne was defended by two hundred and fifty Lances, and two thousand foot, whilst the King prepared 2500 Lances, ten thousand Lanquenets led by the Duke of Gueldres, sixe thousand others, which the Duke of Norfolk brought (being dead

Therouenne besieged.

1513

A long before out of England) and ten thousand French, to succour the besieged, who in the meane time molested the enemy, day and night, with their artillery, with the which the great Chamberlaine of England was slaine, and *Talbot* capitaine of Calais lost a legges. The troopes assembled, the King sent them to Aire, vnder the command of *Lewis* of Longueuille, Marquis of Rotelin, Capitaine of an hundred Gentlemen of his household. Victuals grew scant in Therouenne, when as the Lord of Piments, Gouernour of Picardy, and the French Capitaine, chose out the most resolute of all their troopes, and gaue them charge to carry victuals to the Towne. And for that their enterprise had happily succeeded, rayting too confidently, and reproaching the cheery of cowardice, having no intelligence of their intent, the English having sent their horse, and fiftene thousand foot, to cut off our mens passage, who did ride on their naggies disarmed, they charge them vna- wares (being ready to wade through a riuer that passeth at Huchin,) they kill about three hundred, and take many prisoners: amongst others, the Marquis of Rotelin, *Bayard le Feigne*, *Clermont* of Aniou, and *Bussy* of Amboise: all the rest casting away their Lances, and trusting to their heeles, and horses, saued themselves by flight. And therefore they call it the battell of purres, which caused the yeelding of Therouenne, the which was dismantled, to take away all cause of discord, betwixt the Archduke *Charles*, (who by ancient right pretended it,) and the English who challenge it, as conquered from the enemy by the sword.

C. From Therouenne *Henry* went to campe before Tournay, following in this resolution, not so much the actions of a good Commander in the warre (seeing the taking of this place, lying within the Low Countries brought him small profit) as the perswasions of *Maximilian*, hoping that this towne pulled from the French, might in time returne to the obedience of his grand-child *Charles*, to whom they pretended it appertained. Tournay was furnished of men of warre, and despairing of succours, for that the King (not being master of the field, nor of sufficient force to encounter the English) could not succor it, laued herselfe from spoile paying a hundred thousand Crownes. To crosse the English, at home, the King had stirred vp *James* King of Scotland (an ancient ally to this Crowne) but the successe of armes was nothing fortunate for him, neither at land, nor at sea. After these victories, the end of October approaching, *Henry* left a great garison in Tournay: dismissed his strangers, and tooke his way towards England, carying no other recompence for so great, and sumptuous a preparation for warre, but the City of Tournay. But some designs vpon Scotland (fallen into a pupills hand,) hastened him home. Another storme threatned France. The Suisses armed according to the former conditions: the King sends *Tremouille* vnto them, to disperse them, vnder whom many of the Colonels had recieued the Kings pay. But neither by presents, nor promises, prevailed he any thing: onely he had a secret intelligence giuen him from some Capitaines, to provide for the defence of his gouernment of Bourgongne, whither the Pope, the Emperour, and *Maximilian* did thrust them. And beheld foureteen or fiftene thousand Suisses, with the troopes of the French County, a thousand horse, and the artillery which the Emperour gaue them: vnder the conduct of *Ulrich* Duke of Wirtemberg, camped before Dijon: *Tremouille* was returned, with a thousand Lances, and six thousand foot, who by his practises had greatly altered the Colonels, when as the multitude doubting the faith of their Capitaines, takes the artillery, and batters the wall. *Tremouille* not able to resist the force of this nation, which increased daily, flies to the last remedy, and without expecting any authority from his Maiesty, agrees with them: That the King should renounce the rights he had to the Duchy of Milan, and should pay them 40000 Crownes within a time prefixed, which they pretended was due for their seruices in the former warres: and for assurance thereof, he gaue for hostages, his nephew of Mezieres Bailiffe of Dijon, and foure Bourges of the said towne, who sauing themselves a while after in Germany, escaped the threats of this people, to cut off their heads, if the King did not ratifie it. Doubtlesse these were wise men, to saue their heads from the Suisses choler. A very preiudiciall accord for the King, if he had beene constrained to ratifie it. But was it not better to lull the Suisses asleepe, then to lose Dijon? Our *Lewis* is now freed of two incombances, the English, and the Suisses. But the exemption of present dangers freed him not from a relaps, for the English departing, threatned to returne in the spring, and prepared already, being loth to stay any more so long at the warre. The Emperour had the like intent to annoy him.

Tournay taken

The Suisses enter into Bourgongne.

The Emperor
affixes to her
Popa.

The Catholike King deuised (as it was discovered by a letter, written to his Ambassa-
dor resident with *Maximilian*) the meanes to draw this Duchy of Milano *Ferdinand*
their common grand-child, yonger brother to *Charles* the Archduke, shewing that by
that meanes, all the other estates of Italy should be forced to take their law from them,
that it should bee easie for the Emperor, assisted with the armes of Arragon and Naples,
to make himselfe Pope (the which hee had alwaies desired since the death of his wife,
and being installed in Saint Peters chaire, he should renounce the Imperiall Crowne,
in fauour of the said Archduke. Moreover, the bad affection of the irreconcilable Swisses
was apparent. The sight of the hostages had newly incensed them, who threatned
Bourgongne and Dauphine.

The Pope desired greatly the whole extirpation of the Councell of Pisa, especially for
matters decreed, either by the authority of the said Councell, or against the Popes autho-
rity, the which (not reuoked) must needs breed great confusions. Yet could he not obtaine
abolition before the King did raise it. Three Cardinalls were therefore appointed to
dresse these disorders. But the greatest difficulty was about the abolition of Censure,
which the King (said they) had incurred, thinking it a thing unworthy of the Apostolike
see to grant, if the King did not demand it: the which his Maiesty would not yeeld him-
selfe ouer-ruled by the earnest sute both of the Queene and his subiects, which wished to see
crosses, relolues to yeeld to the Popes will, hoping hereafter, by this meanes, to find him
fauourable. And therefore at the session of the Councell of Lateran, which was in the
end of the yeare, the Kings agents, in his name, and by his command, renounced the party
Councell of Pisa, adhering to the Councell of Lateran, and so obtained full remission of
all things committed against the Romane Church.

The death of
Queene Anne.

Amidst so many foraigne crosses which did infinitely trouble the King, there chanced
home-bred affliction; the death of the Queene his wife: a Princeesse indued with most
vertues incident to an honorable Lady, and for this cause greatly lamented of the whole
Realme. This death was the accomplishment of the marriage betwixt *Francis* duke of Va-
lois and Earle of Angouleme, and *Claude* the kings eldest daughter: the which had been
deferred till then: for that the Queene longed not *Lewis* of Sauoy, mother to the said *Fran-
cis*, and affected more to haue *Charles* of Austria, afterwards Emperour, for her son in law.
The Realm being reduced to the obedience of the Church of Rome, the Pope (to whom
the Kings greatnesse was commonly fearful) begins now to feare lest his power should
be too much suppressed, and that the enemies of France should hereafter ioyne their for-
ces to the prejudice of the Romane Court. To ballance things in such sort, as hee might
subsist in the midst, and that the meanes which ayded one of his intentions, should not
hurt another: considering that the irreconcilable hatred of the Swisses, might force the
King to resigne his rights of the Duchy of Milano to the Emperour and Catholike King, in
regard of the marriage which they pretended (a very prejudiciall thing to the common li-
berty of Italy): and holding it also dangerous to haue the King to recover it, hee perswa-
ded the Swisses, that their extreame hatred might not force the King to take a course no
lesse hurtfull to the liberty of their common weale (considering the little loue which
Maximilian and *Ferdinand* did beare them) then to the Church and all Italy. Moreover,
to make the Kings descent into Italy more difficult at all euents, he labours an accom-
twixt the Emperour and the Senate of Venice: who being relolue, either to haue a firme
peace concluded, or open warre, would by no meanes giue care to any truce, for that had
bene to settle the Emperours affaires in those rownes which he enjoyed.

The Popes perswasions were fruitlesse with the Swisses: the Emperour and Venetians
made him ludge of their counterfeits, but without decision for either party: hee only
commands them to surcease from armes, untill the pronounciation of his sentence. The
Catholike King could not more firmly assure the Realme of Nauarre, then by a peace.
Our *Lewis* and hee prolong the truce for a yeare, adding to the former articles, one that was
secret. That during the truce, the King might not molest the estate of Milano. That which
the Pope could not get of the Swisses, he obtained of the King of England. *Henry* discon-
tent that his father in law had againe deceived him, by the prolongation of a truce, with-
out his consent, grew daily more unwilling to make war in France. The Pope desiring by
some kindnesse, to win the kings loue, & fearing daily, that *Lewis* oppressed with enemies
would

A would allice himselfe, both by a peace and confanguinity with *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*:
he sent the Cardinall of Yorke, to perswade his King: that remembering what correspon-
dency of faith he had found in the Emperour, the Catholike King, and the Swisses, and
contenting himselfe with his happy passage and returne, hee should forbear any more
to assist France with his forces. The Cardinall finding *Henry* disposed to peace, whom
the Duke of Longueville (a prisoner, taken in the war) had already moued: and *Lewis*
desiring with all his heart, (having sent the Generall of Normandy) but more vnder
colour to treat of the deliuey of the D. of Longueville, and his companions in prison,
they made an agreement betwixt the two Kings, in the beginning of August for their
lives, and a peace after their death, vpon condition, That the King of England should re-
in Turney, and the French King should pay him six hundred thousand Crownes. That *Lewis*
should be bound to defend the estates one of another, with ten thousand foot, and more
by land: and six thousand if it were by sea: that the French King should furnish the King of
England with twelve hundred Lances at need, and the King of England with ten thousand
foot: but at his charge that should haue neede. This peace was confirmed by the marriage
of *Lewis* with *Mary* sister to *Henry*. But the Pope was not perswaded, for great wealth
might so suddenly be conuerted into amity, and alliance.

A peace with
the English.

Lewis King of
France marries
the sister of
England.

For, as he had made the first motion, so did he expect to be made acquainted with the
conclusion: wherein he made account to referre this clause; That the King should re-
in the Duchy of Milano for a time. The Emperour and Catholike King were exceedingly
jealous: yet the last assured himselfe to receiue two contents. The one, that the Archduke
his grand-child was out of hope, to giue his sister in marriage to *Lewis*: the other, that
Lewis being in possibility to haue heires male, the succession of *Francis* Earle of Angou-
leme should remaine doubtfull, whom he hated exceedingly, seeing him greatly inclined
to restore the Realme of Nauarre, to the ancient estate. The Swisses rejoiced, not for a-
ny affection they bore vnto the King, but foreseeing that *Lewis* having truce with the
Arragonois, and peace with the Venetian, and English, would employ his forces to re-
couer Milano, and this should be a new whetstone to sharpen their hatred, and make their
vertue knowne to the whole world. No man doubted of the Kings resolution herein; and
indeed he prepared for it, having retained the Lanquenets which the Duke of Guelders
had brought against the English.

And the Pope, although it were a very troublesome thing vnto him, to haue the King
reouer this estate, yet knowing that his perswasions could not diuert the enterprise, hee
adulst him (but faintly) not to prolong it, giuing him to vnderstand that things were ill
prepared to resist. The Emperour had no forces, and as little money, the Arragonois army
was growne weake, and not paid: the people of Milano poore, and brought almost to de-
spaire: no man could furnish money to make the Swisses march, and *Frégise* was not out
of hope to agree with his Maiesty for the Seigneury of Genoua. But let vs obserue his
policy: All these praioications came not from a sincere heart. The Pope sees euery one
tyred with trauels path, and ill provided. And now the French had taken breath, and fe-
tised themselves with new alliances: he begins to feare the King, and would assure him-
selfe of his forces, in case he came into Italy. Moreover, he knew well the King could not
this yeare molest the estate of Milano, by reason of a clause mentioned in the truce with
the Arragonois: and if it should so fall out, this good inclination and will, should send
him for an excuse with the King, when as hee should require either his consent or helpe.
During this truce, the Lanquenets at Genoua (being reduced to all extremity for want of
victuals, and not able to be succoured) yeelded to the Genouois: who made it euen with
the cause. Thus the King was dispossessed of all his conquests in Italy. VVhich must not wor-
der if the people make heapes of stones of Castles within their rownes, when they fall
into their powers, for they are but shackles of their liberty.

The Popes
policy.

In the meane time, the new confederacy which the Pope contracted with the Empe-
rou, (betwixt whom and the Venetians, *Leo* laboured an agreement, not giuing the King
any notice thereof) lending him forty thousand Ducats, and receiuing from him Mode-
na in pawne, gaue our *Lewis* new causes of iealousie and distrust. To be relolued then of
the Popes intent, he sends to intreat him, to declare himselfe in his fauour, adding more-
ouer, that it he might not bee in good termes of friendship with him, hee would accept
such conditions of *Maximilian* & *Ferdinand* as he had refused. On the other side, *Maxi-
milian*

1514

milian and the Arragonois wanted no persuasions full of efficacy, to vnite the Pope vnto them for the defence of Italy: shewing, that if vnited together, they had bene able to chase the French out of the Duchy of Milan, they were not now more vnable to defend it, against him. They did not omit to shew, that if the King preuailed in his designs, he would not fail to be reuenged at the same instant of all the injuries hee had receiued, namely, of the money, wherewith *Leo* had lately thrust the Suisse into Bourgongne. And the authority of the Suisse (who continuing in their first spleene, offered for six thousand Florins of the Rhin, to take & defend the passages of Mount Senis, Mount Geneure, and Final: and for forty thousand Florins a moneth to inuade Bourgongne with twenty thousand men) did strangely moue the Popes minde, who restrained by feare of that he most desired, made some scruple to bewray his conceits, giuing them all good hope vnder generall reames.

In the end, being prest by the King, behold his answer: *That he had perswaded him to passe into Italy, when as without danger or effusion of blood he might haue reaped an assured victory. That now other Princes haue so ordered their affaires, as there is no more hope to vanquish him with much hazard and blood. And for that the Turke had lately increased his power much by a notable victory against the Sophi of Persia, Leo therefore forgets not to add, That it was neither conformable to his nature, nor agreeable to his office, to saue Christian Princes armes against themselves. That he could not but exhort him to perseuer, vntill hee should find some more easie and better opportunity; which being offered, he should alwaies finde him the same disposition to his glory and greatness, that he had some few months before made shew of.*

This answer was sufficient to quail the Kings hopes of *Leo's* fauour: yea, to let him vnderstand, that he would oppose both his Councell & forces against this enterprise, which the King had resolved for the Duchy of Milan, according to the charge he had giuen the Duke of Bourbon. But death, which commonly cuts off the counsellors of man with his life, staied this resolution, to reuiue it soone after in his next successor. For as *Lewis* pleased himselfe exceedingly in the excellent beauty of his new Spouse, being but thirtene yeares old, behold a seuer, accompanied with a flux of blood, frees him from the troubles and cares of this world, to enioy an eternall and happy rest in heauen, noing the first day of Ianuary with the exceeding griefe which his memory graued in the hearts of all his subiects. He was a godly Prince, iust, chaste, milde, temperate, loyall, louing his Princes, his Nobility and his people, and likewise beloued of them; a friend to sincerity, plainnesse and truth; an enemy to enuy, lying and flattery. Let vs obserue for a testimony thereof that royall Apothegme, being vrged by the flatterers of the Court, to take reuenge of *Lewis* of Tremouille, who had overcome and taken him at the battell of *S. Aubin*: *A King of France* (saith he) *doth not take vpon him the quarrells of a Duke of Orleans: If he hath faithfully serued the King his Master, against me who was but Duke of Orleans, he will doe the like for me, who am now King of France.* But aboue all, hee was good to his subiects, whom he did alwaies studie to ease: for how many leauius hath hee made both of horse and foot, without the oppression of his people by any new impositions? How often haue his subiects willingly granted him an increase of Subsidies, to supply his foraigne and domestick affaires, and yet would he not allow of these impositions? Desiring rather to cutt off the expences of his owne person, and his house, to saue his people from oppression and spoile.

France was neuer scene so populous, so fruitfull, so rich, so well tilled, nor so well built as in this raigne. A happy raigne in the obseruation of Iustice, martiall discipline, liberty of trafficke, increase of goods, cheapnesse of victuals; & which is more, gery man to eate his bread quietly at his own board, free from the outrages and insolencies of soldiers. To conclude, neuer King loved his people so much, neuer Subiects loved their King more: neuer Subiects gaue with greater ioy to their Soueraigne, then the French did to him, that glorious surname of *Father of his people*.

FRANCIS

1515



Appy is that Realme (saith the wise man) which falls not into a childes hands.

This was the first comfort which reuiued the hearts of the French, oppressed with mourning and heauinesse for the death of their good King *Lewis* the twelfth: The second was, that they cast their eyes vpon a worthy Successor, a Prince well borne, iudicious, and of a generous spirit; liberall, courteous, in the prime of his age, and fit for government, affable to the people, fauourable to the clergy, pleasing to the Nobility (who do naturally loue their Princes good countenance) and (that which all subiects admire in their Soueraigne) of an excellent beauty. Thus capable was he of the royall dignity. *Francis* being then 22 yeares old, before Duke of Valois, and Earle of Angoulesme, tooke vpon him the government of this Monarchy, as Son to *Charles* Earle of Angoulesme, Son to *John* Earle of Angoulesme, who was the youngest Sonne of *Lewis* Duke of Orleans (murdered by the Bourguignon at Paris, in the time of *Charles* the sixth) who was also the youngest sonne of King *Charles* the fifth. He was annointed at Rheims the 25 day of Ianuary, being attended on by the Dukes of Bourbon and Alanson, the Earles of Montpensier, Vendosme and S. Paul, & the Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, all of the house of Bourbon. Then hauing made his entry into Paris, and a solemne Tournie kept in S. *Antonie's* street, he confirmed all the ancient officers of the Crowne; and to supply those which were vacant, he created *Charles* D. of Bourbon Constable of France, (being voided by the death of *John* the second Duke of Bourbon) *Anthony* Prat Chancellor, (for then *Stephen* Pomeher Bishop of Paris was keeper of the Seale) *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Vendosme, gouernor of the Isle of France, making the said County a Duchy, and a Peere of France; the Lord of Lauree Gouernour of Guien, *Philipe* Marshall of France, *Boschis* gouernour in his youth, Lord Steward and Superintendent of his house, with whom he ioyned *Flouremonde Robertet* Secretary of State. With this title of French King, he tooke vpon him that of the Duke of Milan, not only as descending of the house of Orleans, the true heire of that Duchy, but also as comprehended in the inuestiture made by the Emperor, according to the treaty of Cambray. And for that he succeeded equally both to the Crowne, and the desire his predecessor had to recouer that goodly estate of Milan, he therefore (to worke it with more facility) renewed the peace made betwixt the deceased King, and the King of England, sending home *Mary* the widow of *Lewis*, with a dowry of threescore thousand crownes a yeare: who afterwards married with the Duke of Suffolke. Hee also confirmed the alliance this Crowne had with the Senate of Venice. The Archduke *Charles* sent a very honourable Ambassage to the King, whereof the Earle of Nassau was the chiefe, to do him homage, for the Counties of Flanders, Arthois, and other Lands which held of this Crowne, & (the which gaue hope of a future peace betwixt these two Princes, both being young, but marked for great designs) to treat a marriage betwixt the said *Charles*, and *Renée* the Queenes sister, who was afterwards wife to the D. of Ferrara. And for that the said Earle was greatly fauoured by Prince *Charles*, the King desirous to gratifie him, caused him to marie with the daughter of the Prince of Orange, bred vp in his Court.

Charles was yet vnder age, but so carefully instructed by that wise Lord of Chieufs, of the house of Croy, whom the deceased King *Lewis* had made choise of, to gouerne him in his youth (for that *Philip* the father of *Charles*, had by his testament intrusted *Lewis* to accept the charge of his Son) that euen in his younger yeares he made him capable to vnderstand the affaires of state, presenting vnto him all pacquets that came, causing him to make report thereof vnto his Councell, & to determine all things in his presence. He did foresee, that after the death of *Ferdinand* his Grand-father by the mother, the French might crosse him in his passage from Flanders into Spaine, holding it dangerous, to stand in the midst betwixt the Kings of France and England vnited together, and not to fortifie himselfe with this common alliance. Moreover, his subiects of the Low-countries, would haue no wars with the Realme of France, The King likewise desired to take from him all motives to gouerne himselfe hereafter by the Councell of his two Grand-fathers.

They therefore agreed, That the marriage, proceeding betwixt the Archduke and *Renée*,

the

The death of Lewis.

His designs.

1515

the King should give him 600000 Crownes, and the Duchy of Berry for ever, to her and to her heires, upon condition she should renounce all rights of inheritance, both from father and mother, namely, to the Duchies of Milan & Britany. That after the death of the Catholike King, the King should aide the Archduke with men & ships, to go and receive his Realmes of Spaine.

The Arragonois demanded a continuance of the truce: but the King meaning to put out that clause: *Not to molest the Duchy of Milan during the truce*, their parole was fruitlesse. The Emperor (who ioyned his designs to the counsels of Ferdinand) opposed against the amity of the French. The Suisses were as forward as before. As for the Pope, Francis desired to be freed from all bond to him, that he might resolve for the best, according to the course of his affaires. To build vpon these foundations, he now employes his Captaines, men at armes, & the prouisions which his predecessor had first prepared, & makes his army march with speed to Lions, whither his Maiesty comes in Iuly, hauing left the Regency of the Reaume to Louise of Sauoy his mother. The D. of Bourbon Constable, led the forward, accompanied with his brother Francis, newly created Duke of Castelleraud, the Marshalls of Palisse, and Trunche, Charles of Tremouille Prince of Talmonet, sonne to Lewis Vicount of Tournes, the Earle of Sancerre, the Baron of Beard, the Lords of Bonniuet, Imbercourt, and Teligni Senehall of Rouergue, Peter of Nauarre (whom the King had drawne to his seruice, giving him his liberty without ransom) commanded 6000 Galkons, and the Lords of Lorges (grand-father to the late *Montgomerys*) Pirault of Maugiron, Richbourg, Iortail, little Lainer, Onastillen, Hercules of Dauphiné, and Capitaine Commarque, euery one commanding 500 foot, making 4000, and eight or nine thousand Lanqueneers, led by Charles Duke of Guelders.

The King led the Battell, followed by the Dukes of Vendosme, Lorraine and Albans, the Earle of S. Paul, Claude of Lorraine Earle of Guise, brother to the D. of Lorraine, the Lords of Lautrec and Lescot, brothers to Arual, a younger brother of the house of Albrer, Tremouille, René bastard of Sauoy (who was afterwards Lord Steward of France, and Gouernor of Provence, whose daughter Anne of Montmorency the Constable married) and Capitaine Bayard, to whom the King did that honor the day of the battell, to receive his Knighthood at his hands, hoping that the happinesse of so gentle and braue a Knight would accompany his armes. The reuerend was committed to the D. of Alanson, who had married with Marguerite of France, afterwards wife to Henry of Albrer, King of Nauarre, Grand-father by the mothers side to Henry the fourth, lately murdered. At the first brute of this army, the Emperour, the Arragonois, Sforza, and the Suisses contract a league together, to force the King to renounce his rights to the Duchy of Milan, the Suisses, receiving thirty thousand crowns a moneth of the other Confederates, should keepe the passages of the mountaines, and inuade Bourgongne, or Dauphiné; and the Catholike King, France, by *Parpignan* or *Fontarabia*. The Pope (although the King made some account of his friendship, for that *Julian of Medicis* his brother, had lately married with *Philiberte*, sister to Charles Duke of Sauoy, and Aunt by the Mothers side to his Maiesty) in the end ieyned with them.

The Duke of Genoua swom betwixt two streames, and (as they say) held the Wolfe by the eare. Both the French forces, and the confederates victory were fearfull vnto him, namely the Popes, who vnder colour to keepe this Duchy from any stranger, desired exceedingly to vnit it to the Church. In the middle of these contrarieties, he yields Genoua to the King vpon condition: *That he should lay aside the title of D. of Genoua, & take that of Gouernor of Genoua, perpetually for the King, with power to giue the offices of Genoua: (This was to retaine some markes of Soueraignty) That the King should giue him an hundred markes of armes, the order of S. Michael: and a yearly pension during his life. That the King should not repaire the port of Toulon, and should restore vnto the Citie, all the priuileges, which King Lewis had diannulled. That he should giue certaine Ecclesiastical liuings, to Fredericke Archbishop of Salerne, brother to Octavian, and to himselfe (if he should be expelled Genoua) some places in Provence.*

The army approached neare the Alpes, which diuide France & Italy, & the Suisses, according to their capitulation, had stayed vpon the passages of the mountaines and valleys, as well of Mont-fenis, which is of the iurisdiction of Sauoy, the shortest way, but the most vnease, as of the Mount of Geneure, which is of the iurisdiction of Dauphiné, the longer way, but the lesse painefull, being the ordinary passage of the French armies. The

King

1517

A King had intelligence, that Prosper Colonne was at the foot of the mountaines within Piedmont, with fiftene hundred horse which the Pope had sent to succour Milan, not fearing any enemy, for that the Suisses (as he thought) had seized vpon all the approaches. But (some guides belonging to Charles of Soiers, Lord of Morete, hauing shewed them a passage neere to Rocque Epierre) the King sent Palisse (whom hee after wee will call the Marshall of Chabannes) Imbercourt, Aubigni, Bayard, Buis of Amboise, and Montmorency, at that time highly fauoured by the King, leading foure Cornets of light horse, vnder the charge of the said Morete and his guides, who hauing waded through the Po, beneath Villefranche, whereas Colonne lodged, they came to the gates not discouered, but by some inhabitants, who run speedily to prevent their entry, but two hardy men at armes of Imbercourts company, which led the Scouts, whose names were Beannais the brue, a Normand; and Hallencourt, a Picard, set spurs to their horses (so as Hallencourt was carried into the ditch) and amazed the inhabitants: Beannais thrusting forward his Lance, kept the gate open, vntill the troops arriuing, surprised both Villefranche and Colonne as hee dined; they made booty of the baggage, and about twelue hundred Neapolitane horses, and carried away the Commander and his troope prisoner to Toslan.

Prosper Colonne
hurried.

In the meane time the forces passe, some with the artillery betwixt the Alpes towards the sea, and the Cottiennes, descending towards the Marquisate of Saluce: the toile of men exceeding all difficulties, which the steepe and craggy mountaines, and the rough downe-falls in the deepe valleys of the tiuer of Argentiére, did present vnto them, where the artillery, not able to passe in those straights, the horses being vnprofitable, in fiue daies it was forced vpon with roapes by maine strength, in those places whereas neuer Cannoni nor horseman was seene to passe. Others, with infinite paines and difficulties, recovered the pace of Dagogniere: some, the high tops of the rocke of the Perier of Cuni (passages lying towards Prouence) where the Marshall of Chabannes had passed. Thus the Suisses deceived of their hope, abandoned the straight of Suze, where they defended the passages of Mont Senis and Geneure, and that of Coni, returning with tame row and Milan, spoiling and sacking Chiuaus, Verceil and other places, where they entred whilest that Ainsard of Prie, hauing passed with the first, had with the helpe of Octavian Freysse, reduced Alexandria, Tortone, and all charlies beyond the Po) to the Kings obedience, who hauing passed the Po at Montcalier, and presenting himselfe before Nouarre, receiued the towne at his deuotion, and then Paris. The Milanoeis sent Ambassadors to the Kings lodging at Bufalore, to beseech him to rest satisfied with victuals, and a promise from the people to remaine affected to his crowne, and so to march on against his enemies, assuring him, that Milan should most willingly giue him entree, when he should be master of the field. It is an ordinary stratagem of inconstant townes, so set vp the ensignes of the stronger partie. The King hauing a mightie army in front, granted their demands for that time.

Then the Duke of Sauoy did mediate an accord betwixt the Suisses and the King his Nephew, wherein he preuailed so much, as they concluded: *That the King paying vnto them foure hundred thousand crownes, promised by the treaty of Dijon, and all which they pretended to be due for their ancient seruices, they should yield vnto the King his Duchy of Milan, and the valleys which the Grisons enioyed, and the King should giue vnto Maximilian Sforza 60000 ducats of yearly pension.* But some hope to gaine, who lose all, especially in these cases. A new supply of Suisses, by reason of their forepassed victories (being disswayed by the Cardinall of Sion) brake this treaty, and bring matters to the same estate they were before. Thirty thousand take the way of Monte, to lodge in the suburbs of Milan, vntill the Popes army, led by Lawrence of Medicis, and the Spanish by Raimond of Cardone, should ioyn with them. Maximilian Sforza and the Cardinall pressed them, but distrust one of another staid them. Raymond had surprised letters of credit, sent from the Pope to the King, and was well aduertised that Lawrence had secretly sent (whether vpon his own motion, or by the Popes command he knew not) a Gentleman to the King, to excuse himselfe for the army which he led against him, being forced by the duty he did owe vnto his vncle, preaming, That without offence to his vnkle, or blemish to his owne honor, he would endeavour to content his Maiesty, according to the desire he had alwaies had, and now especially more then euer. Meane while, the Arragonois designe was to remaine quiet, so as this army did not threaten his new conquest of Nauarre.

And

An army voyl
in the Duchy
of Milan.

A league a-
gainst the King.

Genoua yielded
to the King

King Francis
his first passage
ouer the Alpes.

Inconstant
treachery of the
Suisses.

1515

And *Laurence* on the other side, seeing the delays of *Raymond*, conceived that he had some secret charge from the King his master, to forbear to fight, and give others leave to decide the quarrell, and both joyntly feared to engage themselves between the Kings army, and the Venetians, led by *Bartholomew* of Aluiane, the which was very available for the King. Without doubt all their private intents were to act this tragedy with the blood and losse of the poore Suisses. Thus these two armies of Arragon and the Papes, did onely labour to keepe the Venetian from ioyning with the French; and the French, these two from the Suisses. A miserable estate of Italy, the which at one instant was oppressed with five sundry armies, French, Venetian, Suisses, Spaniards and Italians. Vpon hope of this treaty of peace, the King had countermanded *Aluiane*, who was at Laude, and commanded *Lautrec*, to cary vnto the Suisses all the money they could get out of the Kings coffers, or borrow of the Princes and Nobility, but through the perswasions of this mutinous Cardinal, they resolute, both to take the money from *Lautrec*, and suddenly to giue the King battell, when he least doubted any enemy. This counsell had preuailed with some drowse Commander. But *Lautrec* (advertisied by his spies of the trecherous resolution of these Suisses) left the way and retired into Galere. And the Suisses, failing of their purpose, passed on, to wreake their choller vpon the King. The King was come from Marignan, to lodge at S. Donat, the 13 of September: when as beheld they come with a resolution, and charge the artillery of the vanguard which the Lanquenets guarded, they ouerthrew the first they encountered, recouer some peeces of Cannon, and amaze a battalion of Lanquenets, who (supposing that the treaty of peace with the Suisses had continued firme) feared lest they should deliuer them into the hands of their ancient enemies. But seeing the horse, and the King himselfe in person come to second them, they resume their courage, enter the combate, stay this violence of the Suisses, and with a fore fight maintaine the shoock with variable and doubtfull euents, vntill the dusk and approaching night made them retire. At this first charge were slaine *Francis* of Bourbon Duke of Chastelleraud, the Earle of Sancerre, *Imbecourt*, and many other gallant Gentlemen.

The battell of
Marignan.

The King seeing the greatnesse of the danger, planted his artillery in conuenient places, ordered his battalions, gathered his horse together, sent for *Aluiane*, and lay all night armed with all peeces but his helmet, vpon the carriage of a Cannon. The Sunne was scarce risen, when as the Suisses (growne proud with the conceit of some aduantage) charge the Lanquenets, and force them to recoyle aboue a hundred paces, and but for some horsemen, who repelled the violent force of the Suisses) the issue had beene very dangerous. The Cannon thunders through their squadrons; the French and Gascon shot make a horrible slaughter; the horse charge them in flanke; *Aluiane* comes vpon their back in the fury of the fight: They had continued many houres very hot in skirmish, when as the Suisses (having lost most of their Captaines, being charged in front, in flanke, and behinde) grow amazed, despair of victory, turne their squadrons, and make a goodly retreat, some to Milan, others home to their houses. A great number shut themselves into the Constables lodging, where (refusing to yeeld to the Kings mercy) they were all burnt, and many of our men that were entred pel-mell with them; amongst others, *John* of Mouy Lord of Maileray, who caried the white corner. In this second battell was slaine the Prince of Talmont, *Buffy* of Amboise, the Lord of Roze, and many other valiant Knights; *Gilbert* of Leul Lord of Ventadour was hurt, *Claude* Earle of Guise ouerthrown and troden vnder the horse feet, but he was relieved by Captaine *James* a Scottisshman, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber. The King was often in danger of his person, receiving many a push of the Pike vpon his armour.

Without doubt this was the most furious battell that euer the Suisses gaue, the which by the testimony of *Triunlee*, seemed rather to haue beene fought by Giants then by men. For that the eightene battells wherein he had beene, were like the encounters of small children in regard of this. That which happened to *Gascon* of Foix at the batell of Rauenna, made the King to giue them that fled free passage, leauing fourteene or fiftene thousand slaine vpon the place. The King lost of French and Lanquenets, about three thousand. The Cardinal of Sion (the chiefe author of this battell) fled at the first charge to Milan, and from thence (seeing the Suisses in a mutiny, as well for their losse, as for three moneths pay, that were due vnto them) into Germany, to *Maximilian*. We

The number of
the dead.

A We may iustly say, that the Suisses had need of this correction; for the remembrance of their forepassed prosperities had made them insolent beyond the bounds of modesty, but they reaped a benefit by their shame, growing more tractable and friendly to them that corrected them. Moreover, this should be a good aduertisement to the King, to consider rightly of the waies of Italy, in the which (for want of iudgement) both he and his Realme were afterwards in a manner ruined. After this happy victory, Milan and all other places of the Duchy followed the Conquerors fortune. *Peter* of Nauarre, had by a myne blown vpa a Casemate at the Castle gate. *Maximilian* *Sforza* and the Suisses (besieged therein by the Duke of Bourbon) yeeld it, vpon condition: That the Suisses should depart with baggage and baggage, and *Maximilian* should deliuer the Castle with that of Cremona, vnto the King, and all other places held by him, and should goe into France, where the King during his life should giue him threescore thousand crownes ayeare pension. According to this Capitulation, *Mauleon* brother to *Tremouille*, *Francis* Earle of Pontremie (with many other Gentlemen) conducted him into France. The King entred into Milan armed, accompanied with the aboue named Princes, and the Nobility of his army, whither the Potentates of Italy sent vnto him, some to reconcile themselves, others to congratulate this victory.

The Pope did not forget his ordinary practices, to stay the course of the Kings victory, and finding the King very obedient to the Sea of Rome, they concluded a mutual league for the defence of the Estates of Italy, of the Pope, the Church, of *Italian* and *Laurence* de *Medicia*, and the Estate of Florence. By this accord the King gaue the Duchy of Nemours to *Italian*, who had married a sister to the Kings mother; which Duchy (after the death of *Italian*) the King did giue to *Philip* of Sauoy, who tooke to wife one of the daughters of *René*, Duke of Alangon: to whom the Duke of Nemours now liuing, is Grand-child. And the Pope deliuered Parma and Placentia to the King. These Articles were confirmed by an enteruiew betwixt the Pope, and the King at Bologna, in the beginning of December, where they treated of many things touching the Realme of Naples, which the King resolved to inuade; for the recovery whereof, the Pope promised him his fauor, after the death of *Ferdinand* (which euery man thought to be neere) or at the least when as the truce were ended. He promised also to giue him power to leauy the tenth part of the reuenuues of Clergy within his Realme, and the collation of Benefices, the which before belonged vnto the Colleged and Chapters of Churches; and for the Kings sake he made *Adrian* of Gonfieres, brother to the Lord Steward, Cardinal. And the King, to gratifie the Pope, granted an abolition of the pragmatall Sanction, making new conuentions in stead thereof, whereunto the French Church and the Vniuersities opposed.

The Venetians sent foure Ambassadors to the King, the chiefe and most honourable persons of their Senate: *Anthony Grimani*, *Dominic Trevisan*, *George Cornare*, and *Andrew Gritti*, to congratulate his victory, and to beseech him to make them partakers of the fruits thereof, that by his ayd they might recouer their townes, according to their agreement. At their request, the King gaue commission to the *Barlard* of Sauoy, and to *Theodore Triunlee*, to ioyne with *Aluiane* with six hundred Lances, and six thousand Foot, led by *Peter* of Nauarre. Then leauing the Duke of Bourbon his Lieutenant Generall in the Duchy of Milan, he returned into France about Candlemas, whither the designes of *Henry* King of England did call him.

Henry discontent that the King had taken the young King of Scotland into his protection, and to that end had sent *John Steward* Duke of Albania, both to gouerne his person and his Realme (which *John* had punished either with death or banishment, all such as hee found to fauour the English, and euen the mother of the young King, sister to the sayd *Henry*) for reuenge whereof he thrust the Suisses to new attempts against the King. But returning to their first sincerity, they ioyne in league with this Crowne, binding themselves, to giue vnto the King for euer, in Italy or out of Italy, and against all men (except the Pope and the Emperor) such numbers of men as he should require vnder his pay. The King did also confirme their ancient pensions, promising to pay within a certaine time the sum due by the treaty of Dijon, and three hundred thousand Crownes more, yeelding vnto him the townes and vallies which they held, belonging to the Duchy of Milan. But the fust Cantons which did enioy them, hauing refused to ratifie this accord, the King began to pay vnto the other eight that part and portion of money which was due vnto them, who accepted thereof, but with an expresse condition; That they should not be bound to march

Aaa

under

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under his pay, against the other five Cantons. A meanes to draw the others to the alliance A of France.

ANCELT
against the
king.

Man hath alwayes his mind bent to seeke meanes to annoy his neighbour. The Kings prosperity, makes the Emperor, with the Kings of England and Arragon, to devise how to crosse him. The Emperor, alwayes desirous of innovations) could not with his owne forces hold the townes he had taken from the Venetians: and the English remembering the fruitlesse promises which Ferdinand his father in law had made him (which he respected not where he might gaine) stood waivering betwixt the distrust hee had of his father in law, and the hatred hee bare to our Francis, but this treaty is suddenly broken by the death of Ferdinand, who died in the Moneth of January. A Prince excelling in counsell B and many vertues, so as if his promises had beene accompanied with their effects, he might well have bin numbered amongst the most perfect.

Ferdinand dies.

This death seemed to make the Kings enterprize vpon Naples more easie, purposing to send the Duke of Bourbon for the execution thereof: Many reasons moued him thereto. There was some reuolt in the Realme, after the decease of Ferdinand. The Archduke Charles was young, and could not come in time to succour it: the Popes fauour might aid him much (yet the King trusted to him who deceived him in the view of all the world) but about all, the priuate interest of this Crown, to whom the greatnesse of Charles (here to so many Realmes by the death of the Catholique King and future successor of the Empire) should bee wonderfully suspect. But the designs of our Francis are crossed by the Emperors coming with ten thousand Germanes and Spaniards, foureteeen thousand C Swisses, and five thousand horse, to succour Brescia, jointly besieged by the French and Venetians, which made them retire to Milan to the Duke of Bourbon. So Maximilian passing the riuers of Mincio, Oglio and Adde, without any lett, had all the Country betwixt Oglio, Po, and Adde, at his command, except Cremona and Crema, the one kept by the French, and the other by the Venetians. Then hauing taken Laude by composition, hee sends to summon the Milanois with threats: that if within three dayes they did not expell the French army, he would entreat them more rigorously then Frederick Barbarossa, one of his predecessors had done: who not content to haue burnt Milan vnto ashes, did lowe fall there in memory of his wrath, & their rebellion. The inhabitants began to rise, and D our men grew amazed, when as Albert Peter, leading thirteene thousand Swisses and Grisons, arising, confirms them, he made them to change their resolution, to burne their suburbs, and to resolve vpon defence.

The Emperors
voyage into
Lombardy.

The Cardinall of Sion, and many others banished from Milan, followed the Emperor, feeding him with hope, that at the first brute of his approach, the Citizens would set vp his Ensignes. Marke Anthony Colonne likewise followed his army: with two hundred men at armes, at the Popes charge (a manifest signe of his counsels and dissemblings.) But Maximilian seeing no shew from the towne (the chiefe of the Gibelin faction being expelled by the Constable of Bourbon, as adherent to the Emperor) remembering the treachery of the Swisses to Lodowick Sforza, and fearing lest through the ancient hatred of that nation E to the House of Austria, the Swisses in the French army, and those in his (which refused plainly to fight one against another) uniting their forces, should deliuer him to the enemy for that James Stafflet Colonell of his Swisses, had with much arrogancy demanded their pay, he secretly departs from his army in the night, with two hundred horse, so as he was twenty miles off before they were priuy to his departure. His army (wanting both a commander and money) tooke the same course. The Earle of Saint Paul, with the Lords of Montmorency and Lescun, pursuing them, defeated a great number, whereof three thousand, part Germanes and part Spaniards, yielded to the French and Venetians, being in campe, and our Swisses (notwithstanding they had beene payed for three monthes) went home to their houses, except some three hundred which remained with Peter.

Maximilian
retires.

During these garboiles, the Pope (smothering his conceits, laboured to be as pleasing as he could to either party, yet was he grieved the Emperour had brought so great forces; for he could not remaine a victor, but hee must afterwards seeke to oppress all Italy, or put Leo from the Papall seat, to hold it himselfe, according to the common report. On the other side (as we iudge of causes by the effects) the King had many reasons to suspect the Pope: He had conspired to the Emperours descent. Colonne the Popes pensioner did accompany Maximilian. He refused to send 500 men at armes for the defence of Milan, and

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A and to pay three thousand Swisses, as he was bound by the treaty of Bologna. So as the King, to let Leo know, that the brightnesse of his Myter did not so dazle his eyes, but he discovered his practices; he made him brewesse of the same bread: declaring, that seeing the league they had made, was fruitlesse in time of warre, he would contract a new one which should not tie him but in time of peace. The Emperours army being dissolued, the Duke of Bourbon returns into France, and of his owne motion resignes his Government into the Kings hands, by whose command the Lord of Lautrec taking the charge of the armie, to free the King from that bond, ioyning with the Venetians, returned to Brescia, which pressed with two batteries, one by the French, the other by the Venetians, yielded B to the King, their liues and goods saved, and Lautrec deliuered it to the Venetians. Verona had a harder issue, for being battered by the French towards Mantoua, and by the Venetians towards Vincenza, giuing two assaults: afflicted with want of victuals and munition, and troubled by the hurting of Mark Anthony Colonne, Gouvernor of the City, yet being assured of eight thousand men, led by Count Roquendosse, that came to their succour, they held out vntill Christmas, at what time famine forced the Spaniards to yeeld the towne, the which was in like sort deliuered to the Venetians. The Pope, to make profit of the Kings victory and forces, solicits Lautrec to ayd him, to disposseesse Francis Maria of Rouere of the Duchy of Vrbino. The motives of this warre, which Leo pretended against him, were, for that Francis had denied the Pope thofe men, for the which he had C receiued pay of the Church, and had treated secretly with the enemy: That he had slaine the Cardinall of Pavia, and committed many other murders.

Brescia yielded.

Verona yielded.

That in the hottest of the warre against Pope Iulius his vncke, he had sent Balbasar of Chastillon to the King to receiue his pay, and at the same instant hee denied passage to some Companies that went to ioyne with the army of the Church: and pursued (in the estate which he held as a feudatary of the Church) the souldiers which saved themselves at the defeat of Rauenna. Lautrec desiring to please Leo, sent Lecons his brother, the Lord of Chiffre, the Knight of Ambrun, the Lords of Aulstun and S. Blimond, and many other Capraines, with good numbers of horse and French foot: who in few dayes reduced the said Duchy to the Popes obedience, who did inuelt Laurence of Medicis his Nephew in the said Duchy. Moreover, the Kings friendship was very necessary for the Catholique King. Charles the Archduke tooke vpon him that title (after the death of Ferdinand his Grand-father by the mothers side) to make his passage more easie from Flanders into Spaine, and to assure himselfe of the obedience of those Realmes.

Francis Maria
chased from
Vrbino, and
Laurence of Me-
dicis inuelted
in the Duchy.

Fitting therefore his resolutions according to the time and necessity, by the aduice of the Lord of Chieures his Gouvernour, he sent Philip of Cleues, Lord of Rausstain to the King, to make choice of a place where their Deputies might meet, to decide all controuersies betwixt them. Noyon was named: and for the King there came Arthur of Gouffiers, Lord of Boissy, Lord high Steward of France: for the King of Spaine, Anthony of Croy Lord of Chieures, both Gouvernors of their Masters Nonage, and both assisted with notable personages. Who concluded: "That within six monthes the Catholique King should yeeld the Realme of Nauarre to Henry of Albret, sonne to Iohn of Albret, and Katherine of Foix, deceased the same yeare: or else should recompence the said Henry within the said yeare, to his content: else it should be lawfull for the King to ayd him to recouer it. That the King should giue his daughter Louise (who was but a yeare old) in marriage to the Catholique King, and for her dowry, the rights he pretended to the Realm of Naples," according to the diuision made by their predecessors: vpon condition, that vntill shee came to yeares of marriage, Charles should pay vnto the King an hundred and fifty thousand ducats yearly, towards the maintenance of his daughter. That the dying, if the King had any other daughter, he should giue her to the Catholique King vpon the same conditions. If he had none, then Charles should marry with Renée, daughter to the deceased King. To propound and conclude mariages so disproportionable of age, is it not properly to mocke one another? Seeing that onely two yeares time brings forth occasions which make Princes to alter their designs, whose wils are often inconsistent. This treaty was respectively sworn by both Kings, who appointed an interuiew at Cambray, attending the which they sent their Orders of Knighthood one to another: and since the Emperour ratified these conuentions; but we shall see small fruits thereof.

France reaped another benefit of this peace. The Swisses seeing a surcease of armes be-

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twixt the Emperour and the King) compounded, as the former had done: *That the King should pay unto their Cantons, within three moneths, three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and after that a perpetual and annual pension: That the Swisses should furnish him, whensoever he demanded, a certaine number of men at his charge.* But duerly, for the eight Cantons bound themselves to furnish against all men indifferently, and the fuc, no other wise, but for the defence of his owne Estates. As for the Castles of Lugan and Lugarne, strong passages, and of great importance for the fury of the Duchy of Milan, they desired rather to raze them, then to take three hundred thousand ducats for the restitution thereof.

Let vs now lay all armes aside for a certaine space, and give our warriors time to take breath, and returne againe shortly to warre, by the ambitious factions of two most great and mighty Princes. This year in February was borne *Francis*, Dauphin and successor to this Crowne, if his end had not beene violently forced. *Lawrence* of Medicis did present him at the Font for the Pope his Vncle. A Christning celebrated with iousts, skirmishes, encounters, besieging and taking of places, and other such statly shewes, as the memory of man hath not obserued greater. And the King, to make a more strict league with the Pope, he caused the said *Lawrence* to marry with *Magdalene*, daughter to *John* Earle of Auergne and Arauguez, and of *Ioane* sister to *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Vendosme, who died at Verceil, when as King *Charles* the eight returned from Naples. Of this marriage came *Katherine* of Medicis, whom we shall see Queene of France, and mother to the three last Kings of the name of Valois.

At the same time, the King sent *Gaston* of Breze, Prince of Fonquarnont, brother to the great Seneschall of Normandy, with two thousand French foot, to succour *Christiane* King of Denmarke, against the Rebels of Sweden, who (after they had wonne a battail for the King) being abandoned in the end by the Danes, in a combat vpon the Ice, (where those Northern Nations are more expert then ours) were ouerthorne, and the most part slaine: such as could escape the sword, returned without pay, without armes, and without clothes.

1519
Death of the
Emper.

The yeare following, the last of March, *Henry* the Kings second sonne was borne, who by the death of the Dauphin his brother, shall succeed his father. *Henry* King of England was his God-father, and gaue him his name. During this successe of armes among Christian Princes, the Pope motioned, but (with the Originall) rather in shew, then with any good intent, a generall warre of all Christendome, against *Selim* Prince of the Turkes. *Baiazet* (as we haue sayd) in his latter age studied to inuall *Acomath* his eldest sonne, in the Throane of the Turkish Empire: *Selim* the younger brother, through fauour of the Janisaries and souldiers of his fathers Guard, forced him to yeeld the gouernement vnto him. *Selim* was no sooner in possession, but (as they say) he boysoned his father, and murdered his brethren, *Acomath* and *Corent*, and in the end, all that descended from the line of the *Ottomans*. Then passing from one warre to another, he vanquished the *Aduliens*, ouerthrow the *Sophi* of Persia in battell, rooke from him *Tauris*, the chiefe seat of his Empire, and the greatest part of Persia, rooked out the Sultans of *Egypt*, the *Mammelucks*; rooke *Caire*, and seized vpon all *Egypt* and *Syria*. So as hauing in few yeares almost doubled his Empire, and taken away the hindrance of so mighty Princes, who were ialous of his Monarchy: Christian Princes did not without cause feare the happy course of his victories. Hungary was weake of men, and in the hands of a Pupill King, gouerned by Prelates and Barons of the Realme, diuided amongst themselves. Italy dismembred by former warres, feared lest the partialities of these Princes should cause *Selim* to turne his eyes towards it. The Pope and all the Court of Rome (making shew to preuent this imminent danger) thought it expedient to make a great prouision of money, by a voluntary contribution of Princes; and a generall taxe ouer all Christendome: That the Emperour, accompanied with the house of Polonia and Hungary, and an armie of Reistres and Laniquettes, shew to great an enterprise, should assaile Constantinople: and the French King with the forces of his Realme, the Venetians, Susses, and Potentates of Italy, should invade Greece, being full of Christians, and ready to rebell vpon the first approach of foraine forces. The Kings of Spaine, Portugal, and England, should passe the Streight of Gallipoli with two hundred sayle: and hauing taken the Castle at the entry thereof, they should approach neere to Constantinople: That the Pope should follow the same course, with an hundred great Gallies.

These

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1517

A These were goodly plots in conceit. This counterfeit shew to send an army into Turkie, was but a deuice to fill the Popes coffers, which were made empty by the former warres, especially by that of *Fribin*.

To treat of these Propositions, *Leo* published in the Consistory a generall Truce for five yeares amongst all Christian Princes, and vpon rigorous censures to them that should breake it: Appointing for Legats, the Cardinal of Saint Sixte, to the Emperour; the Cardinal of Saint Marie in Portico, to the King; the Cardinal *Giles*, to the King of Spaine; and the Cardinal *Lawrence Campege*, to the King of England: he proclaimed his Bulls of pardon to all such as should contribute a certaine summe for so worthy an expedition. All Princes accept this truce, and shew themselves very willing to so honorable an action. But the means wanted, how in so short a time to make a firme vnion among so many Potentates, who had bene long at deadly warre: Euery one studies the fruit of his priuate interest, and finding the danger to concerne one more then another, they care for themselves, and manage these affaires carelessly, more with shew then deuotion.

This negligence of the publike State, and greedinesse of priuate men, was the more confirmed by the death of *Selim*, who leauing his Empire to his sonne *Seliman*, young of age, but of a milder spirit, and not so inclined to war: then all things seemed to incline to peace and loue betwixt so many great warriors. The Kings of France and England renewed their friendship by a defensive league betwixt them, vpon promise of a mariage betwixt the Dauphin, King *Francis* eldest sonne, and the onely daughter of *Henry* King of England, both very young: which contract, many accidents might hinder before they came to sufficiency. And *Henry* yeelded Tournay for four hundred thousand Crownes, the one half for the charge in building the Citadell, and for the artillery, powder, and munition which the King of England should leaue in the place: for the other halfe, for the expences in conquering thereof, and for other pensions that were due vnto him. Thus oftentimes the loser payes the shot. On the other side, the Kings eldest daughter being dead; whom they had appointed to be wife to the King of Spaine: a peace betwixt these two Kings was reconfirmed, according to the first Capitulation, with promise of the younger. An alliance which either Prince did confirme, with great outward shewes of friendship, King *Francis* swearing the Order of the Golden fleece on Saint *Andrews* day: and the King of Spaine that of Saint *Michael*, on the said Saints day. The Venetians also, by the Kings means had prolonged their truce for five yeares with the Emperour.

A peace concluded with the
Engli.

And with the
Spaniards.

The death of
Maximilian.

But the Soueraigne Iudge of the world (hauing decreed to punish the disorders of Christendome with sundry afflictions) tooke *Maximilian* out of this world: in whose life wee may obserue a strange alteration of affaires: for if prosperity did often present vnto him goodly occasions, aduersity did as often crosse him in the execution. A good Prince, mercifull, courteous, very liberall, a great spender (the which did many times hinder his good success) painfull, secret, well scene in the Art of warre: but his happy beginnings did commonly proue fruitlesse, through his owne delays and inconstancy. This death bred an equall desire in the minds of the two great Princes, *Francis* King of France, and *Charles* King of Spaine. *Francis* sent the Lord of Boilly Lord Steward of France, to purchase the fauour of the Germane Electors for the Empire. Some promised all fauour for the King his master: yet the cause was not so fauourable for the French, hauing no correspondence with the Germanes, neither in tongue, manners, nor life. Morouer, the Commons of Germany were sutors that the Imperiall dignity might not goe out of the Nation. The Pope fauoured the King, but in shew onely, hoping that by these demonstrations of loue, he would hereafter giue more credit to his Counsell: whereby discouraging, that in his inward thoughts the election both of *Francis* and *Charles* were alike suspected vnto him, he laboured to perswade the King (that seeing there was small hope for him to carie it by voyces) he should seek by his authority to aduance some other Germane Prince to this Crowne, rather then *Charles*. But whilst that *Francis* feeds himselfe with vaine hopes, giuen him by the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Archbishop of Treues, who to draw money from the King) gaue him great assurances. *Charles* in stead of gold, brings armes to the field. An army approacheth neere to Francford, for the K. of Spaine, vnder colour there should be no force in the election: the which encreased their courage that fauoured his cause, made them yeeld that wauered, & troubled the French faction. So *Charles* of Austria King of Spaine, the first of that name, was chosen Emperour of Germany

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The election of
Charles.

the twenty eight of Iune. The election of a new Emperour consists in the voyce of fixe Germane Princes. Three are of the Clergy, the Archbishops of Maience, Cologne, and Teuttes: Three secular, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburg. The King of Bohemia is Vmpier, when as the voyces are equal. The Emperour is chosen at Francford, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle.

Who could doubt, but these two young Princes, having so many occasions of iocaloufe and quarrell, would toone breake forth into fierce and cruell warres, the which had taken deepe root in both their hearts. The King desired infinitely to recouer the Realme of Navarre, and did greatly affect the restitution of Henry of Albrert, to his kingdom of Nauarre, whereof he sees himselfe now frustrate by the suddē aduancement of Charles to so high a dignitie, and all that which the French held in Italy was in great danger. The Emperour on the other side was discontented, that the King (contemning the accord first made at Paris, and knowing the necessity of his passage into Castile, for the which his fauour did much import, had in a manner forced him to agree to new Articles. Moreover, the King had taken the Duke of Gueldres into his protection (an enemy to the Flemings, who were subiects to Charles) a sufficient cause to draw both Francis and Charles into armes. But about all, the recovery of the Duchy of Bourgongne, caused strange alterations in the mind of this new Emperour. The Duchy of Milan was a sufficient moeue of quarrell: the King since the death of Lewis the twelfth had neither demanded nor obtained inuestiture, and therefore they pretended the possession to be of no validity, & his interest to be void: yet all these were not sufficient moeues to stirre vp those horrible confusions, which so afflicted the Estates of these two Princes for the space of thirty yeares. Ambitious hatred is alwaies grounded vpon light beginnings. In the mean time the Preachers of this voyage against the Turke, dispersed throughout all Christendome, grew vchement, promising (according to the Popes Bulls) pardon for all finnes, and the Kingdome of Heauen, to such as payd a certaine summe of money. Without doubt Leo vsed the authority of the Apostolike seat too boldly, dispersing throughout the world, without distinction of time or place, most large pardons: not only for the liuing, but also to redeeme the soules of the dead from Purgatory for money. And for that euery one did plainly see, that these pardons were only granted to get money; which the commissioners (appointed for such exactions) demanded after an impudent and shamelesse manner; being also well knowne that the greatest part of them had purchased their authority from the Popes officers. Leo incurred great dislike: many were discontented with this insolent proceeding, especially in Germany, where the ministers of this Collection, appointed (according to the common opinion) for the deliuey of poore Christians, fighting vnder the burden of the Turkish yoke, sold for a small price, yea played away in their Ale-houses their authoritie to redeeme dead mens soules from Purgatory.

And that which did more encrease the peoples spleene, it was generally reported, That Laurence of Medicis had caried a Brieffe from his Vncle to King Francis, whereby hee allowed him to employ the money gathered throughout his Realme for this warre, to what he vses he pleased: vpon condition to yeld it when it should be demanded for the voyage beyond the Seas, and to employ fifty thousand crownes to the benefit of the said Laurence his Nephew. A worthy cause to make the French repine, seeing the money they gaue to a good intention, was conuerted to contrary vses. But that which made the Germanes wonderfully impatient, Leo had giuen to his sister Magdalene the profit of the exaction of Indulgences in many parts of Germany, who appointed the Bishop Arembault, a Commissioner in that part, worthy (saith the History) of such a charge, the which he executed with great conuolusse and extortion: Being the more odious for that this holy money went to satisfy the greedinesse of a woman. So as not only this exaction, and the Agents thereof, but also his name and authority that granted it, became odious in many Prouinces.

The beginning
of Luthers
doctrines.

Martin Luther, a religious man of the Order of S. Austin, learned and vehement, began to preach against these Indulgences in his publike Sermons: he taxeth the Popes authoritie; complaines of Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Maience, and of the doctrine which these gatherers did teach, inducing the people to beleue confidently, That by the purchase of these pardons they must needs be saued: as if the vertue of these money-pardons could wipe away any sin, and the money put into the coffers of the Church, or of the Commissioners, could draw mens soules out of Purgatory, and send them into Paradise.

And

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- A And thereupon he exhorts euery man to beleue soberly, and to gouerne himself wisely in this businesse, and rather to employ their money otherwise then in this frivoulous merchandise. The people giue care vnto him, find his doctrine plausible: and Frederick Duke of Saxony his Prince doth embrace it, Luther, supported by the fauour of his Prince and the people, proceeds: he publisheth propositions, wherein he doth dispute at large, of Purgatorie, of true repentance, of the office and dutie of Charitie, of Indulgences and Pardons, to lette out (saith he) the truth, calling al such to dispute as would propound any argument to the contrarie. He intreated al such as could not assist, to answer by writing: protesting, that he would not maintaine any thing, but submit himself to the censure of the holy Church: yet reiecting all things that should not be conformable to the holy Scripture and the decrees of the Fathers. In the end he encounters the Popes authoritie, the Images of the Church, the celibate of Religious persons, restraining the Popes authoritie within the limits of the Bishopricke of Rome, and publishing the doctrine, which hath caused a generall Schisme vnto this day. The Pope to quench this fire, cites Luther to Rome, forbids him to preach, declares him Contumax, if he did not obey, and submit himselfe to the Ecclesiasticall censure. Notwithstanding the Originall faith, hee did not reforme many things that were of bad example, which Luther did blame with reason, being very odious to all men, vsing his pontificall office with small reuerence. But this was to cast oyle into the fire. These Ecclesiasticall armes did but encrease Luthers reputation with the people.
- C Neither the religious men, which Leo sent to preach against him, nor the letters which hee did write to the Princes and Prelates, nor all the other meanes hee employed to suppress him, could any thing withdraw the peoples inclination, nor the fauour of Frederick from him.

This action seeming still of greater importance to the Court of Rome, made them to feare some great disgrace to the Popes greatnesse, to the prouidence of the Court of Rome, and the vnion of Christian Religion. Many assemblies were made at Rome, many consultations in the Popes chamber betwixt the Cardinals and Diuines appointed to prevent these inconveniences. Some did shew, that for asmuch as they did not correct in themselves so many vices and damnable things which did scandalize all Christendome, the persecution of Luther, would but augment the hatred of nations against him: giuing counsell like vnto that of Gamaliel in the sift of the Acts of the Apostles, that it had been better to haue winked at such a folly, which happily would haue vanished of it selfe.

Notwithstanding, the heate and violence of others preuailed, so as not only the persecutions were doubled against him, and his followers (who by his name were called Lutherans) but an excommunication was decreed against Frederick Duke of Saxony: the which did so incense him, as of a fauourer hee became a vehement protector of the cause: the which since hath been dispersed ouer all Christendome, so as neither prisons, nor banishment, fire, nor water, sword nor tortures, nor any other punishments, could preuaile against it. Without doubt, we haue learned by experience, that Religion is not planted, nor rooted out by violent meanes. The Altars of pietie are enemies to Armes, Drums, and Trumpets. Mens consciences must be gently intreated, not violently forced. Let vs attend this so desired reunion from heauen. The mediation of the most Christian King is necessarie: let vs hope, that the continuance of a holy peace will giue him the meanes, as he hath a desire to chooe men capable thereof, who not regarding their priuate interest, will seeke the aduancement of Gods glorie. But let vs returne to our Historie. Whilest that Charles the first was crowned at Aix, the people of Spaine fore-seeing, that by the means of his aduancement to the Empire, he should remaine for the most part out of Spaine, being also incensed against the Lord of C. iours, and some Flemings which had gouerned Charles in his youth, through whose couctoufnesse, Offices, Graces, Priuiledges, and expeditions (which had been vially giuen to Spaniards) were now dearly sold vnto them: they rebelled, refusing to obey the Kings officers. They erected a forme of popular government, with the aduice almost of all Spaine, whilest the Nobilitie sought by force to suppress this popular libertie. The King, by the Popes counsell (who makes his profit of Christian Princes quarrels, that he might haue peace, whilest they are at warre) seeing that the Emperour, being often vrged, did in no sort performe the Articles of the treatie of Noyon, sent an Army into Nauarre, vnder the command of Esparre, brother to Laurence, who in lesse then fiftene dayes reduced Nauarre to the obedience of Henry of Albrert their lawfull

Nauarre receiued.

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lawfull King. This was enough for *Esparre*. It had beene better to returne a victor triumphing with glory and honor, then to follow the aduice of too violent a Councillor. *Saint. Calombe* Lieutenant of *Laurees* Company (promising to himselfe, it may be, the conquest of Spaine, as easily as that of Nauarre; or fed with a hope to make some good booty;) carried *Esparre* euen to the frontiers of Catalonia: who hauing taken Fontaraby, did runne as farre as the Grongne. The Spaniards being incensed, (the Nobilitie against the people) had endured the losse of the kingdome of Nauarre; but seeing them to inuade their owne marches, they put in practice the by-word of the dogs, who fighting together, laid aside their quarrell, to fall vpon the wolfe their common enemy. So these, being at great discord among themselves, gaue ouer their intestine quarrels, to pursue their professed enemies.

Taken againe.

The Nobles and Commons ioyne their forces, they encounter *Esparre*, who to saue the Souldiers pay, had dismissed some part of his army, giuing leaue to all that would, in yee-ding halfe a pay: they charge him, defeat him, and take him prisoner, being hurt in the eye with a Lance, whereof he grew blind. The Lord of Tournon was likewise taken, with many other good men. So the Spaniards finding Nauarre vnurnished of Souldiers, recovered Pampelune, with as great facilitie as the French had conquered it. The first breeder of the horrible confusions which shall follow. But lets see another motiue of warre betwixt these two Monarchs, which rising from a small fire, shall flame ouer all this Realme,

The Prince of Chimay, of the House of Croy, had before-time obtained a sentence against the Lord of Aimeries, giuen by the Peeres of the Duchy of Bouillon (which iudge soveraignly) for the Towne of Hierges in Ardennes: yet through the fauour and credit which *Aimeries* had with *Charles* of Austria, and the greatest in his Court, he was released, although he had not appealed from the said sentence in time, grounding the causes of his reliefe vpon the lets and hindrances he had had during the former warres, at which he had alwaies assisted in person. So as a commission being granted before the great Chanceller of Brabant, and a day assigned to the heires of Chimay, to come to heare the reasons of *Aimeries* reliefe: and if need were, to see the former sentence (giuen to their behoofe) reuoked. They found this commission so vniust and vnreasonable (seeing that both their father and they had beene in long and quiet possession of the said town) and that this decree was not subiect to appeale: as they repaired to *Robert de la Mark* Duke of Bouillon, as to their Lord and protector, that with their right hee might defend the liberties and priuiledges of his Duchy. *Robert* discontented, that his company of men at armes had beene cassid for the extortions and robberies they had committed in Italy and else where, had left the King, and was retired to the Emperor. But seeing that iustice was denied him, as well for the priuate interest of the pupils (whose vncke and tutor he was, hauing married their Aunt, sister to the Prince of Chimay) he made his peace with the King, by the mediation of his wife and his sonne *Fleuranges* (the being daughter to the Earle of Brenne) with the Kings mother.

A bold and insolent fact.

Robert hauing assured his affaires with the King, sent to desic the Emperor at Wormes, where he had called a Diet of the Princes and free townes of Germany, against the new-bred troubles, by reason of *Luther*. A bold attempt of a petty Prince against an Emperor, mighty in means, men, and courage. A great Riuer runs quietly betwixt the banks that bound it, but at the first breach it ouer-flows a whole Country: so there is nothing more easie then to incense Princes; but being once moued, they are hardly appeased. This desie giuen, *Fleuranges* the eldest sonne of *Robert*, notwithstanding the Kings expresse prohibition, made a leaue as well in France as in other places, of three thousand foot, and foure or five hundred horse, with which he besieged Vireton, a small town in Luxembourge belonging to the Emperor. But soon after he retired his army by the kings commandement, and dismissed it. But their spleenes were wonderfully incensed vpon new occasions. The King, for that the Emperor failed in the payment of the pension for the realme of Naples, and in the restitution of Nauarre: & withall, his preferment to the Empire had greatly discontented him. The Emperor was grieved for the enterprise of Nauarre, and contempt of the Duke of Bouillon, being also well informed that the King sought means to recouer the realme of Naples. *Francis* had sent a Gentleman vnto the Pope to know when it should please him to performe his part for the execution of that which they had concluded

A cluded together (the which his Maieitie knew according to the disposition of *Leo* to be more counterfeit then currant.) And *Leo* giuing the Gentleman a note of the horse, foot and artilerie, that was necessarie for this enterprise, assigned the King two and twentie dayes to arme, whilst the Venetians might enter into this League.

The Pope had no meaning, that Naples should be subiect to the French. If the King had not in the meane time neglected his affaires, *Leo* had been forced to runne another course. And the Pope glad to haue some colourable shew of discontent, accuseth the King either to be carelesse, or ill-affected, hauing not drawne the Venetians into the said League, for the defence of Italy. He complains, that his Maieitie had not payed but the first moneth for the leaue of Suisses, which they had been forced to make against the Spaniard, who a little before had inuaded the territories of the Church, whereof the King should pay a moitie, and makes a shew as if the King had treated something with the Emperour, which out his priuie, and to his prejudice.

Thus *Leo* seeming iustly displeased, receiued into Rhegium (contrary to his agreement with the King) all the banished men of Milan: he inuested *Charles* of Austria in the realme of Naples, made a defensue league with him, including the house of Medicis and the Florentines: and desiring how to conquer Milan, they agreed: That Parma and Placentia should remaine to the Church, to hold them with the same rights it did before: That *Francis* *Sforza* brother to Maximilian should bee put in possession of the Duchie of Milan, as hauing right from his father, and his brothers renunciation: and that the Emperour should ayde the Pope against his subiects, and feudataries, namely, to conquer Ferrara. This mutuall resolution of alliance was a means, by Gods providence, to shew his wonderfull iudgements, and a scourge to punish both French, Italians, and Spaniards for many yeeres: whereby followed so many eversions of townes, oppressions of people, desolations of Prouinces, and the death of so many men of valour.

The Emperour in the meane time, leaues a great armie of horse and foot, vnder the command of *Henry* Earle of Nassau, who tooke Longnes from *Robert de la Marke*, razed the Towne, and hanged the Capitaine, with twelue of the chiefe of his troope. The Capitaine of Mulincourt, (deliuered by some of his Souldiers, with the place to the said Earle) escaped the gallows at the intreatie of the chiefe of his armie, but twentie of his souldiers were hanged, and the place likewise razed and spoiled to the ground. About this time, there was much controuersie touching the Duchie of Milan, the Emperour pretending it to belong absolutely to him, not only by conquest, but much rather by inheritance: concerning which, the most learned in the Lawes of the Empire produced many and very probable reasons and arguments. These two prizes caused *Fleuranges* and *Sansey* his brother (the sonnes of *Robert*) to put themselves into Iametz, with a resolution to die or keepe it. The Earle after foure dayes siege, hauing seene the garisons firme resolution, raised his Campe, to take the way to *Fleuranges*. The Germanes which kept it, yielded vpon both the Towne and their Capitaine the Lord of Iametz, the sonne of *Robert*, into the hands who hauing ruined it, did the like vnto *Sansey*. Bouillon was afterwards yielded vnto him by intelligence. After this, *Robert* obtained a truce of the Emperour for sixe weekes. But the Emperour *Charles* dreamed of a more important warre. If his spleene had beene only against the house of *La Mark*, why should he graunt them a truce, being almost ruined: and being a Conquerour, and strong enough to subdue the said *Robert*, why did he still increase his armie?

The King hauing intelligence, that warre was proclaimed against him, prepared his forces to withstand the Emperour: and to this end hee gaue a Commission to *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Pol, to leaue fixe thousand foot: to the Constable of Bourbon eight hundred horse, and fixe thousand foot: and to the Duke of Vendosme the like charge. And to redresse the disgrace receiued by *Esparre*, he sent fixe thousand Lanquenets, of whom *Clau* of Lorraine Earle of Guise was General, vnder *William* of Gouffiers, Lord of Bonniuet, Admirall of France, to whom he gaue fixe companies of horse, & commission to leaue what number of Galcons and Balques he should thinke necessarie. The Lord of Lescut was in like sort releued with French and Suisses, for the warre of Italy.

The armies on either side were in field: there remained nothing but for the one to make breach: the Imperialls beginne. There had been a long and a great quarrell betwixt *Louis* Cardinall of Bourbon, and the Lord of Liques, a Gentleman of Hamault, for the

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had returned.1521
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Abbey

Abbey of Saint *Amand* which the Cardinall enjoyed. *Liques* takes this occasion to assault the Abbey, which being of no strength, was deliuered vnto him by *Champeroux*, Lieutenant for the King in Tournaisis, in the which *Loges* Gouverneur of Tournay was surprized. We might pretend that these were but priuate quarrels: but *Liques* advanced with his forces to Mortagne, a place subiect to the King, the which hee said hee had some times enjoyed.

In the end *Prancy*, Captaine of the said place (having no hope of succours) yeelded it, not to *Liques*, but to the Lord of Portien, vpon condition to depart with their liues and baggage. But contrarie to the Law of armes and honestie, they were pursued, stript, and hardly escaped with their liues. On the other side, *Fiennes*, of the house of Luxembourg, Gouverneur of Flanders, besieged Tournay with a thousand horse, eight thousand foot, and fixe Cannons, continuing there five moneths, whilst that the Bourguignons did take, spoile, & raze Ardres: the Lord of Teligni in exchange did charge, defeat, and cut in peeces fixe hundred Bourguignons, that were entered the Realme to spoile it. In the beginning of these garboyles, *Henry* King of England did offer himself an Arbitrator betwix these two Princes, *Charles* and *Francis*, & Calais was named for the treatie of a good peace. But what meanes was there to yeeld to the Emperours vnreasonable demaunds, to restore vnto him the Duchie of Bourgondie, with an abolition of the homage which he ought vnto this Crowne, for Flanders? being vnreasonable (as he pretended) that an Emperour should doe homage to a King of France: as if we did not commonly see Princes hold their lands by homage of simple Gentlemen. So this parle tooke no effect.

Mouzon taken.

Hitherto the Imperials dealt vnder-hand, protesting not to make warre against the king: but now they discouer themselves, and come with ensignes displayed to besiege Mouzon: they batter it in two places, the one by the meadow towards the port of Rheims: the other from the mountaine going to Iuoy. The foot-men newly leaued, and not yet trained, grew amazed, and force *Montmorency* the Captaine of that place, to demand a composition: for the obtaining whereof, he went with *Lafsigny*, his companion, to the Earle, and obtained, *That every man at armes should depart, with a curtall vnarmed, and the foot-men and archers without armes, and a white wand in their hands: what policie was this, to see two Lieutenants to a King, goe forth off a place to capitulate with the enemy: without doubt they deserued the shame which many haue suffered for the like rashnesse, to be detained prisoners, put to ranfome, and forced to yeeld the Towne at discretion.*

The taking of all these Townes without opposition, drew the Earle to Mezieres (commanded by the *Chenailier Bayard*) but he found a more generous resolution then at Mouzon. The experience and valour of the Captaines, and the desire which *Anne* Lord of Montmorency had to doe the King some notable seruice in his youth, had drawne him into the Towne, with many well minded Gentlemen of the Court: amongst the rest, the Lords of Lorges, Annebaule, Luce, Villeclair, *John de la Tour* Lord of Bremont, *John Du-reil*, Lord of Berbee, *Nicholas* of Thouars Lord of Suilly, *Mathurin*, and *Charles de Clere*, (whose valours and fidelitie deserves a place in our Historie.) *Anthony* Duke of Lorraine (whose Lieutenant *Bayard* was) and the Lord of Orual, Gouverneur of Champagne, commanded either of them, a hundred men at arme. *Boucart* and the Baron of *Montmorency*, had either of them a thousand foot. This might seeme too much for a small place, but it was strong and of importance. The Cannon did no sooner begin to batter, but most of the foot grew amazed, and in despite of their Captaines fled, some by the gate, others over the walls: *Bayard* by the basenesse of them that fled, tooke occasion to assure the resolutions of such as remained, *For* (saith he) *preserving the helpe of few men, we shall haue the more merit and reputation: our troopes are of the more force, being discharged of this vnprofitable burthen.*

The Valiant resolution of Bayard.

The Earle comming neere to Mezieres, sent to summon the commanders to yeeld the Towne vnto the Emperour. *Repx* vnto the Earle of Nassau (said *Bayard* to the trumpet) *That before he shall heare me speake of yeelding up the Towne, which the King hath giuen me in charge, I hope to make a bridge of my enemies carcases, over the which I may march.* *Henry* makes two batteries, and shakes the walls, for the space of a moneth. But finding by such dry fallies (in the which the besieged did most commonly carry the honour and advantage) the resolution of the Commanders, men at armes, and souldiers, hauing also intelligence of the defeat of a hundred choise horse of the Emperours campe, and two hundred foot,

A foot, led by the Earle *Reinfowker*, to spoile Attigni, vpon Aisne: all which *Francis* of Silli, Bayliffe of Caen, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alençon, had put to the sword, except 5 or 6, which were carried prisoners to the said Earle to Rheims, the Towne having been also released, the first of October with a thousand foot led by *Lorges*, foure hundred horse by *Teligni*, and some munition, he abated the first fury of his artillery; and despaying to take the Towne by force or famine, he raised his Campe, and made his retreat by *Mont Cornet* in Ardennes, *Maubert-fontaine*, and *Aubenton*, to *Veruin* and *Guise*, spoiling, burning and killing, Men, Women and Children without distinction: a mournfull beginning of the cruelties which haue been committed in the succeeding warres. *Bayard* for a worthy reward of his vertue, was honored by the King with a company of a hundred men at armes, and the order of Saint *Michael*. In the meane time the King assembles his forces at *Feruaques*, to cut off the enemies way about *Guise*, and to fight with him: during whose retreat, the Cont *Saint Paul* recovered *Motizon*, for the King.

The Earle of Nassau issues Mezieres.

Such was the estate of Picardy, and Champagne, whilst the Admirall of Bonniuet arriued at Saint *Iohn de Luz*, for the enterprise of Nauarre. His purpose was to surprize Fontarby. To hold the enemy in suspence, he first tooke the Castell of Poignan vpon the mountaine of Roncevaux, then making shew to take the way of Pampelune, he turned head through the mountaines towards the Towne of Maye, and whilst he lodged his artillery, he caused the Earle of *Guise* (who commanded the Lanquenets) to take the way by the river of Behaubic, running at the foot of the mountaines which come from Nauarre, and so passeth into the sea before Fontarbie: and in the morning he followed with his Army. Having some Spaniards in front, which camped on the other side of the water, hee passed the river at a ford, the said Earle marching before them with a pike in his hand. *Don Diego de Vere* chiefe of the enemies army, being equal in number, and hauing an aduantage ouer those that came wet from the passage of a riuer, amazed at the resolution of our men, left the field, and fled with his men through the mountaines.

The Castle of Behaubic kept all victuals from our Campe, and held it in great distresse. But the first Volley of the cannon, hauing split one of their best peeces, & slaine the Governor, with some others that did assist him, the souldiers being amazed, force their Captaine to yeeld at discretion: whereof the Admirall sent the best prisoners to Bayonne, the rest returned away being disarmed. The way being thus layd open to Fontarbie, (a place which they held impregnable, and one of the keyes of Spaine) fortified on three parts, with the sea, riuer and mountaine, in few dayes he made a breach, but not assaultable. Notwithstanding the Gascons, Basques and Nauarrois, demanded the assault, the which was defended with as great resolution as it was assayed: but the besieged hauing discouered some peeces, which the Admirall had planted on the mountaine, to beate them the next day in flanke at the second attempt, and knowing the resolution of the assaillants, by the proof they had formerly made, caused them to yeeld, vpon condition to depart, with their baggage and baggage. *James* of Aillon Lord of Lude, was made Governor thereof.

Fontarbie taken.

Let vs returne to Feruaques, where we haue left the King preparing to fight with the enemy. To this end he giues the forward to the Duke of Alençon (who had married *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings sister) accompanied with the Marshall of Chastillon, (this was the first moriue of the Constable of Bourbons discontent, the which place was due vnto him as Constable of France.) He tooke the bataille himselfe, taking the said Duke of Bourbon vnto him, and committed the rereward to the Duke of Vendosme. *Bapaume* did much annoy the frontier towards Peronne, Corbie & Dourlans. The Earle of Saint Paul, the Marshall of Chabannes and the Lord of Fleuranges tooke it, beat downe the defences, and burnt it to ashes. The Duke of Vendosme had Commission to doe the like vnto Landrecy: who arriuing late, foure or five Ensignes of the bands of Picardie march, without our commandement and without ladders, and fle furiously to the port, where they plant their Ensignes vpon the draw-bridge, but they were repulsed by 7 or 800 Lanquenets and some of their Ensigne-bearers slaine. This furie of the Picards did so amaze the Germanes, as without attending batterie, breach, or assault, they retired into the next forest, where they could not pursue them, by reason of the riuer running thorough the Towne. Thus Landrecy vnfurnished of men, was the next day taken, razed and burnt.

The ruine of Bapaume.

The Emperour was retired with his Armie towards Valenciennes: the King makes a bridge over the riuer of Elcan beneath Bouchain, either to fight with him, or to make him abandon

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The Emperors
dishonourable
reusate.

abandon the countie with dishonour. *Charles* having intelligence of this bridge, sent twelve thousand *Lansquenets*, and foure thousand horse to stop the passage, but the Earle of Saint *Paul* with those fixe thousand men which he commanded, was already in battaile on the other side of the water, in a marsh towards *Valenciennes*, and the King followed him speedily with all his Army, which were about sixteene hundred men at Armes, and fixe and twenty thousand foot with the light-horse. The which the enemy perceiuing, he left seauen or eight thousand horse to couer the retreat of his footmen, taking the way to *Valenciennes*. *Tremouille* and the Marshall of *Chabannes* offer to charge them in the reare: the *Suisses* cried out for battaile, to giue a testimonie vnto the King, that they desired to scale the confirmation of their new alliance with some notable seruice: and if their aduice had been followed, the Emperour had that day by all likelihood lost his honour, and the flower of his Armie. So the enemy retired without any losse, except the bastard of *Aimeries* and some prisoners. GOD doth often minister occasions, the which being once neglected, are neuer recovered with so great aduantage. But howsoever, the Emperour retired by night into *Flanders* with an hundred horse, leaving all the rest of Armie behind him.

Hedien taken.

The next day, *Bouchan* yeelded at the first summons to the Duke of *Bourbon*. This shamefull retreat of the Imperials drawes our armie to *Hedin*, being vnfortified of souldiers, when as the inhabitants feared no enemy, being buſied at the mariage of a daughter of the Receiuer generall of *Arthois*. The Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Vendosme* and the Earle of Saint *Paul*, with the troopes (commonly called the Blacke bands) notwithstanding the continuall raine, were at the Towne-gates, before the Citizens had any intelligence of their departure from the Armie. The Towne being resolutely attempted was taken by assault, and spoiled by the footmen, the which abounded in wealth: for that in olde time the Dukes of *Bourgongne* had made their chiefe residence there. But in the midst of the spoile, one quarter of the Towne was fired, contrary to the Constables expresse commandement, the which depriued the Souldiers of part of their booty. The Ladie of *Rieux* and the Garſon of the Castle departed with their baggage: burll the Inhabitants that were retired and come into it, were put to ranſome. The Lord of *Biez* had the government of the Castle, and *Lorges* of the Towne, with a thousand foot. This D happened on all-Saints day.

Tournay lost.

Winter was come, and the enemy appeared no more: the King disperſed his Army, and giuing the most of the Gentlemen that had followed the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Vendosme* the command of twenty fixe horse a peece, putting his Companies into *Garſon*, and disposing of the rest of the Armie, he retired to *Compiègne*, about Christmas, notable for the diftemperature of the weather to releue *Tournay*, necessitie forcing the Lord of *Champroux* to depart with an honourable composition, armed, their Ensignes displayed, Drums sounding, and their baggage ſaued.

Now may we see, what effects the Popes league with the Emperour shall bring forth. Being both equally desirous to expell the French out of Italy, they thought it best, before they came to open force, to shadow their practices with a Foxes skin, and by means of the banished men, to assaile the Duchies of *Milan* and *Genoua* at one instant, with the Cities of *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and *Crema*. But he that attempts too much, performs little: so many sundry enterprises doe most commonly terrifie more then hurt. According to this plot the Emperours Gallies, remaining at *Genoua*, the Popes come suddenly into the port with two thousand Spaniards, led by *Jerome Adorne*, hoping that the partisans of that Family, would not faile to mutinie: but the good order which *Fregeſe* had set, made their designe fruitlesse. On the other side, *Lautrec*, before his coming into France, to marry the daughter of the Lord of *Orual*, had expelled many out of *Milan*, that were ill affected to the King, whereof they said the most part had been banished for flight occasions, or to ſeize vpon their goods.

Without doubt, severity loseth those hearts, which clemency and moderation in a temperate commander would make use of at need. *Francis Sforza*, *Jerome Moron*, *Manſſey Poluſſin* and *Soto* of *Brindesi*, were the chiefe, who hauing assembled a great number of their Partisans, for the execution of their designs, retired to *Regium*, belonging to the Church, although neither the Pope, nor the King (according to their treaty) ought to haue supported them in their territories. *Lesſei* Marshall of *Foix*, Lieutenant to his brother,

aduerſified

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A aduerſified of these stirres, by *Frederick* of *Bosſole*, parted from *Milan* on Midſomer Euen, accompanied with foure hundred Lances, and followed by *Bassile*, leading a thousand foot, to require Count *Guy* of *Rangon*, Gouvernour of the towne for the Pope, that according to the Treaty, he should deliuer these banished men into his hands. Whilſt that *Lesſei* and *Rangon* conferred together vpon their faith, as a poſſible entring into the *Rauelin* at the gate which goes to *Parma*, the one complaining, that contrary to the articles of the league, they did support (in towneſ belonging to the Church) the banished men, being assembled to trouble the Kings Estate; and the other, that he had suddenly entered with armes into the territories of the Church: behold a gate being opened for the letting in off, a cart laden with meale, the Lord of *Bonneuil* aduanced with some men at armes, to ſeize vpon the Port, but they were repulled, and the gate ſhut. Some banished men being vpon the walls, diſcharge their Harguebuſes, and hurt *Alexander Trinaſe*, whereof hee died two dayes after. Nothing ſaued *Lesſei*, but the feare which the Harquebuſer had, that aymed at him, to kill the Gouvernour. The indiſcretion of one man, is pernicious to such as accompany him. During this garboile, the Earle, to assure *Lesſei* perſon, led him vpon his faith into the *rauelin*. The men at armes taking this for an imprisonment, ſled to crye news to the troops, which ſtayed two miles from *Regium*, who ſtanding doubtfull, whether they should march againſt the towne to recouer their Leader, or returne to *Parma*, thinking it a practice to ſurpriſe the towne in their abſence: the Marshall ariued, being releaſed by the Earle, forbearing to ſlay him, hauing giuen him his faith, and receiued commiſſion not to proceed againſt the King by open warre. This enterpriſe, as badly effected as raſhly attempted, was of conſequence. It was a good colour for the Pope to accuſe the King, and to iuſtifie his confederacy with the Emperour. To prevent this, *Lesſei* ſent *La Noſſe* to *Leo*, to diſſauow the attempt at *Regium*, and to let him vnderſtand, that what hee had done, was neither to attempt againſt him, nor againſt the eſtate of the Church. For answer: The Marshall of *Foix* (ſaid the Pope in great choller) hath lodged (in armes like an enemy) vpon my territory, I will make him know the wrong he hath done vnto the King. Preſently after this threat, he did excommunicate the Marshall out of the Church. The designe vpon *Comoy*, ſucceeded no better then that of *Genoua*, for *Manſſey* of *Paluſſin*, and *D Sino* of *Brindizi*, hauing in the night approached to the walls, with eight hundred Italian foot, and *Lansquenets*, hoping that *Anthony Ruſſque* a Citizen of *Comoy*, would make a breach for them in the wall behind his houſe, as he had promiſed to *Benedict* *Corne*, another of that City that was banished; Capitaine *Garrou* a Buſque by Nation, a man well practiſed in armes, did mingle the towneſmen with the ſouldiers, at the guard of the wall, to prevent the execution of their intelligence, if happily they had any. So as the conſpirators not daring to diſcouer themſelues, *Paluſſin* decried of his fooliſh enterpriſe, hauing planted his guards about the towne, where he thought moſt ſure, went to ſleep. *Garrou* ſuſſies forth to giue them a ſkirmiſh, he kills the greateſt part; ſome ſecke their ſafety vpon the lake, others vpon the mountaine. Three Barks were ſunke in the lake, and ſeuſen taken by *Garrou*. Many were taken priſoners; amongſt others, *Manſſey* and *Soto*, who after they had confeſſed the reuolts and practices in the Estate of *Milan*, were publicly quartered at *Milan*: and *Bartholmew Ferrier* their complice, a man of authority in the rowne, was beheaded vpon the returne of the Lord of *Lautrec*, whom the King (being aduerſified of theſe diſorders) ſent preſently to *Milan*. The *Lansquenets* had leaue to depart into their Country. Seeing the Popes ſecret practices could not ſucceed, he now diſcouers himſelfe, hee complains in the Conſistory of Cardinals, of the attempt of *Regium*; and concludes, that the King is ill affected to the Apoſtolike Sea, and (concealing the Capitulations he had ſecretly made with the Emperour) hee proteſts that he is forced to ally himſelfe vnto him, who (ſaid *Leo*) had neuer committed any thing vnworthy of a Chriſtian Prince, and very zealous to Religion.

So, the Wolfe in the Fable accuſed the Sheepe for troubling the water. Thereupon he preſently makes ſhew to conſtraint with *Don Iohn Emanuel*, Ambaſſadour to *Charles*, the league which he had formerly concluded; and reſolues, by the aduice of *Proſper Colonne*, to inuade the Estate of *Milan* with ſix hundred men at armes, and the companies of horſe which the Emperour had in the Realme of *Naples*, ſix thousand Italian foot, two thousand Spaniards (which *Adorne* had in the Ruer of *Genoua*) two thousand *Neapolitanes*, (which the Marquis of *Pescara* should bring) foure thousand *Lansquenets*,

Bbb

nets,

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An ominous
figure to the
French.

nets, and two thousand Grifons (which should bee lauided at their common charge) and a two thousand Suisses, which had remained voluntarily, of a great number, vnder the Popes pay.

Whilest this was working, behold a fatal signe to our Frenchmen of their instant calamities: for on Saint *Peter's* day, the Sunne being set, and the sky cleare, lightning fell vpon the great Tower of the Castle of Milan, and ouerthrew six fadomes of the Curtaine on either side, consumed two hundred & fifty thousand weight of powder, twelve hundred fire-pots, the prouision of salt for five yeares: and vnder the ruines were slaine *Richbourg* Capitaine of the Castle, and about three hundred Gentlemen and souldiers that were walking there. *Leo* did not forget to triumph at this accident, and to impute it to the wrath of God laid vpon the French.

This heauy accident was a spur to hasten his resolutions, for the ruine of our men. And knowing that the estate of Mantoua did import him much for the wars of Lombardy, he entertained *Frederick* Marquis of Mantoua with two hundred men at arms, and two hundred light-horse, giving him the title of Generall for the Church: for the accepting whereof, the Marquis renouncing the Order of Saint *Michael*, sent back the collar to the King, wherewith his Maiesty had honoured him. The Marquis of Mantoua and *Prosper Colonne*, hauing armed for the Pope, and the Marquis of Pescara for the Emperor, they besieged Parma, seated vpon a Riuer of the same name, and easie to be passed: but after great raine, and the day after the beheading of *S. Iohn*, hauing battered the Port of *S. Croix*, to wards Milan, (which at that time was but the Suburbs) and made a breach of fifty paces, giuen three sharpe assaults and were repulsed, about foure thousand Italians (of six thousand that were within the towne) went out at the breach, and yielded to the enemy. The Marshall of Poix, who had vnderaken the defence thereof, the Lord of Pont-Dormy, gouernour of the towne, and the other Capraines, hauing kept the bafe towne about fiftene dayes, retired into the towne beyond the Riuer, leauing an Italian Capitaine at the breach, to fauour the retreat of their men at armes, who, to worke his owne safetie, deceived the enemy by a gentle stratagem, he caused euery one of the Harquebussiers, to lay an end of a match, light vpon the rampier, where they did vsually make their guard, so as it was an houre after the breake of day, before the enemies had knowledge that the breach was abandoned: which hauing discovered, they passe their artillery, spoile the suburbs, make their approaches to the towne at Nooneday, and begin to batter the wall, which defends the other banke of the Riuer.

But small accidents doe often disappoint attempts of great consequence. The same night that the enemy entred into Codipont, (which is the suburb they had abandoned) news comes, that *Alphonso* of Este, Duke of Ferrara, with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light-horse, two thousand foot (whereof *Lautrec* had sent him a thousand Italians and Corseques, and twelve peeces of Artillery) had surprised Final and Saint *Felix*, and threatened Modena. *Prosper Colonne* would not diminish his army, when as he feared the enemies approach. But to assure Modena, they must draw out of the Popes armie two hundred light-horse, and eight hundred foot, led by Count *Guy* of Rangon, to ioine with six hundred others that were left within the place.

On the other side, *Lautrec* approached with his army, which consisted of seven or eight hundred Lances, thirtene or fourteene thousand Suisses, foure thousand French, which *S. Vallier* had newly brought: six hundred men at armes Venetians, and foure thousand foot vnder *Theodore Trinuice* Generall of the Venetians, and *Andrew Gritti* Commissary, accompanied with the Duke of Vrbin, and *Marke Anthony Colonne*. These two considerations, with the obstatine resolution of the besieged, forced the enemy to raise the siege, and to take the way of Po, to enter the estate of Milan. *Lautrec* follows them: but hauing lost two or three dayes in taking the Castle of Roque-blanque, he gaue them leisure to passe the Riuer. It is good to obserue the errors of a Commander, that others may iudge and make their profit thereby. The Popes army lay open to the spoile: the Lanquents mutined for want of pay, refusing to follow, and resolved to ioine with the French. The retreat was made in confusion: the army was full of feare, for this sudden dislodging: they had in front a great difficulty, being to passe the Riuer of Po: when a great army passeth any Riuer, it is easie to disturbe them, if the enemy bee diligent and valiant: were they not then likely to bee put to rout, if *Lautrec* had pursued them hotly? Thus they passed

Errors of the
French army.

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A passed the Po, the first of October, spending a whole day, and a great part of the night at the passage, but the pairing of spies makes Commanders oft-times to let slip goodly occasions, being ignorant of the disorders and difficulties that troubled the enemy.

This is not all; other accidents happen, which being neglected, the French shall receive a shamefull disgrace. The enemies army was so weak, as the Spaniards and Lanquents were now reduced to about seven thousand, the Italians (for the most part new souldiers) feared rather to make a number, then for any strength, and lodged at Rebec, attending a supply of Suisses, to profit for individuals, as the prouision of meale which was brought vnto them in small quantity, was distributed to the companies by measure. The Souldiers for want of Ounces, byked their prouisions vpon the embres. Their Suisses came not, many Italians fled away secretly; and all men confessed, that if the French army which lodged at Bourdellane, two miles nere to the enemies campe, had charged them at their rising from Rebec, halfe vanquished with so many difficulties, there had remained little or no hope of safetie. For these necessities had forced them to retire: where the retreat being long, and the enemy nere, the danger had beene euident, considering that from the Castle of Pont-Iuy, belonging to the Venetians, they might disorder their battalions with the Cannon. But the fruitlesse and long stay of our commanders at Rebec, after the enemies departure, gaue them leisure to passe the Riuer of Oly, and to lodge in the village of Ostiana, with an intent not to rise before the arrivall of their Suisses.

C. The Feast of All-Saints drew nere, the nights grew long, the continuall raine and cold annoyed our Suisses, who demanded that pay which the law of Armes giues vnto souldiers that haue won a battell, laying, that it was not their fault they had not obtained a victory. But in this case nor the will but the effect merits such a pay: so as of all their company there remained about foure thousand. Thus being full of dislike and discontent, suborned likewise by the practices of the Cardinals of Medices and Sion, who as Legats to *Leo*, marched in the midst of the army with their crosses of silver, entreated (saith the Original) with numbers of armed men, artillery, blasphemers, murderers, and theenes: they did greatly weaken the Kings army, to fortifie the enemies, ioining with *Prosper Colonne*, and imputing the chiefe cause thereof to the want of pay. Without doubt, it is a great error in D. a Kings Officers, especially in an army, to convert the money appointed for the payment of an army to other vies. It was at the passage of the Riuer of Adde, that the last act of this tragedy must be played: for the defence whereof *Lautrec* sent the Lord of Port-Dormy, with his company: that of *Ostianian Fregese* (led be Count *Hughes* of Pepoli a Bolonis) a thousand or twelve hundred foot, and two faulcons. But it pleased God at this time to satisfie the Popes couetousnesse with the spoile of our men, that hee might execute the iust iudgement of his vengeance soone after vpon his person. The enemy beats backe our guards, and puts them to flight, kills some, and amongst others, *Gratian* of Luce and Chardon, neighbors to the forest of Orleans: who commanded either of them a Regiment of six hundred men. They passe Adde at Vauci, and force *Lautrec* to retire to Cassin, and so E towards Milan with his whole army.

The passage of Adde recouered *Prosper Colonne's* reputation, who for the retreat before Parma, and his ordinary tediousnesse, was ill reputed of, as well at Rome, as in his army. Contrariwise, *Lautrec* wanting neither valour nor braue resolution, but Vigilance and happinesse, purchaseth contempt of his men, and hatred of the Milanois, whom he did the more exasperate, in causing *Christopher Palsiofin* to be publicly beheaded, a man of great Nobility, great authority, great age, and a long time detained prisoner. *Colonne* aduertised of the retreat of the French to Milan, lodged at Marignan, and his Suisses in the Abbey of Cleruaut, doubtfull whether he should passe on to Milan, being fortified with so many men: or turne to Pavia, being destitute of Souldiers. Being thus irresolute, there appeares F vnto the Marquis of Mantoua, an aged man, meane in *shew* and apparall, who being brought before *Colonne* and the other Capitaines, assures them that he is sent from the Parishioners of *S. Cir* of Milan, to let them vnderstand, that at the first approach of their army, all the people of Milan are resolved to take armes against the French, by the sound of the bells of euery parish: wishing them to set forward with speed, without giuing the French leisure to bethinke themselves. And so he vanished away, not knowne to any man.

The Commanders gaue credit to this intelligence. The 23 of Nouember the Marquis of Pescara with his Spaniards, presents himselfe at the port of Rome at Sunne-setting,

Bbb 2 and

Lautrec odious
to his army.

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A notable ad-
vantage.

and presently charged the Venetians, appointed to guard the suburbs with a bastion which A they had newly begunne: hee puts them to flight, making no resistance, and the Suisses likewise that were lodged by them: kills some, and hurts others, before: our men had any knowledge of their arrival. *Theodore Trimice*, who (being sicke and disarmed) came to this alarme vpon a little moyle, was taken. The Gibelins seizing on the port, brought in the Marquis of Pescara and Mantoua, the Cardinal of Medici, *Colonne* and a part of the army: the victors not able to conceiue by what happinesse and meanes they had so easily obtained for a notable victory, the which was confirmed by the sack of the City, which continued fiftene dayes:

We cannot but blame our Commanders herein of negligence and too great confidence, in not discouering the enemies remove that day: who thought that they would not assault the Rampiers without their artillery, the which could not march, the wayes being broken with continuall raine:

Lautrec, troubled with the feare and the darknesse of the night, not able to discover in so short a time the estate of the enemy confusidly lodged, some in the City, others in the suburbs; left *Mascaron* (a Gentleman of Gascony) within the Castle, with fiftie meuar armes, and six hundred French foot, and retired his army to Como, where leaving *Isabell* of Chabannes Lord of Vandenesse, brother to the Marshall of Chabannes, with fifty men at armes, and five hundred foot, he re-passed the Ruer of Adde at Lecque; and tooke the way of Bergamo, to put his men at armes into Garison in the Venetians Country, and C other places which held yet for the French.

It is an vsuall thing to yeeld vnto the Conqueror. *Lauda*, *Paula*, *Placentia*, *Alexandria*, *Cremona*, hold for the Empire and the Duke of Milan. *Janot* of Herbouille, Lord of Buno, held yet the Castle of Cremona. *Lautrec* sent his brother *Desaut* thither, (whose fine the retreat of Parma, had ioyned with his army) with part of his forces to recouer it, who being repulsed, *Lautrec* brought all the troops, which were but five hundred men at armes, foure thousand Suisses, and a few other footmen, foure hundred men at armes Venetians, and six thousand foot. As all things were ready for the assault, the enemy being amazed, demanded a composition, the which they obtained with their liues and baggage. A small comfort for men halfe discouraged.

Fredericke of Bossole came from Parma with his forces by *Lautrecs* commandement. He had no sooner passed the Po, but *Vitelli* seized thereon with a most pleasing consent of all the people. All these victories were glorious to the enemy: but the treachery of one ble-mished their former reputation. Como besieged and battered ten or twelue dayes, despairing of succour and defence, had yeilded vpon condition, that as well the French companies as those of the towne, should haue their liues and goods saued, depart with their Lances vpon their thighs, and be safely conducted into the Venetians Country: and yet when the French would depart, the Spaniards entred and spoiled both the soldiers and the Citizens. *Vandenesse* accusing the Marquis of Pescara to haue broken his faith, challenged him to the combat: If you will maintaine (answered he) that this sacke is happened by my com-mandement or permission, I say that you haue lyed. But before the quarrell could be ended, *Vandenesse* was slaine at Romagnan, at the retreat of the Admirall of Boniuet, whom the end of the warres of Nauarre had drawne beyond the Alpes. At the same instant, those of the league sent the Bishop of Verule to the Suisses, to withdraw their affections from this Crowne. But displeased that their men had marched against the King, and complaining of the Cardinal of Sion, the Pope and all his officers, who had perswaded them to breake the conditions of their alliance, they put this Bishop in hold at Bellinsone, and called home the troops they had in Italy. Oft-times the victor is partaker of the discommodities of war: they made preparation to assaile Cremona and Genoua; but their designs are broken by the death of Pope *Leo*, who hauing newes of the taking of Milan, and especially of Parma and Placentia (for the recovery whereof to the Church, he had chiefly moued this war) he was so wonderfully transported with ioy, as he falls into a quoziden, with a Cate-ram, amidst all his iollity, the which caried him within three dayes after to the graue, being the first of December.

Death of Pope
Leo.Alterations af-
ter this death.

This death did greatly impair the Emperours affaires in Italy, and bred new Govern-ments, new Councils, and a new estate of affaires in the Duchy of Milan. The Car-dinals of Medici and Sion, went to assist at the election of a new Pope. The Impe-rials

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A rials retained fiftene hundred Suisses, and dismissed the rest. The *Lansquenets* likewise departed. The Florentine companies returned into Tuscany. *Guy* of Rangon led part of those of the Church to Modena, the rest remained with the Marquis of Mantoua, in the Duchy of Milan. And the Duke of Ferrara (making his profit of this occasion) recovered with the liking of the inhabitants, Bondene, Final, the mountaine of Modena and Car-fagnane, he tooke Lugo, Bagnacaul, and other townes of Romagnia. Likewise *Francis Maria* being expelled his Duchy of Vrbino, by *Leo*, and called home by the people, reco-uered it in few dayes. Our Commanders slept not, but the chance was turned. The Admi-rall of Boniuet, with three hundred Lances, *Frederick* of Bossole and *Marke Anthony* B-*lonne* leading five thousand French, and Italians, went to besiege Parma, the which after many diffculties incident to townes besieged, was persued by the wife resolution, and singular direction of *Francis Guicciardin* Governour thereof.

Parma besieged

In the meane time, the Cardinals at Rome did strue for Saint *Peters* Chaire. The Car-dinal of Medici, for the reputation of his greatness, for his reuenues and glory gotten in the conquest of Milan, had already gotten the suffrages of fiftene Cardinals. But the rest could not endure two Popes together of one Family, which might haue beene a pre-sident to vlturpe a right of succession in the Popedom. The most ancient Cardinals opo-posed themselves against his nomination, euery man pretending that dignity for himselfe, which another sought so greedily. During their controuersies, Cardinall *Adrian* Bishop C of Derthuse, borne at Vrecc, and sometimes Schoolemaster to the Emperour *Charles*, was put in the election, not with any intent to install him in the place of the deceased, but on-ly to spend that morning, and by delays coole the heat of the most violent futors. But the Cardinall of Saint Sixte, hauing by a long Oration amplified his vertues and knowledge, some yeilded vnto him (it may be the Emperour would haue beene displeased, if they had reiected his election) others followed them, so as all the Cardinals agreeing by a common consent, he was created Pope, when as he least dreamed of it, being absent, a stranger, yn-known, hauing neuer scene Italy, and without thought, or hope euer to see it. Being loth to change his name, he was called *Adrian* the first.

A new Pope
called Adrian
the first.

But what shall this poore Fleming get, to runne so farre to sit in a chaire, so much en- D uied? He came from Spaine (where the Emperour had made him Governour in his ab-sence) to seeke his death at Rome. He shall be little esteemed, during his Popedom, and they will be glad to send him speedily after his predecessor. The winter passed, and our soldiers laid aside armes, to resume them againe, the one to persueue their conquests, and the other to recouer their losses. To this end the King sent *René*, bastard of Sauoy, Earle of Villars, Lord Steward of France, the Marshall of Chabannes, *Galen* of Saint Seuerin, master of his horse, and the Lord of Montmorency, newly created Marshall of France, to make a leauy of 16000 Suisses, to succour *Lautrec*. And to crosse him, the Emperour, by means of the King of Englands money (estranged from the loue of France) sent *Ierosme* Adorne to make a leauy of 6000 *Lansquenets*, to put into Milan with *Francis Sforza*. *Adorne* E coming to Trent, vnderstood that the Milanois had already entertained 4000 foot, with the which hee retired to Milan, whilst the other 6000 did arme.

The warre
reduced.

In the meane time there wanted no practices at Milan, by *Ierosme Adorne*, and his par-tisans, to kindle the peoples hatred against the French. It is not alone in our last troubles, that we haue tried, with what efficacy seditious sermons touch the peoples hearts. *Andrew Borghia* an Augustin by profession, preaching with a great concourse of people did won-derfully incourage them to defend their Religion, goods, families, liues, and country. *Adorne* himselfe Preacher, and gracious to the people, adds thereto his pleasant, and is the ordinary mask of wise men of this world, to searle their affaires.

It is no lesse honour to persueue then to get. Ten thousand Suisses were already come. F and *Frederick Colonne*, (to keep the French from entering into Milan by the Castle, and to sur-nish it with victuall and munition) caused to be made, after the manner of the ancient Romanes, without the said Castle, betwixt the gates that goe to Vercell and Como, two trenches, distant twenty paces one from another, about a mile longe: and at the end of either of the said trenches, a Cavalier, or Mount, very high, and well furnished (to an-noy the enemy) with his Cannon, if he approached on that side, so as his succours could not enter, nor the besieged goe forth.

Lautrec hauing by chance surprised and defeated the troops of *Leon* of Conzague, Bbb paired

1522

Milan besieged.

joined his companies, and the Venetians assembled theirs about Cremona; who being joyned with the Suisses, passed the River of Adde, the first of March, and *John de Medici* with them, who persuaded by the Kings great and certaine entertainment, was newly drawn to his service. They march like men resolved to assaile the rampier, but the trenches stay them, the third day *Marke Anthony Colonne* and *Camillo* bastard sonne to *John Laques* of Trauile, walking together in a house, & disuiling to make a mount to shoot from thence with their artillery, betwixt the enemies two trenches, a volley of Cannon shot from the towne, did beat downe the said house, and buried them in the ruines thereof. Thus *Lautrec* despairing to take Milan by assault, conuerteth all his thoughts to vanquish it in time by famine, he wastes the Country, Rops the victuals, breaks the mills, and cuts off their water. But not to fall into their hands whom they feare, they dread not death. The peoples hatred against the French, and the desire of their new Duke whom they expected, makes them to endure all distresses patiently. *Francis Sforza* comes to Trent with five thousand Lanquenets, who by the taking of the Castle of Croare, hauing opened the passage of Po, arriued without any lett at Pavia. The way was difficult from Pavia to Milan: for at the first brute of their approach, *Lautrec* went to lodge at Cassin, and the Venetians at Binaque, vpon the way to Pavia. There fell out an accident which helpt *Sforza*, the Marshall of Foix came out of France with money, and some troops of footmen. *Lautrec* sent *Frederick* of Bissle, to receiue him into the Estate of Milan, with four hundred Lances, and seuen thousand Suisses and Italians: being ioyned together, they went to Nouarre, and through the fauour of the Castle, took it at the third assault, with the slaughter of most that defended it. A small gaine which shall cause a great losse.

Nouarre taken.

Pavia besieged in vaine.

For *Lautrec* wanting a great part of his forces, he gaue *Sforza* meane to enter into Milan, with his Lanquenets, and three hundred horse, with an incredible ioy to the Milanois. The coming of a new Prince is very pleasing to an Estate, whereby the people hope for ease. *Lautrec* seeing *Sforza* dislodged from Pavia, and receiued into Milan, resolves to besiege Pavia, where the Marquis of Mantoua commanded, with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. *Lautrec* batters the towne, and makes a breach of thirty fadome, he giues two assaults, and is repulled.

There was a postern in the towne, ioyning to the River of Tefin, where they watted their horses, which by reason of the River was ill guarded: whilst they did buse the Imperials at the breach, *Saint Colombe* had charge to passe the River at a foard, with two thousand foot, and *Riberac* and *Rochepesay* with four hundred horse, of the companies of *Lautrec*, and the bastard of Sauoy, who marching along the wall, where there was no flankers, should by the swiftnesse of their horses seize vpon the postern, and hold it vntill their foot came. *Riberac* and *Rochepesay* execute their designe, they enter the Towne, plinie a Guidon vpon the Postern: but *Saint Colombe* was content to bring his men to the River side, without weting of his foot. So as the Citizens had leasure to come to succour it, and to repulse our men: who if they had bene followed, had taken the towne. *Riberac* was slaine fighting, and *Rochepesay* had his leg broken with a musket shot. This attempt did wonderfully amaze the inhabitants, considering their want of men, and munition: and the Marquis made it knowne, that without succours he should in the end be forced to yeeld the towne.

Prosper knowing the danger, sent twelve hundred Corses and Spaniards, who marching by night, speaking Gascoigne, were taken for Gascoignes, by the Venetians, and passed their first guards, and meeting with some French scouts, speaking Italian, were taken for Italians. So as deceiuing the companies by this stratagem, they passed without discouerie, but very late, by the horsemen, who charging them behind, slew some small number.

The death of *Riberac*, kinsman to *Lautrec*, made him to double the fury of the Cannon, and ill prepared for an assault: when *Colonne* furnished with *Sforza*s troops, goes to field, and comes to campe at Chastell, three miles from the French. What heues then was there to giue an assault, having a mighty army behind them, and all things else succeeding crossely. The money which *Lefort* had brought, was spent, and that which came from France, was stayed in Arone, by the Viscount *Amichiel*, who was sent to that end from Milan to Buße. The continual raine had ouer-flowed the river of Tefin, and small brookes grew to be great flues: so as the victuals which came from

Onelinc

1522

A Onelinc, to the campe, could no more passe, whereby they were forced to raise the siege, and draw towards Monce, to enioy the commodities of Laudefan and Cremonois.

The enemy seeing the French Army take the way to Monce, fearing they would recouer Milan, went to lodge at Bicocque, a Gentlemans house, but of so great a circuit, as twenty thousand men might easily be put in bataille, vpon the way from Laude to Milan. Without doubt, the valour and wildome of *Prosper*, gaue the first wound to the French affaires, but the impatience of the Suisses did vnto them. Their Colonels gaue *Lautrec* to vnderstand, that their companions were weary of camping so long without any profit, that they demand of three things the one; either money, leaue to depart, or a bataille. Our Commanders hoped by famine to driue *Colonne* out of his borrow. And what reason was there to assaile a mightie enemy, in a Fort entrenched, flanked with great platformes, and well furnished with Artillery? But neither periwaisons, praiers, promises, nor authority could diuert them from their first resolution. Seeing then there was no other meane to detain them, *Lautrec* resolved, rather to hazard his army by a bataille, then to giue any occasion to be suspected of cowardise. An vnfortunate condition of a Commander, who sees himselfe a slave to those he should command: and what a grieue is it to be forced to doe that which must needs bring shame and confusion? But where force reigneth, right hath no place.

Lautrec forced to fight by the Suisses.

The day of *Quasimodo*, the Army marcheth towards Bicocque. The Marshall of Foix led the forward: *Lautrec*, the Marshall of Chabannes, the bastard of Sauoy, and *Galeat* of Saint Suerin, the bataille. *Francis Maria*, Duke of Vrbin, with the Venetian Army, the rereward. *Peter* of Nauarre marched before, to make the way. The Lord of Montmorency should assaile them on the one side with eight thousand Suisses. *Lefort*, with three hundred Lances, and a squadron of French and Italian foot, should charge at the bridge, entering into the enemies lodging; and *Pontdormy* should march before the Marshall of Foix, with a troope of horse, to watch lest the Imperials should come behind and disorder the Army; and likewise to furcor where neede should require.

Besides force, *Lautrec* vsed this policy, to cause the men at armes to set red crosses vpon their Cassocks, the marke of the Imperiall army, in stead of a white, the luerie of France. But the prouidence of *Colonne* made this device fruitlesse, as we shall see. On the other side, *Colonne* had sent for *Sforza*, who hauing foudainly assembled four hundred horse, and six thousand of the Commons, was set to guard the Bridge, and all the troopes were put in bataille vpon the trench. *Montmorency*, accompanied with a great number of the Nobility, was come close to the enemies rampier, intreating the Suisses to attend the Artillery; and that the Marshall of Foix should be ready to assaile them on the other side: that *Colonne* being charged on all sides, might be constrained to diuide his forces. But a rash fury transporting the Suisses to their owne ruine, all runne furiously to the enemies fort, the Cannon entertaines them before they approach, and kills about a thousand of them. A volley of small shot kills most of their Captaines, and chiefe Souldiers, and the Rampier being about a Pike in height, staves them foudainly. The Earle of Montfort, eldest son to the Earle of Laual, *Mielans* of Sauoy, *Granul*, brother to the Vidame of Chartres, *Roque-laure*, la Guiche, the Lords of Tournon & Longa, *Lannay*, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber, and many others died there. Colonel *Albert Peter* (who about all others, thrust them into this furie) suffered the paines of his rashnesse. *Montmorency* was overthrowne, but suddenly releued by the Gentlemen that were about him.

The battaile of Bicocque.

In the meane time the Marshall of Foix forced the guards vpon the bridge, and charging the enemy within his fort, gaue hope of Victory. But this violent heat of the Suisses was soon quenched, All retire, yet keeping a kinde of order. The Imperials flew from the Suisses, thrust all their forces vpon the Marshall and *Vandenesse*, who had not about four hundred horse; and force them to repasse the bridge with the losse of some men. On the other side, the Spaniards issuing forth, charge the Suisses in the rereward, and find put them to rout, if *Pontdormy* had not by a furious charge kept them within their Fort. The Venetians kept themselves safe from dainger, but if they had charged with the Suisses, and men at armes, & the Marshall of Foix had bene well followed, the French in all had won the victory. But, when things are done there neuer wants an if. The Suisses lost about fiftie thousand men, and two hundred and twenty Captaines. The Enemy lost few, no men of quality, but *John* of Cardone Earle of Cuisant. So *Lautrec* returned with the rest

The battaile of Bicocque.

1522

of his armie, the Suisses, and the artillery to Monce, from whence the tuesday after, the Suisses returned to their houses, and the Bastard of Saouy, the Marshall of Chabannes, and *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin retired with them. Now shall wee see this Nation so daunted, as of many yeeres they shall not shew their accustomed vigor.

The remainder of the French hopes was chiefly grounded vpon the towne of Laude, for the passage of the riuer of Adde, and preservation of the country of Cremona. *Lantrec* sent *Iohn de Medici*, and *Fredericke* of Bossole thither with their troopes, which were about foure hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, comprehending those which *Bonnecual*, Captaine of the place had. These Companies tired with their march in the night, arrived in the morning, and leaving the guard of the towne to *Bonnecual*, they took their lodgings, to refresh themselves and their horse. The Marquis of Pescara had followed them, and his forward marching neare unto the towne, gaue occasion to the garison to come forth to skirmish; in the which our men were so roughly repulsed, as the enemy entred with them pell-mell into Laude, and surpris'd most of the soldiers in their beds at noone-day. Thus foure hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, were shamefully taken in a towne without battery, without breach, and without ladder. *Iohn de Medici*, and *Bossole* saved themselves in Cremona.

The losse of Laude from the French, was the cause the enemy recouered *Pisqueton*, one of the strongest places vpon Adde. Hereupon *Pontormy* offers to put himselfe into Cremona, with such as would follow him, and being strong or weak, he would fight withall that should come, desiring rather to dye by the enemies Sword, then to fall into the mercy of villaines, or returne into France without armes, and honor. *Lantrec* yeelds, and he gathers together a troope out of many companies. The Marshall of Foix would haue his part of this glorie; five or six dayes after, the Imperials Campe before it. At their arrival, *Iohn de Medici* mutines, hee demands pay for fiftene or sixtene hundred men, which he had gathered together presently after his retreat: he seizeth vpon one of the gates towards the enemies Campe and threatens to deliuer it for want of payment. They search their purses and pay him the summe demanded.

But he was corrupted, and our men seeing his treacherous intent, hauing no hope of succours, did capitulate: That if within three monthes the King did not send a strong army, able to passe the riuer, they should reape with their baggage, armes, & all their artillery, marked with the armes of France, and should be conducted in safety vnto Saue: and the said Marshall should deliuer into Prosper's hands, all whatsoeuer was held in the Kings name, in the Citie of Milan, except the Castles of Milan, Cremona, and Nouarre. This capitulation was found of hard digestion: for, *Montmorency* was in possibility to renew the league with the Venetians, but aduertised of this composition, they changed both affections, and partie. The reason which made *Prosper* yeeld to so honourable a composition, was the desire he had to restore the *Adornes* into Genoua before the leauy of foure hundred Lances, and foure-teeue thousand Gasccons should be readie to enter into Italy. *Prosper Colonne*, plants himselfe before Genoua, which was then gouerned by *Ottavian Fregese*, a man of excellent vertue, who for his Iustice, and other commendable parts, was as much beloued as any Prince might be, in a Citie diuided into factions, hauing not yet lost the remembrance of the ancient libertie. *Fregese* seeing *Iosme* and *Anthony Adorne* take armes, in fauour of the Imperials, and the people inclined to sedition, treated of an accord, when as *Peter of Nauarre* enters into the port with two galleies, and some two hundred, to assure the towne attending the succours of France. But a Tower which the Marquis of Pescara had battered neere vnto the gate, made them returne vnto their parle. Being readie to conclude, the Spaniards discouering the small guard they made within, vnder colour of this hope, seized on the Tower, entering the Towne thereby, and by the wall which was ruined, killing all they met, and getting a great spoile; *Fregese* being sicke yeelded to the Marquis of Pescara, and within few daies after died.

Peter of Nauarre was taken fighting in the market-place. The Archbishop of Salerno, brother to *Ottavian*, and many Capitaines saved themselves by sea. *Anthony Adorne*, was chosen Duke of Genoua, and within few daies received the Citadell, the Chancelier, and the Church of Saint Francis by composition. Six thousand men newly sent by the King vnder the command of the Lord of Lorges, for the succour of Genoua, and the army of Claude of Orleans, Duke of Longueuille, to repaire the affaires of Lombardie, returned

Landrecien
from the
French.

Cremona yeeld-
ed.

The Venetians
forfake the
King.

Genoua taken
and spoiled.

559

A turned without any effect, being already entred into the territory of Asti and *Lescur*, preft by the terme limited by the composition, deliuered Cremona to *Colonne*, leaving *Bunou*, Captaine of the Castle. Thus the French were againe expelled out of Italy. *Lantrec*, seeing the enterprise of Laude made fruitlesse, his Armie ruined, the Suisses and Venetians retired; he returnes into France, bringing to the King, rather iustificacions of his actions, then any signes of his victories; imputing the cause of these disorders to want of moeiey, without the which he could no longer keepe the men at armes together, who had serued him these monthes without any pay, the Kings mother hauing raised foure hundred thousand crownes, appointed for the payment of the Armie, which summe (she said) she had spared out of other reuenues; & had long before put it into *Semblançais* hands, being ouerscor of the Treasurie of France. Hereupon the King appointed certain Iudges and Commissioners to determine of this controuersie, and to arraigne the said *Semblançay*, for the which he lost his life.

Let vs now passe ouer the Pirenee mountains, and then wee will returne to the frontiers of Picardie, another Theatre where there was likewise acted a mournfull and bloody Tragedie. The Admirall *Bonnivet* was no sooner returned into France with his troopes, but the Spaniards went and encamped before Fontenabre, and had so prest it with siege for the space of a yeare, as many were dead of hunger. The Marshall of Chabillon marched with an armie to relieve the towne, and *Lude*, being then Gouernour, comming to Dax (six leagues on this side Bayonne) he died of a violent sickness. A Nobleman of great experience and credit, *Montmorency* (who was then at Venice) succeeded him in the office of Marshall; and the Marshall *Chabannes* in that of Lieutenant General for the King in his armie; who hauing gathered together his troopes, lodged in Endayes; hauing a river betwixt the Spanish Armie and him; attending *Larigee* Viceadmirall of Britany, with an army at Sea, for the victualling of the towne. But not appearing (either through sloth or misfortune) he resolues of an other course: he passeth the riuer, dislodgeth the enemy with his Cannon, and by continuall skirmishes, makes them flee through the mountains. So *Chabannes*, hauing victualled the towne, returns, leaving *Franget* to gouern there in the Kings name: he was Lieutenant to the Marshall *Chabannes*, leading away *D Lude*, to refresh himselfe in France. Without doubt, *Lude* deserves to be registred in this History, Hauing (with the Original) *non such honour in the defence of this place, as he may well be compared to any that haue maintained sieges in our daies, or our forefathers*. Contrariwise, *Franget* shall purchase as much infamy as his predecessor did honour. During these confusions beyond the Alpes and Pirenee mountains, the warre continued throughout all the garisons of Picardie, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse. The day of the Annunciation, twelue hundred Lansquenets going out of Arras, hauing spoiled Bernauille, and other Villages thereabout, led away their booty, when as *Esfrize*, commanding the company of the Duke of Vendosme, which was in Garison at Dourlans, aduertised hereof, goes to horse about midnight with 30 men at armes only, fifty Archers, and three hundred of the country-men without pay: he attends them, at a passage of the riuer of Othie: vpon their retreat, hee chargeth them, & defeats them, and kills an hundred and fiftie, making the rest to leaue their prey. And if this handful of men could giue them so great a checke; what had bene the issue if their foemen had come to fight? In this encounter were slaine the Lord of Ricame, and the bastard of Dampton.

The enemy grieued at this disgrace, sought to be reuenged by the surpris of Dourlans, where there were no foot-men. With this designe the Earle of Bures, Lieutenant General for the Emperor in the Low-countries, incamps before the towne with all his garisons; batters it with six peeces of artillery; makes a breach neere to the Tower of Corniere, giues an assault, and plants many ladders. Here the Inhabitants shew themselves better Frenchmen, then in our late troubles; who backt by this small troope of men at armes, repulse the enemy, and ouerthrow a good number dead in the ditch.

To raise this siege, the Earle of Saint Paul (vnder the authority of the Duke of Vendosme his brother) gathers together such forces as the garisons could furnish; wherof the Bourguignons aduertised, they shamefully returned to Arras, leaving their ladders within the trenches; Diensal, Diuion, Brucil, and other places about Betune (wonderfully annoying the Frontier) were ruined by the Duke of Vendosme. But oftentimes a small gaine is crost with a notable losse. *Telligny* came from Monstreuill, to ioync with the Dukes troopes

1522

The French
expelled out of
Italy.

Fontenabre bes-
ieged by the
Spaniards, and
relieved by the
French.

Warres in Pi-
cardie.

Dourlans be-
sieged.

1522

Valley flaine.

A league be-
tween the Em-
perour and
the King of
England.

troopes at Mouchy le Cayen, when as passing by Hedin, he encountered abt. hundred Bourgignons foot, driving the booty before them: he charged the learned downes, the some and tooke others. A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of that valiant Knight, who well experienced in martiall affaires, who being shot into the shoulder, died within but daies after. In the meane time the Emperour passed into Spaine, to punish the authors of the sedition before mentioned, imparting his desires to the King of England. His voyage was not fruitlesse, they remained well satisfied one of another, so the provision of this Crowne, both equally desirous to ruine it. But it shall scule (as in former times) the favour of heaven against their common attempts.

The first effect of their treaty, was to send their Ambassadors joyntly together. Venice, to require the Senat to ioyne with the Emperour, for the defence of Italy. For the second, The King of England complayning that the King did not continue the payment of fiftie thousand Crownes yeerely, which hee ought him (as wee have said) he proclaimed warre against the King by his Herald, in case he would not make a generall truce with the Emperour, comprehending the Church, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines. The King refused this truce, and as for the pension, *It is not reasonable (said he) to give money to him, that aides mine enemies with money.* Henry King of England had before sent a notable summe of money to the Emperour: but not discovering himself openly, he sent the Duke of Suffolk, husband to Queene Mary, widow to Lewis the twelfth, to Calais, and the Emperour joyined his forces with him, being led by the Earle of Burgh.

The King opposed the Duke of Vendosme, commanding about a thousand men at Arme, with their archers, and eightene thousand foot, assisted by that veteran old man Lewis of Tremouille. The enemies Army was not ready in fiftene daies. The Duke therefore diuided his forces into Bologne, Therouenne, Hedin, Montreuil, Abbeville and other places subiect to the enemies inuasion. He must not suffer their courage to quicke through idleness: Bapaume serued them for an exercise. The Earle of Saint Paul led the Earle of Guise and Lorges thither, equall in charge, with four hundred men at Armes, six thousand foot and four Cannons: who having taken, burnt and razed the Towne and Castle, they tooke their way, to the passage of Sluce, and finding it guarded by the Bourgignons, they charge them, and chase them to the gates of Douay. Here Francis brother to the Duke of Lorraine and Earle of Guise, of the age of sixteen or seauenteene yeeres, carried his first Armes, who seeing in this chafe, seven or eight Bourgignons on foot, seeking their safety within the woods: being alone, not seene by his followers, hee lights and chargeth them, but *Martin du Bellay* arises happily, accompanied with ten or twelue horse, by whose means these run-awaies were cut in peeces.

Hereupon the English arise at Calais, and at their first entry, they become maisters of the castle of Comtes, betwixt Montreuil and Hedin. To prevent these incursions, the Duke sent the foresaid Earle into the trench of Bologne (Ardes was then ruined and desart) who by the recovery of the said castle, put all to the sword they found within it, except the Capitaine: and afterwards overthrow many other troopes, that were dispersed in the land of Oye, while the two Armies, English and Bourgignons assembled betwixt Ardes and Saint Omer, consulting upon the first object of their forces. Hedin seemed the easiest to be attempted, yet it must needs cost blowes. The Lord of Biez commanded there with thirty men at Armes, and two hundred dead-paies: *Sercu* with a thousand foot, and *La Lande* with five hundred. The battery continued fiftene dayes, and a breach was made of forty fadome, but no assault giuen: the enemy being diuerted by continuall alarmes: The Earles of Guise and Pont-dormy, vnderstanding one day amongst others, that four hundred English were gone towards Biez, and the Commander of Oison: they part from Montreuil with their companies, and some of the Duke of Vendosme, they ouertake them, charge them, and kill or take them all. Some few dayes after, *Pont-dormy* encountering some other troopes, which had burnt *Fressin*, a house of his elder brothers, hee put them all to the sword.

Thus kept within their lodgings, by continuall enterprises, and assisted with a generall flux, which went through their Army, proceeding in part by the continuall raize, after six weekes siege, they raised their campe with shame, to march towards Dourlans, which was not defensible. At that time there was no castle, and from the mountaine where it now built, they discovered the towne on all sides. The Earle of Saint Paul presented the enemy, and

The English
land in France.Hedin besieged
by the Impe-
rials and
English.

A and (left they should make vse thereof) he spoyle the victuals, and tooke off the gates: then he retired to Corby, to withstand the attempts of the English. Then arrived the Marshall of Montmorency, bringing with him the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber, with authority from his Maiestie to command in Corby, if the enemy did besiege it.

But there was too great a resolution in Corby, the wayes were too foule, the infirmities were many in the English and Bourgignons Armies, and winter approaching (it was about all-Saints) invited them to let faile. Being able to doe no worke, they burnt Dourlans, and the villages about, and retired into Arthois, putting the Bourgignons into Garifon, and the English tooke their way for England. Let vs conclude this yeere with an inglorious and fatal loss for the Christians. *Soliman* did not forget to make his profit of these horrible confusions, who by a painefull and constant siege, for the space of eight moneths, brought the Isle of Rhodes vnder his obedience: where (to the great contempt of our religion) hee made his entrie the day of the birth of our Lord and Sauour. In the beginning of the following yeere, the castle of Milan (preft with diseases and want of all things) compounded to depart with bag and baggage, if they were not releued by the fourth of April. But death preuenting most part of the garifon, hindered them from enioying any benefit of the Capitulation.

Rhodes taken
by the Turke.The castle of
Milan yielded.

At the same time *Linot*, a Souldier of the garifon of Guise, treated with the Duke of Ascor, to deliuer him the Towne (but not according to the buyers intent) by the consent of *Nicholas* of Buslu Lord of Longueval, capitaine of the castle. The party was well made and the plot cunningly laid, to take the merchants when they should come for their possession. The Lord of Fleuranges, with three hundred men at Armes, and foure or fife thousand foot, should lie betwixt Auenues and Guise, to stop the enemies retreat. The Duke of Vendosme, with five hundred men at Armes, foure thousand Germanes, and foure thousand French, should cut off their way betwixt the Abbey of Bonhoury and Guise, so as the enemy seeking to retire, had the one before him, and the other behind. The chiefe of all their troopes would bee partakers of this enterprife: When as newes comes vnto them, that the King (who would countenance this exploit with his presence) was come in post to Genlis, neere vnto Chaunis. This made them turne head without any effect, giuing him the strappadoe that sold it, and was their guide, the which *Longueval* requited with the like to the hostages, which the Duke of Arescor had giuen him for the performance of covenants.

His maiesty, to make vse of these troopes which he had assembled, commanded them to victuall Therouenne, the which *Fiennes* besieged with fiftene thousand Flemings and six hundred English, the King had a little before repaired it. Bailleul vpon the hill, a strong place, betwixt Arras and Dourlans, and defended by three hundred Spaniards, was a hinderance to this designe. The Duke of Vendosme tooke charge of the Army, whereof the Duke of Norfolk led the Germanes, the Lords of *Sercu*, *Bourmonuille*, *la Hergerie*, *Fountains* and *Heillis* commanded the French. *Brian* had foure hundred archers of the Kings guard, and *la Fayette* commanded the artillery: he made his approaches at noone day, without any trenches, but with the losse of three Gunners that were slaine, and the Lord of *Picennes* shot into the arme: he batted it the same day, gaue them their liues that were within it, and razed the Castle. The enemy lodged in Andinon and Dellente, halfe a league from Therouenne: and *la Lude* Marshall of the Campe (hauing lodged his Army at Fouquemberg, to haue victuals more commodiously from Montreuil, & to keepe them from the enemy) did cut off the way to Saint Omer, and the garifon of Therouenne, that of *Aire*. *Fiennes* seeing them approach so neere, dislodged in the night, and went to Campe at Elsauf. The Duke of Vendosme followed, with an intent to fight, whilst that *Brian* marching directly to Therouenne releued it with such victuals as were brought from Montreuil. The Earle of Dammartin and the Lord of Esquilly began the skirmish, when a sudden feare surprising the Flemings, puts them in rout towards the ruer of Coldes, where many were drowned in the passage, not able to be staid, although no man followed them: for that *Brian* returning from Therouenne, brought commandement from the King to the Duke of Vendosme, not to hazard a battaile, but to keepe his forces whole for the voyage of Italy, which his Maiesty pretended to make in person.

But he must likewise provide for the frontier, especially for Therouenne, being onely re-

The Flemings
put to rout.

1523

1522

Zalleg slain.

A league be-
tween the Em-
perour and
the King of
England.

troopes at Mouchyle Cayen, when as passing by Hedin, he encountered aboue hundred A
Bourguignons foot, driving the booty before them: he charged the learned blowes, and
some and tooke others. A very preiudiciall victory, in regard of that valiant Knight, B
well experienced in martiall affaires, who being shot into the shoulder, died within five
daies after. In the meane time the Emperour passed into Spaine, to punish the authors
of the fedition before mentioned, imparting his desires to the King of England. His
voyage was not fruitlesse, they remayned well satisfied one of another, to the prouidence
of this Crowne, both equally desirous to ruine it. But it shall seele (as in former times), the
fauour of heaven against their common attempts.

The first effect of their treaty, was to send their Ambassadors jointly together to Vien-
nice, to require the Senat to ioyne with the Emperour for the defence of Italy. For the se-
cond, The King of England complaining that the King did not continue the payment of
fifte thousand Crownes yeerely, which hee ought him (as wee haue said) he proclaimed
warre against the King by his Herald, in case he would not make a generall truce with the
Emperour, comprehending the Church, the Duke of Milan, and the Florentines. The King
refused this truce, and as for the pension, *It is not reasonable (said he) to give money to him,
that aids mine enemies with money.* Henry King of England had before sent a notable
summe of money to the Emperour: but not discovering himself openly, he sent the Duke
of Suffolk, husband to Queene Mary, widow to Lewis the twelfth, to Calais, and the Em-
perour ioyned his forces with him, being led by the Earle of Burges.

The King opposed the Duke of Vendosme, commanding about a thousand men at
Armes, with their archers, and eightene thousand foot, assisted by that reverend old man
Lewis of Trenouille. The enemies Army was not ready in fifteene daies. The Duke there-
fore diuided his forces into Bologne, Therouenne, Hedin, Montfieuil, Abbeville and other
places subiect to the enemies inuasion. He must not suffer their courage to quile through
idleness: Bapuarne serued them for an exercise. The Earle of Saint Paul led the Earles of
Guise and Lorges thither, equal in charge, with foure hundred men at Armes, sixe thou-
sand foot and foure Cannons: who hauing taken, burnt and razed the Towne and Castle,
they tooke their way, to the passage of Sluce, and finding it guarded by the Bourguignons,
they charge them, and chase them to the gates of Douay. Here Francis brother to the
Duke of Lorraine and Earle of Guise, of the age of sixteene or seuentene yeeres, carried his
first Armes, who seeing in this chase, seuen or eight Bourguignons on foot, seeking their
safely within the woods: being alone, not seene by his followers, hee lights and chargeth
them, but *Martin du Bellay* arises happily, accompanied with ten or twelue horse, by
whose meanes these run-awaies were cut in peeces.

Hereupon the English arise at Calais, and at their first entry, they become maisters of
the castle of Comres, betwixt Montfieuil and Hedin. To prevent these incursions, the
Duke sent the foresaid Earles into the trench of Bologne. (Ardes was then ruined and de-
sert) who by the recovery of the said castle, put all to the sword they found within it, ex-
cept the Capitaine: and afterwards overthrow many other troopes, that were dispersed in
the land of Oye, while the two Armies English and Bourguignons assembled betwixt Ar-
des and Saint Omer, consulting vpon the first object of their forces. Hedin seemed the
castle to be attempted, yet it must needs cost blowes. The Lord of Biez commanded there
with thirty men at Armes, and two hundred dead-paies: *Sereu* with a thousand foot, and
La Lande with five hundred. The battery continued fifteene dayes, and a breach was
made of forty fadome, but no assault ioyne: the enemy being diuerted by continuall ala-
rums: The Earles of Guise and Pont-dorny, vnderstanding one day amongst others,
that foure hundred English were gone towards Biez, and the Commander of Oison: they
part from Montfieuil with their companies, and some of the Duke of Vendosme, they
overtake them, charge them, and kill or take them all. Some few dayes after, *Pont-dorny* F
incounting some other troups, which had burnt *Freffin*, a house of his elder brothers, hee
put them all to the sword.

Thus kept within their lodgings, by continuall enterprises, and assisted with a generall
flux, which went through their Army, proceeding in part by the continuall raine, after sixe
weekes siege, they raised their campe with shame, to march towards Dourlans, which was
not defensible. At that time there was no castle, and from the mountaine where it is now
built, they discovered the towne on all sides. The Earle of Saint Paul prevented the enemy,
and

The English
land in France.Hedin besieged
by the Impe-
rials and
English.

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then he retired to Corby, to withstand the attempts of the English. Then arose the
Marshall of Montmorency, bringing with him the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings
Chamber, with authority from his Maiestie to command in Corby, if the enemy did
besiege it.

But there was too great a resolution in Corby, the wayes were too foule, the infirmities
were many in the English and Bourguignons Armies, and winter approaching (it was about
all-Saints) inuited them to set faile. Being able to doe no worse, they burnt Dourlans, and
the villages about, and retired into Arthois, putting the Bourguignons into Garifon, and
B the English tooke their way for England. Let vs conclude this yeere with an ignominious
and fatal losse for the Christians. *Soliman* did not forget to make his profit of these hor-
rible confusions, who by a painfull and constant siege, for the space of eight moneths,
brought the Isle of Rhodes vnder his obedience: where (to the great contempt of our re-
ligion) hee made his entrie the day of the birth of our Lord and Saviour. In the begin-
ning of the following yeere, the castle of Milan (preft with discases and want of all things)
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April. But death preventing most part of the garifon, hindred them from enioying any
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At the same time *Lucret*, a Souldier of the garifon of Guise, treated with the Duke of
C Ascof, to deliuer him the Towne (but not according to the buyers intent) by the conquest
of *Nicholas* of Buslu Lord of Longueval, capitaine of the castle. The party was well made
and the plot cunningly laied, to take the merchants when they should come for their pos-
session. The Lord of Fleurang, with three hundred men at Armes, and foure or five
thousand foot, should lie betwixt Auennes and Guise, to stop the enemies retreat. The
Duke of Vendosme, with five hundred men at Armes, foure thousand Germanes, and
four thousand French, should cut off their way betwixt the Abbey of Bonhoury and
Guise, so as the enemy seeking to retire, had the one before him, and the other behind.
The chiefe of all their troopes would bee partakers of this enterprife: When as newes
comes vnto them, that the King (who would countenance this exploit with his presence)
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ny effect, giuing him the shippadoe that fold it, and was their guide, the which *Longueval*
required with the like to the hostages, which the Duke of Arscot had giuen him for the
performance of couenants.

His maiesty, to make vse of these troopes which he had assembled, commanded them to
viuall Therouenne, the which *Fiennes* besieged with fifteene thousand Flemings and six
hundred English, the King had a little before repaired it. Baillieu vpon the hill, a strong
place, betwixt Arras and Dourlans, and defended by three hundred Spaniards, was a hin-
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Duke of Norfolk led the Germanes, the Lords of Sercu, *Bourbonsuille*, *la Hergerie*, *Fon-
E tains* and *Heills* commanded the French. *Brian* had foure hundred archers of the Kings
guard, and *la Payere* commanded the artillery: he made his approaches at noone day, with-
out any trenches, but with the losse of three Gunners that were slaine, and the Lord of Pi-
ennes shot into the arme: he batted it the same day, gaue them their liues that were with-
in it, and razed the Castle. The enemy lodged in Andinton and Dellente, halfe a league
from Therouenne: and *la Lude* Marshall of the Campe (hauing lodged his Army at Fou-
quemberg, to haue victuals more commodiously from Montfieuil, & to keepe them from
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flect

1523

Rhodes taken
by the Turke.The castle of
Milan yielded.Baillieu be-
sieged by the
French.The Flemings
put to rout.

1523

first for some dayes. The victuall and cariages being ready, and the troopes camping A before Andinoton, vpon the Riuer of Lis, the foreward led by the Marshall of Montmorency, was on the one side of the Riuer, and the battaile on the other: the Flemings and Bourguignons (advertisid of these diuided lodgings) come and charge them both by night at one instant, fall vpon the guards of the light horsemen of the battaile, and repulse them to the men at armes, whereof part being then on horse-backe, they sustaine the shooke, and if they had not busied themselves with the spoile, before a small victorie, it would haue caused a great disorder in the Armie.

The Marshall had fortified his guards. *Tiguerette*, a man at Armes of his company commanded them, who at the first alarm giuen by his Skouts, being advanced to discouer, B he was compassed in and taken prisoner. Our Historie owes the report of his name, to the faithfull affection he bare vnto his country: for, fearing lest the Campe should be surprised, he respected not his life in regard of the advertisement he might giue, in crying to armes. So the enemy seeing himselfe discovered, made the victualling of Therouenne easie by his retreat. This exploit increased the Kings desire to repasse the Alpes. With this intent he sent the Marshall of Montmorency, to make a leany of twelue thousand Suisses, appointing the Rendezvous for his Army at Lions in the beginning of August, he dispatched the Admirall of Bonniuer, with six thousand French, led by *Lorges*, to get the passage of Suze, vntill he might follow with the rest of his forces.

The Venetians, hauing tried in former times that the neighborhood of the French C King, and the Emperours of Germanie, had caused them to attempt against their common weale, desiring that the Duchy of Milan might remaine in the possession of *Francis Sforza*, whose power they nothing feared; and for that the Emperour, not able to proceede further, inclined to the restoring of *Sforza*, they embraced his friendship, and concluded a peace and perpetuall league with him, with *Ferrinand* Duke of Austria, and with *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Milan, whereby they bound themselves; To arme for the common defence of Italy, six hundred men at armes, six hundred light-horse, and six thousand foot. And the Emperour, with the like numbers of men should defend all that the Venetians possess in Italy. Moreover, Pope *Adrian*, desiring (in shew) the generall peace of all Christendome, had soone after his coming to the Pontificall seat, made some D shew to interpose his authority for the reconciliation of our warriors.

But he had beene a long time at the Emperours deuotion, so as he did willingly giue care to such as perswaded him, not to suffer the French King to repossesse the Duchy of Milan. And certaine letters of the Cardinall of Volterres, intercepted by the means of the Duke of Sessa, Ambassador for the Emperour at Rome, thrusts him on to make his declaration against the King. This Cardinall aduised the King, by the Bishop of Xaintes his Nephew, to assaile the Island of Sicilia, with an Army by Sea, to constrain the Emperour to turne his forces to the defence thereof, and so make the way more easie to recover the estate of Milan. And according to this counsel, a practice was discovered in Sicilia, in the Kings fauour, which was the death of the Earle of Camerote, the Master E of the Ports, and of the high Treasurer of the Island, who was quartered. These reasons, and the landing of the French, which was bruited throughout all Italy, did easily draw the Pope to ioyne with the Emperour, the King of England, the Archduke *Ferdinand*, brother to the Emperour, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, Genouois, Sienois, and Luquois, who agreed to leany an army to oppose it against any one that should invade any of the confederates in Italy. Neither the Emperours league with the Venetians (who had plaid the turne-coates) nor the vnion of so many Princes and Estates conspired together, could daunt the resolution of our *Francis*: and now the rumour of his coming bred new tumults in Italy. *Lionel*, brother to *Albert* Pic surpriseth the towne of Carpi, which the Emperour had taken from him, proclaiming him a rebell to the Empire. F

Francis Sforza, riding one day from Monce to Milan, and his troope remaining behind, lest they should annoy the Duke with the dust which their hories did raise, *Boniface Visconti*, a young Gentleman (griued that a kinsman of his had bene put to death within Milan, by the consent (said he) of the said Duke) watching his opportunity, pricks forward with a dagger in his hand to strike *Sforza* in the throat: but being mounted vpon a little Moyle, and *Boniface* vpon a tall and swift Turkish horse, *Sforza* had meenes to slip aside, so as he hurt him in the shoulder, & then the murtherer began to strike him with his sword

Allegre be-
tween the Ven-
etians and the
Emperour.

The Duke of
Milan hurt.

1523

A sword, but his traine coming to his rescue, they forced him to leaue him, and so by the swiftnesse of his horse, heaued himselfe in Piedmont. *Galeas* of Birague followed by the banished men of Milan, and some French footsouldiers which were in Piedmont, seized vpon Valence, but hauing no time to fortifie it, *Anthony* of Leua besieged it, battered it, and the second day of the siege tooke it by force, with the slaughter of foure hundred men, and many prisoners taken, of which number was *Galeas* chiefe of the troope.

The French Armie passed the Alpes in small troopes, and the King prepared to follow them. But it is a matter of dangerous consequence for a King to thrust a great Prince into despaire, who hath meanes of reuenge, if without respect of his degree or quality, B they seeke wholly to oppress him. Notwithstanding Princes should forbear to cause any innovations, if they did but duly examine the causes and reasons whereby men colour their bearing armes against their country. The Kings journey is staied by the like occurrent. We haue noted before, that the leading of the foreward (giuen by the King to the Duke of Alanson, and to the Marshall of Chastillon) was the first motiue which estranged *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, from the Kings seruice, and this other did wholly withdraw him. Of the marriage of *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, and *Anne*, sister to King *Charles* the eight, *Susanne* was borne, their onely heire, the which being made sure to *Charles* of Valois, Duke of Alanson, *Charles* of Bourbon, Earle of Montpensier, and afterwards Constable, commenced a suite, after the decease of the said *Peter*, C that all the lands of his succession belonged vnto him, as the heire male issued from a younger brother of Bourbon. To end this controuersie, a marriage was made betwixt the said Earle of Montpensier, and *Susanne*, and he called himselfe Duke of Bourbon. *Susanne* dying soone after the first discontent of *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, the Kings mother being Regent (by the counsell as they say of *Anthony Prat*, then Chancellor) pretended, that such lands as came by the succession of *Peter* of Bourbon, and were held by gift, belonged to the King: and such as were held by inheritance, appertained vnto her, as the next heire, and daughter to a sister of the said *Peter* married with the Duke of Savoy.

The suite depended in the Court of Parliament at Paris, and *Charles* either distrustful the equity of his cause, or fearing lest the Regents authority should preuaile against his D right, and so by consequence dispossesse him, choosing rather to abandon his country, then to liue in want, he practiseth with the Emperour, by the means of *Adrian* of Croy Earle of Rieux: and to make the articles of his transaction the more strong, he obtains a promise from the Emperour, to marie *Elenor* his sister, widow to *Emanuel* King of Portugal.

The King being past the Alpes, the Constable should invade Bourgongne with twelue thousand Germans, which should be secretly leauied by the Emperour and King of England, who at the same instant should invade Picardie, whilst the Spaniards recovered Fontarabie, as they did. Of their conquests, he onely reserved Prouence, pretending to call himselfe King of Prouence, as belonging vnto him (said he) by the house of Anjou, yeelding all the rest to the English. A practice sufficient to shake France, before the King (being absent with his forces) should return in any time to succour it. But they reckoned with their host, and the Guardian of this Crowne did prevent them: for *Argouges* and *Marnigon*, Gentlemen of Normandie, and household seruants to the Duke, had aduertised the King of his pretended retreat to the Emperour, but they were ignorant of the agreement made betwixt them. To diuert him from this resolution, the king passing by Molins, did visit the Duke in his chamber; who made a shew to be sicke, and that cunningly. "I vnderstand (said the King) of some practices which the Emperour makes to withdraw the loue you vndoubtedly beare vnto the Crowne, as if used and neare allied to the house of France. I doe not beleue, that you haue giuen eare to any such perswasions, moued F with any dislike of me, or of my realme. Some feare of distrust to lose your Offices, hath perchance made a breach in the loue you haue alwaies made shew of. Let not this conceit trouble you, I promise you, in case you should lose your suite against my selfe & my mother, to restore you to the possession of all your goods. Prepare therefore to follow me after your recovery, in the voyage of Italy. The Duke (being very wise) dissembled his intent cunningly, confessing vnto the King, that in truth, the Earle of Rieux had sought him for the Emperour, but he would giue no eare vnto him; that his intention was to haue aduertised his Maiesty at the first view, being loth to commit it to any mans report: that the

Ccc

Physicians

The Duke of
Bourbon re-
uolts.

1523

Physicians gaue him hope to be soone able to goe in a Litter, and that he would not faile A to come to Lions, to receiue his Maiesties commandements. But, considering that he had to deale with too strong a partie, and that hardly he should enioy his goods, which were already sequestered by a Decree of the Court, he retired to Chantelles in the beginning of September, a house of his owne, where he had the most sumptuous mouebles that any Prince could haue. From thence he sent the Bishop of Autun, of the house of *Hu- rants* to the King, with instructions signed with his hand, promising, *To serue his Maiesty well and loyally in all places, whensoever it should please him, during his life, and without any breach, vpon restitution of the possessions of Peter of Bourbon.*

The King finding this manner of proceeding hard and insolent, sent the bastard of Sa- uoy, Lord Steward of France, and the Marshall of Chabannes, with four hundred men at armes, the Captaines of his Guards, and the Prouost of his house, to besiege the Duke in Chantelles. And vnderstanding that many Lanqueners did troope together vpon the frontier of Bourgongne, he caused the Bishop of Autun, the Chancellor of Bourbonnois, the Lord of Cars, *Saint Valler, Bussy* brother to *Palisse*, *Emard de Prie*, *la Vanguion*, and many others to bee taken prisoners, who for the loue of him were content to abandon their Country, families and goods, notwithstanding they found grace with the King. But the Duke (despairing of his estate) resolved to hazard all, and to beginne a furious Tragedie, in the which we shall see our *Francis* act the part of an vnfortunate prisoner of the warres, and *Charles* referred for a bloody and tragick end. He disguiseth C himselfe, and taking the Lord of Pomperant for his onely companion, whose seruant he seemed to bee. After many turnings being often feared, as appeares in the Originals, the waies being laied, and the passages stoppt, or full of troopes, marching into Italy, he recouers the Franche countie, and so by Ferrete, crossing through Germany, he came into Italy, and according to the choise which the Emperor gaue him, either to passe into Spaine, or to remaine in Italy with his Army; in the end he continued at Genoua, to see the end of these two great Armies.

The Duke of
Bourbon
dies disguised.

The Marshall and Lord Steward seized vpon Chantelles, with the mouables of *Car- lat*, and generally of all the lands of the house of Bourbon for the King. In the meane time the Marshall of Montmorency had made such speed, as his twelve thousand Suisses were D ioyned with the Admirall, attending the Kings coming at Turin. But his presence was necessary in France: there were strange practices against him. He therefore sends part of his forces to the Admirall, and commands him to execute the enterprize of Milan, as they two had concluded. He had eightene hundred Launces, twelue thousand French, ten thousand Suisses, six thousand Lanqueners, and three thousand Italians, a sufficient army for a great attempt: but want of iudgment to imbrace occasions, and negligence of his business, made the Admirall lose the opportunity to recouer Milan at the first, and to be vnfortunate in this voyage.

Prosper Colonne, considering the Venetians league with the Emperor, and the treache- ry of the Duke of Bourbon, could not beleue that the King should continue constant in E his resolution, to invade the Duchie of Milan that yeare. This perswasion had made him carelesse to make necessary prouision for this war. But now (notwithstanding his infirmie- tie he imployes all his meanes and forces to keepe the French from passing the Riuer of Tefin, neglecting to repaire the Bastions and Rampiers of the suburbs of Milan, being for the most part ruined and spoiled. But the French finding the waters low, some passed at a Ford, others in Boats about some foure miles from the Imperiall campe, making a Bridge for the Artillery. *Colonne*, knowing that an encounter of the French is very dan- gerous, in their first heat, retired into Milan, and finding the Citizens and Souldiers won- derfully amazed, seeing no meanes to keepe the Citie in the estate it was, he abandons it, to prouide for the defence of Laude. Without doubt the capitious propositions of an enemy must bee duly examined: and moreover, an assailant, that hath preuented his ene- mie, should not lose any houre neither by his two great lenitie, nor his base negligence: Hereupon *Galeas Visconte* giues the Admirall to vnderstand, that if he enters forceably into Milan, there will bee no meanes to saue it from spoile, and so by consequence, the King shall make no vse thereof against his enemies: but if hee would suffer him to goe and compound with some Citizens, which did sollicite him, hee would giue order the Imperialls should depart, and furnish the King with a good sum of money, which might greatly

A greatly auail him in his affaires. The Admirall is caried away with these perswasions. But whilst that *Galeas Boyer*, Generall of Normandie, and some others doe treat, they spend some time in vaine by the Riuer of Tefin, during the which, *Prosper* deluded out men with parles, reuiued the hearts of his men (who had already packt vp their baggage for their retreat) and with exceeding diligence, puts the Rampiers in defence. And then knowing his forces vnable to defend the whole Duchie, hee restrained them to keepe Milan, Cremona, and Paui, whilst the fury of the French should grow cold by an idle abode, and the winter approaching neare, ruine them.

The Admirall, finding the error he had committed by his too great credulity, em- ployed all his forces against Milan, but too late, the Citizens had gotten heart, and *Prosper* B had now gathered together eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horse, foure thousand Spaniards, six thousand five hundred Lanqueners, and three thousand Italians, besides the Inhabitants, who were all armed. He doth notwithstanding besiege it, be- twixt the wayes to Laude and Paui, and seeing other places abandoned, hee takes Monce for the King, to cut off the victuals from Milan: he sends *Bussy d'Amboise*, with 2000 Frank-archers, to seize vpon Alexandria, and the Cheualier *Bayard*, with foure hundred men at armes, eight thousand foot, and ten pieces of artillery to Laude, where leauing a strong garison, he went suddenly to attempt Cremona. The Castle held yet for the King, but the enemies had made two great trenches betwixt the towne and the Castell. There C *Rance de Cere*, a Baron of Rome ioyned with him, leading foure thousand Italians. This supply encouraged *Bayard* to attempt the towne in another place. They make their ap- proaches, and within three daies make a reasonable breach. But all fall out crossly for the French, being readie to goe to the assault, a continuall raine of foure daies, made the as- cent so slippery, as they went as much backward as forward, and did so breake the waies, as no victuals could come to the Campe from any part, euen so it chanced to *Lantree* be- fore Paui. Moreover, the Venetians arrie on the one side, and the Spanis on the other, cut off their Victuals. So *Bayard* prest with famine, refresheth the Castle with men and victuals, and returned to Milan. Without doubt *Bunon* with the whole garison that kept this Fort, deserued great commendations: where hauing continued two yeares in ex- D tremed necessity, desiring all rather to dye, after the example of their Captaine then to yield the place by treacherie, there remained onely eight souldiers, whom *Bayard* found languishing, but resolute in their constancie.

Wee haue vnderstood, that by the intelligences of the Duke of Bourbon, the Emperor at the same instant should assaile Bourgongne, and Champagne, the English Picardie, and the Spaniards Fontarabie. According to this designe, and to make the siege of Fontarabie easie, the Spaniards campe before Bayonne the seuenteenth of September. *Lantree*, Go- uernor of Guienne, although he were vnprouided of men, (the Kings forces being dis- persed in Italy, Champagne, and Picardie) furnished the towne with victuals, munition, and such men as the time and necessitie could afford, and he himselfe went into it: where E the valour of this Noble man, who continued three daies and three nights continually vpon the walls, prouiding for all things necessary, especially for the entrie of two Riuers which passe at Bayonne, giuing such courage to men, women, and children, as euery one falling to worke, the most coward made shewes of great willingness.

So as the fourth day of the siege, the enemy finding that he did but lose his time, left Bayonne to besiege Fontaraby, which shewed no proofes of like valour. It was furnish- ed with good store of men, and other things necessary. *Franquet* commanded there, as we haue formerly declared. He was an ancient Gentleman, and all his life had had the rep- utation of a good Souldier. But now to saue his goods, nor attending any force, he yeelds the towne which was not to be forced. A cowardlike which brought him to a scaffold at F Lions, to be there degraded of his nobility, and himselfe, with his posterity declared base, for that hee had beene so faint-hearted and carelesse, to preuent the conspiracy, which he said, *Don Pedro* of Nauarre (the Sonne of *Peter*, Marshall of Nauarre, whom the Spanis ards had lately caused to die in prison) had with the Spaniards. On the other side, the Lanqueners which had beene leauied for the Duke of Bourbon, were come vnto Cham- pagne, vnder the command of *William*, Earle of Furtemberg, and spoiled the Prouince, after they had taken Coiffie, a place vpon the confines of the French *Comté*, & Montclairre, a Castle seized vpon a mountaine, neare to Chaumont in Bassigne. The Duke of Guise, G cc 2 whom

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Milan besieged.

Fontaraby yielded.

War in Cham- pagne.

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whom the King had made his Lieutenant generall in Bourgogne, in the place of the Lord of Tremouille, lately advanced to the government of Picardie: having with his company of an hundred men at armes, those of the Dukes of Alençon and Vendosme, ioyned with the forces of *Ornel*, Gouverneur of Champagne, and some other troopes, making about six hundred men at armes, so restrained the enemy, as having no meanes, for want of horse, to guard their foragers, they were in few daies famished, and forced to seeke their retreat at Neuf-chastell in Lorraine. The Duke of Guise, advertised of their course, sent some three hundred men at armes before, to charge them in front, at the passage of the River of Meuse, whilst that he should set on them behind, being laden with a great bootie. The Duke came, and finding them halfe past, he cut the remainder in B peeces, and recovered the bootie. But a quarrell chanced betwixt *Courville* and *Chasselet* a Lorraine, Ensigne-bearer to the said Duke, the which (*Courville* being thrust through the mouth with a sword) overthrew the better part of this goodly enterprise. The Duke of Suffolke was lately landed againe at Calais, with fourteene or fiftene thousand English, which ioyned with the forces of the Earle of Bure, made five or six thousand horse, and about five and twenty thousand foot. But if in their former voyage, they made a great strece, and reaped small benefit, so likewise, they will make but a bare conquest by this last descent.

Tremouille (although he had so few men, as he was forced, when he had left the place, to retire his men, to put them into that whether the enemy seemed to bend) had so furnished C the townes with valiant Commanders, and all things necessary, as the Duke and Earle, having made a shew to besiege *Therouenne*, *Hedin*, *Doulans*, and *Corbie*, in the end they Campe before *Bray vpon Somme*: the wall was weak, and three mountaines commanding the towne, were the cause they could not fortifie it; yet that brave *Pontdormy* had thrust himselfe into it with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and some fiftene hundred foot, to defend this passage against the enemy. Let vs not blame a valiant Capitaine, if he receive a disgrace in a weak place. He made his account (in case he were forced) to retire by the Causey, and to breake the Bridges after him. But he was so prest, as he had no meanes to retire, but in disorder, with the losse of foure-score, or an hundred men: and if he had not maintained the fight with his men at armes, whilst his footmen D recovered *Corbie*, there had bene no hope of safety for the rest.

But see how he revenged this disgrace. The enemy threatened *Montdidier*: and the small forces *Tremouille* had, made all men vnwilling to lead any succors thither. *Pontdormy* was neuer daunted with the difficulty of any enterprise. Night being come, hee goes to field, and without any encounter, puts *Rochebaron* an Auernac, into *Montdidier*, and *Flewas* Lieutenant of the Earle of Palmartins Companie, either of them commanding fifty men at armes, and *René* of *Dalliere*, with a thousand French. And fearing lest *Tremouille* should haue need of him, hee had not the patience to attend for night to make his retreat, he doth it at noone day, resolute to charge all he should encounter, having but his owne companie, with that of the Vicount of *Lauedan*. With this resolution hee E meetes with five hundred horse, chargeth them with such fury, as hee puts them to rout. But two thousand men, coming to succour the rest, he was forced to leave the chase, to fauour the retreat of his troope. In the which, his horse being slaine, he left *Barnicelles*, and *Canaples* his brother & nephew, to beare the shock with twenty men at armes, whilst that he saved the rest in Amiens, the enemy cutting off the way to *Corbie*. *Barnicelles*, and *Canaples* (ouerthrowne from their horses) were taken prisoners, with seven men at armes of their Company. So Roy remained at the enemies mercy, who having taken and burnt it, marched to *Montdidier*, where a breach being made, they within distrusting of their forces, departed with their baggage, and came to *Tremouille*.

The enemy had opened the passage of Oise, and approached within eleuen leagues of F Paris. But their courses are staid, and Paris is assured by the arriuall of the Duke of Vendosme, with four hundred men at armes, so as the English and Bourguignons fearing to be compassed in by the Duke and *Tremouille*, and so famished, tooke their way to Artois, and a litle after All-Saints day (a notable season for the losse of corpe, which was frozen generally throughout the Realme) they dismissed their armie, carying no other spoiles of their victory, but the taking of the Castle of Bohain, which was yielded vnto them without summons. But the enemy was no sooner retired, but *Tremouille*, before the Duke of Vendosmes

The valour of
Pontdormy.

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A Vendosmes arriuall, made so furious a battery with six Cannons, as the Garison, seeing their armie broken, yielded by composition. Thus Picardie is freed from a mightie Armie, which at their departure held not one foot of land of their conquest.

In like sort, the Duke of Bourbons attempt against Bourgogne turned to sioake, for wanting money to pay his Lanquenets, the King did practice some of their Captains, who came to him with their troops. So despairing to get any thing in France, he retired to Milan. *Augustus* the Emperor loued treason, but not the traitor. So the Emperor *Charles* loued his actions, but not the D. of Bourbons person. To keep him from passing into Spaine, vnder hope of marrying with *Eleanor*, sister to the Emperor *Charles*, he made him his Lieutenant Generall in Italy, whilst that hee prepared to passe into France in person, as wee shall see.

Let vs now returne into Italy, where we shall see a Pope of a more turbulent spirit then *Adrian*, who died the fourteenth of September, little lamented, and of small esteeme. He was a stranger, and little acquainted with the affaires of the Court of Rome; he was learned, and not greatly vicious. The Colledge of Cardinals repined to see any other set in *S. Peters* Chaire, but an Italian, or at the least, one bred vp in Italy: *Julius*, Cardinal of Medici, after many & sundry strifes and contentions, every one of the Cardinals seeking the choice & election by the support of such as fauored him, in the end caried it, the nineteenth of November, Through the fauour (saith the Originally) of the great reuenues of his

C Ecclesiastical linings. In all his Actions we shall see him discouer a spirit wonderfully ambitious, of a great courage, active, desirous of innovations, giuen to affaires especially of the world, not much subiect to his pleasures, and giuing hope of great and extraordinary matters: and for that presently after his insaltment, hee vsed clemency to the Cardinal of Volterre, declared vn sufficient to come into the conclave by *Adrian*, for the subiect wee haue formerly noted: hee therefore tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the seventh.

In the meane time our Admirall tooke cold before Milan, which hee thought to famish, cutting off the Conduits that went into the towne, and beating downe the Milles: but the great number of hand-milles (which *Colonne* had caused to bee made) preferred the Citizens from famine. And to cut off the vidu- D als that came from *Laudefan* to the French Campe, *Colonne* had put the Marquis of Mantoua, with five hundred horse into *Paia*. The Admirall fearing lest hee should seize vpon the Bridge hee had made at *Vigueu*, by the which victuals came vnto his Army, hee commanded *Bayard* and *Rance*, to come and lodge at *Vigueu*: But by their dislodging from *Monce*, the passage was open to the enemy, and then victuals entered abundantly into Milan, which caused the ruine of the French Army.

Nothing succedes happily with them, whom the prouidence of God doth not fauour. The hope to famish Milan is frustrate, and the intelligence which the Admirall had within the towne, with one *Morganá*, a Corporall of the Squadron of *Iohn de Medici* is discovered, with the losse of all their liues, that had consented (he should E haue receiued the French into a bastion, when the guard thereof fell vnto him.) Moreover, the enemy grows proud of small advantages and light victories, who being accustomed to overcome by degrees, resolues to vanquish all at once. *Iohn de Medici* being to guard the victuals that came from *Tresse* to Milan, with five hundred horse, and a thousand foot, met with foure-score French Lances; and by a faigned retreat drew them into an ambush of five hundred *Harguebuziers* which hee had laid: he easily defeats them, slew some, and takes the rest.

In another encounter, *Sucere* a Bourguignon, put to rout three-score men at armes, of the company of the Master of the Horse. Our men being in guard at the trenches, which were made to go vnto the rampiers, assailed by many skirmishes, had most commonly the worst. So decreasing in number, prest with abundance of snow, and the sharpness of the winter which they had endured six months together, the Admirall retired his armie to lodge it in *Biagras*, & other places thereabouts. He sent the Earle of *S. Paul* from *Biagras* with *Rance de Cere*, and *Lorges*, Generall of the French foot, to besiege *Aronce*, a towne vpon *Laco-Maiore*. They make their approaches, plant their Ordnance, batter it about five and twenty daies, and giue two or three assaults. But *Colonne* foreseeing this designe, at the retreat of our men, had manned the towne with twelve hundred soldiers, who made our attempt fruitlesse. That which they could not doe by assault,

Ccc 3

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they seeke to effect by myne, blowing vp a great part of the wall. But they kickt against the pyncke. The wall falls vpon the same foundation, and stands firme. So frustrate of their intention, hauing lost many good men, they retorne to the Campe.

At that time *Prosper Colonne*, the chiefe pillar of the Emperours affaires in Italy, dyed the last day but one of the year. A famous Captaine throughout all the course of his life, well practised in matters of warre, slow to imbrace the occasions which the weaknesse or disorders of his enemies might present him: but commended to haue managed the warre more by councell, then with the sword. *Don Charles* of Launoy, Viceroy of Naples, was substituted by the Emperour: *Don Charles*, having taken vpon him the government, employed all his wit to expell the French out of the Duchie of Milan, either by force or famine: and to approach neere vnto them, attending a supply of six thousand Lanquenets out of Germany: an occasion was offered to make the first fruits of his armes famous.

They giue him intelligence, that *Bayard Mezieres*, and *Saint Mesme* with two hundred men at armes, and *Lorges* with the French foot, whereof he was Colonel, lodged at Rebec, two miles from Biagras. To giue them a Canuissado on the sudden, hee sends the Marquis of Pescara, and *Iohn de Medicis*, who came from the taking of Marignan by composition. Sometimes renowned Captaines are lulled asleepe with conceit of their owne reputations: and although the enemy feares them, yet hee most obserues them, and desires most to circumvent them.

The French charged and beaten in their quater.

But *Bayard* was sicke, and that day had taken Physicke. The Spaniard falls vpon the French guards two howers before day, and presently beates them backe vpon their men at armes; *Bayard* (being sicke) and *Lorges*, gather together what men they could, and maintaine the shooke whilst the rest retired to the Campe: few men, but all the baggage was lost. Hereupon the Lanquenets arise, and the Imperiall army ioyned with the Venerians: and the Popes (a right Florentine, and no lesse counterfeite then *Leo* the tenth, his kinsman, for hee assured *Saint Maxent*, the Kings Ambassador, that hee would assise neither party, and yet he did ayde the Emperour both with men and money) being come to lodge at Casete, five miles from Biagras. There were in the Imperiall troopes, fixteene hundred men at Armes, fiftene hundred light horse, seuen thousand Spaniards, twelue thousand Lanquenets, and fiftene hundred Italians. The chiefe Commanders were the Dukes of Milan and Bourbon, the Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis of Pescara.

The Duke of Vrbino commanded for the Venerians, six hundred men at armes, six hundred light horse, and seuen thousand foot. *Iohn de Medicis* led the Popes forces. The Admirall, besides his companies diuided into Garisons, and the French troopes camped at Biagras (attending six thousand Suisses to refresh his army) had with him eight hundred Lances, eight thousand Suisses (and within few daies after three thousand more ioyned with him) four thousand Italians, and two thousand Lanquenets. The lodging was safe, and no means to force them: onely feare of famine must dislodge them. With this designe the Imperials passe the riuier of Tefin, and lodge at Gambale, to cut off the victuals that came from Omeline to the French: they take Garles from them, and *Saint George*, seated about Morice. Garles furnished their army with victuals, which came freely to them from Pavia: and *Saint George* cut off the prouision that came to our men from Biagras.

So the Admirall fearing to be distressed for victuals, and to lose the other places of Omeline, the which being taken, he had bene in a manner besieged of all sides: he leaues an hundred light horse, and a thousand foot in Biagras, vnder *Ierome Caraccioli* a Neapolitan, and went to lodge at Vigee. He was farre inferiour in number, yet he presents his army in bataille three daies together, but the enemy refusethe the combat: he would not hazard a victory which he held assured without losse of men. It was better to dislodge the French from Vigee: for the effecting whereof, the Imperials marche to Sartirane vpon Po, fit to cut off the victuals from our men: *Hugh* Earle of Popoli, and *Iohn* of Birague kept it for the King. The Admirall followes them to saue both the men and the place. But vpon the way he had newes that it was forced, most part of them flaine, and the Commanders prisoners. Verfel supplied our men with most part of their necessary victuals. The enemy by the meanes of *Resit Ferrelon*, fliz vp the *Gibelins*, being stronger

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A stronger then the *Guelphes* in the said City, who by their mutiny bring in the Imperials, which gaue them great hope to haue the French army at their mercy for want of victuals: and if need were, to stop their retreat into France, and to this end they leize vpon the passage of Camarian. Mischiefe vpon mischiefe is no safety. *Monteian*, and *Boutterres* Lieutenants of *Bayard* his company, had chosen an hundred or six score of their best men at armes for the execution of an enterprise they had plotted. But being ill guided, they encountered a stronger party, were defeated, and all taken prisoners: a great weakening to an army in an after-season. The Admirall did still temporize, grounding his hopes vpon four hundred Lances which the Marquis of Rotelin did bring: who passing by the Mount of Geneure, should ioine with ten thousand Suisses, and *Rance de Cere* brought six thousand Grisons, by the country of Bergamo, to passe at Laude to *Fredericke* of Bosiole, who led a great number of Italian foot, to assaile the Duchy of Milan on that side, and force the enemy to re-passe the riuier of Tefin. With this designe the Admirall comes to lodge at Nouarre.

But the ruine of our men approached. *Sforza* sent *Iohn de Medicis* against the Grisons, with fifty men at armes, three hundred light horse, and three thousand foot, who ioined with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and four thousand foot of the Venetians, and stopt their passage, so as being discontented, hauing no ayd of horse nor foot as *Rance* had promised them, they returned to their Country. This thorne pulled out of the Imperials foot, *Iohn de Medicis* takes Carauage, batters down the bridge which the French had vpon Tefin at Bufaloro: and nothing remaining of all the towne betwixt Milan and the Tefin, but onely Biagras, which lying vpon the great channell that runnes to Milan, did cut off the victuals which were wont to come to the towne in great abundance: *Sforza* followed by all the youth of Milan, besieged it, accompanied with *Iohn de Medicis*: he battered it foure or five dayes, and was repulled from the first assault; hee forced it at the second, and spoiled it. A spoile deely sold to the Milanois. Biagras was infected with the plague, so all the houses of Milan, whither any of the booty came, were infected with the same contagion, which was the death of aboute fifty thousand persons. Biagras taken (to stop all the passages from the French) the Vice-roy went to lodge at Marignon: and the Admirall, considering that it was better to hazard the rest of his army, then to perish by famine and pestilence, which had greatly diminished his troops, he tooke the way of Romagnan, to ioine with eight thousand Suisses which were come to Yurée. But they strucke the last stroke. They send him word, That it should suffice them to retire their companions, and conduct them into Suisse, seeing the King had broken his promise with them; by the which they should meet at Yurée with *Claude* of Longueuille, and foure hundred Lances to conuoy them. Their country-men which remained in the Campe, vnderstanding that their companions were vpon the banks of the riuier of Stesie, dis-banded for the most part, to ioine with them that were newly come.

In the meane time the Imperials, by the perswasion of the Duke of Bourbon, followed the Admirall at the heeles, who to take from the enemy the knowledge of the Suisses disorder, endured the shooke with such men at armes as he could gather together: but being hurt at the first charge with a shot in the arme, and forced through the griefe of his wound to leaue the retreat of the army to the Earle of Saint Paul, and to Captaine *Bayard*, *Bayard* and *Vandenesse* (performing wondrous deeds of armes) died there: *Vandenesse* presently, *Bayard* thrust through the body, caused himselfe to be layd at the foot of a tree, by his Steeward, his face turned to the enemy, as he that neuer turned his backe. The Duke of Bourbon pursuing the chase, seeing him in this pitifull estate, I am sorry for you, said he, hauing known you so valiant a Knight. Sir (said *Bayard*, drawing towards his end) there is no pity of me, I die an honest man: you are to be lamented, who serue against your Prince, your Country, and your oath: and soonne after he gaue vp the ghost. *Lorges* arming with those few French which remained, repulled such as pursued vnto the body of their armie, & the Earle of Saint Paul hauing passed the riuier with the losse of few, but the bravest of his men, deliuered the attillery to the Suisses, who made their retreat by the valley of Aouste, and himselfe by Turin, Laude, Alexandria, Nouarre, and generally all which the King possessed in Italy, remained at the Victors deuotion.

The Estate of Milan was thus freed from the French, and Italy from their present calamities, but the roots were not yet cut vp: it was but deferred for a time. Then the Duke of Bourbon gaue the Emperour counsell to transport the warre into France. The King of England

A worthy speech of Bayard, being hurt and dying.

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England did willingly giue care vnto it. The fauour, the authority, the many followers, A and the great intelligence which the Duke of Bourbon presumed to haue in France, invited him thereunto. To this end the Emperor treated with the English, and the Duke of Bourbon: "That the Duke should enter into France with a part of his army which was in Italy: That hauing passed the Alpes, the King of England should pay him an hundred thousand crowns for the charge of the first month, & should continue the same month-ly, vnlesse he would invade the Realme with a mighty armie: That France should be conquered for the English, and Prouence for the Duke of Bourbon, according to the Treaty we haue before made mention of: That the Emperour at the same instant should make warre vpon them from the confines of Spaine, and should procure the Potentates of Italy to concur in this enterprife, for the freeing of themselves for euer from the inuasion of the French.

Marfeilles is a commodious port to annoy France, and to passe from Spaine into Italie. According to the Emperours desire, and the former treaty, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Marquis of Pescara, march to the conquest of Marfeilles. The King aduerted of their designe, sends *Rance de Cere*, a man well experienced in war, and the Lord of Brion, with two hundred men at armes, and three thousand foot, for the guard of Marfeilles: repaired his army, and sent to make a leauy of fourteene thousand Suisses, and six thousand Lanquenets.

The Duke and Marquis had now lyen six weekes before Marfeilles: the King hauing C vnited his forces, marcheth with an intent to fight with his enemies, who seeing so great a power to approach, embarked their great Ordnance for Genoua: the lesser they layd vpon Moyles, and so made a speedy retreat. The Marshall of Chabannes, who had the leading of the fore-ward, sent foure or fise hundred horses after them: who ouerthrew many, and returned with great spoile, euery one leauing his baggage behind him, and the souldiers casting away their armes, to bee more light to runne away. The King seeing himselfe to haue a goodly army ready, and his enemies retired, resolues to cut off their way, or to come before them into Italy: many dissuaded him, the season might well diuert him (for it was in the middest of October): the Regent his mother aduised him to make war by his Captaines, and not in person; and the Bishop of Capoua came from the Pope to treat of a generall peace: But the heat which transported this good Prince to his owne ruine and dishonour, made him to say vnto the Bishop: *That he should treat with him by Letters, and attend him at Auignon with his mother.* If the King makes haste to pursue, the Duke and Marquis made as great haste to arive in time for the defence of Milan: so as in one day the King arriued at Verceil, and the Marquis at Albe: the Duke followed a day after him with the Lanquenets.

At that time *Claude* Queene of France died at Blois, leauing three sonnes by the King and her, *Francis* the Dauphin, *Henry* Duke of Orleanes, and *Charles* Duke of Angoulême; and two daughters, *Magdalene* married afterwards to the King of Scots, and *Marguerite*, which shall be Duchesse of Sauoy. The Vice-roy seeing the King to march directly towards Milan without stay, he put *Anthony de Leno* into Pavia, with twelue hundred Spaniards, and six thousand Lanquenets: posting himselfe with exceeding speed to Milan with the rest of the army. Milan had changed her mind, the plague had wonderfully wasted the Citizens: many (to auoid this danger) had absented themselves: there was no such store of victuals within it as was vsuall: the traffike had ceased, there was no meanes to recouer money: they had made no account to repaire the fortifications, and the King had from Vigieu sent *Michel Anthony* Marquis of Salusses, with two hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot: who at the first ouerthrew the Spaniards that were set to guard the suburbs of Milan: beat them into the towne, and kept the suburbs: notwithstanding their continuall sallies, by means of the Lord of Tremouille, who came to second him. The Vice-roy finding the Citizens minds to be litle at his deuotion, went out by the Port Romane, leading with him the Duke of Bourbon, the Marquis of Pescara, and the rest of the army to Laude. The Milanoes freed from the danger of the Imperials, retired in the Marquis of Saluffe and Tremouille. The Imperiall army retired in great confusion and disorder, tyred with the tediousnesse of the way, hauing lost many horse and armes: If they had bene hotly pursued, without doubt they had bene easily ouerthrowen. Moreover, if our men had presently gone to Laude, the Imperials had not dared to stay there: and

Milanoes.

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A and it may be, passing the Riuer of Adde with speed, they had disordered the rest of his army with the like facility. But when as the prouidence of God meanes to chastise a people, he blinds the eyes of their vnderstandings, in such sort as they cannot iudge of occurrences, but oftentimes they embrace those courses which be most dangerous.

Thus it fell out with our *Francis*: for according to the aduice of such (as held it not fit for his Maiesties affaires, to leaue a strong towne behind him, manned with many souldiers) he turned head to Pavia, in the end of October. He had with him *Henry* of Albrekt king of Nauarre, the Dukes of Alancou, Lorraine, Albany, and Longueuille: the Earles of Saine Paul, Vaudemont, Laual and Tonnerre: the Marshalls of Foix, Chabannes and Montmorency, the bastard of Sauiy Lord Steward, the Admirall of Boniuet, the chiefe author of this counsell *Lewis* of Tremouille, the Marquis of Salusses, *Anthony* of Rochfaucault, the Lords of Brion, Escars, Bonneau, Fleuranges, Paulmy, Roche-du-maine: the Vidame of Chartres, Aubigny, Clermont, Buffy d'Amboise, de Conte, Fontenay, a younger brother to *Roban d'Amont*, and a great number of others: two thousand Lances, eight thousand aduenturers, eight thousand Lanquenets, six thousand Suisses, and foure thousand Italians, which number did afterwards greatly increase.

The Imperials gathered together the remainder of their ship-wracke, and made a new leauy of twelue thousand men in Germany: but want of money did greatly trouble their affaires. The Emperour could not helpe them: to draw any out of the Duchy of Milan, C there was no meanes. From their ancient confederates, they hoped for small or no succors at all. The Pope and the Florentines contented them, but with generall words. *Clement* sought to maintaine himselfe in the middest of these stormes, and would make no league with any other Prince. The Venetians, vrged by the Vice-roy, to furnish the men where- vnto they were bound by the Capitulation, made cold answers. They grew now more jealous of the Emperours ambition. All Italy complained, that he would not inuolunt *Sforza* in the Duchy of Milan, vnto which the Popes authority did moue him: to whose example and counsells they had then great regard, being willing in like sort to frame themselves to preuent occurrences. And the King of England, instead of furnishing them with the money he had promised, demanded all that which he had lent. All these considerations, made D our *Francis* resolute to the siege of Pavia. He batters it in two places, makes a breach, and gives an assault, they winne the breach, but had not meanes to enter: they find large and deepe trenches to stay them, and the nearest houses furnished with shot, forced them to abandon the breach after the losse of many good men.

As they despaird to take Pavia by force, *James* of Silly, Bayliffe of Caen, propounds a more easie meanes to force it. The Riuer of Tedi diuides it selfe into two branches, two miles about Pavia, and ioynes againe a mile beneath the towne before it runnes into Po. By reason of the depth of the water, the wall was nothing fortified vpon the greatest streame, hee vndertakes to cut this arme, and to driue all the streame into the lesse, hoping that the course of the water being dried, and making a sudden and furious B Eterie on that side, the Towne should bee forced, before the enemy had any meanes to preuent it.

They spend many dayes, employ an infinit number of men, and make a great expence, in this worke. But the water is of more force then the labour of men, or the industry of Enginiers. A continuall raine did so swell the Riuer, as breaking the sluices and banks, which were made within the Channell, in one houre it made all this great labour fruitlesse. So all the attempts of our men were reduced to a hope, to force them to yeeld at length by necessity. The Pope in the meane time (moued with the sudden spoile and conquest of the Duchy of Milan by the King) desirous to settle his affaires and businesse, and to pacifie Italy the better, sent *John Mathieu Gilbert*, Bishop of Verona his Datarie, to exhort our F warrours to peace and concord. The Vice-roy trusting in the strength of Pavia, refused to giue care to any agreement of composition; whereby the King should hold any sort of land in the Duchy of Milan: the King on the other side, putt vp with his good success to the greatness of his army, the hope not onely to maintaine it, but also to increase it, so pretere vnto himselfe the Estate of Milan, to recouer Genoua, and afterwards to assault the Realme of Naples, made him as vnwilling to yeeld to any peace.

Thus the Pope hauing failed to reconcile these two Princes, the chiefe cause why he sent his Datarie, tooke effect. *Clement* bound himselfe, *Not to giue any succour or aid* open

The state of the Imperials

The Pope makes a league with the King.

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open or secret against the King. And the King receiued the Pope and the Florentines into A his protection, especially to maintaine the Family of *Medici* in their greatness. The Pope supposed the Emperour should goe to the wall, but he will soone repent him. This agreement drew the King to the enterprise of Naples: for the execution whereof, hee made *Iohn Steward* Duke of Albany his Lieutenant generally, accompanied with *Raunce de Cere*, six hundred men at armes, three hundred light-horse, ten thousand foot, and ten or twelve peeces of artillery. His intent was to force the Vice-roy to abandon the Estate of Milan, to flie to the defence of Naples, whereas there remained no Garisons. But hee should haue consulted hereof after the absolute conquest of the Duchy. The enemy will make his profit of this indifferet diuision of his army in so vnseasonable a time. He did foresee, that in succouring Naples, the Duchy of Milan would be wholly lost. The Vice-roy hauing refused to make head against the King within Lombardy, sent the Duke of Traietto to geue order for the defence of the Realme, in case the French did assaile it. Let vs leaue the King a little at his siege, and see some exploits of armes.

The Marquis of Saluces, Lieutenant for the King at Saunone, had in the beginning of March sent two thousand men in garison to Varas, a small towne, all walled vpon the sea-shore, mid-way betwixt Saunone and Genoua. *Don Hugues* of Moncade, Vice-roy of Sicily, then Governour of Genoua for the Emperour, brought the Emperours Gallies to beat downe the gate of Varas with their Cannon, hoping that the weakness of the place would force the souldiers to make their retreat to Saunone: and with this designe he put himselfe C in ambush with four thousand men, betwixt Varas and Saunone. The Marquis aduertised of this battery, flies thither with those few men which the present necessity would suffer him to gather together. At his approach, the besieged take courage, and rampier vp their gate quite ruined. The Gallies of Genoua grow amazed, and turne their prowes. The Marquis pursues them. *Don Hugues* seeing himselfe abandoned by his forces at sea, begins likewise to make his retreat to Genoua along the shore. *La Maille*ray, by the commandement of the Marquis, goes to shore, drawes forth the garison of Varas, and leads them in the pursuit, whilst that he coasted along, seeking to disorder them with his Cannon, being forced to march by the sea side, by reason of the mountains. *Moncade* falls into the rearward with some of the chiefe Captaines to endure the shocke. They charge him, and put his troops in rout, and he, with all them that did accompany him, are taken prisoners. The Marquis takes two gallies, and pursuing his victory, finds the Admirall of Genoua in the road: he forceth her to yeeld, and makes a great booty of artillery, munition, and other riches. And if his forces had bene sufficient to assaile Genoua suddenly by land, as well by sea, considering the feare which had seized vpon the City, it had bene in danger to haue bene lost for the Emperour.

On the other side, *Anthony* of Creguy Lord of Pontdormy, parting from Monstrueil, at such time as the King lay encamped before Pavia, to put victuals into Therouenne, and to try if he could force Neufosse (which was a great trench full of water, that shut vp the valley of Cassel, from Saint Omer vnto Aire, furnished with bulwarke at euery entry with artillery, and well manned, to guard the entries and passages of the said valley, whither they retired all their goods and cattell) he came to Fauquemberg with three hundred men at armes, some twelve hundred foot, and two Culterins. And after the men at armes had fed their horses, hauing put the victuals they had brought into Therouenne, he parred for the execution of his enterprise: and comming to Neufosse before day, hee forced the passage, carrying away an inestimable prey: & passing in his retreat neere to Arques, halfe a league from Saint Omer, he ouerthrew the Garison of the said Saint Omer, which issued forth to succour the valley. In this charge *Eshree* tooke *Licques*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Alfort, who the same day had married his mistress, to whom *Eshree* was likewise a seruant: but with a courtisie neuer enough to be praised, at the request of the new bride, he sent backe his prisoner. Those of Aire and Betune likewise came posting, to the number of eight or nine hundred naturall Spaniards, five or six hundred Wallons, and three hundred horse of their Ordnaunces, and ioyned with the troops of Saint Omer, to stop or hinder the retreat of the French. *Pontdormy* chargeth them, beats backe the horse vpon their Spanish foot, and entring pell-mell, breakes them, slue two hundred and forty, and carried away eight or nine hundred prisoners to Therouenne, all which hee sent backe for a monthes pay, and for hostages retained their Captaines.

More.

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A Morecuiet, *Fiennes* Governour of Flanders, hauing suborned a Souldier of the Garison of Hedin (which had bene taken in the warres) to deliuer him the Castle of Hedin: the souldier aduertised *Pontdormy* of the meanes he had to deliuer into his hands the said Governour, the duke of Alfort, and most of the Noblemen of the Country. The souldier brings this troop at the day appointed. *Pontdormy* is there with two hundred men at armes: and couers bals of wild-fire with straw, in a raelin of stone, where the enemy must passe, into the which those that were about the gate should cast fire, when as they should see a sufficient number of the enemies entred. Men encounter their enemies both by fraud and veritie: but fraud is oftentimes farfall to the author.

B *Pontdormy* hauing his mouth open to speake, the fire was so suddenly cast by him that he had in charge, as entring in at *Pontdormy*'s mouth, it burnt his bowels, whereof he died two dayes after. *Canaples* his Nephew, had his face likewise so burnt, as there remained no forme thereof: so as their enterprise to charge the enemy behind in this disorder, came to nothing. Four score or an hundred Bourguignons being entred within the Raelin were burnt: the rest saved themselves in this amazement, and many were lost in the wood vpon their retreat. But all were not sufficient to repaire the losse of that worthy and valiant man of warre.

The siege of Pavia was continued, when as the Duke of Bourbon bringing five hundred men at armes Bourguignons, and six thousand Lanquenets, the Imperials resolute to succour Pavia, and to that end part from Laude the 25 of Ianuary. The Imperials approach assured the King he should haue battell; and to prouide for it, hee had caused *Tremouille*, whom he had appointed Governour of Milan to come vnto him, leaving *Theodore Triunles* with *Chandieu* within Milan. *Iohn de Medici* with three hundred light-horse, and three thousand foot, was newly come into the Kings pay, and had wonne him many Italian Captaines: amongst which, *Guy* and *Francis* Earles of Rangon, and *Iohn Lewis Palauisn*, brother to him whom *Lantrec* had beheaded at Milan. *Tremouille*, the Marshalls of *Fois* and *Chabannes*, with other Captains of great experience, aduised the King to retire his army from before Pavia, and to encamp in some strong place, whereof there are many in that Country, by reason of the Channels which ouer-flow the meadows. They gaue him to vnderstand, that the enemies army being vnfurnished of money, they should be forced within few dayes to breake, and to put their companies into Garison. That the strangers for want of payment of their money, would make some dangerous mutinie. That the enemies did not maintaine themselves together, but with hope to giue battell: and if they did see the warre prolonged, they would be engaged in many difficulties and confusions. To conclude, it was (say they) exceeding dangerous, to thrust betwixt a Towne defended by five thousand men, and an army that came to succour it, being mighty in numbers of men, in valour and experience.

But all this was to cast oyle into a fire which already flamed. The King will not leaue the siege, and yet will he keepe the enemy from entring into Pavia. He referred (saith the Originall) the government of the army to the Admirall: hee beleueed his counsel, and gave care to *Anne* of Montmorency, and *Philip* Chaubot Lord of Brion, men pleasing vnto him, but not yet of any great experience in matters of war. Morecuiet, he had not that number of men in his army, as they gaue him to vnderstand. The Duke of Albany had led away part of his horse: some remained for the guard of Milan, many were dispersed into townes and villages about. There were but eight hundred Lances in the Campe: and the negligence of his Officers, with the deceit of his Captaines, especially the Italians, abused him, nor furnishing the number of footmen, for the which they receiued pay. But howloever, hee must needs fight. Behold pitifull first-fruits, fore-runners of a generall ouerthrow.

F Two thousand Vallaisans lodged at Saint Sauueur, betwixt S. Landfranc and Pavia. They had fore-runners of an ouerthrow. Within charge them suddenly, and disperse them. *Pyrrhus* brother to *Frederick* of Bosiole, held the Castle of Saint Angelo with two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot. This place lying betwixt Laude and Pavia, stooped the victuals which might be brought from Laude. *Ferdinand* of Aualo approacheth with his Spaniards, takes away the defences, and forceth the garison to yeeld, that *Pyrrhus*, *Antilus* *Cauriane*, and the three sonnes of *Phabus* *Gonzaga* remaining prisoners, all the rest should depart without armes or horses, and for a month should beare no armes against the Emperour. Belioyuse, and then all the

A notable victory
gotten by the
Marquis of
Saluces.

The worthy exploits of
Pontdormy.

Pontdormy
dies.

Sad fore-run-
ning of an
ouerthrow.

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the other places which lay behind them, except S. Colombain, which they had besieged & as no man could issue forth, came into the power of the Imperials.

Moreover, the King caused two thousand Italians to come of those which had maintained the siege of Marfelles. Passing the confines of Alexandria, neere to the river of Vibé, wearied and toyled with the tediousness of the way, *Gaspard Maine* Captaine of Alexandria, chargeth them suddenly, breaks them, and chaſeth them into Chastellat, and there forceth them to yeeld with ſeuentene Enſignes. The like ſucceſſe had *John Lewis Paluſſin*. The King had ſent him to ſurpriſe Cremona, which was guarded onely by five or fix hundred foot. *Sforza* advertiſed that he lodged at Caſſal the great, with foure hundred horſe, and two thouſand foot, ſent *Alexander Bentiuole* with ſome number of horſe, and two thouſand foot, ſuddenly leaued, to Cremona. Too great confidence doth no leſſe prejudice men then feare. *Paluſſin* (holding himſelfe ſtrong enough without attending of *Francis* of Rangon, who came to ioyne with him with three or foure thouſand men) abandons his fort to fight with them, marcheth directly to the enemy, and at the firſt puts *Sforzas* horſemen to flight: but *Bentiuole* coming with his footmē, *John Lewis* was overthrowne in the middeſt of the comba, taken priſoner, and all his men put to rout, which was a great prejudice to the Kings affaires. Behold another diſgrace of no leſſe importance.

John Iaques of Medicis, a Milanois, Captaine of the Caſtle of Muſ, had intelligence, that the Captaine of Chiauenne, a Caſtle vpon the Lake of Como, belonging to the Grifons, hauing no enemy neere to annoy him, went daily to walke without his Fort (the taking of this place was a fit meane to diuert ſix thouſand Grifons, newly come vnto the Kings Camp) *John Iaques* lying one night in ambuſh cloſe to the Caſtle, failed not of his prey, but holding this inſufficient Captaine, he brought him before the gate, with a dagger at his throat ready to ſtab him, if his wife had not let downe the bridge. The gate being open, three hundred men iſſue forth of another ambuſh, ſeize vpon the Caſtle, and ſo on the Towne. The Grifons ſuppoſing that *Medici* had other enterpriſes vpon their places, call home their men, who notwithstanding the ſhame they ſhould purchaſe in forſaking (vpon the point of a battell) a Prince, whoſe pay they had receiued, and to whom they had giuen an oath, returned five dayes before the fight. All theſe difficulties chancing one vpon another, were infallible fore-runners of ſome great diſaſter: which when hee ſees come, he ought carefully to provide for the preſeruation of his Eſtate, or with a firme and conſtant reſolution, try the hazard of a battell. A Commander may lawfully try this laſt remedy: but a King muſt uſe the other.

The two armies approached within halfe a mile: the fore-ward led by the Marſhall of Chabannes, lodged with the Suiſſes at Ronces, in the Suburbs neere to Saint Iuſtins gate: the King at the Monafteries of Saint Paul and Saint James, places of aduantage, neere vnto Paui: the Duke of Alençon at Mirabel with the rereward, ſo as holding Paui girt in of all ſides, the Imperials could not enter, vneſſe they diſſe the River of Tefin or the Parke of Paui. The Imperials lodged at Prati towards Saint Iuſtins gate, and extended vnto Treluere and La Morre, and in a wood by Saint Lazare, ſo neere as they did greatly endamage one another with their Cannon, being diuided onely by a little brooke, which they call Vernicule. The lodging of both armies had in front on their wings, and on the left ſhancke, great rampiers enuironed with trenches, and fortified with baſtions. But the Imperials had this aduantage, being approached ſo neere vnto Paui, as in a day of battell they might be aſſailed by them within the towne. In the meane time *Anthony de Leus* did greatly annoy our men by continual ſallies, and in many ſkirmiſhes had moſt commonly the better.

The 17 of February, *John de Medicis* was reuenged of a diſgrace which his troops had receiued by a former ſally, laid a bait for them of the towne, ſeconded with a double ambuſh, the one in the trenches neere vnto the towne, the other farther off. The Spaniards drawne on by their former victories, purſuing them which had charged, they diſcouer the fartheſt ambuſh, and beganne to retire, when as the neerer cutting off their way, puts them all the ſword. But this ſmall victory did greatly prejudice the generall. *John de Medicis* had the bone of his heele broken with a ſhot, and was caried into Placentia. His troops were ſo diſperſed after his hurt, as the army was diminished about two thouſand, and his abſence did coole his ſouldiers courage and heat in ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults: for he

was

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A was a great ſouldier, and the good ſucceſſe of a battell doth partly depend vpon the preſence of ſuch perſonages.

The Imperials had no more meanes to maintain themſelues within their Fort, want of money had ſoone driuen them forth: yet they conſidered that by their retreat, Paui would be loſt, and they were out of hope to preferue the reſt, which remained in the Duchy of Milan. To aſſaile the French within their lodging, were a dangerous and vaine attempt. Alſo the enemies reſolution was not to giue battell, vneſſe ſome aduantage were offered them, but onely to retire their men that were within Paui, and to man it with freſh troopes, the which they could not do without paſſing in view of the French Campe.

B They therefore prepare themſelues to two effects, either to execute their deſigne, or to fight if the King iſſuing out of his fort would ſtop their paſſage.

The night before S. Matthias day, the 25 of February, the day of the Emperor *Charles* ^{Battell of Paui} his Natiuity, they diſquiet and tire our men with many falſe alarms, and make two ſquadrons of horſe, and foure of foot. The firſt vnder the command of the Marquis of Guſt, conſiſting of ſix thouſand Lanſquenets, Spaniards, and Italians. The ſecond vnder the Marquis of Peſcara. The third and fourth of Lanſquenets, led by the Viceroy and Duke of Bourbon. They come to the Parke wall, caſt downe about threeſcore ſadome, enter within it, and take the way to Mirabel, leaving the Kings armie vpon their left hand.

The artillery planted in a place of aduantage, doth much endamage their battalions, C and forceth them to run into the valley for ſhelter. Here impatient transports the King. He ſees the enemy diſordered, and thinks they are amazed: moreover, hee had intelligence, that the Duke of Alençon had defeated ſome Spaniards that would haue paſſed on the right hand, and had taken from them foure or ſiue Cannons. Thus the King, loſing his aduantage, ſeekes his enemies, and paſſing before his owne Cannon, hinders their execution. The Imperials deſired nothing more, then to haue the King out of his fort, and to be couered from his artillery. They now turn head againſt him which was directed to Mirabel. The King (ſupported with a battalion of his Suiſſes, being his chiefe ſtrength) marched directly againſt the Marquis of Saint Ange, who led the firſt of the horſemen, overthrowes them, kills many, and the Marquis himſelfe. But, oh villany! The Suiſſes D inſtead of charging a Battalion of the Emperors Lanſquenets, which did ſecond their men at armes they whele about, and goe to ſaue themſelues at Milan. The Marquis of Peſcara came to charge the King with his battalions; *Francis* brother to the Duke of Lorraine, and the Duke of Norfolk, who led about ſiue thouſand Lanſquenets, marched reſolutely againſt him, but they are ſuddenly inuironed with two great battalions of Germans, defeated and cut in peeces: the Suiſſes thus retired, the Lanſquenets loſt the whole burthen of the battell lay vpon the King, ſo as in the end, being hurt in the leg, face, and hand, his horſe ſlaine vnder him, charged on all ſides, defending himſelfe vnto the laſt gaspe, he yeeded vnto the Viceroy of Naples, who kiſſing his hand with great reuerence, receiued him as priſonour to the Emperor.

E At the ſame inſtant the Marquis of Guſt had defeated the horſe that were at Mirabel, and *Anthony de Leus* iſſuing out of Paui, charged our men behinde. Thus (ſeeing the pitifull eſtate of the Kings perſon) all giue way, all ſecke to ſaue themſelues by flight. The Duke of Alençon ſeeing no hope of recouerie, preferres the rereward in a manner whole, and paſſeth che riuier of Tefin. The Varr-guard (for a time) maintained the fight, but in the end it ſhrunk by the death of the Marſhall of Chabannes. This day deprived vs of a great number of the chiefeſt Noblemen of France, among the which the Marſhall of Chabannes and Foix, the Admiral of Bonniuet, *Lewis* of Tremouille, about threeſcore and fiftene yeares old, (a worthy bed for ſo valiant a Nobleman, whoſe counſell deſerued to be followed) *Galas* of Saint Seurin Maſter of the horſe, *Francis* of Lorraine, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earle of Tonnerre, *Chamont* ſonne to the great Maſter of Amboiſe, *Buſſy* of Amboiſe, the Baron of Buzancois, *Beaupreau* *Marſin* the chiefe Quirre of the Kings Stable, and about 8000 men. The Baſtard of Sauoy, Lord Steward of France died of his wounds, being priſoner. There were taken *Henry* K. of Nauarre, the Earle of S. Paul, *Lewis* of Neuars, *Fleuranges* ſonne to *Robert de La Marke*, the Marſhall of Monmorancy, *Lanal*, *Brion*, *Lorges*, *La Rochepot*, *Monteſau*, *Annebaſt*, *Imbercourt*, *Frederick* of Boſſole, *La Roche du Maine*, *La Maileray*, *Montpeſat*, *Buſſy*, *Cuſton*, *Lancey*, and many others. Of the enemy there died about 700, few men of marke beſides the Marquis of Saint Ange.

D d d

Triumlee

The King of
England's
alliance to the
French King
being a prison-
ner.

The Emperors
unreasonable
demands.

The Kings
reasonable
offers.

Triandus, and *Chandion*, who remained at Milan, aduertised of the ruine of their Armie, returned with their men into France, so as the very day of the Battaille, all the Duchie of Milan was freed from the French Forces. The next day the King was led to the Castle of Piqueton, vnder the guard of Capitaine *Alarcon*, alwaies intreated according to the dignity of a royall person, but so far-forth as the quality of a prisoner would permit. The Duke of Albanie was farre engaged in the realme of Naples, and all passages by land were by this disgrace stoppt. To draw him out of danger, the Regent, Mother to the King, giuing order for the affaires of the Realme, sent *Andrew Doria* General of the Kings Gallies vnto him, with *La Fayette* the Viceadmirall being at Marfeilles: who (without any losse of men, but of some scoutes, chased by the Colonois euen to the very gates of Rome) returned safely into France. The estate seemed now neare a shipwracke, as well by the imprisonment of the head, as by the death of many worthy personages, who might haue serued greatly in the preservation thereof. But God by many corrections would often chastise France, but neuer ruine it. And now touching the King of England (who was then ready to imbarke for Calais) he suddenly changeth his hatred into loue, so as growing ialous of the Emperours exceeding greatnesse, the Regent, hauing intreated him by *Iohn Iachin* a Geneuois, her Ambassador, to giue care to some middle treaty, rather then to invade the Estate of a captiue Prince: hee promisseth all succours both of men and money for the Kings deliuey, and without any demand of restitution for his charges he dismisseth his armie.

In the meane time, the Emperour aduiseeth in Councell, what course hee should hold with the King. The Bishop of Osmie, the Emperours Confessor, is commended to haue aduised him to shew a brotherly loue, and to let him free, referring this notable victory to the expresse will of God: shewing that the chiefe vse thereof should bee the peace of Christendome, threatned with a total ruine by the Turkish armies, whereof wee shall soone see fatal effects. But the aduice of *Fredericke* Duke of Alba, a man of great authority with the Emperour, was of more force. Hee yielded to the Kings libertie, but with so excessive conditions, as it might haue bene the meanes for *Charles* to lay the foundation of an absolute Monarchy in Christendome.

According to this aduice, he sent the Earle of Reux, his Lord Steward, to offer the Kings liberty, so as he would resigne all the rights he pretended in Italy: restore the Duchie of Bourgongne, as belonging to him by right, with Prouence and Dauphiné for the Duke of Bourbon, to incorporate them with other lands which he had formerly enioyed, and to make all together a kingdom. Moreover, the Emperour offered to giue him his sister in marriage, propounding many other conditions, so absurd and void of reason, as it is better to let the curious read them in the Originals themselves. Amongst all losses, that of liberty toucheth nearest: but our *Francis* hauing learned to withstand all aduersity with a constant resolution, I will die (said he) a prisoner, rather then make any breach in my realme for my deliuerance: whereof I neither will nor can alienate any part without the consent of the foueraigne Courts and Officers, in whose hands remains the authority of the whole realme. We prefer the generall good before the private interest of Kings persons. If the Emperour will treat with me, let him demand reasonable things, which are in my power, then shall he finde me ready to ioyne with him, and to fauor his greatnesse. And to redeeme his liberty with honour, and his subiects content, who wonderfully desired his enlargement, he then offered, To marie his said sister, widow to the King of Portugal, and to hold Bourgongne for her dowry, the which should belong to the children that should come of this marriage: to resigne his interest to the Realm of Naples and the Duchy of Milan: to accompany the Emperour with an army both by land and sea, when he should go to Rome to receive the Imperiall Crown. Was not this properly to giue him all Italy in prey? To yeeld vnto the Duke of Bourbon his offices, lands, and mouables confiscated, and the reuenues received by reason of this seizure, and to giue him to wife the Duchesse of Alancón his sister, newly a widow by the death of the Duke of Alancón, in stead of *Eleanor*, the widow of Portugal, which had bene promised him: to content the King of England with money: and to pay what summes of money should be set down for his ransom.

Hereupon the Earle of S. Paul, hauing corrupted his guards, escaped out of prison, and ioyntly with the Earle of Vaudemont, and the Marquis of Salusses, treated by the meanes

of

A of *Francis* Earle of Pontrefme, with certaine Princes and Captaines of Italy, to slay the King from being transported out of the Duchy of Milan, hoping that the Potentates of Italy (feareing lest the Emperour should seeke to supplant them) would seeke his Maiesties deliuey with their common forces. And the Venetians being now aduertised of the reconciliation of the English with the King, retired themselves from their league with the Emperour. But the Viceroy discouering these practices, gaue the King to vnderstand, that he had commandement from the Emperour to passe him into Spaine, that being there, their maiesties by a gracious and fauourable enteruie, would easily conclude a peace, which should cause his liberty. So the King vnderstanding that the Duke of Bourbon pursued his marriage in Spaine with *Eleanor*, yeelded to this passage, hoping hee would rather desire to marie a King of France, then a Prince dis-inherited. They imbarke the seauenth of Iune, and within few daies after (the Emperour hauing commanded, that hee should be receiued, with all the honour that might be, as he passed) they arriue happily in Castile: the King was lodged at Madril, a place of hunting and pleasure, but farre from the Sea, or the confines of France.

The King trans-
ported into
Castile.

The Emperour would not admit the King to his presence, before the accord were made, or in such termes, as there were no doubt thereof: for the aduancing whereof a truce was concluded vntill the end of December, during the which *Catherine* the Kings sister, Duchesse of Alancón, came with a large Commission into Castile, to treat with the Emperour. Her arriual was very pleasing and healthfull to the King: who finding him so sicke, as few men hoped for his recovery, she did more reuiue him then all the Physicians art. But hauing found the Emperour (who was come to visit the sicke King) constant in his vnreasonable demands, especially for the restitution of Bourgongne, whereunto the King would not yeeld, but vpon the former condition, or that they might trie it by law, to whom it belonged; and seeing that the King had recovered his former health, shee returned into France leauing with the Emperour, the Archbishop of Ambrun, afterwards Cardinal of Tournon, and *Iohn de Selue*, chiefe President at Paris, to pursue the treaty begun, bringing with her an ample declaration from the King, whereby (resigning vpon his crowne) he gaue her power to inuest the Dauphin his Son, the King remaining resolute, rather to continue in perpetual prison, then to pass any thing to the prejudice of his realme.

But the Emperour seeing the King constant in this resolution, in the end yeelded to his Maiesties deliuey, whereof we will set downe the most important points: That within six weekes after his deliuey, he should consigne the Duchie of Bourgongne to the Emperour; and with all the dependances, as well of the Duchy, as of the Countie, the which should hereafter be sequestred from the Soueraignty of the realme of France. That at the very instant of his enlargement, they should deliuer into the Emperours hands, the Dauphin, and with him the Duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne; or twelue of the chiefe Noblemen of France such as the Emperour should name, to remaine as hostages, vntill the restitution of the said lands, and satisfaction of the peace, with all the Articles, by the generall Estates of the realme: and vpon the restoring of the Hostages, they should deliuer vnto the Emperour the Earle of Angoulesme, the Kings third sonne, to be bred vp with him, the better to assure and maintaine the peace. That hee should resigne vnto the Emperour, all his rights pretended to the Estates of Naples, Milan, Genoua, and Aft: That he should quit the Soueraignty of Flanders and Arthois; and should marie *Eleanor*, sister to the said Emperour, with two hundred thousand crownes dowry, and Jewells fit for her estate; and the Emperour should renounce all his pretensions to any place belonging to the Crowne of France, especially to Peronne, Montdidier, Roye, Bologne, Pontieu, & other Seigneuries, lying on either side the Riuer of Somme. Without doubt these were hard conditions and beyond all the bounds of reason. But the King being a prisoner, guarded, and not his owne man, of what validity could they bee in law? It was therefore in his power to redeeme his Children by money. These be the fruits the Spaniards would gather by his victory, to teach the French not to fall againe into their hands. The iudicious Reader may consider whether they be growne wife by their owne losse.

Then the King and Emperour did visit one another againe, with great demonstrations of loue: they shewed themselves together in publicke places, had often, long, and secret discourses, they went in one Carosse together, to see *Queene Eleanor*, to whom the King was made sure. But for that in the midst of all these shewes of loue, the King was at

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"The King
for arch-
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no more liberty then before, but more carefully guarded: who would not haue held this A accord to be full of discord, this alliance without loue; and the most part of the articles extorted by force, would bring forth the fruits of their ancient jealousies? A lesson for Princes that be victors, to containe themselves within the limits of reason; for, what-soeuer is forced by violence, is not durable. Some daies were spent in these actions: then the King was conducted to Fontarabie, where exchange was made of his maiesty, with his two sonnes being yet very young. At Bayonne the Ambassadors of Charles demanded the ratification of the treaty which the King should giue at his entry into the realme; but he could not alienate the Bourguignons without their consent, and therefore hee answers, that he will shortly assemble the Estates of the country, to know their mindes. B Let vs see then what followed, and begin somewhat higher.

After they had transported the King into Castile, Francis Sforza fearing lest the Emperor should retaine the Duchy of Milan to himselfe, together with the excessive summe of twelue hundred thousand Ducats, which he demanded for the expences hee had made in the conquest, and defence of the said estate; considering also, that part of the Spaniards were gone into Spaine with the Vice-roy, part were with the Duke of Bourbon, many laden with spoile were retired into diuers places; and the Marquis of Pescara was in bad termes with the Viceroy: he perswaded himselfe, that the rest of the troops might be easily overcome, if the Marquis would giue his consent. Sforza therefore by the aduice of Jerome Moron his Chancellor, did sound the Marquis his minde; hee pro- C pounded vnto him to cut in pieces those companies which remained within the Estate of Milan, and to make him King of Naples, if the Pope and the Venetians would agree. A sufficient spur to prick forward an ambitious man. The Pope did not dislike it, the Venetians shewed themselves most affectionate, all ioyntly doe malice the greatnesse of Charles. The Marquis at the first gaue care vnto them, but hauing discovered the whole practice to the Emperor, and growing suspect vnto the rest, hauing accepted the Lieutenancy of Lombardy of the Emperor, hee publicly put in execution what hee had in charge, to prevent these imminent dangers, as he should thinke most fit. And first hee seized vpon Moron (whom he made to confesse all the conspiracy, charging Duke Sforza, as culpable and consenting to all that had passed) he made him to resigne vnto him Cre- D mona, Tressle, Lecque, and Piqueton, the Keies of the Duchy of Milan, hee forced the Milanois to take the oath of fealty vnto the Emperor, and Sforza to shut himselfe into the Castle of Milan. But when as the Marquis had reduced him to all extremities, death takes him away before he could enjoy the fruits of his malice. The Duke of Bourbon did succeed after him.

The Marquis
of Pescara dies.

A league
against the
Emperour.

There was great likelihood, that the Emperor being in quiet possession of the estate of Milan, all the rest, especially the Pope (lying betwixt Lombardy & the realme of Naples) would remaine in prey. To prevent Charles his attempts (who made shew to inuett the D. of Bourbon in the Duchy of Milan, if Sforza were found guilty of the crime, whereof they accused him) a league was made at Cognac, betwixt the Pope, the Kings of France E and England, the Venetians, Florentines, and Swisses, for the common liberty of Italy, and the restoring of Francis Sforza to the Duchy of Milan, being besieged as we haue said.

This league was signified by the King to the Viceroy of Naples, to the Duke of Traieto, and to Alarcon, whom the Emperor had sent, to be fully satisfied of the Kings in- tent, who, excusing himselfe that he could not performe his promise for the alienation of Bourgonne, as very preiudiciall to the Crowne; hee offered to accomplish all the rest, and for the ransom of his children to pay two Millions of crownes. According to this treaty, the Pope sends to field eight hundred men at armes, seven hundred light horse, and eight thousand foot, vnder the charge of Gni Earle of Rangon, and Iohn de Medicis. Co- lonell of the Italian foot. The Venetians sent eight hundred men at armes, a thousand F light horse, & eight thousand foot, commanded by Francis Maria D. of Vrbin. Laude was the first object of their armes, the which by the intelligence of Lodowike Vislarin, a Gentleman of that town, they surpris'd from 1500 Neopolitans, whom the Marquis of Guast & Anthony de Lena had lodged there, vnder the charge & command of Fabricio Maraman.

These happy beginnings should haue made the heads of the league to haue proceeded in their course speedily, and valiantly. By the taking of Laude the way was open euen to the Gates of Milan: the enemy had no more meanes to succour Cremona, and if they

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A they had speedily aduanced towards Milan, they had found them in great perplexity and confusion: the Citizens oppressed by the tyrannicall yage of the Spaniards, breathed nothing but rebellion; but the Duke of Vrbin, terrified with the very name of Spaniards, marching slowly like an Abbot, and staying a whole day in euery lodging, to attend the Swisses, without which he thought it dangerous to approach neere Milan, by his slow and faint proceeding, he caused an irreparable losse and blemish to his owne reputation, and to his masters! For hauing by his long delays, giuen the Duke of Bourbon leasure to en- ter into Milan, with eight hundred Spaniards, before the Army of the league could ap- B proach, the souldiers of Milan resumed courage, charged the Artillery in the night, and B terrified the Duke, as he presently retired his Army, desiring rather, said he, to repaire the forepassed error, then to persist in it, seeing they had approached so neere Milan, contrary to his opinion, where expecting no resistance he knew that a longer aboad would wholly ruine the league. He trembled for feare at the report of the Spanish forces, and yet would make shew as though he had to deale with men made of snow, who without striking stroake would suffer him to reape the fruits of his pretended victory. So the Duke retired to Marignan, being resolute, not to dislodge vntill he were fortified with twelue thousand Swisses: without doubt a hundred thousand men cannot assure a fearful minde. It was a foule error, at the beginning of a long and dangerous voyage. The Im- perials freed from this army, repaired the Rampiers and Bulwarks of the Suburbs, dis- armed the people, thrust forth such as were suspect, and lodged the Souldiers in the Ci- zens houses: who insulung ouer their hostes, as in a towne of conquest, forced them to furnish victuals, cloaths, and money, abused their wiues and daughters, compelled ser- uants to discover their masters wealth being hidden; to conclude, they practised all acts of inhumanity, which licentiousnes doth commonly breed in this nation being a conqueror.

Being thus oppressed, they repaire to the Duke of Bourbon, being newly arriued, and with pittifull complaints, teares, and lamentations, they beseech him to ease their miseries. The Duke (after he had imputed the causes of these insolencies to the want of pay for the army) promised to lodge them else-where, so as they would prouide thirty thousand crownes, for the entertainment of one moneth: and the better to countenance his pro- D mise, he wished, *In case that euer any extortion were committed, that he might be slain with a Harquebuse, at the first enterprize he should be at.* A prayer which wee shall soone see take effect. The money was gathered, but the people finding no fruits of his promise, the pitifull estate of the multitude being spoiled, nothing mollifying the cruell insoleny of these barbarous souldiers, many not knowing to whom to haue recourse, cast themselves head-long from the tops of their houses, many hanged themselves, many ended both their liues and miseries, by other horrible and strange kinds of voluntary torments.

Francis Sforza was at this instant ready to yeeld vp the Castle, when as the confede- rates, fortified with five thousand Swisses, newly arriued, drew the Duke of Vrbin a se- cond time before Milan: but this was to make a second discovery of his indiscretion and E cowardise, for being still ready to number his souldiers, possessed with a strange feare, and seeking rather meanes to flie then to fight, Sforza, prest by famine and want of courage in the Duke of Vrbin, yeelded vp the Castle of Milan, to the Duke of Bourbon, the 24 of Iuly, and retired himselfe to the confederates, who put Laude into his hands. Then the Kings army arriued, lead by Michael Anthonie Marquis of Saluces, consisting of foure hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, and foure thousand Gascons; and within few daies after, the twelue thousand Swisses, leauied in the Kings name, encouraged the Duke of Vrbin to returne towards Milan, where leauing part of his men at Armes, the Popes troops, and the forelaid Swisses, he went with the Venetian foot to fortifie Ma- lase Baillon, who with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horse, and eight F thousand foot, besieged Cremona, and so prest it, as they yeelded by composition, the which was likewise deliuered vnto Sforza.

Euery one hath his tunc, saith the Prouerbe: the Pope had bene the principall au- thor of the Kings sending the Duke of Albany into the estate of Naples, and now he sollicitis his confederates againe to inuade the realme, supposing things could not succeed happily if the Emperor were no where else encountered, but in the Duchy of Milan. But whilst he seeks to fire and burne his neighbours house, it falls vpon his owne head. Ill counsell is commonly dangerous to the giuer. All these warres had bene plotted in the

The miserable
estate of Milan.

The second
siege of Milan.

The Castle of
Milan yeelded.

Cremona ta-
ken by the con-
federates.

1526

The Colonnes capitulate with the Pope.

Rome surprised.

Milan relieved by Lanquenets.

John de Medicis dies.

Councell at Rome, was it not reason he should reape what he had sowne? The Pope A yrged his confederates to send a part of their Sea-forces into the Realme of Naples; which consisted of foure Gallions, and sixtence Gallies for the King, thirteene Gallies for the Venetians, and eleven for the Pope, ouer all the which Peter of Nauarre was appointed Generall at the Kings instance, notwithstanding the Popes pursuite in fauour of Andrew Doria, whom he had entertained. The Colonnes, vnable to resist such forces, did cunningly strike faile, and to busie the Pope vnuill the Vice-royes returne from Spaine with the armie at Sea, they did capitulate with him the two and twentieth of August. To retire their troopes to Naples, with the which they did molest the territories of the Church; and on the other side the Pope should remit all offences past, and renoue the monitory which he had published against Cardinall Colonne. This reconciliation made the Pope in a manner to dismisle all the horie and foot, which he maintained vpon the territories of the Church, against the Colonnes, and to disperse the rest into towas about Rome, growing cold in his designe to invade Naples.

The Colonnes cared not to wrong the Pope with the preiudice of their honour, but hauing no meanes to make open warre against him, they straine all their wits to circumuent him by fraud. Fayning therefore to suppress Agnane, defended by two hundred men in the Popes name, they flic with all speed to Rome the twentieth of September, with eight hundred horie and three thousand foot, they seize vpon three gates, sacke the Popes Palace, and the ornaments of Saint Peters Church. There were present in person Ascanius Colonne, Don Hugues de Moncade, Vispassian, sonne to Prosper Colonne (the mediator of the accord, and who had plighted his faith, for himselfe and the rest.) Cardinall Pompee Colonne, so far transported (saith the Originall) with ambition and fury, as hauing conspired to put the Pope cruelly to death, hee had resolved to force the Cardinals to make choise of himselfe, and to install him in the chaire being vacant. The Pope in the beginning grew resolute, like vnto Boniface the eighth, when he was surprised by Sarre Colonne, but in the end conuired by the Cardinals that were about him, he retired himselfe into the Castle of Saint Angelo, where Don Hugues hauing receiued the Popes oath, and the Cardinals, Gibo and Redolphe his Cousins, for hostages of his safety, capitulating with him in teermes of a Conqueror, he forced the Pope to promise, To retire the army of the League out of the Estate of Milan, and not to give any succours to the Confederates for foure Moneths.

Times for punishments are noted in the Councell of Gods diuine prouidence, who meant to giue two notable strokes with one stone, as wee shall shortly see. This truce was wonderfully commodious for the Emperors affaires. Milan had bene vanquished at length: Genoua oppressed by the Confederates army at Sea, cryed out for bread; and the small store of victuals which came by land, did but keepe them in breath for some few daies. But behold two great effects diuerted by the coming of George Fronsperg, who knowing the extremity of Gasper his sonne, Colonell of the Lansquenets, which were within Milan, hauing stirred the Germans, with hope to enrich themselves with the spoile E of Italy: he led a good number of horie, and foureene thousand Lansquenets, who receiving euery man a crowne, followed him to the succour of Milan. The Marquis of Saluffes, and the Duke of Vibin, aduertised of these succours, abandon the siege of Milan, with an intent to cut off their victuals, and to charge them at the passage of some river. But the Dukes accustomed delaies had giuen Fronsperg leasure to assure himselfe of the field, so as the league could no way annoy him but by light skirmishes: in one of the which John de Medicis hauing his thigh broken with a faucon shot, retired to Mantoua, and there died, within few daies. This death was an absolute victory to the aduerser party, for he was young, wife, and a valiant Captaine. Laude and Cremona did cut off the victuals from Milan, and the Duke of Bourbon being freed from the siege, hauing no more meanes to maintaine his army, after he had by strapadoes and other tortures wrsted some money from the Citizens to pay his Spaniards, he left Anthony de Lena in the Citie, and entred the territories of the Church, with an intent to possesse Placentia. To prevent him the Marquis of Saluffes (leaving the Duke of Vibin in field) put himselfe into it, so as the Duke of Bourbon (seeing the towne well manned, and the Venetian armie to follow him) left Placentia, and by the Duke of Ferrarces aduice (whom the Emperour had won vnto him) being ioyned with Fronsperg, he marched directly towards Rome.

The

1527

The Duke of Bourbon flaine.

Rome sacked.

A The Pope (to be requenged of the outrage receiued by the Colonnes) called the Earle of Vaudemont, brother to the Duke of Lorraine, issued from the House of Anjou, (a House greatly desired by the ancient partisans thereof) to the Realme of Naples. The Earle accompanied by Range de Cere, with about ten thousand foot, and some horie, entering into the Realme, had taken Aquila, Salerne, and many other places, chased Don Hugues de Moncade, and raised the siege of Frefelon, which the Imperials had besieged, when as the Vice-roy of Naples required of the Pope in the Emperors name a surcease from armes. The Pope had no money to maintaine so long and heauy a burthen of the warre, then were greater difficulties in the enterprise of Naples then hee expected, the King did not seeme willing to make warre out of Italy, as he had promised in the articles of their Capitulation; neither did he furnish, besides his part of forty thousand crownes a moneth for the common warre, the twenty thousand which he ought euery moneth for the expedition of Naples; the French gallies were so ill furnished both with men and munition, as they remained fruitlesse at Sauonne, not attempting any thing: the succours of the King of England were farre off, and vncertaine; the tedious and variable proceeding of the Duke of Vrbin did vex him, the approach and threats of the Imperiall army at the gates of Rome, did amaze him: All these considerations made him conclude a truce with the Vice-roy for eight moneths, whereby either party called backe his men speedily, deliuered up the places taken, and caused the army at sea to retire. This was another meanes to lull the Pope alleepe a litle before his ruine.

C For threecore thousand ducats which Pope Clement had giuen in regard of this truce, were not sufficient to satistie two payes due to the Duke of Bourbons Lansquenets: the Germanes and Spaniards gaped greedily after the sacke of Rome, which had bene long promised them. The truce did nothing stay them from shewing all acts of hostility, they spoiled the Countries of Bologna and Romagna, and then camped before Rome, the next day, the duke of Bourbon causing a furious assault to be giuen, marching in the head of his troops, with a ladder in his hand, was slaine with a Harquebus shot. Philibert of Chalons, Prince of Orange (who marched besides him) to conceale it from the souldiers, caused his bodie to be couered with a cloake, and following with the charge hotly, he forced the suburbs D and the City. The victors entering, put about foure thousand men to the sword. It is to be beespoffed, the slaughter had bene greater, if the death of their General had bene knowne: they spoile friend and foe indifferently, Prelats, Temples, Monasteries, and reliques. They ransome both secular and religious men. They sacke the Cardinals Palaces (except such as had redeemed their goods, and such as were fled into their houses) with exceeding summes of money. And which is worse, many being spoiled by the Spaniards, were siceced againe by the Lansquenets, being seasoned for the most part with Luthers doctrine, and by consequence passionate enemies to the Sea of Rome. To conclude, Rome is subiect to all the inolenencies of a conquered towne which they meane to ruine.

E The Pope besieged in his Castle of Saint Angelo, sent for the Vice-roy of Naples, hoping that he would make him some better composition. But coming to Rome, he found the Imperials nothing pleased with his government, who had chosen the Prince of Auranques for their General, with whom the Pope (voyd of all hope of succours) agreed the sixt day of Iune: To pay vnto the army foure hundred thousand ducats, a fourth part presently, the rest at sundry termes: to remaine prisoner with thirteene Cardinals that did accompany him, vntill the first hundred and fifty thousand were payd, and then to goe to Naples, or to Caiete, to attend how the Emperour would dispose of them: To giue in hostage for assurance of the money, the Archbishops of Siponte and Pisa, the Bishops of Pistonia and Verona, Iames Saluati, Simon Ricafoli, and Laurence brother to the Cardinall Rodolphe: To deliuer into the Emperours hands (to hold so long as he pleased) the Castle of Saint Angelo, the forts of Ofia, Civita-vecchia, and Civita-Castellana, with the Cities of Placentia, Parma and Modena. The Accord being made, Marcon entred the Castle with three Companies of Spaniards, and three of Lansquenets, lodging the Pope very feardly, and with small libertie.

This insolent and hard proceeding against the Pope, to the scandall of all Christendome, caused the Kings of France and England to make warre in Italy at their common charge, to free the Pope and his Cardinals being besieged both with warre and pestilence, and

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A new league
against the
Emperour.

and to restore him to the possessions of the Church: the King of England contributing A for his part three score thousand Angels a moneth: and to confirme the league betwixt the King and the Venetians, they promised to entertain ten thousand Swisses in common, the Kings furnishing the first pay, and they the second, and so consequently. The Duke of Milan with the Venetians should likewise entertain ten thousand Italians. *Odet of Foix* Earle of Lautrec was made General of the whole army, and passed the Alpes with a leaue of six thousand horse, six thousand Lanquenets, ten thousand French and Gascons, and ten thousand Swisses. Then *Andrew Doria* was entertained by the King with eight galleys, giving him thirte thousand crownes pay every moneth.

Before they came to open warre, the two Kings sent ioyntly to the Emperour, to demand the Popes enlargement; the restitution of the children of France, with an offer of two millions of crownes for their ranfome, the preservation of the Estates and Governements of Italy; and finally, a general peace, which the Emperour accepting, the Duke of Orleans should marrie with the daughter of England: but hauing refused the articles, they did sweare and solemnly proclaim their league the eight day of August. The expectation of *Lautrecs* forces was great, and the confusions of the Imperiall army great, being dispersed by the plague about Rome, and so diminished, as there scarce remained ten thousand men of all the Emperours forces.

Lautrec had no sooner set footing in the marches of Lombardy, but hauing intelligence that the Earle of Lodron had sent two thousand Lanquenets to Bosco, in the territories C of Alexandria, hee beleaguered them, battered it night and day, and the tenth day of the siege forced them to yeeld at his discretion, who keeping the Captaines prisoners, dismissed the souldiers; but vpon condition that the Spaniards should returne into Spaine, through France, and the Lanquenets into Germany, through Suisseerland: but these were afterwards receiued into the Kings seruice, vnder the Earle of Vaudemont. Colonel of the Lanquenets. This small victory was the fore-runner of another of greater importance. *Andrew Doria* General of the Kings Gallies, made hot warres against the Genouois, so as no ship durst goe to sea along the river of Genoua: and *Cesar Fregose* aduerted by his friends that were within Genoua, of the great scarcity of victuals which did presse the inhabitants, being sent by *Lautrec*, With two thousand men by land, hee kept D them so short, as in few dayes there was neither corne nor cattell for the inhabitants. The belly is an importune solicitor, especially when many mouthes cry for meat. The Genouois had no more hope of helpe, but in hazzarding some galleys to sea. They arme some, and send them out by chance to seeke victuals, foure laden with corne were taken by the French galleys, foure returned fraught with corne, and one with other merchandize; and nine were gone forth of Genoua to waite them, when as hauing newes of *Fregoses* approach, they abandon their galleys to goe to charge him. In the meane time *Andrew Doria* arriues, he compasseth in these galleys in the port of Genoua, burnes one, and takes all the rest, whilest the Genouois (hauing ouerthrowne the first they encountered) chased them so far, as they being cut off by the French betwixt the towne and them, they were all defeated, and *Gabriel* Earle of Martineuque their General taken prisoner. This misfortune, with sundry other crosses and losses of money and diuers ships, the famine hauing brought them to the last extremity, reduced the towne to the Kings obedience, whereof *Lautrec* made *Theodore Trinnice* Gouvernor.

The losse of the Lanquenets had wonderfully daunted them of Alexandria, so as although *Alberic* of Bel-iouense had somewhat reuiued them with a supply of a thousand men, yet the rough and continuall battery of *Lautrec*, forced the Earle of Lodron to enter into composition, whereby the Lanquenets departed with their baggage, taking an oath not to cary armes against the King, nor his allies for six months. The taking hereof brought *Vigueu*, with all the Country of Lomeline and Biagras to the Kings obedience. *Anthony F de Lena* had not within Milan about a hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Lanquenets and Spaniards, being ready to abandon the towne (doubting to bee vnable to defend it, with so few men, and so many difficulties) and to retire to Paui. But *Paui* was ill victualled; and moreover, his army could not liue there vpon extortion and spoile, as it had done at Milan. He therefore sends *Lodowike* of Bel-iouense to *Paui*, and two thousand five hundred men, and resolues himselfe to defend Milan. *Lautrec* followes him, and besiegeth it on the Castle side, and the Venetians on the other part: he makes a breach, and

Genoue yeelded to the King.

Alexandria taken.

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Paui taken,

A and takes the towne at the second assault, he leaues it eight dayes in spoile to the souldiers, and leads away *Bel-iouense* (who lately for a quarrell with *Fredericke* of Bossole, had forsaken the King) prisoner to Genoua. All which places according to the treaty were restored to *Francis Sforza*. Milan wauered, the confederates did sollicite the taking thereof. But it was thought good to leaue this thorne in the Venetians feet and *Sforzas*, for being both freed from feare of the Emperour, (who hauing this passage stoppt, should draw no succours out of Germanie) would haue bene lesse affected to fauour the King in his enterprise of Naples. Moreover, it was a meanes for the King to make a more easie treatie of peace with the Emperour, of whom (leaving the Estate of Milan) he might with more ease obtaine the liberty of his children, according to the treaty with the Emperour, by the Ambassadors of France, England, and Venice. But the King desiring that *Sforza* should still stand in need of helpe, gaue the Emperour meanes to speake bigger. He was of a great spirit, and neuer daunted in aduersity. He protests, that neither loue nor force shall make him to alter any of the conditions before propounded: and his proud demands make proofe, that he had no inclination to peace. As the Venetians and *Sforza* laboured to stay the French forces in Lombardy, so the Pope pressed them to driue the Imperiall army out of the territories of the Church. He therefore passeth the riuer of Po, the 18 of October, with an intent to attend the rest of the Lanquenets, commanded by the Earle of Vaudemont, which were not yet arriued, to be in the Swisses place, being for the most part retired.

Lautrec had no sooner turned his backe, but *Anthony de Lena* came and recouered Biagras, the eighteenth day of the said moneth, and prepared to passe into Lomeline to take *Vigueu* and *Nouarre*: but *Lautrec* aduerted of this attempt, sends backe *Peter* of *Nauarre* with six thousand French foot, and some men at armes, who chased the Spaniard into Milan, and seised *Sforza* in Biagras.

The Lanquenets being arriued, *Lautrec* tooke the way to Placentia, where the Duke of Ferrara (it may be) well pleased to see the Pope, against whom he had beene long incensed, receiue some disgrace, leauing the Imperials, ioynd in league with the King, and therwas concluded the marriage of *Hercules* his eldest sonne with *René* the youngest daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. The Marquis of Mantoua, a friend to the strongest, did likewise ioyne with the confederates.

The Emperour then foreseeing, that the inuasion of the Realme of Naples by *Lautrec*, would force him to call backe his forces which he had in the territories of the Church, he sent his Commission to let the Pope at liberty, which done, after many treaties he agreed, the last of October, To attempt nothing against the Emperour, neither for the Estate of Milan, nor the Realme of Naples: To pay three hundred and fifty thousand ducats, that is, three score thousand presently to the Lanquenets, and thirty five thousand to the Spaniards, the like summe within fiftene dayes, and the rest three moneths after.

The Pope to free himselfe from prison, fled to those remedies, which he had before his E restraint neglected, he made Cardinals for money, the most of them (saith the History) being unworthy of so great an honour. Necessary it was that the Court of Rome should thus be disgraced, that they might meddle lesse in worldly affaires, and looke to their spiritual duties. The tenth of December was come, when as the Spaniards should conduct the Pope to a place of safety, but knowing the bad affection of the Spaniards, especially of *Don Hugues de Moncade*, Vice-roy of Naples, by the death of *Lanney*, and fearing a worse condition, or some other change, he deceived his guards, and the night before (disguised like a Merchant) he went secretly out of the Castle, and saued himselfe in Oruieto: but his hostages payed his ranfome.

A rare example to be noted in the Church, since the time it came to that greatnesse: To see a Pope issued from one of the greatest Families in Italy, fallen from so great a dignity, to loose Rome, to be a prisoner, and to haue all his Estate possessed by the violence of Christian armes; then in few moneths, to be restored to his seat, and by the meanes of the eldest sonne of the Church to recouer his Estate, greatnesse and authority. Without doubt the Emperour, suffering himselfe to be so much preft for the Popes deliuey, shewed that the Councell of Spaine was more gouerned by ambition then deuotion.

The Pope being at liberty, he exhorted the confederates to draw their companies out of the territories of the Church, that by their example the Imperials might make their retreat

The Pope delivered.

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retreat according to promise, as indeed they did: he gave thanks to *Lautrec* in particular, for that he had assisted him in his delinquency; adding, That hee was as much bound vnto the King and him, as if he had beene freed by his forces. But the *More changed* not his hinc. He held (saith the History) his accustomed disposition, hauing not (by his imprisonment) left his craft and couetousnesse. As the Kings of France and England, requir'd him to re-joyne his armes and meanes, with them and their allies: sometimes hee fed them with hope that he would employ himselfe for a generall peace, and the good of all Christendome; sometimes with excuses, that wanting men, money, and authority, his vnion with them would be fruitlesse, and giue the Imperials occasion to wrong him in many respects.

The King of France and England proclaimed war against the Emperor.

Lautrec layd at Bologna, attending directions from the King, either of a full resolution of peace, or to proceed in his course of armes. The Emperor offered to settle *Sforza* in his Estate, and to compound with the Venetians, Florentines, and other confederates. But the Emperour and the King stood vpon the point of honor, which should trust other. A point which plainly discovered the bitterness of his spleene. The King would not be bound to draw his army out of Italy, where he had recovered his children, yet he offered to put hostages into the King of Englands hands, for performance of whatsoever hee should be bound vnto, if vpon the deliquency of his children he did not presently withdraw his army. The Emperor grew obstinate, saying, that he could not trust him, who had once deceived him. The Ambassadors of France and England tooke their leaues of the Emperour, and according to their Masters Commission proclaimed war against him. The Emperour accepts it cheerfully; but to stay the Ambassadors instantly, to send them fiftene leagues from Bourgos (where then the Court of Spaine remained) to giue them a guard of shot, and halberds, and not to suffer them to conferre, or to write in any fort. Was not this to violate the law of Nations? The fire is now kindled, they drame of nothing but war. *Lautrec* proceeds in his course, he takes the way to Rimini, Ancona, and Recanate, chafeth the Imperials before him into the Realm of Naples, where we shall soone see the exploits of his armes.

The King aduertised of the detention of the Bishop of Tarbe, his Ambassador, who was afterward made Cardinall of Grandmont, he committed *Nicholas Perrenot* Lord of Granuelle, the Emperors Ambassador, to the Chastelet at Paris, and stayed all Merchants, subjects to the Emperour. But this was not all. The Emperour had before time at Granado, when as they treated of a peace betwixt them, sayd; That he would willingly end all controuersies with the King by a single combat of his person against the Kings: he now deliueers the same words vnto the Herald that denounceth war vnto him: adding, That the King had basely and treacherously broken his faith with him. The King would not haue refused it, but his Ambassador did then wrong him, in concealing this speech. It may be the Emperour had such an intent. He was a most valiant Prince, but our *Francis* did yeeld nothing vnto him in courage. He had no sooner intelligence of his challenge, but calling together, the twenty eight of March, all the Princes, all Ambassadors, with the whole Court, into the great hall of the Palace at Paris, sitting in his royall seat, he caused *Iohn Robert*, one of his Secretaries of State, with a loud voice to reade a cartell signed with his owne hand: that the Emperour, accusing the King to haue falsified his faith, had spoken vtruly, and as often as he did speake it, he did lie. To the end therefore he should not deferre the deciding of their controuersies, hee wished them to appoint the field, and hee would bring the armes, the King protesting, that if afterwards the Emperour should write or speake any thing preiudiciall to his honor, the flame of the delay should redound vpon himselfe, seeing that the combat is the end of all writing. Without doubt, this proceeding had bene more seemly for Knights, then for such Princes; and no enterprises are commendable, but so far forth as they agree with the dignity of their persons and States. And for that *Granuelle* refused to take vpon him this charge, the King dismissing him, did accompany him with a Herald, to present this writing vnto the Emperour. Within few daies after, *Henry* King of England sent him the like desce, and did put away *Katherine* his wife, daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* King of Spaine, whom he had married, being widow to *Arthur* his elder brother. A diuorce which Pope *Clement* granted, vpon promise, that *Henry* should, for his safety, maintaine him a guard of foure thousand foot.

In the meane time, *Lautrecs* forces preuailed in the Realme of Naples, with such applause

King Francis challengeth the Emperour to the combat.

Henry King of England dissolves the Emperour and puts away his wife.

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Lautrecs success in the Realme of Naples.

A plaufe of the people, as, whether for affection of the French, or hatred of the Spaniard, almost all the townes, sent to offer their keyes and gates. *Peter* of Nauarre had chafed the Prince of Melphy out of Aquila, and reduced all Abruzzo to the Kings obedience, the whole Estate of Naples was ready to set vp the banners of France, when as the Prince of Orange hauing assembled within Troye, and thereabouts, fise thousand Germanes, fise thousand Spaniards, and fiteene hundred Italians, hee made *Lautrec* to vnite his forces, which were disperfed, and to turne head to the enemy, with an intent to fight with him. He wanted the finewes of warre, the Kings assignations failed, so as hee could not long maintaine the burthen of the warre: the aduantage of men, victuals, and the field, did inuite him, he must therefore attempt some great matter. He goes to field with three thousand French, whereof the Lord of Bury was Colonell; foure thousand Gascons, vnder the command of *Peter* of Nauarre, and the Lord of Candale, eight thousand Germanes commanded by the Earle of Vaudemont, three thousand Suisses vnder the charge of the Earle of Tende, with ten thousand Italians, and approached neere the enemy, but there was no meanes to draw him out of his fort. Many dayes were spent in skirmishes. In one of them, three hundred horses coming out of their battalions, which marched after the artillery, were charged by *Morice* and *Pemprant* (it is that faithfull *Achates* to the Duke of Bourbon, whom the King had drawne to his seruice, and honored with a company of fifty men at armes, for the good seruice hee had done him at his taking at Pouia, hauing freed him from some souldiers that had enuironed him, and not knowne him) were wholly defeated, and their guidons caried away.

Lautrec offered battell, yet well pleased not to fight in the absence of *Horatio Baillon*, who brought thirteene Ensignes of foot, whom *Iohn de Medicis* had long before trained in the exercise of armes. But behold, a heauy signe of a farall disaster, the windes were so violent, and the sky so troubled, as all the tents in the French campe were ouerthrowne, and many men slaine.

Baillon arises, the enemy packes vp his baggage, stops the bels of his moyles, and marcheth through the woods directly to Naples, without found of drumme or trumpet. It had bene a goodly thing to pursue these run-awies. The French Capitaines flew after them in their hearts, but *Lautrec* said, *I will haue them at my mercy, and without losse of my men.* But the wit of man is ignorant of future destinies. *Don Hugues de Moncado* and other chiefe seruants to the Emperour, did so hate the Prince of Orange, as without doubt, they had shut the gates of Naples against him, the which had giuen the French a great aduantage, but the soveraigne Iudge of armes had otherwise decreed. The Prince of Orange being dislodged, *Lautrec* sent some troops of French horse and foot with the blacke bands (which were those of *Baillon*) to go before Melphy, which might cut off the victuals from the army lying before Naples: the Prince thereof defended it with three thousand men, who by their continuall sallies had much endamaged our troops. They made a small breach with two Cannons, and the Gascons burning with heat, offer themselves to the assault, the black bands follow them, without any commendement or direction from their Capitaines. A volley of shot makes them retire, kils many Gascons, and some threecore of the black bands. At night they renue the battery, and make a second attempt, but with like success, yet at length they carie it.

The next day they haue a supply of artillery, wherewith they make two great batteries. The peasants (which were in great numbers within Melphy) mutine for feare, they are indeed more fit to amaze, then to serue at time of need. The souldiers terrified with this tumult, abandon the defences, and recover the Castle: they enter the towne, spoile it, and kill of souldiers and inhabitants six or seuen thousand: they take the Castle by composition, and the Prince with his wife and children prisoners. Barleta, Trani, Venoufe, Aconit, and all the places thereabouts, except Manfredonia, yeeld to the victors fortune, who prepared a great masse of victuals for the siege of Naples; the Venetians troops hauing fortified the army with about two thousand men. Capoua, Acerre, Nola, Auerfe, and all places thereabouts, hauing voluntarily opened their gates, made the way casie for *Lautrec*, who campe before the wals of Naples, in the end of April the Imperials were refolued, only to defend Naples, and Caiette. It was a great matter to haue chafed the enemy out of the field, and to keepe them coopt vp within the capital citie.

But alas! what shall become of so great a multitude of men? our French must learne once

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Naples besieged.

The difficulties of the siege.

once more, to their cost, that all their strange enterprises attempted farre off, haue bene a mountfull graues vnto them. *The issues of death belong to the eternall God.*

Lautrec employes all his wits in the siege of Naples: but who can hope for any happy successe? The City was full of men of defence, and the meanes to furnish it very uncertaine: for the gallies of *Philippin*, Nephew to *Andrew Doria*, being vnable to stop vpon the ports, some ships fraught with meale flied in: those of Venice came not, the enemies light-horse (which were many) cut off the victuals from our men, the ordinary grossefne of the ayre, the continuall raine, the discomforts of the souldiers, who for the most part lay open, filled the campe full of diseases: the Kings slow prouision, and the negligence of the Treasurers, were the cause that no money could passe the mountains: the Venetians, of two and twenty thousand ducats which they should contribute euery moneth, did owe threecore thousand, and that little which *Lautrec* did gather of the custome of the cattell of Apulia, was employed for the defraying of his ordinary expences. The number of the defendants was great, their experience in deeds of arms well tried, being 9 or 10000 old souldiers. It was therefore better to besiege, then to assaile Naples, and to provide that they might not be relieved with victuals, neither by land nor sea: *Philippin Doria* kept the gulfes of Salerne, and the Imperials relying vpon the valour and strength of their men, conceiue a hope to overcome him.

This resolution was necessary for the Spaniards, they make choice of a thousand Spanish shor, and diuide them into fixe Gallies, foure Foists, and two Brigantines. *Don Hugues* the Vice-roy, *Gobbe* an old sea-Captaine, and almost all men of command, will bee partakers: and to amaze *Doria* afarre off, by a shew of a greater number of ships, they make a long traine of Fisher-boats, and send two Gallies before, giuing them charge, to retire at the enemies approach, that they might draw them into the open sea. *Doria* aduertised of the Imperials counsell, by faithfull spies, makes three of his Gallies to disperse themselves as if they fled, to the end that turning, they might (through fauour of the wind) charge them in flank and in poepe: and followed with fixe gallies, hee marcheth towards the enemy. The greatest stratagems consist in expedition: the first blow is worth two. The Spaniards presumed, that compassing in *Doria*, with the smooke of their Cannon to take from him his sight and mark. *Doria* presents them, and for the first check, he caries away D with one Cannon-shot, forty men out of the Admirall, amongst the which was the Captaine and many officers: the other peeces fildy discharged, doe likewise disorder them. On the other side, the Gally of *Don Hugues* discharging her Cannon, kills the Captaine of *Doria*s gallee, and hurts the Master, with some others. The approaches are made, and a furious charge is giuen with their shot and other armes. These two fight with great courage: three other Imperials presse two Genouoises, and seemed to haue the better, after the death of many men of either side, when as the other three which made heaw to flye (hauing gotten into the open sea) they turne the prow against the enemy, beat in pieces the Admirall, and another called *Gobbe*, take their Foists, sincke some, burne others, kill their men, breake their armes, and fighting hand to hand, and foot to foot, in the end they get both the advantage of the combat, and the honor of the victory.

Don Hugues de *Montedisi* Vice-roy of Naples, *Fieramosque*, with many other Gentlemen and Captaines, and about a thousand men were slaine, and remained as a prey for the fish. Two Spanish Foists sore battered recovered Naples with great difficulty: the Prince of Orange caused the Master of one of them to be hanged, the other went and yielded to *Philippin Doria*. The Marquis of Guast, *Ascanius* and *Camillo Colonne*, the Prince of Salern, *Saint Croix*, *le Riz*, *Gobbe*, *Serenou*, with a great number of chiefe men, were taken prisoners.

These are goodly beginnings in so famous a siege, which fill the French with great hopes of a happy successe, and the Imperials with a strange amazement. They see the flower of their men buried in the waues, they haue lost the command of the sea, and are blockt vp so neere at land, as they haue no meanes to be relieved with victuals, they haue no meale but by their hand-mills, no money for their souldiers, the plague did daily diminish their numbers. Staby, *Saint Germaine*, *Fondy*, and all the Country about, yields to the Conqueror: the Prince of Melphy ioynes to that party, the people of Calabria seeme very willing to come vnder their command; but the point of a total victory consisted either in the conquest or the defence of Naples. Our men were much annoyed for fresh water,

A braue stratagem: (Philippin Doria).

A victory at sea gotten by Philippin Doria.

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A fresh-water, diseases encreased, the which did greatly wast the army; the enemy being stronger in light-horse, did cut off their prouisions by their daily sallies.

Lautrec, without doubt a great Captaine, but absolute in his opinions, left most of his horsemen dispersed at Capoua, Auerle and Nola, so as the blacke-bands hauing no horse to second them, came often with disadvantage from their skirmishes. The report was, that they prepared an armie for the sea at Marfilles, but it was onely in imagination. The Venetians more careful of their priuate interest, then of the generall good, fitted themselves of those places which should be their portion of the conquest. The Pope had no other designe, but to recover the authoritie which his house was wont to enjoy at Florence. Thus there appeared many difficulties on either side, yet such as there was an expectation of victory for the French: for in the end there arised two and twenty Venetian Gallies in the gulph of Naples, the tenth of Iune, which deprived the besieged of all commodities at sea, and threatened them with a generall famine. But see what caused the total ruine of our French. The Emperour in the midst of a losse, makes a great gaine. We doe commonly sinke vnder our owne burthens, and are the cause of our owne miseries. The infidelitie of the Genouois is herein detestable: but we may obserue a goodly lesson for Princes, to endure much of a rude seruant, when he is profitable vnto them, and that they must neuer hope to recover him, when hee is chased away or lost. *Lautrec* aduertised of the fore-said victory, commanded they should send the prisoners into France. *Philippin* puts them into two Gallies, with that intent. But the boorie was too good, and might easily draw a Genouois soule to dispench with his faith. As they passed by Genoua, *Andrew Doria* stayed them, couering his secret designs with this pretext: That the King had not satisfied him for the ransom of the Prince of Orange, and other prisoners, which he had taken at Porte-fin during the siege of Paia (the which had bene set at libertie, a peace being concluded at Madril with the Emperour) neither yet for the entertainment of his gallies, without the which hee could no longer maintaine them. That if it pleased his Maiestie to doe him right, and yeeld vnto the Genouois their accustomed commands ouer Saouonne (the King thinking to keepe Genoua in awe, had transported the traffick of merchandize, and the custome of salt to Saouonne) with their ancient liberties, and priuiledges, hee would deale with the people that for assurance of his faith, he should furnish the King with twelue gallies entertained, in the which he might place such Captaines, and Souldiers, as he should thinke good, reseruing onely two gallies, for the guard of the port.

A strange and insolent course for the seruant, to prescribe a law to his Master. But the losse of such a seruant was the losse of Genoua, of the Realme of Naples, and of the army which besieged it. But these demands of *Doria*, being found unreasonable by the Count, especially by the Chancellor *du Prat*, a so wren man, and of great authority, the King sent *Anthony de la Rochefoucault* Lord of Barbezieux, with the office of Admirall into the East-seas, and a Commission to seize as well on his Maiesties gallies, as of those of *Andrew Doria*, yea and of his person, if hee might finde the meanes. *Andrew* aduertised of this charge, retired himselfe to his gallies, deliuered vnto the Kings, left his pay, and practised by his Spanish prisoners, he followed the Emperours partie with the freedome of Genoua, vnder the Emperours protection; the subiection of Saouonne to the Genouois: a pardon for himselfe, who had bene so great a persecuter of the Spanish name; entertainment with the Emperour for twelue gallies, and threecore thousand ducats yeerely pay, with many other honourable conditions: during which treatie, his Nephew *Philippin* not onely kept ill guard, but also priuily relieved the besieged with victuals, and in the end, retired himselfe from Naples with all his gallies. This departure of *Philippin*, caused the Venetians (who wrought from the sea-shore vntill they met with the French, which *Lautrec* had made betwixt the towne and Mount *Saint Martin*, which the enemies had fortified) to leave their worke, and looke to guard the sea. This was the first effect of *Doria*s retreat, to preiudice the Frenchs armie. Behold the second, which followed the ouerthrow of their enterprises, and the losse of their infinit charges. The fifteenth day of Iuly, the Venetian gallies reme into Calabria, to provide biscuit. So the port remaining open, the besieged deuoted a great refreshing at such times as necessity had brought them to *Lautrec*s deuotion, who (notwithstanding the plague) the great constancie of *Lautrec*, resolving rather to die, then to retire one foot backe from the place, he solicited the King

Rough of Andrew Doria.

Orghillia his nephew: IT

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to supply him with money and men in their roomes that had died of the infection. The King lent the Prince of Nauarre, brother to Henry King of Nauarre, but with so small a troop (whereof the greatest part were voluntary young Gentlemen, who marched onely for pleasure, and to win honor) as he was forced to send some out of the army to conduct him safely from Nola to the campe, and to receiue some money which he brought. This charge was giuen to *Candelles*, Nephew to the Marquis of Salusses, who passing in his returne, before Naples, was charged by the Imperials, who issued forth in great troops, being hurt (his men put to rout, and himselfe taken prisoner and brought to Naples, and then redeemed by exchange for one of theirs that was taken in the fight) he died of his wounds. *Hugh* Earle of Popoli was likewise exchanged for another, and their troops were diminished about two hundred that were slaine and taken. A hard fore-runner of a fatall checke, which within few dayes shall daunt our warriors.

Now behold a pitifull Catastrophe of these two armies. The Imperials, by their daily sallies, provided them things necessary, and doe often cut off the victuals from the French armie, take their baggage and forage, euen at their forts, and their horses at the watering, their hopes encrease with their aduantages: their Lanquenets mutine no more: euery one esteemes it a glory to haue suffered. Contrariwise, the others decay, both in force and courage, the horse disband, some to refresh themselves, others to avoid the plague: the footmen faint, hauing no horse to second them: the plague beganne to cease at Naples, and encreased amongst our men. The Earle of Vaudemont, *Gruffy*, with many other Captaines, were already laid in their graues: the Prince of Nauarre, *Camille Triunale*, and almost all the men of command were sicke: and that which did most import, *Laurie* stricken with sickness, could not redresse those things, which did hourly tend to ruine, *Rance de Gere*, whom he had sent towards Abruzzo, to make a leaue of five thousand foot, and six hundred horse, found the Treasurers who payed him with their ordinary answer, *I haue not a farthing, the King hath no money in his coffers*. The enemies did so betray the wayes, as they could not go to Capoua: euery man almost was sicke. In the army, the footmen were much waisted. *Simon Romain*, a braue Knight, and of the French partie, had bene defeated in Calabria. Somme had bene slaine with the slaughter of a troop of men at armes, and light-horse. Most commonly there were no victuals in the campe: they wanted water, all the cisterns being dry: and to heape up their miseries, *Laurie* dying the 13 of August, interred with him all his braue designs.

The head failing, all the members faint and soone decay. Moreover, we obserue in this Nobleman, that no man (how wise and valiant soeuer) is alwayes happy: for vertue and fortune, haue alwayes bene at hatred and mortall warre. The King did honour his funerals at our Ladies Church in Paris, with a mourning pompe fit for one of his children. The Marquis of Salusses tooke vpon him the government of the army. A man of courage, beloued and well followed by men of warre: but it decreased, and disorders increased daily.

The Earle of Sarni with a thousand Spaniards, chased three hundred foot from Sarni which were in garison there: and followed with a greater troop, he tooke Nola from *Felice*, who being retired into the castle, attended two thousand men which the Marquis lent him, the which being charged in the plaines of Naples, were put to rout. *Fabrizio Marano* issued out of Naples with foure hundred men, and finding Capoua in manner forsaken, he straight waye entred into it. So the French abandoning Pozzuole, put the garison into Auerse, a place of great importance for the campe.

But Capoua and Nola being lost, they could hardly recover any victuals. So as the armie being no longer able to subsist did rise in the night to recover Auerse. The Imperials disceuer their departure, they pursue them, defeat the battell vpon the way, being led by *Peter* of Nauarre, and the reere ward commanded by *Pomperant*, *Negrepchiss*, and *Paul* *Camille Triunale*: they take the Nauarrois, with many other Commanders, and men of quality, and besiege the Marquis in Auerse: who hauing no meanes to defend himselfe, sent *Guy* of Rangon to parly with the Prince of Aueranges, and did capitulate with him as followeth: That he should leaue Auerse, with the Castle, artillery, and munition: That the Lieutenant General to the King, he should remaine prisoner: That he should employ his authority to cause both French and Venetians to yeld vnto the Emperour all the Realme of Naples: That the men of warre should yeld and deliuer up their Ensignes, Guidons, Banderolles,

armes,

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A armes, horses and baggage, but such as had command might euery one carry away a horse, or a myle, at their choice: That the strangers should not beare armes against the Emperour for six monthes. So all the companies were defeated, all the Captaines dead, taken or fled: and this accord was a conclusion or scale of the milerie of the French in the Realme of Naples, and a confirmation of the Spaniards greatnesse in Italy.

Things hauing succeeded after this manner, the Marquis was caried sicke in a Litter to Naples, where within few dayes after he died. During the siege and after, there died the Earles of Lautrec and Vaudemont, Charles Prince of Nauarre, *Candelles*, the Barons of Grandmont, Buzancois, de Conty, the Lord of Tournon, and his brother, *Claude* of Bistampes Lord of la Ferte Nabert, *la Val* a Daulphinois, *Gruffy*, *Moriac*, *d'O*, *Pomperant*, *Bisson*, *Louppé*, *Cornillon*, *Grutture*, *Maunourri*, the elder *Larnac*, *Bonini*, *Hugh* Earle of Popoli, Count *Wolfe*, with so great a number of others, as of so many men at armes there remained not a hundred, and of so many thousand of foot there hardly escaped foure thousand: but let vs see the successe of our forces in the estate of Milan.

The Duke of Brunfwicke, hauing passed the riuer of Adice the tenth of May, with ten thousand Lanquenets, and six hundred horse well armed, hee marched to the succour of Naples. And the King, to crosse his designs, opposed the Earle of Saint Paul, brother to the Duke of Vendosme, with five hundred men at armes, five hundred light horse, vnder the command and government of *Boissy*: six thousand foot led by *Lorges*, and three thousand Lanquenets by *Monteian*. The Earle had commandement from the King, to follow this Germane Duke at the heeles, if he directed his course to Naples, and to engage him betwixt the two armies: but necessary prouisions for his troops causing the Earle to make a fruitlesse stay at Ast, gaue the Duke liberty to take by composition, *Pescara*, *Riuolte*, *Lunare*, & almost all the other places vpon the lake of Garde. This little successe drew him to the siege of Laude, but in vaine; the valour of the besieged, the plague among the besiegers, the policy of *Anthony de Lena*, (who would haue no companions of the booty, nor so great forces as might prescribe him a law in his government) tooke from them all hope to recover any money, considering the poverty of Milan, and the difficulty of victuals, whereof there was great want in Lombardy: the Lanquenets mutining returned home in disorder the thirteenth of Iuly.

The Earle being thus freed from this thorne, and ioyned with the Dukes of Vrbin and Milan, recovered what the Imperials had seized on, and all that they held betwixt Po and the riuer of Tefin vnto Pavia, which then obeyed the Emperour: for after the passage of *Laurie* to Naples, *Anthony de Lena* aduertised that it was carelessly kept by *Peter* of Luneghe, with foure hundred horse, and a thousand Venetian foot, and by *Hannibal Pifinar* a Cremonois with three hundred foot, he scaled it in the night, and surprisid it. *Biagras* and *Arone* were by the same meanes brought vnder his obedience. The confederates meaning was to assaile Milan suddenly, but a continual raine breakes their way going to the port of Vercell, by the which they should enter, so as they change aduice and went to E cape before Pavia. They battered it with twenty Cannons, and made a reasonable breach, where they disputed who should haue the point of the assault, the French and the Venetians affecting this honor equally. The lor fell to the Venetians, who gaue it: but skirmishing coldly and farre off, *Lorges* moued with choller and impatience to see them so faintly pursue the aduantage which fortune had giuen them, thrusts himselfe betwixt them and the breach, and takes it by force, before the Venetians could approach. *Florimond* of Chailly and *Graslay* (who did second *Lorges* on either side, if need should bee) were there slaine, and the Ensigne which marched before them, *Peter* of Birague died, being shot in the thigh. There were slaine within, about seuen hundred, almost all Lanquenets. The towne being taken, the castle yielded by composition.

But this victory is crossed with a notable losse. The plague was great at Genoua, and for this reason the towne was almost desolate. *Andrew Doria* embraceth this occasion: he approacheth neere the towne with some gallics, enters it with small resistance, ruins the Chastelet speedily, and in the end recoures it by a composition made with *Theodore Triunale*, being vnsupplied of men and mon-y. The Genouois being restored to their liberty, raze the Chastelet, establish a new forme of government, name a Councell of foure hundred Citizens, by whom all the offices and dignities of the City should bee chosen: they abrogate the law, whereby all Gentlemen were excluded (a good expedient to ba-

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Laurie dies.

The siege of Naples raised.

A braue act of Lorges which caused the taking of Pavia.

nish all partialities) they referre in their important affaires, the prehemine which *Andrew Doria* had deferved in recompence of the liberty which he had purchased for them, who (neither meddling with the election of their Duke, nor any other magistrates, neither yet with the government of the treasure) made his authority lesse hatefull, and this new policy more pleasing. Afterwards they tooke Saunonne, and the better to hold it in subjection, they ruined the fort, and filled vp the haven with stones.

The Earle of Saint Paul, relying on the word of some Citizens, who promised to give him meane to surprize the towne, parted with speed out of the Duchy of Milan, with three thousand foot and some horse to second them: but having no provision of victuals, but for foure and twenty houres, and no artillery with them, all turned to smooke, and retired to Alexandria, to winter the rest of his troops, his Lansequents being already retired, and the French halfe diminished of their numbers for want of pay. The Spring being come, the Earle of Saint Paul goes to field with those small troops he could gather together: he takes Mortare, a strong towne well flanked, and with double ditches full of water: Nouarre abandoned by *Comte Philippin Tormel*, Vigieu and almost all other places on this side the river of Tefin: yet all this was nothing, seeing the towne and castle of Milan, with other chiefe places were in the Emperours power. The Dukes of Vrbino and Milan aduertised, that the French army kept the field, came and ioyned with them at Marignan: yet all these armies united, were not sufficient to assaile Milan, the Venetians having not the moiety of twelue thousand men, which they should entertaine by the articles of the league. Moreover, *Anthony de Leno* was newly relieved with three thousand Spaniards, which came from Naples: They resolute therefore, that (to cut off the victuals from the Imperials) the French should march to Biagras, the Venetians to Cassan, and *Sforzato* Pavia: but the Earle of Saint Paul did wonderfully affect the enterprise of Genoua. *Andrew Doria* departed the eight of June with his gallies, to guard the Emperor who passed into Italy. This absence put the Earle in good hope, that *Cesar Fregose* (to whom the King had promised the government of Genoua) would make the towne revolt with some few foot.

Enterprise
vpon Genoua.

This was to take a mighty Wolfe by the eares, which will bite them shrewdly that thinke to lay hold. They had behind them too vigilant an enemy. According to this designe, the Earle in stead of Biagras arises at Landriane, the twentieth of June: but in the night a great raine doth so swell the river, as he had no meane to passe his artillery. *Anthony de Leno* aduertised of the Earles stay, parts from Milan, overtakes the Earle, (who was busie in pulling downe an old house, to haue some pieces of timber to put vnder the carriage of a peece, that was mired) and chargeth him before he had in a manner discovered him. At the first, the Earle foreeth the Spanish shot to retire into the battalion of their Germanes; and the French Lansequents had repulled those that had passed a little River which diuided the two armies: but pursuing and following them to the banche, they were greatly annoyed by them that were opposite on the other side. *Guy Earle* of Rangon, had in the morning taken the way to Pavia with the fore-ward, so as hee had no notice of the fight, vntill it was past time to succour them. *John Thomas* of Galere and the Castellain of Laude, Colonels of the Italian foot, were already well aduanced: and leaving them engaged that were desirous to fight, they retire on the one side and saue themselves likewise in Pavia. *John Ierosme* of Castillon, and *Claude* of Rangon, Commanders ouer two thousand Italians, performed wonders. But the Imperiall horsemen hauing passed the river with a great battalion of Germanes, our Italians turne their backs, our Lansequents yeeld to their Country-men, the Earle and *Annebaunt*, with those few horsemen which remained, made the retreat, alwayes turning their faces to the enemy, vntill they were slayed by a brooke, which the Earle was not able to passe, through the weakness of his horse: whereas he and almost all that followed him, were put to the sword, or taken prisoners, except *Annebaunt* and some few Lances which leaped ouer the ditch: the footmen were all defeated, the artillery lost, and the baggage taken.

After all these stormes and confusions, after so many fatall sweats, caused by the waight of their armes; was it not now time to take breath? The Alpes and high-pointed Pyrene mountains, be they not sufficient barres to restrain vs within our bounds, and to be content to enioy and defend that which belongs vnto vs? was not so much blood spilt sufficient to make all Italy drunke? Such pitifull spectacles of Frenchmens bones, wherewith the

A the plaines of the Estates of Milan and Naples were made white, had they not force and vertue to take from vs all future desire to beare armes in such mortall conquests? Without doubt they had reason to make this complaint with the ancient Church: *All our enemies haue opened their mouthes vpon vs, they haue hissed, gnashed their teeth and said; we haue confounded them, this is the day which we expected: we haue found it, we haue seene it. And with the like repentance to cry, Remember O Lord what hath chanced vnto vs, behold And see their reproaches. Turne vs vnto thee O Lord, and we shall be turned.* Behold now the pitifull relikes of our Frenchmen, hatefull to strangers, scorned of all the world, beaten on all sides, returning home with their shirts tyed vpon their shoulders, who hauing scarce B breathed foure yeares, we shall see againe fall to armes.

This vnfortunate successe of our men, hauing caused armes to cease in a manner throughout all Italy, the Emperour and Pope both being bare of money, treated of some articles of peace. The Emperour had no inclination thereunto: yet he could not grant it in a season more beneficiall for himselfe. The King sought it: two notable afflictions drew him therunto; the imprisonment of his children, and the ruine of so many armies, with the waisting of his treasure. But one especiall consideration did moue him. If the confederates had discovered his intent, they might haue preuented him, and by their agreement with the Emperour excluded him from a league with any of them: and by consequence haue brought him to that point, as he should haue bene forced to accept farre lesse tolerable

C conditions of peace. *Louise* the Kings mother, and *Marguerite*, Aunt vnto the Emperour by the fathers side, did treat it at Cambray, furnished with authority and counsell from both their Maiesties; where finally they concluded, "That the King should pay two millions of crownes for the enlargement of his Children: that is, twelue hundred thousand crownes when as the said children should be in France and at liberty: He should deliuer the lands which *Mary* of Luxemburg, mother to the Duke of Vendosme had in Flanders, Arthois, Brabant and Hainault, and those which the Duke of Montpensier, cousin-germane to the said Duke, did possesse in the said Countries, for foure hundred thousand crownes to be redeemed within a certaine time: and for the other foure hundred thousand remaining, he should acquite the Emperour off so much to the King of England, which D he had lent vnto him, and fifty thousand more which the Emperour did owe vnto the English, for the indemnitie of the marriage betwixt the Emperour and *Mary*, daughter to the said King of England, whom he had left to marry with the daughter of Portugal. Moreover, he should vngage the Flower-de-luce of gold, enriched with pretious stones, and a peece of the Croisse which *Philip* the Emperours father had engaged to the King of England for fifty thousand crownes. That the King should renounce the sovereignty of Flanders and Arthois. That he should marry with *Eleanor* the Emperours sister: and if they had a sonne, he should haue the Duchy of Bourgongne. That he should restore whatsoever he possessed in the Duchy of Milan, and the Realme of Naples. That he should annill the Duke of Bourbons proceffe, restore him to his honor, and his children to their inheritance, and generally all others that had bene spoiled by reason of the warres. These articles thus concluded, were read and published in the great Church of Cambray the fifth day of August. But could the King renounce such pretensions, seeing they were inheritances purchased to the Infants of France by the succession of *Claude* their mother, daughter to *Lewis* the 12, Duke of Orleans, of whom depended the said succession of Milan?

This treaty did greatly moue the confederates, for that they were not acquainted with it, especially the King of England: notwithstanding, his secret desires made him to temper his choller. He meant to put away *Katherine* his wife, Aunt to the Emperour, and daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Spaine, saying, as it was true, that shee had bene before married to his eldest brother, wherewith the Pope could not dispence, belonging to the F law of God: which conclusion he obtained by the meanes of the Lord of Langey, in the Vniuersities of Paris, Pavia, Padoua, Bologna, and others. The Emperour and his ministers crosse him in this desire. This quarrell had neede of a strong support. To make vfe of the Kings fauour at need, he lent him the said sum of foure hundred thousand crownes, to be paid in five yeares: he forgave him the fiftie thousand crownes, & gave the Flower-de-luce to his god-sonne *Henry* Duke of Orleans.

The tenth of May was come, when as the Deputies should meeete at Bayonne, for the exchange of the Infants of France, with the payment of their ranfome. *Montmercy*

Ecc3 Lord

1530 Lord Steward and Marshall of France, came for the King; for the Emperour came *Velasques* Constable of Castile: the Crowne are told and put to the proofe: but being found somewhat altered by the aduice of the Chancellor *du Prat*, who thought to make it a benefit to the King, forty thousand Crowne more payed the interest of the whole summe. There were about foure moneths spent in the tryall of these Crowne: and in the beginning of Iuly, the Dauphin of France and the Duke of Orleans came to the river which runnes by the walles of Fontarabie, and diuides France from Biscay. A great boate was fastened in the middelt of the streame, with anchors and cables, that the sea which flowes twice a day, raising the boate to the height of the water, might serue as a bridge: and overthwart this great boate, they made a barre, to the end that the boate which carried the Infants of France, and that which brought the money for their ransom, being fastened on either side the great boate, the Frenchmen should passe into that where the Infants were, & the Spaniards where the ransom was. Thus it was performed, & they came accompanied with Queene *Eleanor*, to meete the King their father betwixt Roquehorth of Marfan, and *Capricus*, in a little Abbey of Nunnes, where the King and Queene were married an houre before day. Then taking their way by Bourdeaux, Cognac, Amboise and Blois, they came to Saint *Germane* in Lay, attending the preparations for the Queenes coronation at Saint *Denis*, and her entrie into Paris.

The Emperour being thus assured of the King, who about all others might crosse his designs, he is now resolved to be Crowned. To this effect, he must winne the Pope (for he must recieve the Crowne from him): and the Pope who desired some notable reuenge of the Florentines, for the injury they had done him during his captiuitie vnder the Imperials (they had spoiled all the goods belonging to the *Medici*, and chased them and their adherents out of the estate of Florence) was easily drawne to the Emperours will; yea with such extraordinary priuiledges, as the Emperour sitting himselfe to the Popes pallisones, settled the foundation of that admirable greateffe, which his house doth at this present inioy in Italy. The Pope hauing granted the Crowne to the Emperour, which he could neuer obtaine of his predecessour *Iulius*: vpon condition, that for recompence thereof, he should succour him with an army, to restore them of his name to their ancient authority within Florence, he imbarques at Barcellona, lands at Genoua, passeth to Placentia, and at the Popes request, restores *Francis Sforza* to the Duchie of Milan: but he reserves in his owne power the Castles of Milan and Cremona: hee marieth the said *Sforza* with his neece, daughter to the King of Denmarke, a prisoner, and dispossessed of his Realme: and on Saint *Matthias* day (so famous for his natiuitie, and the taking of the King before Paulia) he recieued the ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie from the Pope.

One scruple with-held the Emperour from resolving against the Florentines. The Turke besieged Vienna in Austria, with two hundred and sixe and twenty thousand fighting men: but the valour of *Philip* Count Palatine, the Earles of Solme & Rokendolf, and the succours brought by *Ferdinand* Arch-duke of Austria, and King of Hongarie, hauing forced the Infidels to take their way to Constantinople, with shame and losse, the Emperour gaue the charge of this warre to the Prince of Auranges, who ioyning with *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, and the Marquis of Guast, takes from the Florentines, Cortone, Arezzo, Lastre, Pistoia, Prato, Volterra, Empoli, camps before Florence, and reduceth the Citizens to extremity: but as he marched to encounter some forces that came to succour the besieged, meaning to winne the horse, or to lose the saddle: hee was slaine in the charge being in the head of his troopes, performing (saith the Originally) rather the office of a man at armes, then of a General.

The succours notwithstanding defeated, the Florentines (after a long and painefull siege of eleuen moneths) fell in the end into the Popes power: who by many and sundry punishments of death and banishment, did so weaken the City, as in the end (the power of the *Medici* being more free) they haue settled the Soueraigntie in their family. The Duke of Ferrara had in time purchased fauour with the Emperour: and happy was he, for without it they would haue clippt his wings shorter. Wherewith the Pope was so greatly moued, as hee would not ratifie the sentence, by the which the Emperour had condemned the Ferrarois in an hundred thousand Crownes to the Pope: neither would he accept the money, nor the rent, which according to the ancient custome, the said Duke caused to be offered vnto him, at the feast of Saint *Peter* following: and euen then

The Prince of Auranges slaine.

A then beganne to studie how hee might secretly oppresse the Duke by ambushes, or find some matter or occasion to wrong him openly, with the ayde of great Princes. But hee did not fore-see, that death would soone cut off the thred of his life, and interre with him the issue of his designs. The present estate of things promised in shew a generall peace betwixt these two great Princes, but their minds had other impressions: That of our *Francis*, with a wonderfull desire to be reuenged for the rigorous conditions of the treatie of Cambray, being forced to renounce the Soueraignties of Flanders and Arthois, ancient members of the Crowne of France, and to quit his rights to the estates of Milan and Naples, the which had wonderfully discontented him. That of *Charles*, who feared lest the King or his successors should draw those Prouinces within the bounds of the Realme, and by the recouerie of the Duchie of Milan, molest him continually in the possession of Naples and Sicily. To exclude the King from all hope, the Emperour thought it best to restore *Sforza* to the Estate of Milan, that he might rule him at his will and pleasure: and for a time giue good contentment to the Potentates and Common-weales of Italy, to sequester them from the allyance of France, and make them enter into a defensiu League for the said *Sforza*: the first motion or occasion, which within fewe yeares shall transport our armes beyond the mountaines. There were diuers others which touch as neere. Sauoy lies vpon the way or passage from France to Lombardie: therefore to lay a strong barre before the King, if he should reuiue his ancient quarrels and pretensions, the Emperour sold to *Charles* Duke of Sauoy, the Countie of Aist with the appertences, being the ancient patrimonie of the house of Orleans, to tie him to his command, and to draw him to this League, as hauing now a priuate interest in the warres of Lombardie. Moreouer, hee employed the mediation of the said Duke, to withdraw the Suisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship to his. These were new motiues of new troubles, and for onenemy, he had two: they all had priue perswasers, who desirous of new broyles, anchored the hope of their priuate affaires, vpon the generall troubles of Christendome.

A scarce scratched too hard, breakes forth easily: a noble courage wronged, doth with like facilitie feele an outrage. Here we obseue a publike prejudice done to the Crowne, and a priuate contempt to the Kings person. A notable wrong, cutting off from the Soueraigntie two rich neighbour Prouinces. A contempt, for that we see *Sforza* issued from a meane stocke, and the sonne of a bastard, (oftentimes termed by the Emperours owne mouth, a traitor and perjured) preferred before the King, brother-in-law to the said Emperour, and his Maiesties children, whom no iust title, but onely force of armes could exclude. Let vs adde hereunto a third sling, sufficient to animate any generous mind: vnder a colour pretended, that they sought to steale the Infants of France secretly out of prison, the Emperour had put most of their Officers into the Gallies: and although he had bene often summoned by the King, by vertue of the treatie of Cambray, yet would he neuer enlarge them. Let the iudicious Reader iudge, which of these two did first infringe the

Causes of the Kings discontent.

E Articles of the said Treatie. But the vlcers of precedent warres, being not yet well cured, and the King calling to mind the calamities to come, they disswaded him from taking armes. It was better to trie a friendly course, and seeke to recouer his owne by money, rather then by force. With this designe he sends *Rabodenges* to the Emperour. The Regent and Queene, assist and labour for an interview betwixt the Emperour and King. The Emperour aduertiseth the Pope, and doth assure him, that whatsoever he treats with the King, hee will conclude nothing with him to bring him into ieaousie. The Pope dares not rely vpon this promise: hee complains of the King, that without his priuety such practices are managed. The King excuseth himselfe, alledging, that they were not so farre forward, as it deserved to be light-ly imparted to his holiness: notwithstanding, hee forceeth the said practices, and the death of *Louis* the Kings mother and Regent, chancing the 22 of September, did quite dissolue them. There are other matters which shall hereafter impire. The Emperour fought to force the Princes and other estates of the Empire, to recieve *Ferdinand* his brother for King of Romans, making them to allow of the election made of him, to the prejudice of the golden Bull, and contrary to the ancient orders of the said Empire. A leuaine, which shall cause the ciuill warres, that hereafter shall afflict Germanie. Moreouer, these Princes pretended, that the Emperour failed in the performance of many things promised

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misfed by him, touching the rights, priuiledges, and liberties of the Empire. So as *John A*
 Elektor and Duke of Saxony, *John Fredericke* his sonne, *William and Lewis Dukes of Ba-*
varia, Philip Landgrau of Hessen, with many other Princes, make a generall league, for
 the foresaid causes. And now seeing the King discontented, that the Emperor had newly
 discovered vnto the Pope the treaty of their enterview, mediated by the Ladies, and that
 the King had many & lawfull occasions to giue care to the perswasions which were made
 often vnto him, that the Emperor did but seeke to lul him asleep, while that he did fortifie
 himselfe with men, money, and alliances: they intreat the King to enter into their affo-
 ciation, by vertue of an ancient league obserued long before betwixt the Emperor and the
 Crowne of France: they send him an authentick copie of their treaty, that hee might B
 know their intention was not to make any inuasion, but for the defence of the Empire, the
 which they did foresee, that *Charles* the fift did seeke to subuert; and to make it heredita-
 rie to his House, to the great preiudice of the neighbour Princes, greatly troubled with
 the Emperours exceeding ambition and inuiolent outrages.

The King, to giue two strokes with one stone, imparts this matter to the King of Eng-
 land his perpetuall Allie: asketh his aduice and counsell, how they two together might enter
 into this league, without breach of the treaties they had with the Emperor:
 and in the end, by *Pommeray* his Ambassador, he doth capitulate; That the King of Eng-
 land being assailed by the Emperor, he should succor him with twelve ships well appoin-
 ted and victualled, with fise hundred men at armes, French, and three thousand foot. And C
 in like case, if the King were invaded within his Realme, the King of England was bound
 to furnish him the like proportion of shipping, and with six thousand Englishmen, both
 the one and the other to be entertained at his charge that was assailed. That either of them
 being assailed, they should stay all Merchants that were subiect to him that did assaile,
 which should be found within the territories of their obedience, and deliver them to him
 that was assailed, to redeeme such as had beene seized on by the aggressor, in the begin-
 ning of the warre. That neither the one nor the other Prince, should hereafter treat or
 make alliance with any other Prince, Potentate, or Communalitie without the consent
 and assocation of eiecher of them.

And they treated likewise of the means how they might best vndertake to resist the Turke D
 (if he did persist to invade Christendome): whereupon their Maiesties concluded an inter-
 view at Bologne: the 28 of October they made a new treaty: *That to giue a more perfect*
proofe of their zeale and desire to enlarge Christendome, and to summon other Princes by their
example, considering that the Turke, notwithstanding his retreat, had left a good part of his
forces in Hungary, they should assemble together by their ioynt forces, an army of fourescore
thousand men, whereof there should be tenne thousand horse with artillery requisite for the said
Campes. And besides this treaty, these two Kings had many causes of discontent: Our
 King found himselfe grievously wronged, for that the Pope and the Emperor with their
 partisans, had newly made a League for the defence of Italy, whereof they had declared
Anthony de Leua to be Generall.

The King of England had no lesse cause to complaine of the wrong, hee said the Court
 of Rome did him, touching the matter of his diuorce, seeking to force him, either to goe
 in person to Rome, or to send with expresse deputation, men of great account that should
 stand to the Popes iudgement.

An insolent proceeding in like cases, chanced among soueraine Princes: seeing
 that such a businesse of that importance, and touching the conscience so neere, did well
 deserve, that (according to the vsuall custome) they should send Iudges to the place: it be-
 ing reasonable that the persons should speake personally, and not by their Attorneys: and
 very vnreasonable that a soueraine Prince, leauing the rule and government of his Estates,
 should goe and plead his cause at Rome. Moreover, he did complaine vnto the King, of the
 exactions of the Romane Church vpon the Clergy and people of England, and did in-
 stantly require, that they two should send their Ambassadors ioyntly together to the
 Pope, to summon him to appeare at the next Council, to heare of the extorsions hee did
 vnto Princes and Christian people.

The King propounded like abuses. The Pope had dissembled with him touching certain
 tithes which he had granted him to leaue vpon the Clergy: and the French Church
 complained of him, of the vndue and new exactions, which vnder colour of piety they
 made

Enterview of
 the two kings.

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A made at Rome for the expedition of Bulls, by means whereof, all the treasure was daily ca-
 ried out of his Realme, to the preiudice of the Clergie which grew poore: the Churches
 were not restored, nor the poore clothed nor fed: their yearly rents were excessive, no
 equality in them: many officers newly created, which were payed vpon the dispatch and
 expedition of Bulls, ouer and aboue the iust price which they were wont in former times
 to pay: the Offices which fell void, were sold to the great benefit and profit of *Saint Pe-*
ter, entreating many Groomes, Chamberlaines, Protonotaries, their seruants, Gardi-
 ners and others: and for the repairing of *Saint Peters Church*, a great summe of money
 was leauied, the which they did afterwards imploy to make warre against the King. Yet
 B the King would neither wholly allow nor disallow of the King of Englands complaints:
 but for that the Pope had sent him a promise, by the Cardinall of Grandmont, of an en-
 terview at Nice, or Auignon, after the Emperours returne into Spaine, he requested the
 King of England to attend the issue of their parle. These griefes of the French Church
 had beene presented vnto the King in the assembly of the Estates of the Countrey and
 Duchy of Britany, with many other things, farre from that charity which ought to be
 in the Church. In the said Estates it was concluded; *That Francis the Kings eldest sonne,*
Dauphin of Viennois, should be acknowledged Duke of Britany: That the eldest Sonne of
France should hereafter carry the titles of Dauphin of Viennois, and Duke of Britany: and the
said Duchie should for euer be incorporate to the Crowne. So the treaty made by the mariage
 C betwixt King *Charles* the eight, and *Anne Ducheffe* of Britany, and others following,
 were disannulled in regard of the said Duchie.

As these things passed in England, *William of Polsay*, Lord of *Languey*, promised the Ger-
 mane Princes in the Kings name, That for the affection he bore to the preservation of the
 priuiledges, rights, and customes of the Empire: if the Emperor (with whom he desired to
 obserue inuiolably the alliances and treaties he had with him) would in that case employ
 his forces to their oppression, he would succour them with all his power: so as neither
 his men nor money should bee employed to the offence of any of his confederates,
 namely, of the Emperour; but onely to defend the rights and priuiledges of the Em-
 pire. A great designe is alwaies shadowed with goodly shewes. Hereupon the Em-
 perour came to Bolognia, to conferre againe with the Pope. The Kings of France and
 England, well informed of the Emperours bad disposition, and especially the English,
 of the Popes to him, by reason of his pretended diuorce: they sent the Cardinals of
 Tournon and Grandmont, the Popes seruants, that vnder colour to accompany him at
 this enterview, they might employ their authorities, that nothing might be done to the
 preiudice of their Maiesties: or at the least, they should giue intelligence of their con-
 clusions. And the said Cardinalls had commission to lay open vnto the Pope, the griefes
 and complaints of the two Kings, and to summon him to make reparation: if not, they
 would take order for it. So as his Holinesse might well perceiue, that they two together
 were not to be contented: & to wish him to consider wisely, of the support and profite
 E might draw from these two Kings; and what disgrace otherwise in discontenting them,
 especially the King of England, whose cause the King did no lesse affect then his owne.
 For (said the two Princes) if wee come to demand a generall Councell, and his Holi-
 nesse doth not grant it, or delays it, wee shall take his delay for a deniall; and calling it
 without him, we will easily iustifie the fact with other Princes, who producing the like,
 or greater complaints, would in the end forbid their Subiects to lend or carry any
 money to Rome.

If his Holinesse (for so did our *Francis* protest) will proceed by censures against mee
 and my Realme; and that I be forced to goe to Rome for an absolution, I will passe
 the Alpes so well accompanied, as his Holinesse shall bee glad to grant it mee. The
 F scandals of Rome haue already withdrawne most part of Germany and the Cantons
 from the obedience of the Romane Church. It is to bee feared that if these two
 mightie Kings seuer themselves for want of Iustice, they shall finde many adherents,
 and these two together with their open and secret allies, may make such an attempt, as
 it will be hard to resist. That if his holinesse be disposed to moderate things (especially
 towards the King of England) there is hope, that at the first enterview, all may bee
 ordered by mildnesse, before they should proceede to greater bitternesse, by a generall
 summons from both the Kings.

The Duchie of
 Britany incor-
 porate to the
 Crowne.

The Kings of
 France and
 England com-
 plaine of the
 Pope.

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The Cardinalls
meant to win
the Pope.

Thus the King spake vnto those Cardinalls whom he sent to Rome. But we haue elsewhere obserued, that men of the Church doe commonly preferre the Popes respect, before the seruice of such as employ them. These men flea the Ecclie by the tayle, and in stead of following their instructions from point to point, beginning with rigour, and ending with mildnesse, they take a contrary course. They feared (said they in their iustificacion) that his Holinesse holding the Wolfe by the eares, pressed on the one side, sometimes with promises, sometimes with threats by the Emperour: and on the other side, in a manner despairing euer to finde grace or fauour with the King, should in the end cast himselfe into the Emperours armes, and run the same fortune with him. To draw him therefore to the French partie, they offer the Pope in the Kings name, to make him Iudge and Arbitrator of such controuersies and quarrells, as hee had with the Genouois, the which his Maiesty pretended were not contained in his renunciation. And the better to draw him, they renewed (without any speciall Commission) the proposition first made by Pope Leo, and after reuiued by Clement, of the mariage of Henry Duke of Orleans, with Katherine daughter to the Duke of Vrbis. This did greatly please Clement, who then began to hold vp his head, and refused to strike whilst the iron was hot. This match was wonderfull honourable and beneficiall for his Holinesse, and helpt much for the ratifying and support of his house, the which he had in singular regard.

The Emperour did presently discouer, that vpon the coming of these Cardinalls, the Popes affection to him was greatly altered. And vpon the first discouery of this treaty of mariage, he imploies the Lords of Cannes and Granuelle, to breake it, in fauour of Francis Sforza, with the said Duchesse of Vrbis; and to perswade the Pope, that this practice was artificially brought in by the King, to entertaine him onely, but not with any intent to conclude it, considering the great disparitie of their degrees and qualities: and seeing these two Cardinalls (said he) had no sufficient authority touching this alliance, it was an euident prooffe of the fraud. But by meanes of this mariage, the King thought to strengthen his house, and to get new footing in Italy; and the Pope did thereby free himselfe from the feare of a Councell, wherewith he was threatned from France, Germany, and England. While the Cardinalls attend a Commission from his Maiesty to conclude this mariage, the Emperour continued his pursuit, for the assurance and declaration of his league, comprehending the estate of Genoua. And the better to vnite it, he required his confederates to make a tax among them, for the pay of such souldiers as should be fit to entertaine in Italy for the peace and quiet thereof: that the first payment should be presently configned into the hands of a Banker of Genoua, and that the Emperour should not be tied to any contribution, in regard of his great charge to resist the Turkes inuasion, and to prevent the attempts of such as would trouble the common quiet of Italy, whereof there was now great likelihood. By the force of his perswasions, the matter was in a manner concluded. But through the liuely reasons of the French Cardinalls, and the Lord of Velly, Ambassadour for the King, shewing, That the Emperour had no other designe, but to entertaine his army vpon the frontiers of Italy at other mens charges, being ready to assaile the King vpon all occasions without any charge to himselfe: and that without doubt the King (having reason to looke to his affaires) would encounter him with another army on the frontiers of Italy, in the Marquisate of Salusse, or in Dauphiné, which would breed no quiet, but troubles and combustions throughout all Italy (for two Armies being neare, they willingly fall to blowes) they concluded, not to make any configuration, but that every one of the confederates should tax himselfe for his portion (any war chancing in Italy) and should giue a caution for his part, the which did amount to an hundred or six-score thousand crownes a moneth. So the Emperour sent three thousand men out of his army into Spaine, as many likewise to Naples; and the rest he dismissed.

Then came authority from the King to the Cardinalls and his Ambassadour, with an expresse clause for the confirmation of the Mariage. And the Emperour seeing himselfe frustrate of his intent (to make the Pope declare himselfe openly against the King) he imbarcked the 8 of Aprill at Genoua, and sayled towards Spaine: the Pope went towards Rome, whither the aboue-named Cardinalls did accompanie him, alwaies insinuating by the Kings importunity, that the troubles of England might be pacified, before the fall of that great storme which threatned the Church.

But the King of England wearied with the Popes dissembling and delays (whom he then

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The first mo-
tione of the le-
paration of
England from
the Church of
Rome.

A then called but Bishop of Rome) vpon the matter of his diuorce, he caused it to be decided by the English Church. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, being President: where, by sentence of the said Church, his mariage was declared void, and the dispensation void, as giuen in a case that was not dispensable, & which is not in the Popes power, nor in the Churches: according to this sentence, he left his first mariage, and took to wife Anne Bullen, and in her name did publish an ample treaty, against the authority and preheminences of the Church of Rome, resolute to sequester himselfe wholly, if the Court of Rome did him not iustice. These newes being published, the Emperour grows in choller, threatens to raise all the world against England: takes his Aunts cause in hand, summons the Pope to administer the like iustice to her that was put away, as her cause required: if he doth it not, he protests with an oath to be reuenged. The Colledge of Cardinalls stormes, they enuie the Pope, and all with one voyce demand iustice against the attempts of the King of England, and the Archbishops, hauing taken knowledge of a cause, the deciding whereof belonged to Iudges deputed by his Holinesse: his Holinesse desired to temporize, and to make a more quiet end. He did foresee, that proceeding to condemnation, and hauing no means to execute it really, were a fruitlesse enterprife, and would make his Apostolike Authoritie contemptible, hauing no means to put it in execution without the Emperours assistance: besides, they had a great lett, which was the strict alliance of the most Christian King with the English, who ioyning their mutual forces, of offense and defense, might engage all Christendome in more mortall warres then euer. Notwithstanding in the end (as well to gratifie the Emperour, as his Cardinalls) hee pronounced his censures against the King of England, if within a certaine time he made not reparation of the said attempts. Then he prepared for his interview with the King, notwithstanding all the crosses which the Imperials gaue him, transforming themselves into as many shapcs as Proteus, to draw him from this resolution: all which are to be read in the Originalls.

Nice had been appointed for this effect: the Duke of Sauoy had freely offered it at the Popes request, holding himselfe happie (said he) that so holy a worke should be treated of in his country. And in truth it was his best course. The Pope did affect this place, that he might by this meanes reconcile the Duke vnto the King, who for many respects (as wee shall note hereafter) was discontented with him. But the Emperour forgetting nothing which he thought might serue to breake off this interview, gaue him such goodly reasons, as afterwards he let men vnderstand, that this assembly was nothing pleasing vnto him. Marfeilles supplied the defect of Nice. Patience being moued (saith the Prouerbe) turns into fury. If the King to this time had many motives of discontent, now is hee prick to the quicke, which will soone draw him to reuenge. The vnusl death of the Seigneur of Merueille, who was a Gentleman of Milan, bred vp in Court, since King Lewis the 12, one of the Quirries, and now Ambassadour for the King with Sforza Duke of Milan, yet secretly, hauing besides his instructions and letters of credit, a priuate letter directed to the Duke, in recommendation of some businesse for the said Meruelles: to the end, that if the Emperour should grow iealous of the Duke, he might by meanes of the said letters, iustifie his being there, not in quality of an Ambassadour, but onely for his owne priuate affaires. It chanced the first of Iuly, that Meruelles, accompanying the Duke through the Citie, a Gentleman Milanois of the house of Castiglion (hauing either by chance or of purpose pickt a quarrell) demanded of one of Meruelles seruants, to whom hee belonged? He answered, I serue the Lord of Meruelles of France, who is there. Nay (replied Castiglion) Meruelles of the gallows: which was a very ignominious word. Another following his Lord, takes hold of this speech, and in the end reproacheth the Milanois: as hauing spoken ill against such a personage: the Milanois denies it: the lye is giuen often. On the other side, and the French-man offers to maintaine it with his Sword. Castiglion happily disdainig a man of baser quality then himselfe, retires; two of his seruants draw their swords, but they are parted. Afterwards Castiglion gathers together ten or twelue Rustians, with Harquebuzes and Pertuisans: hee passeth and repasseth often before Meruelles lodging: one cuning he meets five or six of his seruants, offers them violence, but they retire: Meruelles complains to the Capitaine of the Iustice, and intreats him to take order, being loth to seeke reuenge of their wrongs, or that they should continue to wrong them.

The

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The worthy
execution of
Merveilles.

The Capitaine makes no account thereof. *Castilian* continues his course, and sets againe vpon *Merveilles* servants: but the first feare had made them wise, they defend themselves, kill him, and put his followers to flight. The next day being the fourth of July, the Capitaine goes in the morning, to take an Inuentorie of *Merveilles* goods, puts him into prison, and all his servants he could finde: gives the strapado to one about foure score yeares old, being deafe for very age, to wrect some confession from him against his master: he suffers not any of his friends to speake with him, or to see him: teares in pieces, disdainfully to reade the iustificacions (which according to the custome of Milan comes of his friends had presented him in writing:) and the Sunday following, after midnight, first informed of the Dukes pleasure, he cuts off his head in prison, and causeth his body to be cast vpon the Merchants meeting place. A horrible and insolent proceeding against so notable a person, being publike, sacred, and inuiolable! If it shall be lawfull so to violate the law of nations, what safety shall Ambassadors find with them to whom they are sent?

The King demands satisfaction of this wrong of the Duke: he writes to the Emperor and to all Princes and Potentates of Christendome; as hauing all a priuate interest in this publike iniurie. The Duke excuseth himselfe by *Francis Tauerne* his Chancellor, Nephew to the said *Merveilles*, who alledgeth, that the Duke his master did neuer acknowledge *Merveilles* to haue the place, nor to hold the ranke of an Ambassadour: but as a priuate man, his vassall and subiect, he had suffered iustice to be done, for the murder committed C on the person of one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of his house. That *Merveilles* was a man of a vicious conuersion, seditious, scandalous, a concealer of murderers and conspirators against the life of the Duke his Master, who for these causes had often let him vnderstand that his stay at Milan was not pleasing vnto him.

An vnkinde Nephew (he was sonne to *Merveilles* Sister) and a bad Aduocate in a bad cause. Had not *Sforza* beloyed himselfe in a letter of his owne, dated the seuenth of December 1532, whereof the King had the Originall, where he did gine him to vnderstand, that his comming from the most Christian King, (to whom he was, and desired to be a most humble seruant) was very pleasing vnto him, and that for many respects, hee should alwayes haue bene welcome to Milan? And could *Tauerne* be ignorant of *Merveilles* D qualitie, seeing that he himselfe had procured this charge for his Vncle, being at Fontainebleau, and propounded this meanes of priuate recommendation to the Duke, to seruise a shadow against the Emperours ialousies? Moreouer, he knew his Vncle had letters of credit to the Duke, and his instructions signed with the Kings hand. But the hastie proceeding from Friday to Sunday following, the execution done by night and without the peoples priuitee (who perchance would tumultuously haue opposed, fearing to incur the reuenge, which without doubt the King would take) doe they not plainly discouer, that the fact was not excusable, nor to be iustified?

The Emperour made answer to the Ambassador de *Velly* that *Merveilles* had well deserved death, not being acknowledged for an Ambassador, but for a priuate Gentleman, E subiect to the Duke, and following his owne priuate affaires; being nothing moued, when as *Velly* presented him the Dukes letters vnto the King for his allowance: whereby it appeared what place *Merveilles* held with the Duke. Thus seeing himselfe more assured of *Sforza*, he sent into Flanders for his Neece, the yongest daughter of *Christienne* King of Denmarke, according to the promise which had ben made him at Placentia. About this time the Pope made his entrie at Marfeilles in great pompe, set vpon a yong Assie: he was carried in a high chaire vpon two mens shoulders, followed by his Cardinals, and the Duchesse of Vrbin apart, accompanied with a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen. There was nothing ready for a Councell, which the Princes of Germanie did solicit with great vehemency: neither was there any intent of reformation. But expecting the opportunitie of this generall Conuocation, a Bull was sent forth to stay the course of religion, F which passing from Germanie into Swisserland, and from thence into France, did greatly increase. Then the marriage betwixt the Duke of Orleanes, and *Katherine de Medicis* Duchesse of Vrbin, was consummated by *Clement* the 7 her Vncle: who in the end of their parle, at the Kings request, created foure Cardinals; the Cardinal of Veneur, Bishop of Lizeux, and chiefe Almoner to the King, and one of those three Houses, Chastillon, Chambré, and Guiry. This done, the Pope imbarke for Rome the twentieth of November,

An interview
betwixt the
Pope & King.

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A uember, and the King rooke his way to Auignon. Here the King resolved in his priue C Council vpon a petition made vnto him by *Christopher*, sonne to the Duke of Wirtemberg, both in his owne name, and his fathers, spoiled of their estates seuentene yeares since, by the Emperour *Charles*, and *Ferdinand* his brother: as also by *Lewis* and *William* Dukes of Bauaria his Vncles. The mother of *Christopher*, was daughter of a sister to *Maximilian*, Grandfather to the said Emperour, and King of Romanes, and the consummation of the marriage of *Eleanor* their sister with his Maiestie gaue the father and the sonne hope, that the King in fauour of this alliance, interposing his authoritie for them that were spoiled, should either procure restitution of *Ferdinand* for these Dukes, B or refusing Iustice, to purchase him the hatred of all Germanie, which in the end might by open force dispossesse him of the Duchie of Wirtemberg, and of the name of King of Romanes. The King did greatly desire to see these Dukes restored to their estates, and to that end would willingly haue opened his purse, to weaken the Emperours and his brothers forces, and by the same meanes, to confirme the amities which he had purchased in Germanie, and to procure new, requiring the Emperour, who sought by all meanes to take from the King his ancient alliances. But hee fought to colour the protection of these afflicted Princes in such sort, as no man might iustly challenge him to haue broken the treatie of Cambray. He therefore sent the Lord of Langey, with commission to doe for these Dukes whatsoever was in his power, not directly contradicting the conventions: and to conclude, the confiscation of an hundred thousand Crownes, into the hands C of the Dukes of Bauaria, with a sufficient bond to his Maiestie: reseruing now* hindring this clause, *That his money should not be employed to the inuasion of any one, but only for the defence of the ancient customes and priuiledges of the Empire.* The publike and priuate perswasions of Langey, were of such efficacie, as that ancient and great league of Suene (which had continued threescore and ten yeares, to the benefit of the house of Austria) was disannulled. But for that the re-integration of these Dukes, could not bee made but by armes, they couered it with this expedient: *That the Duke of Wirtemberg should sell the County of Montbeliard (whereof he was Lord) vnto the King, for sixscore thousand Crownes, vpon condition that he might redeeme it: which money he might employ to his use,* D *either in peace or warre, without any breach on the Kings part, to the Articles of Cambray.* So the *Lantgrau* of Hessen, chiefe of this present league, and the dukes of Bauaria and Wirtemberg, with their allies, went suddenly to field with an armie, before the Emperour or his brother could crosse their attempts, restoring them that were spoiled, to the possession of their Duchy: and soone after they repayed the Kings money, within thirty or fortie thousand crownes, for the which the dukes of Bauaria were answerable: and the Countie of Montbeliard was restored vnto them. Let vs now see what Catastrophe the Popes rash E censure, giuen against *Henry* King of England shall cause. *Henry* was wonderfully incensed against the Apostolick See, by reason of the iniustice (hee said) was done him: in that they had refused to send him Commissioners to take knowledge of his cause, and of the contempt done to his authority, in that they would disdainfully force him to abandon his Realme, and appeare personally at Rome. Notwithstanding, by the perswasions of *John de Bellay* Bishop of Paris, (whom the King had sent vnto him, presently after his interview with the Pope) he granted, that in case the Pope would surcease from the said sentence, vntill he had sent Iudges to be heard, that he would likewise surcease from his intention, to withdraw himselfe wholly from the obedience of Rome. The Bishop offers himselfe to go to Rome to that end. *Henry* intreats him, and assures him, that hauing obtained his demand, he will giue him authoritie presently, to confirme what hee had yielded vnto. The matter was not yet desperate, but the Consistorie of Rome gaue so short a time to haue an answer from the King of England, as the Poste came short two dayes at his returne. The terme expired, they proceed hastily to the confirmation of the curses and censures, notwithstanding the Bishops instance, to obtaine six dayes delay: seeing the King of England had wauered six yeares before he fell. Two dayes were scarce past after the prefixed time; but the Poste arriued with authoritie & declarations from England, the which did greatly amaze those hasty Cardinals, who afterwards could find no meanes to amend that which they had married. *The matter* (saith the originall) *was so basted, as that which could not be finished in three Consistories, was done in one.* This indignitie done to the King of England, and the small respect they had to his Maiestie, caused both him and Fff his

Estate of
England.

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his Realme to shake off the yooke of the Romane obedience, declaring himselfe immediatly vnder God, supreme head of the Church of England.

In the meane time, the King not able to get by lustice, a reparation of the vnworthy death of his Ambassador at Milan, he studied to haue his reuenge by armes. To this end, following the example of the Romanes, he erected in euery Prouince of his Realme, a Legion of six thousand foot, vnder the command of six Gentlemen, who for euery thousand should haue two Lieutenants, and vnder euery ensigne five hundred men, who in time of peace, should once a yeare make a generall muster, and the captaines should know their names and surnames, with the dwellings of euery one, to haue them ready at all commands. Then he sent *William* Earle of Furstemburg, into Germany, to make a leaue of twenty ensignes of Lansquenets, and demanded passage of the Duke of Sauoy, through his country, to be reuenged of the wrong done him by the Duke of Milan. The Sauoicene refused it, which causeth our *Francis* to demand the portion of *Louise* of Sauoy his mother, sister to the said Duke, children to *Philip* Duke of Sauoy. *Philip* had to his first wifes daughter of Bourbon, by whom he had *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, and *Louise* the Kings mother. Then he had to his second wife, a daughter of *Ponshieure*, by whom he had *Charles*, who is now in question, and the Earle of Geneva, afterwards duke of Nemours. *Philibert* was dead without children, and therefore the King challenged a good portion in the succession of Sauoy, his mother comming of the first marriage, and sole heire to the said *Philibert*. But the Kings deputies not able to draw any reason from *Charles*, vnder to his Maicestie, he must seeke that by force, which he could not get by a friendly and gentle composition.

The Kings first stratagem, was to bring a part of *Rence de Ceres* company into Geneva, to succour them against *Charles*, who besieged it. The second was to stirre vpon the Bernois, allies and neighbours to Geneva, who taking the towne into their protection, went to field with ten or twelue thousand men, made the Duke retire, spoiled him of a good part of the lands that were vnder his obedience, chased away the Bishop of *Lansanna*, and ioyning it to their iurisdiction, they remaine still in possession thereof. The Emperor returned then from his victory of Tunis against *Barbarossa*, and seeming desirous to make a more stricker league with the King, hee offered him a pension of a hundred thousand crowns a yeare, out of the Duchie of Milan, for any one of his children, whom he should name: he treated the marriages of the Daulphin with the Infant of Portugall, daughter to *Queene Eleonor*, and of the duke of Angouleme, with such a one as the King should well like of (it seemed that he meant the Infant of Spaine) to the end that by these new bonds of conjunction, tying their friendships more firmly, they might ioynly participate (said he) in the honour and profit of the mighty conquests, they should make vpon Greece.

All this was but cunning. The Emperor was tired, & his forces were wasted by the toiles of warre, and the great heat they had endured. And the King being ready with a fresh and mighty army, threatened the Duchies of Sauoy & Milan: he must therefore busie him with some bait, and at the least stay the exploits of his forces. The death of *Francis Sforza*, presents a new occasion. By this death the Emperor pretends to be freed of that bond, & that he might dispose of this Duchy at his pleasure. The captaines promise to hold their places to the Emperor. The Emperor giues hope, not onely to dispose of the said Duchy to the Kings liking, but also to conclude of a generall warre against the Turk: in the which he offered to impart with the King, the good or euill that should grow thereby. & of the faith and reunion of the Church, namely for the reducing of Germany and England, to the generall belief of Christians, and of a generall peace in Christendome. In the meane time he prepared for warre, hee caused *Cont Nassau* to make a great leauiy in Germany, and called backe *Ferdinand* *Consigiuo* into Italy, with his Spaniards which remained in Sicilia.

Thus all the negotiations and practices of these two great Princes, gaue sufficient signes of open warre: there wanted nothing but a iust occasion for either of them to blame his companion, and to lay vpon him the causes of the first inuasion. The Emperor required moreouer, that for the quiet of Italy, the King should desist from the action of Genoua: That excluding the D. of Orleans, from the estate and Duchy of Milan (the which the King demanded for his second sonne, according to the treaty made with the Pope at Marceilles) the duke of Angouleme, for that he was farthest from the crowne, should be inuested.

That

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A That the King should send him the Duke of Orleans, to assist him at the conquest of Alger which he pretended. The King desired greatly to maintaine true friendship with him, and to vnic it by as strong alliances as the Emperour offered, that the greatneesse of the one might not breed any ialousie in the other. As for the action of Genoua, hee was content to surcease that controuersie, vntill it might be decided by good and lawfull means, to renounce for cuer his pretensions to Naples, and to cause the Duke of Orleans to yield vp his quarrell to Florence and Vrbin, with such securitie as the Emperour should require: so as his second sonne might be inuested in Milan. Hee promised the Pope (which was *Alexander Farnese*, vnder the name of *Paul* the third, successor of *Clement* the seuenth) summoning all Princes to that end, to employ his forces, to make Germanie and England obey the sentence and decree of the Church, and to employ himselfe in fauour of the said Emperour, to the States and Princes of the Empire, that they should ioynly receiue his brother *Ferdinand*, for the true and lawfull King of Romanes. Hee offered to succour the Emperour in his holy warre with a certaine number of gallies, and men entertained, promising to accompanie him the yeere following, in the voyage of Constantinople, with all his forces.

But to exclude the Duke of Orleans from the inheritance of his Ancestors, which his eldest brother did willingly yield vnto him, in fauour of his marriage, to instill his youngest sonne, was it not to sow dissention, and cause warre, betwixt them whom he desired to breed vp in peace and brotherly loue? And to what end did the Emperour demand the Duke of Orleans, but rather to hold him in manner of an hostage, then to make any shew of loue or trust? On the other side, to give hope, that hee would compound with the King touching Milan, and to vrge this claue vehemently, that all should be managed without the Popes priuie, who no doubt would seeke all means to crosse it (said the Emperour) if hee should vnderstand they had treated without imparting it vnto him, and notwithstanding to giue intelligence to the Court of Rome, by *Andrew Doria*, and to assure him, that although he gaue care to the Kings Ministers, yet would he not conclude any thing without the aduice and consent of his Holinesse: was not this a corrupt proceeding, seeking to breed a ialousie and distrust betwixt the Pope and his Maicestie?

D The King (wearing with these long dissimulations and delays, without effect) sent the Lord of Beauuais vnto Venice, to make a new league with the Senate, and the King of England sent the Bishop of Winchester to the same effect. The Emperour had some intelligence thereof, and to crosse the Kings designs, hee sent *Du Prat*, a Gentleman of his house, to make a new leaue of Lansquenets, and *Andrew Doria* to Genoua, to prepare his armie by sea, but vnder colour of his enterprize of Alger. Who would not then iudge, but in stead of a confirmation of peace and loue, all things tended to open warre? Nothing could detain these inuincible warriors, but that the Emperour, after so great a dissipation of his forces, could not so suddenly repaire his armie, and the King making a scruple to be the first assailable, would not incur the blame, to haue broken the treatie of Cambray. But without breach thereof, many motives of discontent, had long incensed him against the Duke of Sauoy. The Jewels which the Duke had engaged, to borrow money for the Duke of Bourbon, and to fauour his rebellion against the King, the Letters of congratulation, he had written for his taking at Pavia, his pursuit to withdraw the Suisses from the alliance of France, the purchase of the county of Asti, his refusal to lend Nice for the enterueiw of Pope *Clement* and his Maicestie, and to giue him passage against *Sforza*, the detention of his Mothers inheritance, which the King could not by any gentle means draw his vncle to restore.

F This must be tried by the sword. The King therfore sent *Francis* of Bourbon, Earle of Saint Paul, who before the Duke could oppose his forces, conquered all Sauoy, except Montmelian, where *Francis* of Charamont a Neapolitane commanded, who wanting victuals, and without hope of succours, in the end yielded vp the place, to depart with baggage, and afterwards contemned by the Duke, hee followed the victors fortune, and in the end did good seruice to the Crowne. Then the Emperour granted (by the Lord of Cannes and Granuelles) the Duchy of Milan to the Duke of Orleans. But when the securitie and conditions of his instatement came to be demanded, they made answer to the Ambassador of *Vellu*, that it was sufficient for that time to haue granted the principall, the

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New motives
of warre in
Sauoy.The Emperours
dissimulation.The death of
Francis Sforza.Causes of the
Kings dislike
with the Duke
of Sauoy.Conquest of
Sauoy.

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rest should be treated of with *Philip Chabot* Earle of Bufançois, Admirall of France, who should presently arise (they supposed hee should first make a voyage without any forces) and that they must keepe this conclusion secret from the knowledge of his Holinesse. All this discovered plainly, that it was a trick of their ordinarie craft and dissembling, to lull the King asleepe in the beginning of his course.

The Emperour
practices, vnder-
hand.

At the same instant, the King hath newes, sufficient to giue him a certaine impression of the Emperours designs, that the Pope had bene ducely aduertised by the Emperours ministers, of all these practices, which he would haue secretly managed: that the Venetians, at the vrgent request of the Emperour, were entred into a defensue league for the Duchy of Milan, in fauour of any one he should inuest: that he offered great matters to the King of England, to draw him to his deuotion: that *Du Prat* passing by Milan, had deliuered speeches quite contrarie to the hopes and promises which the Emperour had giuen: and that in Flanders he had made great preparation for warre. That the Emperour tooke vpon him the protection of the Duke of Sauoy. And for the sixth point, the preparations made by *Andrew Doris*. It was therefore resolved, to proceed in Sauoy and farther, without breaking off (on his part) this negotiation with the Emperour.

The Kings
armie.

To this end, the King sent (for his Lieutenant generall) the Earle of Bufançois Admirall of France, with 500 Launces: whereof the feuerall Captaines were *James Galiat*, Master of the horse, and master of the Ordnance of France: *Robert Steward* Marshall of France, *Rene* of Montican, *Francis*, Marquis of Salusses, *Claude* of Annebault, *Anthony C* Lord of Montecat, *Iohn Eltonneulle* Lord of Villebon, *Prouost* of Paris, *Gabriel d'Allegre*, *Charles Tiercelin* Lord of Roche du Maine, and *Iohn Paul de Cere*. A thousand light-horse, vnder the command of the Lords of Elfe, Terme Aulstin and Verets of Sauoy. Twelue thousand of his Legionary men, that is, 2000 Picards, commanded by *Michel* of Brabançon Lord of Cany, and *Anthony* of Mailly Lord of Auchy. Two thousand Normans, vnder the Captaines *La Sale*, and *Saint Aubin* the Hermit. Two thousand Champanois, led by *Iohn d'Anglere*, Lord of Tour, and by the Lord of Quinly. A thousand of Languedoc, vnder their Knight *d'Ambres*. Four thousand out of Dauphiné, vnder the Lord of Brecheux, and others. And a thousand vnder the Lord of Forges, the Kings ordinarie Cup-bearer, of all which bands *Rene* of Montican was Colonel: six thousand Lanquenets, led by *William* Earle of Furstemberg: two thousand French, not Legionaries led by their Captaines *Lartigue-Dieu*, *Blanche*, *Anguer* and *Wartis* a Nauarrois. Two thousand Italians, vnder the command of *Marc Anthony* of Cusan, a Gentleman Milanois, and a thousand vnder Captaine *Christopher Guaco*, eight hundred Pioners, six hundred and fourescore horse for Artillery, and the charge thereof appointed to be vnder the government of *Claude* of Concis Lord of Bury.

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Count *Philip Torneil*, & *Iohn Iagues de Medicis* Marquis of Marignan, marched before, to stop the passage of Suze, but *Annebault* aduancing with the troopes of Dauphiné, prevented them with speed, chased them before him, from lodging to lodging, and at the first summons, puts into the Kings hands the townes of Turin and Chiuaus. *Don Laurence Emmanuel*, *Iohn Iagues de Medicis*, and *Iohn Baptista Castaldo*, camped vpon the Riuer of Douaire. The French and Lanquenets, impatient to attend the making of a bridge, wade through the water euen vnto the breasts, repulse the Imperials, and make them retire towards Verceil. Agallant Legionary (to whom the Historie ought his name) swimming through the Riuer, brought away a boat in despite of the enemies shot, for the building of a bridge. The Admirall, to encourage the rest, according to the Kings command, caused a gold-ring to be giuen him, in view of the whole armie.

The Emperour was vpon termes of his departure from Naples, to make his entry into Rome, when as these happy beginnings made him to renew the treaties of an accord: but with such slow proceeding, as a man might easily iudge, that his onely intent was, to stay the King in his course, labouring to entertaine him with doubts, hopes, and delays. In the meane time, he sollicitates the Pope to declare himselfe on his partie, he assured the Duke of Sauoy, to cause all he had lost to be soone restored to him againe, hee hastened the leauy of his Lanquenets, causeth his horsemen to aduance, drawes Artillery and Munition out of Imperiall townes, makes them to march towards Italy, protests againe to the Pope, that hee would neuer yeeld Milan to the King, nor suffer him to possesse one foot of land in Italy: he solliciteth the Court of Rome, the Senate of Venice, and all other Potentates

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A tates of Italy, to oppose against the inuesting of any stranger in the Duchy of Milan. These were vehement presumptions, to shew, that the Emperour meant not to treat but armed, which caused the King to command his Admirall to proceed in his first course, (hee had temporized by his Maiesties commandement, attending the issue of this new parle) and to march against Verceil: and if hee encountered his enemies with equalitye, to fight with them. There were three thousand men to defend Verceil, and foure miles aboue, *Anthony de Lena* camped with about fixe hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot, not as Lieutenant to the Emperour, but as Capaine General for the league of Italy, cutting off the passage to Caguin, and *Hamball Consagua*, *Guy Earle of B* Rangen, and some other pensioners to the King, who had brought for his seruice, fixe hundred light-horse, choise-men, bred vp in the former warres, and six thousand foot. The Admirall therefore, to be assured of *Anthony de Lena*, demands free passage for the fore-said pensioners. I will (answered *Lena*) giue them assurance, so as they come for the league of Italy. A sufficient answer to begin the warre, whereof the King would by no means be the first author.

The Emperour
entry into
Naples.

During this time, the Emperour made his entrie into Rome. An entry, which by the ruine (amongst other buildings) of that ancient temple of peace, gaue the most curious, occasion to iudge that his entrie was not with an intent to confirme a peace, as hee gaue hope by his speeches; but contrariwise, to deface all memorie thereof. C His actions did afterwards confirme many in this opinion; for after *Charles* his first parle with the Pope, the Bishop of Malton and Velly, Ambassadors for France, the one to the Pope, the other to the Emperour, learned from the Popes owne mouth (who said hee would remaine a Neuter, as a common father to maintaine Iustice, and yet oppose against the obstinacie of him that would not yeeld to reason) that the Emperour would neuer condescend, to giue Milan to the Duke of Orleance. This was the chiefe point, and either partie growing obstinate vpon the effect of this clause, what accord could be expected? This holy father was little affected to the house of Medicis, and therefore would hardly haue bene pleased, to see a daughter of that house Du-chesse of Milan. To conclude, the Emperour did submit his instalmnt to the Popes liking: and the Pope did promise verbally, to yeeld vnto it, if the Emperour would consent, yet did hee freely shew, that the Emperour encreanted this practice of purpose to abuse the King, whilst that he should fortifie himselfe with alliances, men, and money, and yet (as it were) giuing scope to both parties: I thinke (said the Pope to the French Ambassadors, replying that this condition sayling, the King their Master would neuer come to any conclusion) that things cannot passe, without a breach, for that the Emperour neither will, nor can giue Milan, without the consent of some, who in my opinion will neuer yeeld.

These were the Venetians, whom the Emperour did coldly intreat to like of this clause, but in effect to contradict it: and all in generall, would haue no D. of Milan, who might at any time, vntie this goodly estate to the Crowne of France: for (said they) the duke of Angoulesme being inuested in the Duchy of Milan, although he depends on the King his father: yet marrying one of the Emperours Neeces, (he offered him the widow of *Sforza*) his wife would be of the Emperours faction, and so matters should remaine in suspense, whereas the Duke of Orleance, besides many other obstacles, must bee onely at the King his fathers deuotion: and as husband to the Nece of Pope *Leo*, and of *Clement*, would not cease to pretend an interest in the estates of Florence and Vrbin, and consequently, by new pretended quarrels, trouble the quiet of Italy.

In the end, the Emperour in a speech made to the Pope, in the presence of all the Cardinals, and many Ambassadors, as well to shew (said he) his good meaning, and how much he desired the peace of Christendome, as to be cleared hereafter, before God and men, he offered againe three conditions to the King. The first to giue the Duchy of Milan to one of his children, so as thereby he might confirme a good and durable peace, maintaining notwithstanding that it could not be, so long as the King continued obstinate in fauour of the Duke of Orleance. The second was, to fight with the King, hand to hand with like armes, and hostages, in an Island vpon a bridge or boate, or in any other place of safety, to avoid greater effusion of blood, being reasonable that they, by whom such great combusions did grow, should decide their quarrels in person.

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A Spanish
bragge.The Emperours
protestation.

But vpon condition, that the victor should giue his forces to the holy Father, to maintaine the celebration of a Councell, to reduce them that were rebelled and sequestred from the Church, and to the suppression of Infidels; and the vanquished should assist the victor with all his power. Requiring moreover, that this combat being accepted, the King should pwayne the Duchie of Bourgongne, and the Emperour that of Milan, both to be adjudged to the victor. The third was, a protestation neuer to take armes, but forced, foregoing that the warre would be so cruell, as the victory would be of small profit to the victor, and should but open a passage to the common enemy of our faith. And to conclude, he added, that what he had propounded touching a Peace, proceeded not from any feare, hauing neuer sought peace in losse, but could well giue it to them that were vanquished. But contrariwise, three good and iust reasons gaue him an assured hope of victory. That he was not the beginner of this warre. That the King had begunne it in a season of great aduantage for the Emperour. That hee found his Subiects, Captaines, and Souldiers so well disposed, as if the Kings were like vnto them, hee would craue mercy with his hands and feet bound. The second article of the three, and the last, being but bragges, were by the Ambassadors (as shall be noted hereafter) concealed from the King. The Pope requested them, that without prejudice to the King, they should suppress what might incense his Maiestie, adding thereunto the explication; which the Emperour himselfe did afterwards make of his words, at the request of the French Ambassadors (desirous to know if the Emperour had any meaning thereby, to charge the King to haue done C any thing prejudiciall to his honour, or if his intention were to challenge him) he publicly declared: that what he had spoken, was but by way of aduice and proposition, as being more fit, and of lesse inconuenience, than to decide it betwixt them two, by fighting for their quarrels, to the mercy of Armes, to decide it betwixt them two, with the perill of their owne bloods: not meaning in any sort to tax the King, whom hee knew to be a great Prince both in courage and person, much lesse to defie him, and in the presence of his holinesse, without whose permission hee would not attempt such an action. So as the King answering onely to those Articles whereof hee was aduertised, failed in these.

The Emperour hauing thus published his protestation, tooke his leaue of the Pope, who D displeased in shew of the neere breach of Peace, resolved to bee a Neuter, not assisting either party with counsell or fauour concerning the warre. In the meane time the Admirall (hauing expresse commandement from the King, and afterwards re-iterated by John Cardinall of Lorraine (sent by his Maiestie to the Emperour) not to attempt any thing whereby the Imperials might frame any iust complaint) had retired his armie towards Saint Germaine, with an intent to assure himselfe of the towne of Yuree, and of all the valley towards the Suisses, to receiue men for the Kings seruice, if they should come to open warre, and to succour Turin when need should require.

But hauing intelligence of the Emperours care to increase his force, and that Anthony de Leua was resolved to passe into Alsian, to cut off his victuals behinde, he sent Monpe- E sat with two hundred men at Armes, foure thousand French foot, and eight hundred Italians, to seize vpon Fossan, Vignon, Saullian, Cony, Mont-deuis and other townes thereabouts: And to prouide for the fortification of Turin, he sent Stephen Colonne with a hundred men at armes, and foure thousand foot. From words in the end they fall to blowes. The Emperour hitherto sed vs with good words, now he discouers himselfe, and to make an open declaration of warre, he makes three armies to assaile at one instant, the Prouinces of Picardie, Prouence and Champagne. To crosse him, the King dispatcheth foureteen, or fiftene thousand of those men which he had in Piedmont, to fortifie those places which he held beyond the Alpes, and calls backe his Admirall, to the end hee might lay all the blame of this inuasion vpon the Emperour. Considering moreover, that the Admirall (hauing placed his garisons) had bene too weak in field, hee sent Commissions, with great summes of money to Charles of Bourbon, Duke of Vendosme, Gouverneur of Picardie; Grandfather to the most Christian and victorious King last deceased, and to Claude of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, Gouverneur of Champagne, brother-in-law to the said Duke, to leaue sixteene thousand aduenturers, to divide them into frontier townes, and to prouide for the victualing, and fortifications thereof. At Marseils hee placed Anthony of Rocheaucault, Lord of Barbezieu. In Dauphine, John Lord of Humieres. In Gui- enne,

The Kings
preparation
for the warre.

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A enne, Henry of Albret King of Nauarre, for his Lieutenants and Gouvernours in the said Prouinces. And himselfe (resolute to oppose against the enemy some fortified places vpon the frontier, to make him to consume time, men, munition, victuals and money, in the siege and battery thereof) assembled the rest of his forces nere to his owne person. The Admirall retiring out of Piedmont, left Claude Lord of Annebault to command within Turin, as the Kings Lieutenant, with an hundred men at armes, and three hundred light-horse, led by the Lords of Auflun, Termes and Esse foure thousand five hundred foot, vnder the Ensignes of the Lords of Auchy, Cony, Sale, Quincy, Lartigue, Dieu, Blanche & Anguar, and two thousand Italians, vnder the charge of Marke Anthony of Cusan, of all which E footmen, Charles of Coucis, Lord of Bury was head and Colonell generall, and the rest of the Army Marquis of Salusses commanded.

This was to giue the purse to keepe to the veriest thiefe, but his trechery was yet couered with a great shew of hypocrisie. He had long determined to reuolt. Feare and hope moued him thereunto; feare, to lose his estate; hope, to be fauoured by the Emperour, in the cause he pretended to the Marquisate of Montferrat. Moreover, he was a man curious to know what was to come, and did superstitiously beleue Soothsayers, who had foretold him, that the Emperour should this yeare dispossesse the King of his Realme. The first act of his treason appeared in this, that the enemy being nere, and strong, he said hee had neither order nor means to fortifie any place in time, or to make it tenable, but that of C Turin, and that to put in more men then those that were, were to lose them wilfully. The second was, when as the Lords of Montferrat, Roche du Maine, Villebon, the Knight of Ambres, Saint Aubin, the Earle of Pontremy, and other Captaines, were resolved to attend the enemy in some place of importance, before he came to Turin, and had concluded to put themselves into Fossan, after they had receiued commandement to hold Fossan or Cony onely for fiftene dayes, to keepe the Imperials occupied; he discouered this designe to Anthony de Leua, aduising him to come thither with speed, promising to deliuer into his hands both the towne and men that were in it: and in stead of sending to Fossan the meale, a Culuerin, three Cannons, powder and bullets, which he had drawne out of Cony, he conueyed thither but one Cannon, a Culuerin, five barrels of powder, and some D bullets, but of another size; he put all the rest into his house at Raul, and retired the night following.

Treacheries of
the Marquis
of Salusses.

A horrible treason: he had bene brought vp with the King from his infancy, well maintained during the life of the Marquis Michael Anthony his brother, and honoured with the Order of Saint Michael. And which is more, his Marquisate hauing bene adjudged vnto the King for the treason and rebellion of John Leua, the eldest of the House after the decease of Michael, the King had not onely inuested him, but also giuen him freely out of the conquest of Sauoy, to the number of seuentene townes, the flower of Piedmont, amounting to more in reuennue then the Marquisate, amongst the which, Saullian, Cony, Fossan, Caullimont, Mont-Deuis, and others, which he pretended to be ancient E appurtenances of the said Marquisate.

According to the aduice of Francis of Salusses, Anthony de Leua, leauing at Turin (which he had beleaguered) ten thousand men, to continue the siege, came and camped before Fossan the twelfth day of Iune: makes his approaches, beginnes his trenches, many of the assailants lose their liues, few of the besieged. The third day, the Cannon playes, but slowly. The Marquis assured them, that shewing themselves before one gate, the besieged would goe forth at another: they goe forth indeed, but not like men that fled. The Baron of Castelpers, Lieutenant to Montferrat, led the horse, Warri the foot. The Imperial Lanquenets were lodged somewhat farre from blowes, and therefore their guards were but weak. Warri doth charge them, and at the first giues them a great checke, Castelpers E tries, and re-enforce the alarme. Anthony de Leua sends a good number of Spaniards to cut off our men in their retreat, and they whom hee had appointed to guard the trenches, seeing euery one runne to the alarme, would likewise haue their share in it. Saint Pierre Corse appointed with Villebon to guard the Bastion newly begun, within the towne, perceiving the trenches vnfurnished, issue forth with some Champanois and Normans, kill five and twenty or thirty men, and puts the rest to flight. Anthony de Leua sends the rest of his men which remained, to second them, and himselfe being old and full of the gout, is caried forth of his lodging to saue himselfe, they follow him, but those which carried

Fossan besieged

A gallant fallie.

Anthony de
Leua forced to
flye out of his
Campa.

caried him, set him in the come, where the height of the cares couered him from such as A sought him.

It is a rashnesse, yea in the greatest Capitaines, to contemne an enemy. *Anthony de Leua* building vpon the hope which the Marquis had giuen them, left the besieged a gate free, thinking they would retire to Cony. But this was a refreshing vnto them, for of seuen Wells which they had in the town, fiue were dried vp in two daies. *Anthony* therefore perswaded, that the besieged attended some more honest excuse and colour for their retreat, he plants foure Cannons in battery, and makes a breach for twenty men in front. *Fossan* had no ditchs, so as the Imperials might more easily assaile, then the French could defend the wals. But *Anthony* would reuerse his Spaniards for some better enterprise: they B were old Souldiers, and the whole hope of his army. The Italians would not march vnlesse they were paid: and the Germanes (who held themselves of no lesse reputation then the Spaniards) would not hazard themselves alone. So the breach continues twelue daies in this sort, giuing them leisure to repaire it, and to make a trench within, and a rampier well flanked.

The time the King had appointed, was now expired: they had no wine nor meale, but some come, and no mils, and the Marquis had maliciously sent away the workmen they had to make any. Moreouer, the King commanded them not to hold it so long, as very necessity should force them to accepta dishonorable composition. But it was a point of honor for the one to demand, and for the other to giue a composition. In the end, the C griefe which *Anthony de Leua* conceiued, to spend the time before a paltry hens-roost, which might haue bene better employed, and the great desire those within the towne had to doe the King good seruice in affaires of better importance, made them to enter into capitulation: whereby at the end of the month they departed with their armes and Ensignes dispaied, leaving nothing in the towne but the artillery, munition, and their great horses, which were aboue fixtene handfulls and foure fingers high, except twelue, at the choice of the Capitaines, and came to refresh and to horse themselves anew at Marcellles, honored by the King with three months pay, besides that which was due. But the enemy had small profit by their horses, for they had filled them before with new come, so as when they came to water them, most of them burst with drinking.

Let vs here obserue some other Spanish brags, but boldly encountered by a French liberty of speech. Eight daies after the capitulation was signed, the Emperour came to visit *Anthony de Leua's* campe, accompanied with the Dukes of Sauoy, Alua, Bauaria and Brunswicke, the Princes of Salerne and Bisignan, the Marquis of Guast, and many others: hee caused his army to be put in battell, and finds it goodly and pleasing to his mind: hee calls *Roche du Maine*, *la Palisse* (the onely sonne of the Marshall of Chabannes deceased) and *After* (the onely sonne of the master of the Kings horse) who remained for hostages of the composition: hee embraceth *la Roche* courteously, whom he had heard reputed to be a gallant Gentleman, causeth him to couer his head, by reason of the heat of the Sunne: and sayes, That to doe him a pleasure, he will shew him his army. *My Lord* (answered B *la Roche*) to shew me your goodly army, as you esteeme it, were contrary to all content. I should be better pleased to see it poore, and ruined: vnlesse the King my master and you would agree together, and not bring too such goodly armies to fight, as yours, and that which the King will shortly oppose against you, to the preiudice of all Christendome. If you were both well aduised, you would agree, and hold both the Turke and all others in subiection. But to thinke to overthrow one another, were a more folly. And if the first army the King shall oppose against you, should chance to be vanquished (which God forbid) he will within fixtene daies raise another, yea and at need, would shew you as many Gentlemen on foot, as you haue men here of all sorts. Whereupon the Emperour said, I am not ignorant of the Kings forces, so are mine well knowne vnto him. As for an accord, I will neuer stop mine eares against that motion, so as it might be made F as it ought. This being spoken, hee commanded the Marquis of Guast to conduct them about the army, and to dine with the Princes of Germany: that after dinner hee would see them againe. After dinner the Emperour said: How thinke you of mine army? I finde it very faire (answered *la Roche*) it is pity you employ it not in some other designe. The Emperour replied, Where thinke you I will employ it? *La Roche* answered, Into Prouence. The Emperour said, *The Prouencals are my subiects*: (he did commonly peruse the Mappe of Prouence, and had already deuoured this Prouince in imaginations; but he shall finde the situ-

ation

A tion stronger then in his mappe, and men of firmer mettall then paper) *La Roche* answered: You shall find very rebellious and disobedient subiects. The Emperour replied, How many daies journey is it from hence to Paris. *La Roche* answered, If you meane battels, at the least a dozen, if the invader (meaning the Emperour) haue not his head broken at the first. The Emperour smiled, admiring his wit: and some one of the assistants (who knew *Teuclen* well) sayd, I told you before, my *Liege*, he could speake well if he list. Then the Emperour taking the word, gaue him assurance that he would giue care to any proposition of peace, so as it might be worthily treated of.

And in truth he doth reuiue it, but this was to haue speedier meanes to send newes to B the Earle of Nassau, and to receive intelligence from him, that both his army, and that which the Earle led vpon the marches of Picardy, might at one instant invade the frontiers of the Realme. Moreouer, attending the yeelding vp of Fossan, hee made at Sauillan, Mont-Denis, Cony and Tende, great prouision of bisket, and beasts of burthen to follow the Campe with this bisket, and other victuals to supply the waste which hee did foresee. Some, and the greatest number, counsell'd him to pursue the recovery of the Country, which the King had wonne from the Duke of Sauoy; by meanes whereof he might plant a strong barre against the French forces, and first to settle a sure peace beyond the Alpes, before hee came to make warre in France. Other men clawed him whereto it did chide, and by a more pleasing then wholsome counsell, perswaded him to take his way to C Prouence.

The Earldome pleased him greatly, gaping wonderfully after it, for the commodity of his passage vpon the Mediterranean sea, hoping that as Italy should take breath and new courage after the ruines and desolations wherewith it hath bene continually shaken these thirty yeares, the spoiles and ruine which hee should draw after him, chasing, destroying, amazing and making desolate the people of France, Paris in the end, and the Crowne of France should be the prize and recompence of his victories. But he reckoned without his hoste, *Marcellle* in stead of making his entry into the Realme, shall shamefully make him retire into Castile.

Many inticements drew him into France. We haue had (said he) almost for these twenty D yeares a continual victory against the enemy. The Da. hy of Milan which we now possess, is a certain testimony of our triumphs: we haue reason to retain the same resolution in this warre, and the same hope which Conquerors ought to haue: and leaue vnto the French, terror, and despaire, which commonly doth accompany the vanquished. We are superiours in number, men of better constitution, more practised in the art of Warre, and leauing some part of our forces on this side the mountains, we haue sufficient remaining to encounter the enemies power. But that which will giue vs the victory, we march against one that hath broken his faith (the iudicious Reader may consider which of these two Princes had most right, whether the Emperour, taking vpon him the protection of the D. of Sauoy, or the King, seeking his right by force of armes, which he could not obtaine by E reason from his Vncle.) Doubt not but we haue God for vs, he is iust Iudge, and a rigorous reuenger of the breach of faith. Moreouer, let vs not feare that the French King can fortifie himselfe on this side the Alpes: he will prepare all his forces against this army, but I haue another ready to invade Picardy; and besides, the Emperre prepares one in my Kingdomes of Spaine, which shall come by Languedoc to ioine with me. I leauy another to assaile Champagne and Bourgongne in the hottest of these warres, the which shall performe as much for my seruice as the rest. Having so great preparatiues, and in so many places, and the King so surpris'd as he cannot in time assemble sufficient forces to encounter so many armies, it is impossible but on some one side, wee should make a passage by force, euen into the heart of his Realme. We haue good intelligences, and manage great F practices. This spake the Emperour. But, *Doest thou know the decrees of Heauen?* (saith the Eternal, reprehending man) *And wilt thou dispose of the government thereof vpon earth?* What were these great practices and secret intelligences, which the Emperour vaunted to haue in France? A polirike Commander doth commonly vse this kind of speech, to giue courage to his men, and breed iaculosity and distrust in his enemy against his subiects. Hee had some secret practices vpon the towne of Langres (but the inhabitants were too faithful to their King, and since in these latter daies haue giuen sufficient testimony of their obedience to the Crowne) some held that the Marquis of Salusses had partakers of his treachery,

The Emperour conceit of his passage into France.

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The death of
Francis the
Duke, his
poisoned.

chery, and *William D. ke of Bavaria* said openly, that many in France, holding the same A party, would discouer themselves at need.

But whatsoever it were, that which gaue a more liuely impression: *Francis* Dauphin of Viennois, the Kings eldest sonne, whom his Maiesty (going from Lions to see his army which he meant to oppose against the Emperor) had left sicke at Tournon, dies the fourth day of his sicknesse, being about twenty yeares old, bred vp by his father in singular expectation of all the world, to proue in time a great and most excellent Prince. And *Sebastian* Earle of Monte-cucullo, found guilty of poyson, and for that cause was drawne in pieces with foure horses within Lions, had by his confession declared, that the Emperour had once enquired, *if he knew the order and manner of the Kings eating and drinking.* An B attempt so wicked, as it is scarce credible, that so wretched and damnable a treason should enter into the heart of so generous a Prince. Notwithstanding, when *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua presented the laid *Sebastian* to the Emperour, saying, that he was ready to execute that which he had promised vnto him, and to *Anthony de Lena*: if the deligne extended vpon any places of the French obedience, why did hee informe himselfe of the Kings eating and drinking? Besides, during these practices, why did *Don Lopes* of Sora, Ambassador for the Emperour at Venice, enquire who should reigne in France, and against whom the Emperour should pursue these warres, in case the King and his children should die: if hee had not bene acquainted with some fittall practice against the sayd Princes.

Thus the Emperour, resolute to passe against the opinion of the cleereft sighted (as hee afterwards confessed vnto the King with his owne mouth: who hauing till then seemed to follow counsell, did now rashly follow his owne head) and now by diuers and many expeditions, of diuision of places, offices, Captainships, governments, gifts of townes and castles, deuouring (by presumption) the goods of the Kings subiects and seruants, he left ten thousand men to continue the siege of Turin, and for the affaires of Piedmont he diuided his army into three troops, for the greater commoditie of the passage, and appointed their rendezvous at Nice, and thereabouts. In the first, were the men at armes, with the Lanquenets of the Lord of Thamié, conducting the artillery and the baggage, who tooke their way by the riuer of Genoua. In the second, *Don Ferdinand* of Gonzagua, D Generall of the light-horse, and with them some Neapolitane men at armes, the Lords of Iseltstein, Dietric, Spech, Wolfe, *Dietric* of Kuttringhem, Colonels of the Reistres: then the Marquis of Gualt, with the Spaniards and Emperours household: and at their tayle *Anthony de Lena*, with the Lanquenets of *Marc Ebenstein*: after whom marched the Emperour in the midst of a troop of Spaniards, followed by the Lanquenets of *Gasser* of Fronsberg, taking the direct way from Fossan to Nice. In the third, were the Italians, which tooke their way by Cony.

The Kings order against the
Emperour.

On the other side, the King made his necessary prouisions at Lions, and prouiding for all parts where the enemy might enter, he sent *Claude* de Sauoy Earle of Tende, and the Lord of Bonneuil, his Lieutenants generall in that army, to ioyne with *William* Earle of E Furttemberg Colonell of his Lanquenets, and other Captaines placed towards Cistron, vpon the passages of Roque-paruier, Terreneue, and other approaches, to spoile the corne, either standing, or in the barn: to draw all that might be into strong places: to beat downe all ouens and mills which might any way helpe the enemy, to burne the horsemeat, to beat out the heads of their wine-vessels, if they did not speedily retire them, and to cast corne into their welcs to corrupt the waters. All the people, both great and small, were so wonderfully affected to the publike good, as euery man forgets the griefe of his priuate losse.

The Lords of Mas, Calds, Carfes, and many others, pricke them forward by their example, themselves setting fire on their corne, barnes, and mills, and causing good fellows F to drinke their wine. And for that the King had not yet all his forces vniued, to present himselfe with honor and reason in person before the Imperials, his Maiesty appointed the Lord of Montmorency, at that time Lord Steward and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant Generall as well on this side as beyond the Alpes, to seize vpon Auignon. But for that the King would consult with him more at large of these great affaires, he sent *Robert Steward* Lord of Aubigny Marshall of France, to that end, with eight thousand Suisses, who kept the enemy from the sayd towne.

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A *Montmorency* hauing in Auignon imparted to the Marshall *D' Aubigny* and other commanders, the meanes which seemed most conuenient for the managing of this warre, he came to Aix, viewed the situation of the place, and finding it hard to fortifie, by reason of certaine little hills neere at hand, which looking into the towne, might serue as a Cauallier or Mount for the enemy to plant his Ordnance on, hee caused all that might be, to be transported, razed the portals, and such defence as it had, and abandoned it, leauing it empty and vnprofitable for the enemy.

Aix abandoned

The Emperour was now in the plaine of Cannes, and the next day *Don Fernand Gonzagua*, who led the fore-ward, should aduance with eightene hundred horse and six thousand Lanquenets (whereof the master of the campe marched sometimes three or foure leagues before the whole army) *Monticau*, a hardy and aduenturous Knight, seeking opportunity in the beginning of this warre to doe the King some notable seruice, resolute to see if he could surpise the master of the Camp. *Bosy* no lesse couetous of glory, would be his companion in this enterprife, they part with about eight score horse, and three hundred foot, and encounter *Don Ferdinand* with his horse-men, who came to take lodging for the fore-ward in the towne of Luc, on this side the riuer of Argençe, and gaue him an alarme: but vnable to fight with so great a troop, they found the retreat, and all tired come about the shutting of the euening to Brignoles.

Don Ferdinand, aduertised by them that went and came, of the small number of our C men, takes a troop of choice men, marcheth speedily after them, and causeth all the rest of his forces to follow: he passeth on the one side of Brignoles, and layes a great ambush where our men should passe the next day, and doth compasse them in betwixt his troop and the ambush: at the breake of day hee chargeth into the village, and seeks to force some barricadoes which the Captaines had made to stay them, whilst they arme and goe to horse-backe, they kill some at the first, and lose about forty. *Monticau* and *Bosy* take the field, they place *Captaine Partis* with his footmen on the wings of their horse-men, marching close couered with their shor to get to Aix, maintaining still the shocke of the enemy, they kill and hurt many in the narrow wayes, whereas the enemy could not stretch forth his troops. But thrust into the open champaign, assailed by their whole force, charged by the ambush vpon one of their flanks, the Lanquenets approaching, this present D supply giues courage to the enemy, and the perill, without hope of succour, makes the French to faint: they all giue way, all are ouerthrowne, and of all this troop but three men at armes escaped, but were slaine or taken. *Monticau*, *Bosy*, the other Captaines, and many Gentlemen which had followed them (desirous to make prooue of their persons) are taken prisoners. There were slaine of the enemies (besides the wounded) six score men, and two hundred horse: but the number preuailed about valour.

The defeat and
taking of
Monticau and
Bosy.

The Emperour hearing of this victory, did not forget to make a triumph, publishing it throughout all the world, as if he had defeated all the Kings fore-ward. Without doubt this lightnesse allowed by *Montmorency*, at the importunate request of the vnder taker, E purchased to the enemy, those which were doubtfull and vncertaine, what party they should take, confirmed his adherents, and stricke feare into them that were contrary. This first encounter might giue courage to the Imperials to seeke the Constable in Auignon, yet he sees no reason to hazard a battell in open field, before he had sufficient forces to encounter so great a power. To put himselfe into Auignon, were to hazard himselfe in a Towne not defensible, and hardly to be fortified so speedily as necessity required.

Marcellus was the onely frontier towne, sufficiently furnished with all things necessary to endure an Imperiall siege: but to leaue all the rest of the way open to the enemy, had bene to giue him meanes to fortifie on either side of the Riuer of Roine at his pleasure, and to draw vpon him (without resistance) a flourishing and glorious army. It was therefore better to let the Emperour know, that for an vnfortunate encounter they had neither lost courage nor hope: with this deligne *Montmorency* lodgeth his men in field, and chooseth the place for his campe, betwixt the Riuer of Roine and Durance, the one did furnish his army with victuals and other commodities: the other serued a Rampier and barre against the enemies approach. And to cut off all meanes and liberty to runne to forage, to learne newes of the French Campe, and to found the passage of the Riuer at his pleasure, without contradiction, he placed garisons in all townes and places, to bee held

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on the other side of the water. The King on the other side was at Valence, where like the Master of a ship commanding from the helme to the prow, he sent daily new forces to the Constable, fortified the towne, and assembled such a power, as if any mischance had ruined this first army, the Emperor had had the King presently ready to giue him a second battell.

The Earle of
Nassau in
Picardy.

Let vs now change our climate, and make an escape into Picardy. *Henry Earle of Nassau*, and *Adrian of Croy*, Earle of Reux, Lord Steward of the Emperours house, being entred into Picardy, did at the same instant, spoile all places in their passage which were of weak resistance; but besides the taking of Bray vpon Somme, they did no great exploits; for being repulled from before Saint Riquier, they lost some of their Artillery, and a great number of their men for a slight enterprise. *Charles Duke of Vendosme*, with three hundred men at armes, and six thousand foot, hauing forced them to re-passe the water, reuenged the wrong they had done vpon the frontier, hee tooke and spoiled some small townes, castles and villages vpon the marches. But seeing the enemy fortified with two thousand men, the which he hoped to surpris at Marolles, an open towne, hee re-passed the water, not to hazard his forces rashly, attending the coming of *Claude D. of Guise* his brother in law. Amongst other places vpon the frontier not defensible, he had appointed to abandon Guise.

The Earle aduertised by his spies, of the haste they made to cary away their mouables and victuals, to driue away their cattell, and that the garison of the castle, careful to free the towne, and to beat downe the defences which might any way accomodate the enemy, did negligently guard the approaches, hee marcheth thither with speed, surpriseth them in disorder, and kils some before they could recover any place of safety, he summons the Castle: some preferring life before honor, cast themselves ouer the walls into the ditch: the rest amazed, yeld the place at the enemies discretion. A baselesse vnworthy of Nobility, so as those which were found to bee Gentlemen, were degraded, and both they and their posterity declared Pefants, and subiect to taxes.

Peronne be-
sieged.

Guise being fackt, and all the Country about burnt, the Earle carying away a booty of men, cattell and goods, marched against Saint Quintin. But being aduertised of the good order the Duke had set for the guard and defence of the towne, he turned suddenly, and tooke the way of Peronne. It is strong by nature and situation, but at that time not well fortified, nor sufficiently manned to withstand so great a power. He therefore passed the riuer of Somme about Aplincourt, abandoned as not defensible, and spoiling, burning, and making the whole Country desolate, he camps before Peronne about the middelt of August. The Lord of Seru, Colonel of the Legion of Picardy, puts himselfe into it with a thousand men, and the Marshall of La Marke with a hundred men at armes. Misfortune is good for something. The darkness of the smoake which the fire of the farmes and villages burnt by the enemy, had caused, covered the passage of our men; in view of the Imperials. In the meane time the Dukes of Vendosme and Guise, leauy new bands in Picardy and Champagne, to ioyne with the Lansquenets which *Nicholas of Rusticis* did bring. Let vs leaue *Count Nassau* assailing, and the defendants valiantly encountering his attempts, vntill that the Emperor after his first disgrace recieued before Marfeilles, shall be blemished with a second at Peronne, in the persons of the Earles of Nassau and Reux, and let vs see what hapned in Piedmont after the yelding of Fossan.

Warren in Pied-
mont.

The troops which *Guy Earle of Rangon*, *Cesar Fregose* his brother in law, *Cagnin Gonzaga*, and other Italian Captaines, Pensioners to the King, had leauied, were broken, by reason of the last hope and practice of peace, cunningly giuen out by the Emperor. Now they renew them by a new Commission from the King, to crosse the Imperials in Italy, as he might thereby diuert the great forces they had in France. *Rangon* Lieutenant for the King in this army, leauied two thousand men, *Cagnin* as many, *Cesar Fregose* the like number, and two hundred light-horse: the Lords of Paluoin a Vicount of Milan, *Peter Stroffi* a Florentine, *Balthazar* called the Cheuallier d'Azcala Ferrarois, either of them a thousand men. *Beringer* of Caldore, a Neapolitan, Earle of Monte de Rife, and *Iohn* of Turin a Florentine, euery one five hundred; *Auerol* of Bressan four hundred; *Bandin* of Tulsane four hundred, and two hundred light-horse, and the Lord of Tais (a Frenchman borne, but sent into Italy, to recueie the Earle of Mirandola into his Maiesties service) two hundred light-horse. An armie of great hope, whose exploits wee shall soone see.

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A *Annebault* and *Bury*, being straitly besieged in Turin, performed the parts of good and vigilant Captaines, and well practised in matters of war, preventing both the enemy and the citizens newly reduced to the Kings obedience, from daring to attempt any thing against them, and by their daily sallies, bringing prisoners, and store of cattell, returned victors within the circuit of their walls. *Maramao* had gathered together within Ciria all the corne and victuals he could get thereabouts. *Annebault* aduertised thereof by his espials, sent *Esse* with twenty horse, and *Auchy* and *Cany* leading either of them five hundred foot: who parting towards the euening, came to the wals side before they were discovered, they plant their ladders, surpris the town, put all to the sword that made resistance, B load their beasts of burthen with victuals and booty, and retire to Turin without any encounter. This happy victory brought vnto the besieged the conquests of Riuelles, Veillane and Saint Ambrois. The garison thus reuiued, aspires to greater enterprises. The Emperor had left in Saullan fixteene pieces of artillery, with all their prouision of bullets, powder, and other necessities, and a good supply of farmes. The garison which hee had placed there, foraging without feare in the villages about, gaue them hope to defeat them, and to surpris the towne. *Marc Anthony* of Cusan, Capitaine of two thousand Italians, commanded the execution of this stratagem, with his troops: they giue him for Companion *Chambray* Lieutenant of *Annebaults* company, with three score choice horse. But they lose an ox, to take an egge: vpon the way they are aduertised by their scouts, that certaine C free-boaters of the enemies, laden with a great spoile, were presently retired into a castle adioyning.

A braue and
happy captiue.

Enterprise vp-
on Saullan.

They turne head, and take the castle by assault, and sack it, it may bee more greedily then wisely. For whilst they are busie at the spoile, the alarme is giuen in the country, and some troops enter speedily into Saullan, draw the bridges, rampier vp the gates, and man the wals and the defences. The towne being furnished, the suburbs remaine in spoile, they beat in pieces two great Cannons, they cary away all the armes, and make booty of all they find good. In the mean time *James* of Scalenghe approached with about foure thousand men, as well of his owne troops, as of pefants gathered together. Our men making a vertue of necessity, troop together, and goe closely to field, charge the enemy running D hastily to surpris them, being disperfed in the streets, and busie at the spoile: they make them turne their backs, kill about three hundred, hurt many more: and of nine Ensignes winne seuen, the horsemen flying pulled away the other two from them that caried them, seeking to saue them. In the end, *Iohn Iagues* of Medicis, Marquis of Mirignan, came to succour them with two thousand Lansquenets, being called by *Schalenghe*, our men hauing their bodies tyred with trauell, and their armes with striking, resolu to retire, and send to *Annebault* for succours. *Alegre*, an aduenturous and wise Capitaine, brings them two hundred horse, who arriuing when as our men were in danger to be defeated, entering amongst the enemies, killing and chasing, gaue their companies (halfe tired) leisure to take breath: and through the fauour of twelve hundred foot, which followed *Alegres* E troope, retire with their booty and baggage safely into Turin. A shot which *Cusan* recieued in the head, caused him to remaine at Pignerol, where soone after he died: leauing a happy memory of his valour, and a great griefe to his friends for the losse of his person.

The Imperial
defeated.

The Emperor approached now to Aix, hauing receiued some losse by the way, not so great as troublefome, in regard of the quality of the persons. The pefants and mountaineers, lying in ambush in the straights and narrow passages along the Alpes, and issuing forth suddenly, sometimes vpon the scouts, sometimes vpon the rere-ward, stayed them euery two hundred paces, to defend themselves: hauing no means to offend this swarme of men, who being charged, vanished by crooked and vknowne wayes. Fifte men of the Country, resolute for all euents, had shut themselves in a fort, called our Ladies Tower, with an intent to shoot at the Emperor in the passage, and all of them at one instant to discharge their hargbuzes. But they take *Martha* for *Mary*: they kill a Nobleman with a rich coat of armes, and followed by a troop of men which did him great honour. The Emperour brings the Cannon, batters the Tower, and forceth them to yeld at his pleasure: and to purge the offence they had made, sends them all to be hanged.

Moreover, being aduertised that a great number of pefants, women, children, and Ggg cattell,

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cattell, were hidden in a piece of ground enuironed with wood on the side of a mountain, A he caused the wood to be fired in many places, so as all were miserably burnt or flaine. A stragem which did so incense the people against the Emperor, as neuer any one of his men fell into their hands, but he made trial of a most tragick and cruell death. These first fruits might induce the Emperor to draw a consequence from the lesse to the greater, in comparison of these people vnacquainted with armes, with those whom nature and exercise had instructed, and to make him know, that it was no small enterprife to assaile a King of France at his doore. But this troubled his mind. He thought in the beginning of this war to haue so disgraced the King with the Germanes and Swisses, as hee should draw no men from them. Notwithstanding, aduertised that besides the eight thousand Swisses B leauied by Lewis of Anguerrand, Lord of Boisrigault, Stephen d'Aigne Lord of Beaumais, and William Lord of L'ernay, Gentlemen of the Kings house, had made a leauie of the like number, all which had in a manner ioyned with the Marshall of Montmorency, who had now about thirty thousand men in his campe: he is now much grieved in his heart, that hauing in the former warres wonne so many happy victories, vnder the command of his Captaines, now marching in person with so strong and mighty an army, after that hee had proclaimed his triumphs throughout the world, hee should performe no honourable exploit of warre. Therefore the fifteenth of August hee makes choice of three thousand Spaniards, foure thousand Italians, and five thousand Lanquenets, and takes in his company the Duke of Alua a Spaniard, *Alphonse d'Avilar*, the Marquis of Guast, and *Don C Ferdinand Gonsique* Italians, and the Count *Horne* a Germane, followed with all the flower of his horsemen, and aduanceth neere to Marfeilles: hee goes himselfe in person to view the towne, being couered with the ruines of a house lately beaten downe, and puts forth the Marquis to make a conuenient place for the planting of his Artillery against the weakest part of the towne. This resolution had bene good, when as the Kings forces were not yet vnited, and his subiects terrified by the sudden and v unexpected enuy of so mighty an enemy. The Centinell vpon the rampiers discovered the Marquis: they send forth men to compasse him in behind, if there were no more then those which appeared with him. He retires towards the place from whence hee parted, and by his retreat they discouera a greater number of men, behind that ruined house. They set vpon them that issued forth, D and some Cannon shot scatter the stones, kill some and hurt others.

This first amazement carried the Emperour to his Campe, after that he had appointed the Duke of Alua and the Count *Horne*, to stay about Marfeilles: and the Marquis of Guast with twelue hundred horse, and six Ensignes of foot to goe and view Arles: that if they found it not able to be taken by assault, he would come thither with all his forces. In the meane time, lest the first that fallied forth should fall into some ambush, they send other fresh men in fregats and boats armed, who going along the shore, get about the place where they had seene the glistering of their armes: who landing take a compass among the myrtles and other bushes which grow in that Country. The Duke discouers them, and to busie them, sends certaine horses to draw the whole troop which followed E vpon them. Our men had the like designe, and when as the enemies whole strength appears, they seeme amazed, retire without order, and draw them that pursued towards an open plaine, commanded by the Cannon, then turning their backs they save themselves among the bushes. The Cannon plays, and passing through the Imperials, makes heads, legges, and armes, to flye into the ayre so pitifully mangled, as the cries of them that died, the terror of them that fled, and the amazement of them that were found, turnes them all into a hasty flight, and the souldiers hidden in the bushes, make a furious fallie vpon them that fled: the Duke gathereth againe his men farre from the shore into a valley couered with Rocks and Hills, and hauing viewed them, he found his number greatly diminished, amongst others, those of the Count *Horne*, and of another Germane Cap- F taine his neere kinsman. The Marquis of Guast had already discovered, that they had taken downe a little hill which did ouer-look the towne of Arles, vpon the which a few pieces of artillery being planted, would haue held the towne in great subiection. Arles is seated vpon Rofne, at the point where it parts in two, and runnes with two mouthes into the sea: making an Island, which they call *Camarola*. *Iohn Carraccioli* a Neapolitane, Prince of Melfe commanded there, as the Kings Lieutenant with a thousand foot Galkons, of the troops of *Iohn de Foix*, Earle of Carmaine: a thousand Champansio vnder the

Marfeilles fur-
prized by the
Emperour in
imagination.

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A the command of *Iohn Anglere* Lord of Iour, two thousand others vnder the Ensignes of the Lords of Marieu of Dauphiné, *la Goute* a Bourbonnois, *du Palais* of the County of Foix, and the Baron of Rixou of Languedoc, to currey one fiftie hundred, and *Domnaul* about an hundred and thirty men at armes. As the Marquis lying in ambush behind certaine wind-mills, viewed the weakest parts of the towne, being discouered, *Ambois* of Ancienulle Lord of Villiers, Commissary of the artillery, plants two pieces of artillery directly against these mills, so as if the Marquis, seeing them give fire, had not slipped aside, he had there ended his dayes. So the Marquis (frustrate of his hope, either to surprise or to force the towne of Arles) took his way to Marfeilles.

B Marfeilles was besieged by the D. of Alua, more in shew then with any hope to force it, and onely with an expectation to draw the besieged to some rash fallie, or to haue the Kings army to come and succour them, and then to fight with them with art. aduantage. With this designe, the Emperor lay so neere, as at the first dislodging of the French camp he might easily preuent them, and ioine with his forces. But those within the towne had good and wise Commanders, who suffered not their men to issue forth but to good purpose, and alwayes to the enemies losse. As for remouing of the campe, *Montmorency* would not hazard the estate, nor the forces of the King his master: he hopes by the rout of his enemies armie to preferue his owne: and according to the aduertisements hee had of the Imperials designes, he restrained or gaue liberty for the execution of his Countels C and commandements. The surprise of Brignoles had made him more wary: yet not to daunt the courage of his men, he continually studied of reuenge, vexing the Imperials with daily alarms, encounters, and charges, and all without any losse or prejudice.

The King being aduertised of the approaches which the Emperor had made to Marfeilles, *Henry* the new Dauphin and Duke of Britany desirous to make proofe of his person in so iust and honourable a warre, and against so worthy an enemy, obtaines (by his instant sure, and the intercession of such as might preuaile much with his Maiesty) leave to goe to the Campe. Not to command presently (said the King) but to learne to command hereafter, and vnder the Lord Steward (as another *Palantes* vnder *Eneas*) to passe his apprenticeship in the art of warre. His comming made the youth to cry for battell, whensoever they D went to consult, whether it were more expedient to approach neere their enemy, or to prolong the warre by temporizing and delays: and many which till now had followed the last opinion, were caried away to the contrary. Many considerations moved them, the Kings forces able to encounter the Emperors, the presence of a young Prince, burning with desire to try himselfe in the warre, the dishonor (as they said) in suffering the towne of Marfeilles to be besieged, the meanes they had to defeat their enemies, before the Emperor could bring all his forces to succour them, who for want of victuals were constrained to lye disperfed.

But the Lord Steward, and the wisest heads, found it farre more safe to win the victorie without striking stroke, cutting off the enemies victuals as they had done before. Marfeilles was well fortified, furnished with all necessary munition, manned with valiant Captaines, and men of resolution. Contrariwise, famine and pestilence, which did much afflict and daily increase in the Emperors Campe, would soone ruine his forces. It was now neere at hand: The Peasants had lately carryed away, flaine and hurt all the beasts which carried the basket that was made at Toulon, and continuing to molest them by these affronts, they brought the Imperiall army into wonderfull wants and necessity. Moreover, the daily checkes which the French men at armes gaue vnto the enemy, made the Emperor thinke of his retreat. It was therefore a wise constancy and resolution of the Lord Steward, not to subiect the importance of this war to the discretion of a doubtfull hazard. There is no lesse honour to vanquish an enemy by counsell and government, then by battell: and F to hazard himselfe to the chance of armes without necessity; it is an abusing of the blood and liues of men.

Hereupon newes comes to the King, that his army beyond the Alpes had brought most part of Piedmont vnder his obedience; and all the Marquitate of Salusses, except some castles. His Majesty (vining his rights) might haue annexed this Marquitate vnto Dauphiné, whereon it depends as confisicate, by the rebellion and trechery of the Marquis *Francis*. But let vs heare an act of his naturall clemency and bounty. *Iohn Lewis*, brother to the said *Francis*, was prisoner at Paris for the like rebellion. The King set him at liberty, he did Ggg 2 inuif

The Dauphin
comes to the
Campe.

Exploit in
Piedmont.

inuet him in the Marquise, receiues his oath of fealty to him, and against all other men: A he causeth money to be giuen him, to furnish him and his traine, and then sends him to take possession. Francis within few weekes after came to Carnagnole: *John Lewis* receiues him into the Castle, and suffers himselfe to bee so caried away with sweet words, as he sweares by nothing, but by the confidence he had in his brother Francis: Francis was farre more malicious and cunning. *John Lewis*, against the aduice of *Saint Iulian* (a Gentleman Galcon bred vp in the house of Salusses, whom the King had sent with *John Lewis* to observe the actions, and the going and coming of his new Marquis; being a simple and dull man) he suffers himselfe to be drawne out of Carnagnole, and to be led to the Castle of Valfemere, where Francis detained him prisoner, and then seeks to recover the places of the Marquise. *Saint Iulian* fore-seeing the issue of this subtil stratagem, practised *Saluador d'Aguerres* by his perswasions, and receiued of him in the Kings name, the strong Castle of Vrezeul, a beame in Francis his eye, which kept him frō being absolute Marquis. *Andrew Doria* comming then from Spaine, brought victuals and money to the Emperour, vpon whose ariual he made a Proclamation throughout the campe: That all men bearing armes, should be ready to muster (without doubt the great decay of his armie, the which from fifty thousand men that he had parting from Nice, he found decreased to fife and twenty at the most, did touch him to the quick) to receiue money, and prepare to depart vpon the day assigned, every man to be furnished with eight or ten dayes victuals. This proclamation made the King suspect, that hee meant to come and assaile his Campe, or to march after the D. of Alua to the siege of Marfeilles. And seeing the Emperour was there in person, the King did hope to haue meanes in the midst of these great armies, to effect the contents of the challenge he had before sent to the Emperour by an Herald, as we haue heard. But his Maiestie was no sooner come from Valence to his campe neere Auignon, as hee was giuing order to prepare to receiue or giue battell, newes comes vnto him, that the Emperour with all his Campe, is dislodged from Aix, leaving behinde him (besides the dead bodies which were infinit, the ayre being corrupted round about) a great multitude of sick men, which could not follow the armie, neither on horsebacke nor on foot: and taking the rout of Spaine, hee left the towne of Aix spoiled with all the desolations which warre could bring forth, except fire, from which the Emperour did preserue it. Onely the Palace, and especially the Chamber of accompts were abandoned to the fire, at the instance of the Duke of Sauoy, who would assist in person the burning thereof, hoping (it may be) to abolish the memorie of the titles, whereby it appears, that Piedmont belongs to the Earledome of Prouence. But the Lord Steward had foreseene this inconuenience, sending them to a strong place of his named Baux. The King gaue money to repaire the losses. Amongst his chiefe champions, the Emperour lost *Anthony de Leua*, *Mark Bussheim*, another Captaine of Lanquenets his kinsman, the Count *Horne*, *Baptista Castalde*, and many other men of accompt. Let vs apply here that holy Oracle, speaking of *Senacherib* King of the Assyrians: *Thy bragging hath come vnto mine eares, I will put myring into thy nostrils, and my bit into thy mouth, and will make thee returne the way thou camest.* And, *Thus said the Eternal touching the King of the Assyrians: hee shall not enter into this Citie, neither shall hee shoot an arrow therein, hee shall not present himselfe before it with a shield, nor cast, &c.* Behold the Earle of Prouence in imagination, who had lately threatned the Provinces of this Realme with fire and sword, and swallowed vp the Crowne thereof by presumption, ashamed and confounded in his retreat, hauing lost halfe of his troopes, turmoiled by the peasants, who vsing the armes of his sick men, and of those that were dead, seize vpon the passages and streights, beat downe the bridges vpon the riuers, which were then very violent, charge them in front, in flanke, and behinde, and the light-horfe-men led by the Earle of Tende, *Bonneuil*, *Langey*, and *John Paul de Cere* follow them so close, as they had no meanes to forrage, leaving the waies from Aix to Freius, couered with dead carcases, and men languishing, harnesse, lances, pikes, harguebufers, and all other armes pel-mel on a heape.

The King resolved to march after them, and wheresoever hee should ouertake them to giue them battaile, and so passe into Italy, where at that instant he had a mighty armie in field. But he is diuerted from his designe by Letters from the Marshall of La-marke. Hee had no more meanes to hold Peronne long, the waies were beaten downe in many places, famine pressed the besieged, they wanted harguebufers and powder. So the King caused

some

A some part of his men at armes to march speedily, and ten thousand French foot, resolute to follow after by great marches, to raise the siege, or to recover the towne before the enemy should fortifie it and furnish it with victuals. God would preserue him from this toyle, and giue him leisure to take breath. The Imperials being alwayes repulled, with losse from many and sundry assaulls, the myne wherein they had long laboured, prouing fruitlesse, (besides the death of *Philip* of Boulonniers, Earle of Dammartin, ouerwhelmed in the ruines thereof, in a countermine he made to blow vp the enemies myne, whose death was reuenged with the slaughter of three hundred Lanquenets, and twenty of their men at armes, at the last assault giuen by the Tower that was vndermined) and the towne being reliued with fife hundred shot, every one carying tenne pounds of powder, entring by meanes of a generall alarme giuen by the Duke of Guise with two hundred horse, and all the Trumpets he could recover, they dislodged in the night, about the middest of September, continuing their burning as they had begun.

France (by the grace of God) is now free from enemies. But nothing is perfectly happy. There are crose newes which trouble the Court. The English Ambassadors that were neere the King, ill affected to his Maiesty, and without doubt, no faithfull seruants to their master, giue him intelligence, That the Emperour seeing that he could neither by spoile, or any other meanes, prouoke the King to battell, made shew of a retreat, to draw him to pursue him, and so to fight, or else retire to take a greater leape, and to inuade Prouence suddenly, when as the French forces should be farthest off: That the Emperour himselfe (the better to colour his departure) gaue out that famine and mortality had diminished his forces of one third part, and the rest had runne the like danger, if he had not retired: yet notwithstanding he had no such want of victuals as was supposed, and since his coming out of Italy, had not lost about two thousand men: That since the taking of Montreian and Boisy, no man durst giue any alarme to the Emperours campe, nor yet follow it at their dislodging. These importunes & false impressions had wrought such effects with the King of England, as *Pomeray* being sent from the King to three ends: To satisfie him of the truth touching the enterprise of Prouence: To procure his liking of the mariage of *Margarete* a daughter of France, with the King of Scots: and to learne the King of England's intention vpon the motion before made, touching the mariage of the Duke of Orleans with *Mary* of England, daughter to the said King: he had much adoe to alter him in any thing from the opinion he had conceiued. But the mariage of Scotland did so incesse the King of England, as hauing laid open vnto *Pomeray* his griefes and the causes of his discontent vpon this Article, he sent him backe without any conclusion, being loath to haue his neighbour so highly allied. There comes another matter of great importance: the Country of Tarentaise in Sauoy had lately shaken off the French yoke. To reduce it to his obedience, the King sent the Earle of Saint Paul, Duke of Estouteuille by his wife, with some French troopes of horse and foot, and the Earle of Furstemberg with his companie of Lanquenets, to whom, for the puring of their offence, the Country was abandoned to the spoile, with the Towne of Conflans. Being thus punished, they afterwards performed the dutie of subiects, and the Duke returned into France with much honor. Let vs now discharge our promise, and conclude the yeare with the exploits of the Assembly made at Mirandole by the Italian Captaines, Pensioners to the King. Their first designe was vpon Genoua: and to this effect they came speedily and closely, hoping either to surpris it, or by the partisans of *Cesar Fregose*, to become masters of the towne: but a Luquois of the troopes of *Cornetury*, stealing away in the night, had discovered the enterprise to the Citizens. So the Earle retiring his Campe halfe a league from Genoua, betwixt two mountains, he suddenly caused many ladders to be made, which prouing too short, made the success fruitlesse. These Captaines had no Cannon to make any battell: moreover, Turin being besieged, required their presence.

F They therefore turne head. The Imperials aduertised of the Earles approach, abandoned the siege, and leaue the field at the deuotion of this new army. The Lord of Anchaulet, seeing the Campe dislodged, sallies out after them, and in passing takes the tower vpon the bridge of Pau by composition (the taking whereof the Emperour had so highly commended) and the Lord of Bury tooke Groillan: the corne and wine that was found there, sent to scetch Turin. The towne of Quiers was taxed by the Imperials at fife and twenty thousand crownes: but whilest the souldiers were busie to force the inhabitants to

The cause of
warre betwixt
England and
France.

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pay this summe, *Annebauld* sent certaine Capitaines, who surpised the towne from foure hundred souldiers, which kept it in the Emperors name. *Montcalier* sent presently to offer obedience: and the Castle of Carignan yeelding, did furnish Turin with about three thousand lackes of meale, packt vp ready to send to the Campe. *Salusses*, *Quieras*, and many other places of the Marquisate of Piedmont did homage vnto the victors. The King sent to refresh *Annebauld* and his troops both with horse and foot: he drew them out of Turin, sending two thousand French foot vnder the command of Capitaine *René*, and *la Godiniere*: and two thousand others vnder the Cheuallier *Birague*: and for Gouverneur he sent *Bury*, to whom he gaue the company of men at armes, which *Francis* of *Salusse* being recoyled, did command. But behold an act as remarkable as it is rare, proceeding from B a singular affection: and what will not a braue Knight doe for his mistresse? Vpon the first newes of the Emperors descent into Prouence, the King of Scotland did arme sixteen thousand men, to come and succour the King without his request or priuie, (saves the Originall) and nothing stayed him from comming in time vpon the generall hope of a battell, but a contrary wind, which had put him backe twice. The King had assured himselfe of his new conquests, and hauing giuen order to the frontiers of his Realme, returned into France.

Vnexpected
succours from
Scotland,

The King of Scotland came to meet him at la Chapelle, betwixt Tarare and S. Saphorin in Lionois: and there he demanded one of his daughters in mariage. The ancient alliance of the Realme of France & Scotland was considerable. The father of this King had beene slaine in battell against the English, for the party of King *Lewis* the twelfth, and should his kind affection be denied? So the mariage betwixt him and *Magdalene* of France was concluded in Blois, and solemnized the first day of the yeare followinge. Great prosperities are oftentimes accompanied with some crosses, else the vanity of our senses would easily transport vs; and we would attribute that to our owne valour, which belongs to the great Iudge and Moderator of battels: behold pitifull first-fruits, in the gouernment of the Lord of *Bury* at Turin. Oftentimes he is taken that thinks to take. The Emperour had adiudged Montferrat to the Marquis of Mantoua, against the Duke of Sauoy, and *Francis* of *Salusses* who pretended it: and those of Cassal would not accept of him. *Bury* during these garboiles, practiseth *Damian Curiala* Capitaine in the garison at Cassal for the Emperour. *Damian* promisseth to deliuer him a gate. *Bury* leads thither *Christophor Gnauff*, D with twelue hundred Italians, whereof he was Colonel, and some number of horse vnder the Lord of Tais: and at the first becomes master of the towne.

But the matrockes, shouels, and other instruments for Pyoners, which *William Earle* of Biendras should haue prouided with the money, he had receiued to that end, to make a trench suddenly betwixt the towne and the Castle, whilst that Count *Guy* should come to succour them, with the artillery to batter the Castle, were yet to buy. Whilst they seeke for others to make trenches, the Marquis of *Gnauff* had leisure to assemble his forces within Aft, and to enter into the castle by the field-gate, and so into the towne. Twelue hundred men were not able to withstand the fury of this vnexpected storm. He maintains E the shoock, and enters fight: but in the end being forced by the enemy, hee is taken prisoner. *Tais*, *Gnauff*, and all the rest were slaine or taken. *Biendras*, *Damian*, and other Merchants save themselves. We find the fault when it is done. It is good to obserue it to make vs wile. Hee should haue imparted this enterprize to Count *Guy*, who should haue drawne his army neere vnto Aft. The Marquis fearing to lose the one, and not to saue the other, had contained himselfe within his walles. *Guy Guiffroy* Lord of Boutieres was appointed Gouverneur by the King in *Buries* place.

Pursuit against
the Emperour
in iustice.

The snow, ice, and slipperinesse of the winter stayed the course of the Garisons in Picardie. And whilst the season kept them from doing any memorable exploits, the King laying open in his Court of Parliament at Paris (in the presence of the Peeres of France, and Princes of the blood, forty or fifty Bishops, many officers of the Crowne, and other great personages of all estates) the lawfull armes of a Lord against his vassall that hath committed a trespasse: hee sent to summon the Emperour, vpon the frontiers by a Herald, to come and plead what he should thinke good, against the demands of his Maiesties Advocate and Proctor generall: concluding, that in regard of the rebellions and treacheries of the said Emperour against the King his naturall Prince and Soueraigne Lord, by reason of the Earledomes of Ilanders, Arthois, Charolois, and other places, hol-

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A holding of the Crowne of France, they should be adiudged confiscate and vnto the Crowne. And no man appearing for the Emperour, the demand of the Kings Councell was registred according to the forme vsuall in those cases.

For the execution of this sentence, the Lords of *Annebauld*, *Tais*, *Termes*, *Auflin*, French-men: *More* of *Nouate*, *Francis Bernardin* of *Vimercat*, Italians: *George Capusfement*, and *Theode Manes*, Albanos, either of them commanding two hundred light-horse: *Bies* Sheshall, and *Gouernour* of *Bouillen*, and *Cregui* Gouverneur of *Monstreuil*, Capitaines of fifty men at armes: hauing victualled *Therouenne* in view of the Earle of *Rieux*, who issued forth of *Saint Omer* with fixe hundred horse to preuent this stratagem, B the King parting from *Amiens*, (wheras *Charles* Duke of *Vendosme* then dyed, much lamented of the King and Realme, a braue Prince, and well desering of this Crowne, for his many and notable seruices) the King in the end of March, sends *William Earle* of *Furstemburg* to field with eight thousand *Langueues*, the Lords of *Sercu* and *Auchi*, (who were slaine at the first approaches at *Hedin*) *Heilly*, *S. Seual*, *Picards*: *Bacqueille*, *la Salle*, and *S. Aubin*, Normands: *Quincy* a Champanois, *Haraucourt* a Lorraine, either of them leading a thousand men: and many other bands of Germanes and French, amounting all to fixe and twenty thousand men, whereof *Montmorency* (Lord Steward) was Lieutenant Generall for his Maiesty.

Hedin is of consequence to the King, for the preferuation of his other places in Picardy: and being in his power did wonderfully annoy the enemy. The towne abandoned C by the Garison, they retire into the Castle, the which was taken without resistance, but the Earle of *Rieux* had well furnished the Castle for the defence of a place of importance. Captain *Samfon* an old Knight of *Namurs*, a great souldier, commanded there with 1300 men, vnder the Ensignes of *Boubers* and *Faudcuille*. They make their approaches, and many Capitaines perswaded that the thickeesse of the wall, maintained with a great rampier, would neuer admit any breach, they come to vndermine. The Prince of *Molphe*, the Lords of *Barbesieux*, *Bury*, *Villiers*, *Cornelies*, vnder take the worke, and cast downe halfe a tower passing from the Towne to the Castle, but that part which ioyned to the Castle standing firme, the place was not much weakened. The King then resolues to attempt it by battery, and hee himselfe shewes the place where to plant the Cannon. At the approaches *Lusarches* and *Pont-briant*, well experienced Commisaries of the artilerie, with many Canoniers and others lose their liues. The Cannon planted vpon the brinke of the trench, playes two dayes together, and the third they make a breach of thirty fadomes. The Kings presence being the rewarder of vertue, sets many yong Gentlemen on fire, being desirous of reparation, and before that order bee giuen for the assault, carries them to the top of the breach. But they finde the like valour in receiuing them: some are slaine vpon the place, others returne sore wounded. *Charles* of *Bucel* among others, Earle of *Sincerre*, a yong Nobleman who followed the steps of his Ancestors vertue, *Anbigny* Lieutenant to *Sercu*, and *Damiet* Ensigne-bearer of the said E Company, testified by their deaths the hope of their youth, if the chance of armes had lent them a longer life. *Herancourt* a Lorraine, and his brother his Lieutenant, sonnes to the Lord of *Paroy*, Lieutenant to the Duke of *Guise*, in the gouernment of *Champagne* and of his company of men at Armes, *Fleueures* sonne to *Mardicque*, and many others returned backe lame. Yet this attempt amazed the besieged, and helpt the Generall. For when as they see the order the King had giuen to assaile them in the morning, a great number of men at armes on foot, with fixe or six hundred light-horsemen, all the rest on horsebacke, the whole armie ready to be put in battaile if the enemy approached, some appointed to march first, others to second them, and some to relieue them that went to the assault, the resolution and courage of the night past, made them enter into composition, whereby they departed with their baggage, leaving the artilerie, F munition, and victuals. The King committed it to the guard of *Sercu*, giuing him a company of fifty men at armes, and a thousand foot. *Saint Paul* neere vnto *Hedin* might much annoy him, and reduced to the Kings obedience, crosse the garisons of *Betune*, *Aras*, *Liliers*, and other places thereabouts. *Annebauld* did this exploit, and *Anthony* of *Castell*, an Italian Engineer vnderooke the fortification of the towne and *Castell*. *Liflers* abandoned by *Lienin* Capitaine of the towne, was by the Lord Steward and Duke of *Guise*, visiting the Country, added to the former Conquests, and left vnder the command of

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of *Martin du Bellay* Captaine of two hundred light-horse, ioyning vnto him *la Lande A* with a thousand foot, to keepe them of Saint *Venant* and Maruile, from annoying the foragers and victuallers of the French armie. The Bourguignons had fortified an Island, at Saint *Venant*, vpon the River of *Lis*. The Lord Steward vndertakes to force it, and takes with him the Earle of Furstemberg, with eight thousand French and Germanes. At the first the besieged repulse the Lanquenets, kill some, and wound many. And now the day began to faile, when as *Charles Mariel* Lord of Bacqueville, and *La Lande* discouering one part of the trench worse manned then the rest, they crosse it with their Normans and Picards, and come to handy-blows; they lose some men, and kill many of the enemies, force the trench, the rampar and the bastion, they compell them to abandon and leaue their defences, and make way for the rest of their companies and troopes to enter, who chasing the enemies, make a great slaughter of men, to reuenge the death of their companions. They presently fet vpon the second fort, the bridge whereof was croft with great long pieces of wood, ioyned one to another, and betwixt, manned with good shot, defended with a mill of stone well pierced, and furnished with harguebuses of Crock, and other shot. But nothing is difficult to a resolute minde, and the first flying to the second fort, strucke terror into them: they force them, and put them all to the sword: The number of the dead was esteemed twelae or fiftene hundred on both sides, the place spoiled, the bootie caried away, and the houses burnt.

There passed no day without an enterprize of one side or other, courtes, and recourses, C prizes, and reprisals, of men, victuals, and places ill guarded, or not guardable. The King seeing the Emperor had no armie ready, able to crosse his new conquest, content for that yeare to haue taken Hedin, and fortified Saint *Paul*, he caused Liliers to bee burnt, (referring the Abbey of Nunnes and the Churches) and the walls to bee bear downe, that the enemy lodging there, should not annoy Therouenne and S. *Paul*: he gaue the gouernment of Saint *Paul* to *John d'Estouteville* Lord of Villebon, Prouost of Paris, with his company of men at armes: that of Moyencourt named de Hangeft, to *Martin du Bellay*, with his two hundred light-horse, and two thousand foot, commanded by the Captaines *la Sale* and Saint *Aubin* Normans, *Blerencourt* and *Tulle* Picards, euery one 500, and in the castle 1000 men, vnder the charge of *René* of *P. lliere*. Hee left the Earle of Furstemberg D in garison at Doullans, with his Lanquenets, and an hundred men at armes, vnder the guidons of the Lords of *Estrecé*, and *la Roche du Maine*. But these bands were so ill compleat, as they made not halfe their numbers. Then hauing in like sort provided for other places, he brake vp his campe, and dismissed his troopes, to giue order for the affaires of Piedmont, where the enemy grew strong.

The King thus disarming, the Earle of Bures armes foure and twenty thousand Lanquenets, six thousand Wallons, and eight thousand horse, and resolues to charge the Lanquenets, lodged neere to Doullans, to make the siege of Saint *Paul* more easie, which he meant to attempt. By the surpris of some Letters, he learned that the fortifications of the place required yet twenty dayes time, to make it able to repulse the enemy. Hee changeth his opinion, and turning head to Saint *Paul*, makes his approaches the tenth of Iune, notwithstanding the many fallies and skirmishes of the besieged: he recouers (by means of a great hollow way, which the fodaine arriall of the Imperials would not suffer them to make euery) the point of a great Bulwarke vpon the way to Mouchie: they undermine day and night, shoot sixteene or eightene hundred Cannon shot, make a breach of three or foure hundred paces, and by the fury of ten or eight pieces of artillerie, force *Martin du Bellay*, *Blerencourt* and *Tulle* to abandon the breach which looks towards Doullans, their chiefe and almost onely defence: he giues an assault with fure or six hundred men, onely to view the breach: and by the thunder of their Cannons which battered all along the breach, and into the towne, they kill, or at the least hurt, about a third part of the defendants: those which were set to defend the breach, being forced to lye flat vpon their bellies. They discouer the breach, draw ten or eight engines more into the ditch, which diuided the great bastion from the towne, they had had no leisure but to make two Courtins of pipes full of earth, to defend the way which went from the bottom of the trench into the towne: they fet fire to the props which supported the point of the bastion that was undermined: it sinks downe, and presently ouerthrowes all them that defended this point into their trenches: they giue the assault by that place, and are valiantly

Saint Paul
besieged by the
Imperials.

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A valiantly receiued by *la Sale*, and Saint *Aubin*. But during the assault, those which the enemy thrust into the trench, winne the Courtin made of pipes, force fure and twentie or thirtie shot that kept it, and enter the towne pel-mel with them: they come behinde them, (who performing as much as valour and nature could doe) defended the bastion, and cut in pieces all they encounter.

Those which defended the breach, ignorant what passed on the other side, had already endured a furious assault, when as behold, those which were entered by the port of the great bastion, come and charge them behind, and the greatest number surmounting the lesse, at the first charge they kill *Moyencourt*, and his brother *d'Ne*, they massacre in the fury of the fight, seven score of the company of *Du Bellay*, and the most part of that of *Villebon*: *Villebon* and *Tulle* were taken prisoners by *Tonnaire* a Spanish Captaine, *du Bellay* and *Blerencourt* were saved by *Pose* a Germane Captaine. *La Pallatiere* forced in the Castle by the bulwarke which was not yet in defence remained prisoner: but the contention of some (euery one maintaining that he had giuen his faith vnto him) was the cause of his death. Finally, sparing neither men nor children, wifes nor maids, religious men nor Nunnes, about foure thousand fure hundred persons tryed the pittifull chance of a horrible and cruell victorie, whereunto they are commonly subiect, who against the lawes of armes vndertake the defence of a place not defensible, or that is not ready to withstand the violent attempts of a mighty armie.

C Saint *Paul* being burnt, the Castle and all the defences razed to the ground, the Imperials come before Montrueil. Montrueil was ill furnished: *Canaples* Gouernor of the towne, entered but three or foure dayes before, with a thousand foot, and some two hundred horse of the bands of Normandie: but the towne not being re-trenched, it required at the least six thousand foot, and three hundred men at armes. So the Earle of Bures lodgeth a part of his campe at the port of Hedin, one part at the Celestins vpon the way of Therouenne, and a part at the gate of the great market towards Abbeville: hee plants his Artillerie in three places: makes a breach along a great Courtin from the gate towards Hedin to the Port of the great market, and then prepares for the assault. The breach was reasonable, but the trenches full of water made the access difficult. On the D other side, the defendants were troubled with many disadvantages. Two batteries of the enemies kept them from coming to the breach: and being at their defence, they lay open vpon both the flanks, and had no means to couer themselves: besides, their number was not sufficient to keepe the one halfe of the base towne, so as the enemy coming to the assault, had the rest of the towne at his discretion, the which is of a great circuit.

These considerations made *Canaples* demand Composition; and the Earle intending the conquest of Therouenne, to prevent the next victualling, which hee did foresee, hee graunts the men of warre to depart in armes with bagge and baggage, and to the inhabitants to carry what goods they could about them. This done, the want of men E and powder which hee knowes to bee in Therouenne, inuires him to this enterprize. *Francis* of Montmorency Lord of Rochport, then Lieutenant General for the King in Picardie, knowing the importance of *Therouenne*, and the enemies designe, besides three score men at armes, an hundred foot, and some hundred dead payes which kept it, hee sent the Lord of *Cany*, Lieutenant of the Company of the yong Duke of Vendome (whom we shall see King of Nauarre, and father to our most Christian King lately murdered: *Foudras* Lieutenant to *Cany*, the sonne of *Dampierre* guidon to the Dauphin, leading foure score men at armes, and Saint *Brise* foure hundred foot. Hee comes before it, makes his approaches, plants his Cannon in batterie, forceth our men to abandon the Castle which had but two towers (the English *Talbot* having taken the towne in the year 1513 had razed the Castle) and makes a breach in the towne wall, about two hundred paces long, but hardly to bee forced: our French-men retrying, had made a trench behinde them, and made the rampar in such sort, as the enemy winning it, should fall into a trench well flanked.

When as the Imperiall armie began to march against Saint *Paul*, the King sought to raise his armie, hoping (according to the promises of the fortificators) it would hold out vntill that succours should come. Now the Dauphin accompanied with *Montmorency* Lord Steward, Commander of the armie vnder the Dauphin, giues the rendezuous towards

Saint Paul
recouered by
assault.

Montreuil taken by
the Imperials.

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wards Abbeville, to the Earle of Furtemberg, and to *Nicholas de Ruffies*, newly arrived A with foure thousand Low Germans, warlike men, and in good order.

Whilest the Dauphin attends the rest of his troopes, the besieged giue him notice that they had great need of shot and powder: for the furnishing whereof; they choise *Annebauld* Generall of the light-horse. With this designe, *Annebauld* followed with an hundred men at armes, and sixteene hundred light-horse, made choice of foure hundred harquebuziers, vnder the charge of *Biendras*, euery one carrying a sacke of leather bound about him full of powder: many voluntarie Gentlemen desirous of honour, (a braue ambition if we could temper the heat of youth) augment this troope, resolute to bee either taken or defeated, rather then to faile of their enterprise. The Imperials hauing intelligence of this designe, goe to horse to prevent the execution: and the French light-horsemen, prick forward by these yong Noblemen, desirous to trie their valour, giue them an alarme. Mischance is good for something. It was night, and the darknesse hindring their enemies foreward from knowing their battaile, which came from another side to ioyne with them, they charge, and kill one another, whilest that our shot enter into Therouenne without disconerie: being entered, they make a signe, whereby *Annebauld* should make his retreat, and might haue done it without danger. Notwithstanding, aduertised that his light-horse were in skirmish, he sought to retire them. The enemy prevents him, and cuts off his way at the passage of a bridge. Here begins the combat, and so violent, as the greatest checke falls vpon the Imperials. But in the end of all the horsemen atchieue, *Annebauld* is ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, and nere vnto him the Earle of Villars, the Lords of Piennes, d'O, and Sanlac, *Captaine Capusment*, *Francis Bernardin*, and almost all, but some which had before passed the bridge. Those (amongst the which was *Aulfin*) retire to Hedin, change their horses, post to the place of combat: finde the Imperials in disorder, dreaming no more of any enemy: they charge them, defeat them, take a great number, and recouer many of their companions that were prisoners: and so cut off a great part of the glory which they did challenge for such a victory. In the meane time, the Dauphine and the Lord Steward had gathered together about sixteene hundred men at armes, two thousand light-horse, ten thousand Germans, and twelue thousand French, with the which they pretended to succour the besieged, or to force the D Imperials to fight with disadvantage: when as the treatie which *Mary* Queene of Hungary, sister to the Emperour, had made by the means of the Duke of Alsot, for the procuring of a Peace or truce, caused a suspension of armes for three monthes betwixt the King and the Emperours countries of the Netherlands, vntill that matters being pacified, there might bee a generall peace concluded betwixt these two great Princes and their allies. Let this truce now cary vs beyond the Alpes, to see the estate of the forces in Italy,

A truce for
three monthes.

The ordinarie jealousies, dissensions, and partialities of Captaines, which thinke themselves equall in authoritie and reputation, and of like vse for seruice, is commonly of dangerous consequence. The composition which *Caguin* of Gontagua made with the Imperials at Carignan, without the priuie of *Guy* Earle of Rangon, Lieutenant Generall for the King on that side the Alpes, had discontented the Earle, and on the other side, *Caguin* complained, that they had cashiered some of his footmen, and in case if Count *Guy* should die, or leaue the place, the King had substituted *Cesar Fregese* his brother-in-law, without any respect of the ancient seruice of his house, and his breeding in the Kings seruice, from whom he had not false as the Earle had done, although he had bene sought vnto with many profitable conditions.

These quarrels did so increase, as after many complaints and reproaches vpon the point of Honour, *Guy* and *Cesar* banded ioyntly against *Caguin*, framed a challenge vpon some writings published to the disgrace of the said *Cesar*, vnder the name of *Arctin*, whereof they held *Caguin* to be the chief author. *William* of Bellay, Lord of Langey, sent by the King to heare of the griefes of either partie, hauing giuen Count *Guy*, and *Cesar Fregese*, to understand what prouidence their quarrell with *Caguin* would be vnto his Majesties seruice, and that by the Articles of the Kings Order, the Knights may not without the leaue of their superiour (which is the King) send nor accept of any challenge one against another, *Caguin* offered not to wrong the Kings seruice, and to deferre the combat, vntill the seruice were ended, so as after the answer he had made vnto the challenge,

Cesar

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A *Cesar* had not written or said any thing that should come vnto his knowledge, whereunto he should be bound in honour to answer: and vnder colour to goe to the bathe for his health, he obtained a passport to retire himselfe to his house, with promise that if it pleased the King to giue him an honorable charge, he would returne with a troope fit to doe him seruice: and that how soeuer, he would neuer weare a red crosse.

During these contentions the Imperiall armie increased daily, and the Kings decreed, so as the Lord of Humieres sent by the King for the affaires of Piedmont, could not be master of the field, without a bodie of foure or five thousand Lanquenets or Suisses, and some supply of men at armes. To this end the King causeth his light-horse-men to march into Piedmont, after the conquests of Hedin and Saint Paul, and sent to *Christopher Duke of Witttemberg*, who brought ten thousand Lanquenets to passe the Alpes, and to ioyne with *Humieres*. But vpon the coming of the Imperials before Saint Paul, the King being forced (as wee haue seene) to countermand his light-horse, hee sent the Baron of *Curtin*, *Lu-Fayste*, *Brissac*, and others, leading three or foure hundred men at armes, and two hundred light-horse, *Lafsigny*, and *Allegre*, either of them commanding a thousand foot.

The Marquis of Guast had at that time deliuered into the Marquis *Francis* hands, all the Marquisate of Salusses, except the Castles of Verculo and Carmagnole. Two hundred Italians held it for Count *Guy*: the Marquis of Guast doth summon it, and vpon their refusal approacheth the artillerie. *Francis* Marquis of Salusses (knowing the place) brings two Cannons on the right hand going from the Towne to the Castle, breakes downe two houses to couer himselfe in stead of Gabions: himselfe plays the gunner, and shoots two volleys. A souldier of the Castle discouers him (but knows him not) and shoots him through the bodie starke dead with a Musket. The Marquis of Guast causeth him to bee couered with a cloake, and then againe sends to summon the besieged, promising them an honourable composition: they depart with bagge and baggage, and the Marquis seeing them passe, commended their good endeouours. But when hee came to demand what hee was that had shot so well from one of the windowes ouer the Port, the souldier both ignorant of the Marquis intention, and of the effect of his shot, presents himselfe vnto the Marquis, who against the Capitulation caused him to be hanged at the same window. The King hauing afterwards reduced the Marquisate to his obedience, did inuest *Gabriel* Bishop of Aire in Gasconie, who married the daughter of the Admirall *Annebauld*, but dying without heires, hee left the said Marquisate to the Crowne. The coming of *Humieres* and the Lanquenets had first the Marquis of Guast with his troopes into Ast and Verceil, who by his retreat left *Pignorol*, *Chinas*, *Montcallier*, and other places abandoned to these new Conquerors. But at the first, want of the chiefe finewes of warre, makes the Italian bands to mutine, whereby our men lose ten or twelue dayes, during the which the Marquis had leisure to hasten his Lanquenets, leauied by the elder brother *William* Duke of Furtemberg.

Humieres had no sooner pacified the Italians with a portion of their pay, but he frames an enterprise vpon Ast, where the Marquis had left his brother-in-law, *Don Anthony* of Aragon, Lieutenant for the Emperour, with two thousand foot, and two hundred horse. The Lanquenets require the charge to make the approaches, and take it from *Iohn Paul de Cere*, who had a meaning to discharge it well. About midnight *Humieres* comes speedily to see their lodgings & finds nothing done. Some exclaiming first, would haue made their cause good: others storme (their pay being now out) and protest, that if it be not satisfied, they will wrap vp their ensignes, and found a retreat. They had reason, it is an ordinarie course, when as the chiefe force of an armie consists in a mercinarie Nation. F *Humieres* searcheth all the purses in the Campe, makes for euery company five hundred Crownes, and with this bone did somewhat satisfie their greedinesse. But in the meane time the besieged, giuing the alarme to the Campe, they bring in seuen companies of foot, & three hundred horse to their succours. Thus the small likelihood to force the town, and lesse to finish it, seeing that for want of pay, the strangers were no men of resolution, *Humieres* leaues the towne of Ast, to surprize that of Alba. About eight hundred Spaniards, were parred from Alexandria to enter into it: *Iohn Paul de Cere* meets them, chargeth and defeateth them, so as at the arrival of the French, the Citizens of Alba vnto furnished

Francis Marquis
of Salusses
kaine.

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A d'Angars
attends against
Turin.

furnished of souldiers, yeelding to the yoke of obedience, gaue occasion to them of A
Quiers to follow their example.

This absence of the armie made *Cesar* of Naples, Gouverneur of Vlpian, a man active and vigilant, but vnfortunate in his enterprises, to attempt Turin. Turin had in it but two companies of foot vnder *de Wartis* and *d'Angars*, weake forces for a place of such importance, yet the Inhabitants were well affected to this Crowne. *Cesar* laboured a Corporall, a Gascon, to deliuer him the next day of his guard, a bulwarke of the towne right against our Ladies Church. Such base people should neuer know the day nor houre of their watch. The night being come, he brings ten ensignes of foot, and some three hundred horse: the souldier giues him notice by a signe, of the most conuenient place to plant his B
Ladders, he sets them vp, and before the alarme was in the towne, hee puts fine ensignes into the bulwarke: two or three base souldiers whom the traytor had of purpose drawn in with him, fued themselves by flight.

Boutieres Gouverneur of Turin hearing the alarme, goes into the street, followed only with the Suisses of his guard, and some Gentlemen: hee findes the towne-men armed, and resolute to doe their duties, he marcheth directly into the bastion with no armes but a Halberd, thurs the gate by which they came from the said bastion into the Towne, (the darkness of night had hindered the enemy from seeing it open, the which preferred the towne: for whilst that *Cesar* made fit his ladders to enter into the Towne, the alarme grew hot) *Wartis* arises with two hundred thor, and forceth the enemy to abandon the C
bulwarke, hauing loste seven or eight-score men, at whose departure the souldier payed for his offence with his life.

This attempt, the bad inclination of the foraine forces; the quarrels betwixt *Cesar* *Fregosse*, who led the fore-ward, and *John Paul de Cere*, Colonell of the Italian foot; the controuerfies of *Brissac* with *Amibal* of *Consigua* Earle of Lanioulaire, six thousand Spaniards, and twelve hundred horse, being entred into Montcallier, and threatening Turin, but weakly furnished with men: made *Humieres* to leaue *Julio Vrsin* in Alba with a thousand foot vnder his charge, and a thousand more vnder *Artigue-Dien* and *Peter Streffy*: in *Quierras* *Cesar* *Fregosse* with the like number of men, such as he would choose, and with the rest of the armie turnes head towards the enemy to surpris him at Montcallier. The D
Marquis of Guast aduertised of this designe, puts the rest of his troops into the said place. This enterprife proving fruitlesse, and *Humieres* not able any longer to hold his strangers without pay, he sent *Francis* Earle of Pontremie with sufficient forces, to make good Pignerol against the Marquis, who threatened to surpris it, to take from the French all means of retreat and succours in keeping the passage of Suze. Then hee supplied Turin with two thousand French foot, commanded by *Allegre* and *Lasigny*: *Quiers* with a thousand men of the bands of *Aramont*, besides eight hundred which the Knight *Assal* gouernour of the place had: *Saullan* with a thousand Italians vnder the command of *John* of Turin, leading the Lansquenets and the rest of the troops into the Marquiere of Salusses, to attend newes and money from the King for their pay: for want whereof this E
armie serued to small vse. The Marquis of Guast seeing *Humieres* retired into Pignerol, whither the violence of the Lansquenets had driuen him, there to attend their pay: hee sent thirteene ensignes of foot, to Silvia a small towne vpon the mountaine, to keepe the valley of Suze in subiection, and by the taking of the Castles of Riuele and Villane, to take from them of Turin all means to heare newes out of France. So the way by the valley of Suze being cut off, and that of Pignerol by the means of Montcallier, Carignan, and Carmagnole which the enemy enioyned: *Humieres* being ill obeyed by the Lansquenets (whom they forced to pay vpon their old roll, although their number of ten thousand were halfe decreased) and those of Turin prest with want of victuals, and money, which they could not endure after *S. Andrews* day, the King was in danger to lose F
all Piedmont.

Piedmont in
danger, so he
left for want of
money.

The Marquis (having taken the towne of *Quiers* by assault, with Alba and *Quierras* by composition) was become master of the field, and held Pignerol, a great and vast Towne, so freightly begirt, as no victuals might enter, when as the King by a supply of five and twenty thousand Crownes, which he sent to *Boutieres*, made an entry for the Countrey men to bring victuals to Turin, which before was shut vp, for want of payment for their warres: then he caused the bands of the Earle of Furstemberg, and of *Nicholas de Ruffis* to march

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A march to Lions, vnder the command of the Daulphin his sonne, and of the Lord Secward, with ten thousand French foot, commanded by *Montenac*, followed by fourteene hundred men at armes, and light-horse, attending a leaue of fourteene or fifteene thousand Suisses, which the Earle of Tende made for his Maiesties seruice: resolute to march after himselfe in person. And not to leaue his Realme vnfortified, hee left the gouernment of Paris, and the Ile of France, Picardy, Normandie, and other Countreys about, to the Duke of Orleans his yonger sonne: he sent backe the Duke of Guise into Bourgongne, and Champagne: *Henry* King of Nauarre his brother-in-law into Guienne and Languedoc, and the Lord of Chastebauriant into Britanie.

B The Daulphin accompanied with *Anthony* Duke of Vendosme, parts from Lions about the tenth of October, gathers together in Dauphine some 3000 Legionaries, and the remainders of *Humieres* armie, which were come out of Alba and *Quierras*: he forceth the passage of Suze against *Cesar* of Naples, who kept it with ten thousand men, chafeth them two miles, wins all their baggage, makes the Marquis to retire all his forces to Riuele and Montcallier, leaueing Pignerol at libertie, opens a way by the taking of Villane from 200 Spaniards which were cut in pieces, addes to his conquests Riuela abandoned by the Marquis, turnes head to the enemy, incamped on this side the Riuier of Po, right against Montcallier: but hauing the bridge to fauour him, to retire when he pleased, hee begins the skirmish with his light-horsemen against theirs, kills many, takes some, and loseth few, C
he chafeth all their troops beyond the bridge, who breaks it after them, but with the hazard of their liues that remained behinde. Those of Montcallier, come with a great shew of affection and repaire it: and then receiue into their towne all the souldiers which the Daulphin had left to guard the riuier, whilst the armie passed at Carignan. The Marquis dislodging still, left in *Quiers* *Don Anthony* of Arragon his brother-in-law, with 4000 men, and himselfe recovered the Countrey of Aft.

Thus our men being at liberty on all sides, become masters of Poirien, Rieu de *Quiers*, Villeneuse of Aft, Montafé, Antignan, and of all other forts, vnto the gates of Aft, of *Quierras*, Alba and Fossan, whither they retired all the come of the Countrey, which did serue for the victualling of the campe and places of conquest. About thirty thousand D
sacks of corn, which the Marquis had gathered together, but had not leisure to bring from Montcallier, and much other munition found in diuers places, supplied Turin for a yeare. During these adions, the King comes accompanied with the Earle of Saint Paul, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and many other great personages. And as his Maiesty rooke council at Carignan, with the Daulphin, and the Lord Secward, newes come vnto him, that the Garison of Vulpian kept the valley of Suze, and for that Riuele nor Villane had any horsemen, to stay their incursions, they did wonderfully annoy those that followed the campe. He presently sent away *Martin du Bellay*, and very happily. They had newly seized vpon six moyles laden with money for the payment of the armie, driving the moyles, and the treasurers in the midst of them. *Du Bellay* passeth the riuier of Douaire, intercepts their E
way, and ouertakes them three miles from Vulpian, he makes them to leaue the moyles, and onely with the losse of the treasurers, which they caried away, brings them safe to Riuele.

The conclusion of this Councell was, to besiege *Quiers*, where the King would imploy the first fruits of his last forces. But the great Commander of battailes, giues him a more fauourable issue. The riuier of Picardy had giuen liberty to the Queene of Hungarie, and likewise to the King to send some Gentlemen into Spaine, to mediate a peace, or a general truce: and the Deputies had so well performed their charge, as a suspension of armes was concluded on either side, from the eight and twentieth of Nouembre, vntill the two and twentieth day of February following, whereby euery one enioying that F
whereof he should be made seized at the time of the publication, the garisons of Turin, Vordin, Saullan, Montdeuis and other frontier places, were not slacke to enlarge their limits as farre as they could, nor to put men in the Kings name into all the small places, and castles thereabouts.

Three dayes after the truce was proclaimed, the Marq: of Guast, came to kisse the Kings hand, whom hee receiued very graciously, and the King making the Lord of *Magnan* gouernour of Piedmont, he left *William* of Bellay his Lieutenant generall in Turin: *Francis* Earle of Poitune at Pignerol, the Baron of Castel-per at Saullan: *Charles* of Digos at
Hhh Piedmontois

Truce betwixt
France and France

1537

Piedmontois at Montdeuis (he had surprized, and kept the place from the Imperials, A when they were the strongest in field.) *Lodovick* of Birague, at Vorlin, and *Nicholas* of Rufficis at Carmagnole: he dismissed his Suisses, and taking his way to France, he sent the Cardinal of Lorraine from Lions, with *Montmorency* the Lord Steward, to Locrate, where the Emperours Deputies should meet, concerning a peace betwixt their Majesties. The confusions had bene great, and their spleene not easily to bee pacified, which made them to prolong the truce for fixe moneths more. After all these toyles, and painefull endeavors, the loyall service of the most worthy, deferred reward; which made the King, being at Molins, to advance *Anne* of Montmorency to bee Constable of France, the place being voyde by the reuolt of the Duke of Bourbon: hee gaue his place B to Marshall of *Monticau*, and that of the Marshall *la Marke* deceased, to *Claude* of Annebault. It was now time to suppress these infernall furies, which had so long troubled the quiet of Christendome with such fatal combustions, and that the Pope (doing the office of a common father) should therein imploy his authority. Hee procures an C interview of these two great Princes at Nice, and himselfe assists, being about threefore and fifteene yeeres of age, in the beginning of Iune. Their mutuall hatreds had taken too deepe rootes in their hearts, and that fatal and bloody checke, which his brother *Ferdinand* King of Hungary had lately receiued from the Turke, had nothing mollified the Emperour. Time doth pacifie discontentes. Ten yeeres were sufficient, or neuer, to dispose both the one and the other to a general peace. The Pope therefore seeing that by the full deciding of their quarrels, hee could not confirme a final peace, hee propounded a truce for ten yeeres, the which they concluded betwixt their Countries, and subiects, and then euery one returned home. But *Charles* was borne to bee a perpetuall scourge to this Realme, and many yeeres shall not passe before hee put vs in alarm with an unworthy and base motive of new confusions.

The Emperours
policy.

Let vs now see how he worketh like a Foxe, to produce effects for his owne benefit. The Gantois being oppressd with many extraordinary tributes, had spoiled the Emperors officers: who growing desperate, and seeking to fortifie themselves against the reuenging wrath of *Charles*, they secretly offer obedience to the King, as to their Soueraigne Lord. The King performing the dutie of a good brother, and faithfull friend, giues the Emperour D rout intimation thereof. The Emperour desisteth by some notable examples, to suppress the Gantois infolencies. But the passages thither were not very certaine. By Germany, the Protestants might some what hinder him. By sea, a storme might as well cast him vpon the coast of England, as vpon Flanders: the diuisions hee had with the King of England by reason of the diuorce of *Queene Catherine* his Aunt, would not suffer him to take any assurance from him: France was very commodious for him to this end, he demands the Kings word for his safety, and among other toyles, hee promiseth, in case hee giues him an assured passage, to ieiue him, or some of his children, in the Duchy of Milan. But (oh notable policy) he desires not to be prest to signe these promises. To the end (saith he) it may not be spoken, that I haue done them by constraints to obaine a passage, and requires the King to take his word for assurance. This was to build a castle vpon a quick sand.

The Emperours
passage through
France.

Notwithstanding the King iudgeth another mans heart and intentions by his owne, hee grants his brother-in-law such assurance as hee demands: Being sicke, he parts from Compiegne, to goe to meet with him; sending his two sonnes to Bayonne, to receiue him, and to accompany him to the place where the King and he might meet (which was at Chastelleraud) giues him authority to make entrees, and to deliuer prisoners, in many townes of the realme, as if he had been in his owne country: casts him in all places, causeth him to be conducted by his children vnto Valentignies, the first place of his owne territories, where he is moued to confirme that which he had promised before his departure from Spaine, but it was to no effect: The Emperour desires the manner, vntill hee had conferred with his Councill of the Low countries: it may be hee would haue kept his promise, if hee had found the Gantois so desperately affected, as he must needs haue iudged them. And the Constable, who (relying vpon the word of such a Prince as the Emperour) had giuen the King assurance, was for this cause in disgrace with his Majesty, and

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A and retired himselfe from Court to his house: from whence we shall see him called and restored to his dignities.

Let vs obscure the craft and subtiltie of the Spaniard, to bring the King into dislike with his friends and allies. The Venetians were ill satisfied of the league they had made with the Emperour against the great Turke: their treasure was wasted, and their estates (after that great and famous victorie in Hungary) were in danger. They were (for their owne safety) ready to enter into a treatie of peace, or of a long truce with the Turke. To breake this, the Emperour solliciteth the King to enter into this common league, and the King perswaded thereunto, sends (by his instigation) the Marshall of B Annebault (Lieutenant General for his Majestic in Piedmont, by the death of *Montiscan*, lately deceased) to goe in company with the Marquis of Guast to Venice, and the Lord of Gié to the Pope, as solemne Ambassadors, and to giue them hope, that the King of France ioyning his forces to theirs, all ioyntly together, would make an armie both by sea and land, to extirpate the race of the *Ottomans* out of Europe. The Emperour strucke three strokes with one stone, he dissuaded the Venetians from all accord with the Turke. He bred a hatred and dislike betwixt the King and the Turke. And put the King of England in ieiuness: who could not well like of this great alliance and fraternitie, which the Emperour did cunningly make shew to haue with the King. So as the English being perswaded, that the King had with-drawne his loue, he grew strange, C and began to assure himselfe of the Emperour. And which is more, all the Kings other confederates, seeing that honourable and respectiue entertainment giuen to the Emperour, and the Ambassadors of both their Majesties, ioyntly sent into Italy, they conceiued many causes of distrust, blaming the King in leauing them at need to the Emperors mercie, from whom they could not expect (if he did vanquish them in warre) any better vantage then that of the Gantois.

This yeere *William Budeus* Master of Requests, died at Paris, a man of singular learning and godlinesse, to whom all men that loue learning are much bound, hauing by his learned and laborious writings, eased them of much paine: whose credit with the King, and the Cardinal *Du Bellay*, caused honest pensions, according to that age, to be giuen to those D whom we call the Kings readers, and professors, a fountain from whence are sprung so many great Riues, that in the end they are spread ouer all Europe. The extreme heat, and great droughts, did likewise make this season the more memorable, by the name which it carries yet, of the yeare of Roasted Vines. The Emperour hauing by his dissembling disappointed the King of his hopes, it was now needfull to satisfie his friends and allies, touching the truth of things past: for (to incense all the Potentates of Christendome against our King) the Emperour had vnder-hand giuen them to understand, that the King treating with him of matters to their prejudice. To this end he sent *Cesar Fregose* to the Senate of Venice, and *Anthony Rençon* a Gentleman of his chamber to the great Turke. The Marquis of Guast hath some notice thereof, and to surpriseth these Ambassadors with their instructions and Letters of credit (which notwithstanding were not found about them, the Lord of Langey, who could not disswade them from the passage of Po, had so preuailed with them, as they sent their instructions vnto him, to conuey them vnto Venice another way:) he sets watches vpon all the passages, especially vpon the Po, knowing well that *Rinçon*, a bigge fat man, would rather passe by water then by land, and causeth them to be murdered in their barke, passing at Cantalone, three miles aboue the mouth of Tesin, putting all the Watermen into the dungeon of the Castle of Paua, as well those which carried the Spaniards, that were the murderers, as the French: they were souldiers of the garison of Milan, and of the said castle. An odious and reproachfull act. Some packets coming from Venice to the King, and from the King to Venice, were surpris'd, and the F Carriers wounded by men attired after the Marquisses deuce.

Budeus dyed.

The Kings Ambassadors surpris'd and murdered.

But see the notable policy of *Langey*, to discouer the truth of a fact which the Marquis thought to haue managed so secretly, as it should neuer haue come to light. Gifts (sayes an Ancient) pacifie both gods and men. *Langey* findes a meane, by money, to fyle a sunder the grates of the prison towards the Castle ditch, with secret Files: draws forth the Mariners, winnes some of the faction to the Kings seruice; learns from them the number, the names, and the nation of the murderers, the order, the manner, and the houre of the murder, and all other auailable circumstances to incounter the dissembling of the Marquis,

Ferdinands armie defeated by the Turke.

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The Emperour
goes to *Alger*
without suc-
cesse.

Marquis, who making a good shew of a bad cause, seemed to enquire carefully of the crime, by the Captain of the Iustice at Milan. The Emperour was then at the Diet at Ratisbone, where he granted an *Interim* to the Protestants, that is to say, untill a Councell were held to determine all controversies of religion, every one should peaceably enjoy the belief and ceremonies whereof he then made profession: and in doing this, the restoring of the Duke of Savoy to all his estates, was granted at the Germans charge.

Soone after, *William* of Roquedolse, Lieutenant Generall for *Ferdinand* King of Hungary, was defeated before *Buda*, with the losse of twenty thousand Germans. It was a great shame for the Emperour, being neere to so mournfull and fatal a checke, if hee should not employ his forces in his brothers favour. He undertakes againe the voyage of *Alger* in Afrique, with an intent (that if passing through Italy, hee should finde the Kings affaires disordered, and his forces dispersed) to attempt some thing against him, making account that the King would not faile to be reuenged of the violence and wrong done vnto him, in the persons of his Ambassadors. But the good prouision which the King had made in Prouence, and in Piedmont, by *Langey* his Lieutenant generall, caused him to passe on without any further attempt. Being at Luques, he had conference with the Pope, and the King sent his Ambassador vnto them, to demand satisfaction for the crime: but he was put off with shifts. The enterprise of *Alger* was vnfortunate, the violence of the winds, the continuall raine, the stormes and haile, with all the iniuries of the ayre, had conspired against him: breaking some of his ships, he was beaten backe with great danger of his person, and losse of his men.

Hitherto the Marquis had as concertly as he could, disguised the matter: but finding now that all men had discovered his deuices, that notwithstanding the death of the Ambassadors, he could not decypher the Kings designe, that the King demanded as well from the Emperour, as from the Estates of the Empire, satisfaction for this foule fact: Now to make his cause seeme good, he writes to the Estates which were assembled againe at Ratisbone, for their common defence against the Turke, whereby hee maintains, that hee committed no act that might touch him for breach of the truce, and in shew to iustifie himselfe of the crime wherewith he was charged: *There are* (saith he neither denying nor aduoyning the fact) *two wayes of iustificatiō, the one ciuill, the other Knightly. I offer to maintaine ciuilly, that there is no breach of truce growne by me, and to deliuer into our holy fathers hands (the protector of the truce) both my selfe, and all those the King shall thinke culpable of this act, to the end the truth might be knowne: and if any Knight my equall wil charge me with any such fact, and proue his saying by armes, I will maintaine that he hath spoken falsely, and as often as he shall charge me with the like, so often shall he speake falsely.* We do often shadow a lie with such good wordes, as it giues it a colour of truth. But did hee thinke by this brauadoe, to proue his innocency? the retreat of those murderers to him, bringing them all prisoners that were left aliue within the boars, to the end there should bee no means to discover this infamous murder: the detention hee made of the Warer-men, whom he afterwards transported into other prisons vnder his command: the penall Edicts he did publish in places where the fact might bee knowne, against them that should bee found discouraging of this action: the ill vsage of them that had spoken of it: the fauours, honours, and aduancements giuen to them that had bene the actors: the depositions of prisoners freed by *Langey*, were not all these sufficient witnesss, to cry vengeance against the Marquis? *Langey* answering to the pretended iustifications of the Marquis, was the Knight to make tryall thereof, by the one or the other way. But the Marquis had no such meaning.

We haue heard how the King demanded of the Emperour (being in conference with the Pope at Luques) satisfaction of the murder, audaciously and against all diuine, naturall, and humane lawes, committed vpon the persons of two of his especial seruants, men of estate, and of reputation by their births, hauing by their meritis deserved, the one an honorable degree amongst his chiefe Gentlemen: the other an especial place amongst the greatest Noblemen. They would haue satisfied him with frivolous reasons and excuses, perswading him to leaue the abolition of their blood, to the forgetfulness of time, which might haue bene an imputation to his Maiestie, either of want of wit and iudgement, or of valour & courage. Profit vrged the King, honor prickt him forward, and necessity constrained him, to vs: those means which the law of Nations did allow

The Marquis of
Guastiffus
hath killed.

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The reasons
that moued the
King to warre.

A to him which doth acknowledge no other superiour: and three chiefe reasons did vrged him thereunto. Vnder this colour of peace, the Emperour had a thousand practices vpon the frontiers of his Realme: and the King had no sooner cut off one of this *Hydras* heads, but presently there riseth vp an other or many moe. Moreouer, this truce allowed the traffike and conference of eithers subiects, by means whereof so many treasons were practised. Neither could he draw his subiects from the commerce of the Low-countries, belonging to the Emperour, without expresse prohibitions, the which by consequence would argue hostilitie. But that which did most moue a noble and generous spirit: hee had good and certaine intelligence, that the Emperour (seeing warre proclaimed, in B case he did not within a certain time make satisfaction for the aboue-named murders) made his account, that vnder colour of zeale to the common-weale of Christendome (filling the eares of the whole world with a goodly and great enterprise, against the enemies of the faith) he would raise great forces, and prouide great preparation, at the cost and charge of his most credulous subiects, lying most open and neereft vnto the Turkes inuasion, and conuince the most Christian King to assist him either with men or money.

If then the fumes of an African or Turkish voyage, had been proclaimed through the world, before that warre were denounced betwixt these two Princes, those which were not acquainted with the deuices of the one, would haue imputed the stay of so holy an enterprise to the other. Let vs adde, that howsoeuer, he must entertaine men, both in Italy,

C and vpon the frontiers of Languedoc and Prouence, for that both a truce, and warre were of equal charge vnto him. There were two means to begin the warre: the one profitable and lesse honest. Many thrust him on, some with discontent, others with reuenge, some with couetousnesse, some with desire of inuouation, or some other priuate passions, offering to seize vpon diuers places for his Maiestie, the conquest whereof, might bee a worthy reward for a long and doubtfull warre. The other was more honest, but of lesse profit, iust, and not couetous. The Duchy of Luxemburg, and the county of Roussillon were worthy motives in generall, besides the priuate interest of inuasion, which the King had against his enemy. The Emperour did possesseth them both, without any lawfull title.

D Luxemburg, by the succession of *Charles & Philip* dukes of Bourgogne, his great grandfather, and his father, who had by force dispossessed the true and lawfull Lords of the said house, who had substituted our *Francis*, by a new grant into their rights and actions, besides the ancient rights, which the Kings of France haue euer pretended thereunto, and especially, since the purchase which *Lewis* Duke of Orleans, brother to King *Charles* the sixth made. Besides that the Lords of la Marche had of late transported their pretensions vnto him, of the said Duchy. Roussillon, by the too scrupulous restitution of *Charles* the eighth, being abused and deceived (saith the original) by *Frier* Oliuer Maillart, his confessor, a man in shew holy, but in effect an Hypocrite, and corrupted with money by the King of Arragon, to sell and deceive his master. King *Charles* hauing no power to make this alienation, in preiudice of the Crowne, neither the King of Arragon, nor his successors, accomplishing E the conditions annexed to the contract, *Charles* now Emperour, was but an vsurper, and a violent possessor.

The situation of Luxemburg was commodious to receive the Germanes that came vnto the King: but more, by this approach, to fauour the duke of Cleues, whom the Emperour did threaten to make the poorest man in Christendome. So the King sent *Charles* duke of Orleans, his youngest sonne, accompanied with six hundred men at armes, six thousand French, and ten thousand Lanquenets, and *Claude* duke of Guise commanding the army vnder him: *Francis* of Bourbon duke of Anguien, brother to *Anthony* D. of Vendosme, the Earle of Aumale, eldest sonne to the duke of Guise, the Lords of Sedan, Jamets, Rochefort, du Maine, la Guiche and many others, men of resolution, valour, and experience. And F for the enterprise of *Roussillon*, *Henry* his eldest sonne Dauphin of Viennois, assisted by the Marshal Annebault, for the chiefe conduct of the warre: and for an assistant in those military toiles, the Lord of Montecat, Lieutenant for his Maiestie in Languedoc. *Patpignan* is the chiefe citie of this countrey: the onely barre and bulwarke of Spain towards the South, the conquest whereof drew after it not onely the losse of that which the Emperour possessed on this side the mountains, but layed open all the Prouince beyond it: and the King conceiued, that assailing it (being vnfurnished of many necessities, for the maintaining of a great siege) either honour, or feare of losse, would draw the Em-

Warre declared
in Luxemburg.

Warre in Roussillon.

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perour

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Exploit in
Luxembour.

perour to fight, and with this hope, he prepared the rest of his forces to march in person. A But this was but a great shew without any effects.

The Duke of Orleans having assembled his troopes betwixt Verdun and Dun-le-Chateau, he besieged, battered, and took Danuiller, a place of Luxembourg: where there came to joyne with him the Baron of Hedeccq sometimes Lieutenant to the Earle of Furstemberg, the Earles of Mansfield, and Piquelin, and the Colonel *Reichro*, with their regiments of Lansquenets, making about ten thousand men. Then came Count *Reingraue* to the Kings service, a yong Nobleman and resolute, who promised in his person many good parts, as we shall hereafter see. Danuiller being burnt, as not defensible, had opened the way to Luxembourg: but newes comes, that a part of the wall was false at Yury, the Duke turnes the head of his armie thither, makes his approaches, plants three Cannons and a halfe vpon the brinke of the ditch, but vndiscreetly, without gabions, without trenches (this was to contemne the enemy too much) and without any couering for them that guarded the artillerie. The garison sallies forth in the open day, in view of the arrie, and tie ropes vnto the Ordinance, but the weight of them was the let they could not draw them into the ditch, whereupon they burnt their cariages and dismount them. They make trenches, and batter it towards Ardennes: they make a reasonable breach, but it was not assailed. In the midst of the breach, the besieged had a Calsmate in the bottome of their trench, the which could not bee taken from them without great slaughter of them that should attempt it. They draw from Sedan, Mouzon and other neere townes a supply of artillerie and munition, and make a new batterie: the besieged (being amazed) demand a parle. The bastard of *Sambret*, the Lord of Noyelles, *Hannuyer*, capitaine *Famas*, Gyles de *Leuant*, and others, vnto the number of two thousand men, defended the place, the which could not be assaulted without hazard and losse of men. So it was concluded, they should depart with their baggage, and to cary with them fix faucons with munition to discharge them six times a peece.

Then William Duke of Cleues fortified the Kings armie with ten thousand Lansquenets and sixteene hundred horse, led by *Martin de Roslan* Marshall of Gueldres, *William* had lately espoused (but without any consummation of marriage, by reason of the Infants baseage) *Joan* daughter to *Henry* of Albrecht, and of *Marguerite* the Kings sister, whom D hereafter we may see, by the nullitie of this contract, to marry with *Anthony* of Bourbon, Duke of Vendosme, and of their marriage was borne *Henry* the fourth, the French King and of Navarre, lately murdered.

Luoy (which men held the strongest place in the country, and best furnished with men, artillerie, and munition) by their yielding, caused *Arlois* to open her gates at the first summons. Luxembourg seemed of a harder issue. It was kept by three thousand foot, and foure hundred horse. But the trenches, the approaches, and a breach made, although not reasonable to giue an assault (considering the trench was very deepe cut off the Rocke) did so amaze the besieged, as they yielded to depart with their baggage. The Earles of Mansfield and Piquelin promised to defend it against all men: but wee shall shortly see how E they will discharge their duties.

Montmedy a small place situate vpon a Mountaine, so as they could not approach but on the one side, moued with this happy successe, yielded at the first view of the Cannon. To conclude, such was the successe in this expedition, as onely Tionville remained in the Emperors hands of all the Duchie of Luxembourg. But the great desire the Duke of Orleans had to be at the battell, which, in shew, was to be giuen before Pargignan, drew him to Montpellier, where the King remained attending the progresse of the said siege of Pargignan, to be ready to receiue the Emperour, if he came to succour it.

The Duke had no sooner dismissed his armie, and turned his backe to Luxembourg, leaving the Duke of Guise as Lieutenant General for the King, but the Imperials presented themselves before the towne, and receiued it very easily of the Earles of Mansfield and Piquelin: and by the recouerie of Montmedy did wonderfully endamage all the French troopes at Senay, and along the Meuse, if the Duke (assembling what he could of those companies, he had dismissed) had not chased them from Montmedy, before they had any time to bethinke themselves. A stratagem which did pacifie the Kings wrath, for the dismissing of so gallant and braue an armie, in the heate of their most honorable and happy successe. It is commonly laid. That youth can doe what age doth know but

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A but cannot doe. What did this youthfull escape of the Duke of Orleans benefit, preferring a desire of vncertaine glory, before the fruits of an assured conquest? No increase of his reputation, small assistance vnto the Kings troopes, if hee had beene vpon the point of battell, and a great prejudice to his Maiesties affaires: for this voyage of Rouffillon, being wonderful sumptuous, and of no profit, he might with great honor haue continued his victories the which he had so happily begunne.

Let vs now obserue the successe of this enterprife. *Amnebauld* having brought vnto the Dauphin, being at Auignon, eight thousand Suiſſes, six thousand French foot, of the old bands, whereof *Charles* of Coffer, Lord of Brillac was Colonel: six thousand Italians, B Your hundred men at armes, and sixteene hundred light-horse, whereof the Lord of Termes was General: and *Montespar* hauing ioyned with him at Narbonne, with his Legion of Languedoc, and part of that of Guienne, six thousand Lansquenets, and a great number of Suiſſes, newly leauied, who being ioyned with their country-men, made about foure-teen thousand, so as the whole army was esteemed forty thousand men of all Nations; two thousand men at armes, and two thousand light-horse. The rough entertainment the Imperials gaue them at the castle of Saulles, with their Cannon and Culuerin, made them to coniecture, that the intelligences which *Montespar* (the first fire-brand of this attempt) pretended to haue, were vncertaine.

And what successe could Pargignan promise them, finding it very well fortified with C platforms, well manned, and well furnished with artillery and munition? what assistance could the assistants haue in a plaine field, behind gabions which they could not fill but with sand? The long time which was spent in assembling so many sundry Nations, and the fruitlesse stay of *Amnebauld*, six or seuen weekes in Piedmont, had giuen the defendants time to prevent their enemies designs. Moreover, winter approached, and the Emperour might well keepe the place without hazarding of his person or trying the chance of battell, whereunto the King sought by all means to draw him. This was the meanes to take cold, and to consume himselfe in vaine. Vpon the first taine there had beene no meanes to retire this army, by reason of the floods which runne on all sides from the mountaines, the which the needresse of the sea makes to ouer-flow the champion country that lies neere D it, so as being shut vp betwixt two seas, and the mountaine, the enemy would easily haue preuailed. The King foreseeing these dangers, retired the Dauphin and his armie, knowing but too late, that he had beene ill serued. These flourishing troops, fresh and resolute, might haue beene most profitably employed in the Estate of Milan. But the assistance they gaue the King, to take Pargignan at the first, of two parties made him chooe the worst. Moreover, in an army there is alwayes some one of those that are of the Councell (being jealous, and enuying that any other should doe better) loue rather to crosse and frustrate designs, then to aduance them.

In the meane time, *Anthony* Duke of Vendosme, Gouernor and Lieutenant for the King in Picardy, suffered not his armes to rust: the enemy lurk in diuers places, which did E greatly annoy Ardres, and the country about Bologne: namely Montoire and Tournillon, the first being strong of situation, vpon a little hill, at the entry of the county of Oye, discouraging all that come out of Ardres. The other vpon the edge of the county of Bologne, going from Ardres to Saint Omers, belonging to the Count of Bures, one of the strongest places of the country. The taking and razing of these two, was the destruction of many others which held for them, and yet the enemy being the stronger in men, made some shew to try his forces.

But on the other side, the country of Piedmont, was left in prey to the enemy, by reason that *Amnebauld*, had caried away the troops for the enterprife of Pargignan. The Marquis embracing this occasion, assembled his forces at the bridge of Esture, a fine place F he had the riuers at commandement, and wherefoeuer he pleased, on this or the other side of Po, to assaile Piedmont. *Langey* Lieutenant for the King in Piedmont, to crosse the Marquis, drawes a company of 1200 out of euery towne, makes an enterprife vpon Cony, Quieras and Alba, being ill furnished with souldiers. The undertakers for Cony and Alba, wander in the night, and the day approaching, made their voyage fruitlesse. *Ant. fari* Gouernor of Saillan, and *Cental* of Riez, appointed for Quieras, planted their Ladders, notwithstanding the day breaking had giuen the alarme in the towne, they force it, and die the Castle hauing but one horse, and two sakes of meale in it, yielded after they had

Attempt of
Rouffillon
fruitlesse.

falsed

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fasted six and thirty houres. *Cental* being made Gouvernor, manned it with two thousand A souldiers which he leaued as well vpon his owne lands as elsewhere.

The Marquis posted to succour them, but the distance of the places required three daies journey. He tooke his reuenge vpon Villeneufue of Ait, Poiring and Cambian, small places not fortified, resolute to passe the Po, and to campe at Marignan, to take from the French all the plaine country, and to famish Turin and Pignerol, with the other places which they held on this side, and to take from them all commodity of the Marquisate of Salusses. Five thousand foot, with some few men at armes, and light-horsemen, which *Langey* might oppose against the Marquis, who led fifteene thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, were not sufficient to stop his passage. But the industry of a well B aduised Commander, doth often that which force cannot effect.

He comes first to lodge at Carignan, fortifies himselfe speedily, and with continual skirmishes, keeps the Marquis from forcing of the passage. The waters were low (it was in the month of Iuly) they might easily wade through both above and beneath Carignan, these two armies had already camped fifteene dayes one against another, and the weakest in number was almost tired. *Langey* himselfe with his exceeding toile, was growne lame, yet hauing his tongue and his spirits free, hee winnes from the Imperiall army six thousand Italians: so as weakening his enemy, he fortifies himselfe. The Marquis amazed, and fearing lest these should suborne the rest of his troops, retires to Villedesfelon and Quiers.

It was a goodly thing to pursue them, and the Swisses had accepted of this proposition: but in stead of passing the Po, being warned by the perswasions of some, they turne their Ensignes directly to Pignerol, and *Bontieres* with them. *Langey* seeing himselfe abandoned, diuides his last com- C italians into Castles and Siria, betwixt Turin and Vulpian, leaues about fifty souldiers in the Castle of Carignan, and causeth himselfe to be caried to Turin.

The Marquis hearing of this sudden departure, sends to summon the place, and threatens the souldiers with death, if they attend the Cannon. They yeld at the summons. It was likely the Marquis would finish the fort which *Langey* had begunne. He therefore sends his brother *Martin du Bellay*, Gouvernor of Turin thither. *Du Bellay* sends before him D Capitaine *Marville*, and the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony de Sesse*, his two Lieutenants, with about fifty horse, to obserue the enemies countenance. The Earle leaves his companion in guard, and by a Trumpet demands to speake with the Capitaine of Carignan. This Capitaine goes forth vnder his assurance (the Earle knew him well: he had sometimes serued him:) the Earle tels him they are sent to inuest him, attending the troops and the Artillery, and assures him, that if he makes any delay, it will not be in his power to saue his life. So the Capitaine terrified by this stratagem, deliueres the Castle to the Gouvernor of Turin, who tooke order the like incontinencie should not happen.

Then the Marquis, after two assaults, giuen in vaine to Chiuas, and repulsed by *Ierome* of Birague, he stayed at Casal, and *Cesar* of Naples, to open the way from Vulpian to Turin, hoping to recouer againe the Italians, lately fallen from him, came to assaile Cazelles. *Langey* discouering this designe, appointed the Cheuallier *Villeagnon* to command them, who lent backe his enemy with the losse of about foure-score men, leauing his ladders in the trenches, for a pawne of his vaine enterprise. Barges stop the passage from Pignerol to Ruel, and did then greatly annoy the places which obeyed the French, being in the midst of them. The Marquis retired from Casal could not succour it in many dayes. And therefore not to suffer the Swisses to grow dull for want of exercise, *Bontieres* by the commandement of *Langey*, parts from Pignerol with six Cannons, finds a Conuent fortified, ioyning to the Castle, without the taking whereof, the Castle might not be attempted: he makes a breach, takes it by assault in foure and twenty houres, and puts three hundred Spaniards which had the guard thereof, to the sword. Then hee approacheth the Castle, makes a breach, and compounds with the besieged, that if within six dayes the Marquis or some for him, came not strong enough to raise the siege, they should depart, with their liues.

The Marquis aduertised of this composition, postes to succour them, and *Bontieres* being too weak to attend to great a power, retires to Pignerol. In recompence whereof *Langey* takes from him the Castle of Montault and some other places in Montferrat, being hard

A collant first
to yem of Lait-
B7.

Barges raise.

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A hard to be recovered in winter. And to pull so trouble some a thorne out of his foot, hee causeth *Vasse*, Gouvernor of Pignerol, to practise *Paul Monnet* Capitaine of Barges: and then with some bands newly come from France, hee marcheth with speed to the said place, plants foure Cannons in battery, and by means of a hole which hee made in the Tower, although not reasonable for a breach, hee receiues both the place and Capitaine into the Kings seruice. The time fitted well for the warre, and the King being loath to lose the opportunity, and to employ some part of the forces that were retired from Rar-pignan, sent the Lord of Annebault, with the Regiment of *Reichrac*, into Piedmont, with the old Italian bands and the French, all the light-horse, and foure hundred men at armes.

B This new army, might in shew (whilest the Marquis of Graft was at Carmagnole, doubt- less where they would make their first attempt) haue surprised Cazal, and other places where *Langey* had intelligence. With this designe, he secretly kept boats vpon the River of Po: within foure and twenty houres they might goe downe by water, and the Marquis could not come to succour them in lesse then foure dayes march. Moreover, a friend, (whom he entertained neere vnto the Marquis) assured him to deliuer ouer vnto the French three thousand Lanquenets, and a thousand Spaniards, the which hee himselfe should lead and cause them to be surprised at a passage neere to Villedesfelon, where they had no means to escape: so as passing the Po by night, they had sent some foure hundred horse, betwixt Carmagnole and Villedesfelon, and opposed the army betwixt Villedesfelon and Quiers. Without doubt *Langey* being lame of his limbs, employed all his wits to discouer the Imperials purposes, and full to get from the enemy. But Enny hath alwayes sworne the ruine of Vertue. Some enuious persons breake off these two designes and disswaded *Annebault* from these great enterprises.

Langey seeing his proiect crost by his enemies, he parted from Turin with the Kings good leaue, to acquaint him with many things touching his Maiesties seruice, which hee could not commit to any mans report: but death preuented him at Saint Siphon, vpon the Mountaine of Tarare. The Marquis dislodging from Carmagnole, had left so few men in Cony, as a sudden assault had caried it at the first. To this end *Annebault* parts with foure Cannons, and caused *Riuoles* to come with the Regiment of *Reichrac*. The D bridges of Carignan and Montcallier were broken, so as the Lanquenets must passe at Turin. *Du Bellay* Gouvernor of the towne, and Lieutenant for the King on this side Po, prepares their lodging, to employ them as they passe. The Tower of Saint Bony, Chastillon, Saint Raphael, and other small places, vpon the Mountaine of Montferrat, did wonderfully annoy Turin: They could not goe to the places of Montferrat, whence the victuals (especially Wine) came in great abundance, without being dis- euered.

Hee mooues foure Cannons, departs with some troops of horse, three Ensignes of French- men of his garison, and the said Germanes, plants his artillery before Saint Bony, makes a hole, the Lanquenets giue the assault, force it, and put all they find armed to the sword, E except the Capitaine, who was hanged by the Law of Armes, for that he had endured the Cannon in so weak a place. Chastillon could not be battered but from another mountain opposite, and the horse could not draw vp the Artillery. The Lanquenets, felled with the prey of Saint Bony, force it vp by maine strength, and the besieged, being foure hundred good men of warre, terrified with the vface of Saint Bony, yeld to depart with their baggage. Those of Saint Raphael, and some other places, send to demand a composition and retreat. Onely Chastillon was defensible and commodious for the guard of the passage, all the rest were razed.

The Lanquenets hauing ioyned with *Annebault*, hee besiegeth Cony, ouerthrowes a piece of the wall, and giues an assault, but it was the place that was best fortified: a great F rampier behind the breach stayes our men, the which after an houres fight they are forced to abandon, with the losse of many men of seruice: and the night following, two hundred horse, and eight hundred foot being entred, made the Admirall to found a retreat, eight Cannons diuided into two batteries, had fo troubled the defendants, as not able to answer the diuers assaults, the towne in shew had bene wonne. But errors are knowne after they are committed. Vpon the retreat, the Earle *Maxime*, *Anthony Marville*, and *Theode Bedaine* an Albanos, encounter two hundred Imperiall horses, neere to Bra: they charge them, defeat, and take the most part of them, and the enemy hauing abandoned many

small

Another French
army not dis-
missed.

Langey dies in
Piedmont.

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small places, the Admirall reduceth to the Kings obedience Villeneuve de AA, Poring, A Cambian, and Riue de Quiers.

Winter did cut off all meanes of more happy successe. So dismissing his army, and sending the Lanquenets of Colonell Reiches into France, he tooke his way to Mont-Cenis: Mont-Cenis is subiect to tempests, as well as the sea. The way is straight, restrained by two mountains: when any storme ariseth, the gusts of wind doe gather together bals of snow, vpon the tops of the hills, which growing great as they roule downe, ouerthrow all they meet, and th. y to whom the straight is not knowne (for oftentimes the guides are lost) run many times into caues full of snow. *Annebault* was in this danger, most part of them that did accompany him, found their graues vnder the snow: some lost their eyes, others die B with cold, some returne benumbed of their feet, others of their armes and hands, and few of this whole troop enioyed his perfect health: himselfe was neere vnto a fatal end, if some men attending the end of the storme, in little caues, had not preferred him from the injury thereof.

Rebellion of
the Rochellais.

At that time the King determined a reuenge against the inhabitants of Rochel, and the neighbour Islands which were mutined against the Kings officers, for the custome of salt. Being arrived at Rochel, they assembled all in the garden where his Maiesty did lie, confessed their rebellion publicly, and most humbly craued pardon for their offence. *The fury of a King (saith the Wiseman) is the messenger of death: but a wise man will pacifie it.* And the cheerefull countenance of a King is life, his fauour is like vnto a clond, bringing raine C in due season. The King moued with the pittifull noyse of this people, crying for mercy with their hands lift vp, kneeling on the ground, and teares in their eyes: did graciously remit their offence, freed the prisoners, deliuered their armes, and the keyes of the towne, commanded the Garisons both of foot and horse, to retire: received them into grace, and restored their liberties and priuiledges: without doubt, *A King maintaines his Throne by clemency.* In the meane time, many practices and enterprises are made against Turin.

An enterprife
vpon Turin.

The Marquis of Guast did at sundry times send vnto the Iudge of Turin, being borne at Quiers, a number of carts laden with wine: and within the vessels which was as long as the carts, many armes, harguebuzes, pertusians and corselets, to arme fourescore men, D which he should receive into his house, disguised like country-men, bringing victuals to the market: who at the first tumult they should heare at the towne-gate, should issue forth armed, and seize vpon the Court of guard in the market place, whilest that other souldiers armed with lackes and shirts of Maile, morians, swords, daggers, and targets, brought in five carts of hay, six in euery one (the hay being so cunningly layd, as cutting a cord within, the bundels would fall downe) should fight with the Guard at the Port, and fauour the entry of eight hundred horse, and five thousand foot, which should bee ready at the alarme. But the enterprife being discovered, made the Iudge to lose his head.

The enemy notwithstanding, lets not to proceed to the execution of his carts of hay, in the absence of *Belley*, whom his priuate affaires had called into France, after the death of E his brother: and the twelfth of February, *Bontieres* Lieutenant for the King at Turin, was well advertised of some carts which were preparing at Ligni (an Imperial towne neere vnto Vulpian) but not of the manner of the former enterprife. They hazard their hay, *Raymonet* commanding at the gate, causeth *Perrichon* his Lieutenant to thrust a pike through the first cart, he drawes it out all bloody, the souldiers leape forth, and the first thrusts *Raymonet* through the body with his sword. *Raymonet* takes him by the throat, and slabs him, his companions likewise come forth, force the Guard, seize vpon the armes that hang vp, and become masters of the port. Valiantly without doubt, but somewhat too soone for them, their succours were a mile or more from the first bridge.

Capitaine *Saluadeur de Aguerre*, (who deserues to be registred, hauing a great share in F the persecution of the towne) hauing then the guard of the place, hearing the alarme at the gate, and crying *Sanoy*, turnes head with his troop, repulseth the fue that were slipt out of the first cart, & goes directly to the gate. A well aduised Smith, who dwelt neere the gate, goes vp, and with a great hammer breaks the chaine, and lets downe the Portcullis, so as the Imperials could not enter. *Bontieres* and *Montins* arise, they shut the gates, kill some of the souldiers that were betwixt the gate and the Portcullis, the rest creepe vnder the Portcullis, being too stout, and *Cesir* of Naples (who not many dayes before, had left three

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A three of his souldiers hanged at Turin, being executed for another conspiracy against the towne) seeing his enterprife made frustrate, retired without the losse of any, but of his Lieutenant, who was slaine with the Cannon.

On the other side, the Duke of Cleues made warre in Brabant, and had wonne some places from the Emperor. So as the Bourguignons turning all their forces against him, giue the Duke of Vendosme meanes to victuall Therouenne, to take Lilliers by composition, being a strong place, betwixt Aire and Betune, at the entry of the Marfiss: to burne the towne, beat downe the gates, and to make it and many other places about Therouenne, Saint Omer, Aire, Betune, altogether vnprofitable for the enemy. And to the Earle of B Aumale eldest sonne to the Duke of Guise, accompanied with the Lords of Laual, Saint Andre, Elcars, Dampierre, Chastaigneray, Eguilly, and a great number of other young Gentlemen, occasion to quicken the enemy with continuall skirmishes and assaults, most commonly carying away the aduantage.

Exploits in
candie.

The happy successe, and the fauourable season, inuited the King, in the beginning of June, to goe to field with all his forces, with an intent to assaile Auennes, being vnfortified of men. To this end he sends the Admirall of Briton, newly aduanced to that office, by the death of the Admirall of Briton, that attending his coming, he should inuest the towne; and sent to the Duke of Vendosme to come to him to Chateau Cambresis, which was the rendezvous for all the Army. So the King had the Admirals army, as a C foreward on his right hand, that of the Duke on his left, and his Maiesty in the midst. *Longueual* and *Langcy*, with their companies of men at armes, and *La Lande* with a thousand foot, goe before, by the Admirals commandments, they take the Fort by assault, which the enemies had built vpon the bridge of the Riuer of Estruel: and before the towne had any knowledge thereof, they put to the sword three hundred men that had the guard thereof. In this amazement, if they had furiously assailed the towne, in shew it had bene forceable. Notwithstanding Landrecy, the Castle of Emery, and some other places taken and fortified, gaue entry into the country of Hainault. Landrecy is situate vpon Sambre, a small riuer, but deepe and strong vpon the bankes, which issuing out of Oise, in the Duchy of Guise, runnes by Chastillon, Landrecy, Marolles, Emery, and Mapbeuge: then D it runnes into the Meuze neere to Namur. Beyond Sambre, is the Forest of Mormaut. *Langcy* foreseeing that the garison might vse the same stratagem they had done in the yeere 1521, had placed an hundred horse betwixt the forest and the towne, that being fortified by the Admirals coming, they might cut off the retreat to them that were assailed. But as we haue said elsewhere, Envy doth alwayes crosse braue designs. The Admirall in stead of fauouring the enterprife, calls them backe that were on the other side of the riuer, being ready to performe a worthy exploit. And the enemy seeing the way open, retires into the forest, and at their dislodging consumes the towne to ashes: and not able to saue any thing but the Church, they burne their victuals and munition, which was sufficient to feed the garison of the towne a whole yeare. To repaire and make it defensible, E the King gaue the government thereof to *La Lande*, who by a counter trench covered it from a mountain on the forest side, which looks into the towne, he made three great bulwarkes, and filled the Castle with earth to make a platforme, seruing as a flank to the bulwarkes.

Landrecy still
other places
taken by the
French.

Let vs marke another fault no lesse remarkable. The Duke of Vendosme marching by the high country of Arthois to the Rendezvous, had suddenly reduced Bapaume to his obedience. *Anchinmont*, with the souldiers and citizens of all sexes, being retired into the Castle, had but one Well, which being dried vp, in two dayes would haue brought them to the Dukes mercy, when as he receiues a second charge from the King, that vpon paine of disobedience, and to incur his disgrace, he should come the same day to him to Chateau Cambresis: so as he left the besieged at liberty.

F The King hauing his forces vnted, he found the number to be about eighteen hundred men at armes, whereof the Commanders were, the Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans, Vendosme and Guise, the Earles of Saint Paul, Aumale and Briffac, the Marshall of Biez, the Admirall *Dampierre*, *Maugeron*, *Baiffy*, *Longueual*, *Bonneual*, and many others, the number whereof would be tedious: eighteen hundred light horse vnder *Briffac*, their Colours twelue thousand Legionaries, Pikards, Normans, and Champanois, and twelve thousand low Germanes. The Castle of Emery might be fortified, and serue to second Landrecy.

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The Castle of
Bains taken.

Landrecy. To that end the King sent the Daulphin with part of the army, and some artillery. The Lord of the place was at the warres in Gueldres, and they which kept it, yielded vpon the first approaches. *Langcy* with his company of men at armes, and an Ensigne of the Legion of Picardy was left for the defence & fortification of the place. The taking of Barlemont, another Castle vpon the same riuier, opened the passage vnto Bains, and to the gates of Monts in Hainault. Maubeuge was the enemies store-houfe, when as hee made any attempt against this Realme, and the towne being vnfurnished of men, able to attend the Cannon, the inhabitants yielded to the Daulphin, who (leaving *Heyle* Capitaine of a thousand men of the legion of Picardy, and *Saint Yue* with five hundred) he retired to the army.

The army camped tenne leagues from Bains, and Bains was the ordinary retreat of the Imperials returning from the warre in Guelderland, who for the distance of the French campe, did lodge securely in the suburbs and villages about: considering that there were no horsemen at Maubeuge, *Langcy* giues intelligence to *Maugeron*, that they had meanes to doe a braue exploit with honor and profit. Hee comes with his company of men at armes, and fourescore of the Admirals, and parting by night, they take (in their passage) Capitaine *Saint Yue*, with fifty Harguebuziers on horsebacke, of the garison of Maubeuge, they lay an ambush halfe a league on this side Bains, within a wood, and send *La Mot Gondin* Lieutenant to *Maugeron*, who remained sicke at Maubeuge, to enter the suburbs of Mons, and by the firing of some houfes, to take from them of the towne the knowledge of the enterprise of Bains: and then to retire themselves into the ambush, in case they were charged: and they send *Marville*, Lieutenant to *Langcy*, (who commanded the ambush) the Vidame of Chartres, *la Rochevignon*, and the Harguebuziers on horsebacke, to surpris the Imperials in their suburbs, at the breake of day. Euery thing was executed accordingly. About fixscore horse, arising the night before, slept at their ease: they awake them somewhat ruddily, and cary them away prisoners, spoile the villages about, returne to diuide their rich booty at Maubeuge. At the same time the Earle of Aumale tormented the garisons of Auenues with continuall skirmishes: but fill with the decrease of their men, and no losse of his.

The Imperials
surprised at
Bains.

The prisoners of Bains had assured the King, that the towne was vnfurnished with men of defence. He therefore sends the Daulphin and the Admirall to subdue it to his obedience. But at the first approach they found themselves abused. The Imperials had the next day after the alarme put fifteen hundred Lansquenets into the towne. Moreover, for want of well viewing the fort, they had indifferently planted the Cannon against the strongest part: the battery did small harme, many died there, and many returned wounded. *Allegre* amongst others, a young man, who for his age had made good prooffe of his person, lost his life. *Gaspard* of Coligny Lord of Chastillon (he shall hereafter play many parts vpon the Theater of this History) for one of the first exploits of his armes, had a shot in the throat. So the great number of Germanes which entred into Bains, the want of munition and victuals (the Daulphin having brought but for two dayes) the enemies which assembled at Monts, and at *Quesnoy le Comte*, the danger the King did foresee in keeping his troops diuided, the feare that going in person to ioyne with his sonne (with whom were his chiefe forces, he should be constrained to leaue the fortifications of Landrecy imperfect: his Maistie drawes the Daulphin vnto him, he causeth him to beat downe the defences of Maubeuge in his passage: and (for that the Emperour was wont to assemble his forces there that came out of Germany and the Low-Countries) to fire the towne. *Trelon* and *Glavon*, places betwixt Auenues and *Simay*, did greatly annoy the frontiers of *Tierasse* and *Champagne*. *Bonneval*, and *Stenay*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Anguien (who was in Prouence, as we shall shortly see) had commission to prevent it. Being come to *Trelon* with two thousand French, and foure thousand Lansquenets, those within at the first sight of the Cannon yielded to haue their liues saued. *Glavon* afterwards submitted with the like facility. Both being burnt, but their fortifications not ruined, shall serue againe to lodge the Imperials.

Emery remained still whole, but it might not be made fit to endure the attempts of a mighty army in twelve dayes. Moreover, it must be furnished with victuals: Two riuers not to be waded through, betwixt Landrecy and Emery, made the victualling difficult. Auenues did cut it off, and the Commissaries of the victuals reported, that to put victuals into

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A into Emery, were in time to furnish the army, and to take away the meanes to victual Landrecy, for the want of cariage, which was greatly hindred by a continual raine three weeks together. And that which did most import, newes comes to the King, that the Emperors armes, and approached neere the countries of the Duke of Cleues, whom he might not abandon to the paves of a roring Lion, who had long time vowed his ruine. So the towers of the dungeon of Emery, and the portall of the wals flying into the ayre by myne, and other meanes, serued to fill vp the trenches.

Hitherto we haue made warre with small resistance, hereafter wee shall haue a stronger party, and by consequence more glory to crosse the Emperours attempts, whilst that famine and the winter driues him from before Landrecy. In the end of Iuly, Landrecy was in such estate, as without any support of an army, the fortifications might well be continued, leaving some troops at Guise, and the Duke of Cleues (against whom the Emperour banded all his power) appealed to the King for succours. The King therefore, to diuert the Emperours forces, to draw him to battell, and to try if he were accompanied with the like happinesse, leading his forces in person, as he had bene by his Deputies, or at the least by the taking of Luxemburg, to make the way easie to succour his allie, he sent the Duke of Vendosme to encounter the enemies attempts vpon the frontiers of base Picardy, and to fauour the necessary victualling of Landrecy: and for the execution of his enterprise, he appointed the Duke of Orleans, vnder the conduct of the Admirall of Annebault. The Prince of Melphes, whom the King had left in Guise with three hundred men at armes, and *Brissac*, Colonell of fifteene hundred light-horse, to goe and ioyne with him about Rheims: And the Earles of Reux and Roquendolfe, with the forces of the Low-countries, came from a skirmish at Landrecy, which they did hope to surpris, being vnfurnished of victuals.

As they trooped together with a designe to attempt the Castle of Bohain, newes comes that *La Hunauday* and *Theauide Bedaigne* an Albanos, (either of them being Capitaine of two hundred horse) were lodged neere vnto the Castle of Bouhourie, making account to dislodge so early, as they might come in time to part with the Generall. To surpris them the Lord of Liques, Lieutenant to the Duke of Afcots company, drawes eight hundred choice Bourguignon horses out of the Imperall troops, two hundred Englishmen, (the King of England being then fauoured by the Emperour, pretended to inuade vs, as we shall hereafter see) and foure ensignes of foot-men. But lest he should come too late, hee leaues them behind him, and marcheth before with his horsemen. At the first they charge *Bedaignes* lodging, who whilst the enemy was breaking open the gate, had leisure to put on his cuirasse: he goes to horse-backe with his lance in his hand, forthwith furiously through them, ouerthrowes them: he meets, and ioynes his troop with *La Hunauday*, who was likewise on horse-back. *Aché* and *Bertrand* of Foissy, Lord of Crené, Capitaine of 200 harguebuziers on horse-back, being lodged at the same Abbey, poste to their succours: they force the bridge which the Imperials kept, and ioyntly with the light-horsemen repulse the enemy. The alarme is giuen at Guise. *Theauide Manes* arises with his 200 light-horse to second his companions: and *Brissac* borrowing about threescore horse of the Prince of Melphes (his troops had already taken the way to Marle) goes to their ayd: he is advertised by *Bedaigne*, that the enemy (fearing to haue the whole army vpon them) beganne to wauer: all the troops ioyne and charge them suddenly: they ouerthrow their horsemen vpon their foot, which aduanced and put them to rout: they pursue them speedily, leaue three hundred dead vpon the place, cary away six hundred prisoners, and win foure Ensignes and two Cornets. The rest of the Imperiall army going to assaile Bohain, hearing of this defeat, and doubting they should be forced to fight with the whole army, grew amazed, and retired to *Quesnoy le Comte*. The Duke of Orleans hauing already by the taking of Saint Mary (for Montmedy and Yuoy were vnder the Kings obedience, since the first conquest made by the said Duke) Danuilliers, Vireton, Arlon, and other places, made his approaches to Luxemburg: he prest it with two batteries at a corner of the high towne towards France, the one crossing the other: the one was committed to the Duke of Aumale, the other to *Peter Storffy*, a Florentine, kinsman to Pope *Clement* deceased: who, (being lately come out of Italy) had brought three hundred Tuscan Soldiers, all men of note and commandement: two parts armed with Pikes, the third with Harguebuzes all with gilt colesers. The towne was defended by foure hundred horse well appointed,

The Imperials
charge the
French in their
lodging, and
are repulsed.

The Duke
of Aumale

pointed, and three thousand five hundred foot well armed, vnder the command of *Giles de A* Leuant, a man well esteemed by the Imperials, and *John de Heu* one of the Lords of Metz: yet at the fifth or sixth volley of the Cannon, hauing demanded composition, they departed with their baggage.

Longueil entered as Gouvernor with his company of men at armes. *Anglure* with a thousand of the Legion of Champagne: *Haracourt* a Lorraine, and the Vicount of *Riuere*, commanding either of them five hundred men: and *Ierom Marin* a Boulonois, sixscore Italians. The King hauing passed the Feast of *Saint Michael* there, and performed the ceremonies of the Order, he disposed of the fortifications of the towne: then he prepared himselfe to succour Landrecy, which the Imperials besieged, leaving the Legionaries of B Champagne and Normandy vnder the Cont *Brienne*, to fauor the victualling of his new conquest, the which he had committed to the Prince of Melphe, being assisted with the companies of men at armes of the Lords of Sedan, Tarnetz, Brienne, Langey, Estauges, La Mailleray: two thousand Lanquenets led by *Fresnay*, and ten thousand Legionaries.

The munition was prepared at Stenay and Mouzon: and for want of carriages which they had purposely stayed on all sides, the campe was so oppressed with famine, as the Captaines themselves had no bread to eate. So the souldiers being impatient and ill-affected: disdaining moreover to see themselves disappointed of the sacke and spoile of Luxembourg, whereof they were in hope, they mutine and returne home to their houses: so as of tenne thousand, about three hundred remained vnder their ensignes: and Captaine C *Tauernier* (whom the Duke of Orleance had left in Arlon) hauing spoiled the towne, took the same way with his company. Without doubt these poore townsmen newly conquered, shewed themselves more faithfull then this wretch, who was appointed to defend them. They giue notice, that they had shut their gates against the Imperials that were come to seize on their towne: and that hauing taken their oath of fidelity vnto the King, they were resolu'd to keepe their faith, so as they might be releued. Ten or twelue thousand Lanquenets were assembled vpon Mozel to hinder this victualling. Notwithstanding, through the helpe of the men at armes, and the Lanquenets of *Fresnay*, Luxembourg was victualled for three months, in despite of the enemy, and Arlon supplied with six hundred men, and such a quantity of munition as the time would permit. The taking D of Luxembourg had giuen the King means to send the Admirall with foure hundred men at armes, and ten thousand foot, to succour the Duke of Cleues, in whose fauour this war was chiefly attempted. But the Duke after the taking of the towne of Dure, hauing no means to auoid the storme which threatened him with apparant ruine, nor long to withstand so great a power, made his peace with the Emperor, yeelded vnto him the Duchy of Guelldres, the County of Zuphen, and the forts of Heusberg and Sittart, to dispose thereof at his pleasure. At the same time *Don Fernand* of Gonsagua, Lieutenant generall for the Emperor, besieged Guise: but being aduertised of the Kings arriall at Couchy, who marched with great speed to encounter the Emperor, he resolu'd to make his retreat to Landrecy. *Brissac* with a number of men at armes, and harguebuziers on horse-backe, E lies in ambush in a wood to surpriseth them in their dislodging, and sends *Theau de Bedaigne* his hand to enter skirmish with the Imperiall light-horse men, and to draw them (if it were possible) into the ambush. But *Bedaigne* not able by skirmish to make them abandon the body of their army which marched towards Landrecy, *Brissac* puts forth five hundred horse, to giue a furious charge, and he followes with his whole roop to second them. Our men making a gallant charge, overthrow all they encounter: they kill and take prisoners, amongst others, *Don Francis* of Esté, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, Captaine generall of all the Imperiall horsemen: and they presse the rest so hotly, as *Gonzaga* gathering together all his battalions, is forced to turne head to saue the rest. So *Brissac* suffered him to goe on his pretended way, to ioyne with the Earle of Reux, who had long time before possessed the fort of Landrecy. F

The Duke's
submits him-
selfe to the
Emperer.

Landrecy be-
sieged.

Now are all the Imperiall forces before Landrecy, eightene thousand Germanes, ten thousand Spaniards of the old band, six thousand Wallons, ten thousand English, thirteen thousand horse, of the ordinary band of the Low-countries, Cleuiois and high Germanes. The Campe being lodged, and the Artillery planted, the Emperour makes three batteries of five and forty peeces against the bulwarke of Orleance, against the Caffe, and against the bulwarke of Vendosme: and to keepe the defendants from making of any ram- pier,

A pier, or comming to the defences, the bulwarkes and curtaines being not yet halfe finished, they plant a long Culuerin vpon a little hill towards the Forest of Mormault. This peece did wonderfully annoy them, and they had no means to charge the Lanquenets which did guard it but on the one side. The river that passed by the trench of the base towne, which they had abandoned, ranne betwixt them. *Ricardville* with forty horse, and *Saint Simon* with thirty foot, and some pioneers, vnder take to seize vpon this peece. They passe the water, surpriseth the Lanquenets, put them to rout, draw the Culuerin by maine strength to the bulwarke of Orleance, turne the mouth of it against the enemy, and from the rampier kill many Bourguignons with their small shot, being come to the trench to B rescue it. The King aduanced, but the Emperour (to doe some notable exploit before his arriall) overthrew a great part of the wall, making it very easie to assaile: and to take from the besieged all means to defend this breach, he put them into a portall of the base towne which was abandoned: and about it he plants certaine field-peeces, which commanded the breach. The souldiers were now brought to halfe a loose of prouant-bread aday, and to drinke faire water. So whilst they were well-affected, and had some courage (for men ill fed and tired with continuall labour faint soone) they must take this lodging from the Imperials. Three hundred men appointed by *La Lande* and *Esse*, assaile them one morning at the breake of day, and before they could come from the campe to succour them, they dislodge them. The breach inuities them to the assaile: but the Emperor considering C the valour of the defendants, foreseeing that he should hardly take it by force, without the losse of many of his men, he makes his accompt that famine, and the continuall toile of warre would in the end vanquish them.

The want of victuals, the weaknesse of the place, and the insupportable trauell which they must necessarily endure day and night, made the besieged to hazard *Tuelle* a Norman Captaine of five hundred men in Landrecy, to aduertise the King, that extreme necessity would force constraineth them to yeeld, but no force, whilst they had a man liuing. The King assembles his Campe at La Fere vpon Oise: and knowing the resolution of these braue men, he went to lodge at Chateau-Cambresis, holding it more honourable to turn head to the enemy, then by delays to make them think he would not fight: he gaue charge D to *Langey* to gather together all the fat cattell, all the meale, and all the horses of labour he could, that whilst the King should feed the Emperor with the hope of a battell, they might refresh the besieged.

On the 29 of October he had drawne into Capelle twelue hundred sheepe, nine-score cattell, six hundred sackes of meale, with so many horses and men, euery one carrying a sacke vpon his horse. The enemy scoured the country with a thousand or twelue hundred horse. Notwithstanding, *Langey* hauing ioyned with *Sansfaict* troope, being resolute to passe on, or to sell their liues dearly, he causeth his peasants to march in battell like to men of warre, to the end the enemy discovering them asfarre off, should hold them to be men of another quality. Thus they brought their victuals safely to Landrecy, and then retiring E contrary way to that where the Imperials attend them, they returned safely to La Capelle. Our men are now victualled for fifteene dayes, but they haue need of rest, and the place to be refreshed with men.

The Emperour finding the King to approach, retired on this side the water, gathering together all his forces, which were before diuided: and his Maiesty embracing this occasion, sends the Earle of Saint Paul and the Admirall of Annebault, to retire them out of Landrecy, who had suffered much for his seruice, and to supply the place with fresh souldiers. They left the Lord of Verucin for the Kings Lieutenant, commanding a thousand men of the Legion of Picardy, and *Rochbaron* five hundred. *La Lande*, and *La Chapelle Rainsuin*, in recompence of their good seruices, were made Stewards of the Kings house, and *Esse* a Gentleman of his Chamber. The Dukes of Neuers and Aumale, the two brothers of *Rochfoucault*, the Lords of Andelot, Bresse, Creuecœur, *Bonniet* his brother, *Saint Laurent* of Britany, *Alouy*, *Saint Phale*, and many other young Gentlemen, who to winne honour by some worthy exploits, had voluntarily entered into it were rewarded according to their qualities. The souldiers were made Gentlemen during their liues, and such as had offended the law, pardoned. The King had now put in execution one of his chiefe designs, in view of a great Emperour. Winter was coming, the continuall raine had made frustrate all their attempts of warre: and the long abode

A braue fallie.

Landrecy vi.
assailed.

1543

A banner-
reer made by
the French.

of the two armies, had broken the wayes six leagues about. The Emperour camped high with advantage, having a valley and a small brooke not easie to be passed, betwixt both the armies. There was no reason to passe the water, and mounting to fight with the enemy. The Emperour like wise would not passe to give the first charge. So his Maiesty giuing the enemy hope by fires and great noise, that he would fight, made his retreat towards Guise. The Emperour advertised in the morning that the army was dislodged, hee commanded *Fernand* of *Gonsagua* to follow, who (the better to discover them) intended to put some men into a wood where they must passe, but it was too late: the wood was full of French *Harguebuziers*, who received these adventurers so gallantly, as few escaped to cary news vnto their companions of the manner of their retreat.

The Emperour followed with the rest of his forces, whilest the skirmish was maintained in the wood. *Gonsagua* seeing himselfe seconded by his chiefe commander, drew forth a thousand or twelve hundred horse, with a good number of shot, and English light-horsemen, on the right hand towards Bohain. But all in vaine, the Cannon and baggage (having passed the wood) followed the King in safety who marched before, and the Dauphin holding the middle, with eight hundred men at armes, and fourteene thousand Suisses, having left *Brissac* with his light horse-men, and four hundred men at armes to second him: moreover, the Suisses were behind in the battell, and himselfe on the wing to support them, with an intent to fight with the Emperour if he passed the wood: but he forced the enemy to retire, not daring any more to appeare: many of his men were slaine, many taken, and few of ours.

The season was not fit to campe: so the King, to refresh his army, sent the Marshall of *Biez* to *Saint Quentin* with four hundred men at armes, and four thousand foot, to oppose against the Emperours designes vpon that frontier; the *Lansquenets* to *Crecy* vnder *Cerc*, the Suisses to *Ailly*; and he lodged the rest of his army along the river of *Oise*. And the Emperour seeing that he had lost his labour before *Landrecy*; and that hee had with losse and dishonour followed the French army, retired to *Cambrai*, winning much more with the Foxes skinned, then hee had done with the Lions: for by means of their Bishop, who was of the House of *Croy*, perswading the light-belecuung Citizens, that the King meant to seize vpon their towne, to spoile them of that ancient right of neutrality, and to incorporate them to the crowne, he made them yeeld to the building of a citadell, by the which of free-men they are now become slaves, and this citadell shall hereafter serue as a buckler against *Landrecy*. We haue here omitted to describe the exploits of the Duke of *Anguieu* in *Prouence*. The King had sent him to receive the army by sea, which *Barberousse* brought to his succour. Being at *Marseilles*, *Grignan* Gouvernor of the towne, did acquaint him with an intelligence which he had with three souldiers of the garisons of the castle of *Nice*, who promised to deliuer him the said castle. The Duke well informed of the Kings pleasure, being loth to commit himselfe rashly to the discretion of traitors, who might as well sell the stranger as their owne Country, armed foure Gallies, and sent them before vnder the command of Captaine *Magdelon*, brother to the Baron of *S. Blancart*, himselfe with eleuen other Gallies, tooke the sea, and the advantage of the wind, either to second his men, or to retire at need. When as *Magdelon* approached to *Nice*, six Gallies issued forth to inuest him, and fifteene more led by *Ianetiu Doris*, chase him vnto the port of *Antibo*. *Magdelon* hurt with a Cannon shot, died soone after: the Gallies being abandoned were a prey for *Ianetiu*, and the Duke discovering by Moone light, that *Ianetiu* came to surprise him, retired speedily to *Toulon* without any losse.

A false practice
vpon the castle
of Nice.

Hereupon *Barberousse* arrives at *Marseilles* with an hundred and ten Gallies. The King pretends *Nice* to be his, and heretofore engaged by the Earles of *Prouence*, to the Duke of *Sauoy* for a summe of money. They assaile it, and within few dayes bring it to composition. But without the castle, this victory was fruitlesse: the castle seated vpon a high and steepe rock: is hard to batter, and more vncasie to vndermine. So *Barberousse* seeing the time spent in vaine, and winter approaching, retired his Gallies to *Toulon*: and the Duke vpon hope of a battell, came to the King to *Cambresie*.

The taking of *Nice* drew the Marquis of *Gualt* to succour the Castle: but advertised of their liberty, he employed his forces elsewhere. *Montdeuis* was the first place of the kings obedience in *Piedmont*, which made head in his return: and *Bontieres* having few French-foot to man in, he was forced to put the Suisses. The Suisses are more fit for the field, yet are they

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The Captiue
tion broken.

A they commended to haue done their duties. But after, many assaults and toiles, want of victuals, and despair of succours, made them enter into capitulation: the which was ill observed by the Spaniard: for they were stript, and many put to the sword. A wound which shall proue bloody to the Spaniards at the battell of *Serifolles*. This victory caused the Marquis to passe the Po, and to take from our men the commoditie of all the plaine of *Piedmont* on this side the water (for that which they held on the other side, as *Suillan*, *Beine*, *Roque de Bau*, and *Centall*, were without hope of succour) he turnes head towards *Carignan*, whither the Lord of *Aussun*, and *Francis Barnardin* of *Vimarca* (having no forces to make head against eightene thousand men, and to take from the enemy all means to make vse thereof) they razed the fortifications which were made the yeere before by *Langey*. But they had no means to finish their enterprise, nor leisure to recover *Montcalier*, for the enemy meeting them at the passe of a river, slue many, and tooke the greatest part of them prisoners.

This losse was ready to be seconded by that of *Luxemburg* which the Earle of *Furstemberg* (a man variable in his parties) besieged in the Emperours name, with twelve thousand *Lansquenets*, & a good number of horse. The besieged wanted victuals, and the winter had not bene so violent in twenty yeares. They diuided the prouant-wine with harchers, and it was sold by weight, and then the souldiers caried it away in baskets. The king being loth to lose any part of his conquests, sent the Prince of *Melphie*, with about foure hundred men at armes, *Brissac* Colonell of the light-horse, and some foot. The Earle seeing that the extreme frosts did kindle the courage of the commanders and souldiers, who marched with an intent to fight with him, raised his campe, and tooke his way to *Germanie*. The Prince retired *Longueval* and his troops, having bene long kept in, to enjoy the liberty of the fields, leauing the Vicount of *Eustanges*, surnamed *Anglure*, with his companie of men at armes, and fifteene hundred foot: then he dispersed his army into Garisons in *Champagne* and *Picardy*, to make head against the enemy the rest of the winter, and to preserve the last conquests.

On the other side, his Maiesty knowing that the Imperials was master of the field, hee supplied *Bontieres* his Lieutenant in *Piedmont*, with four thousand French foot leaued by the Lord of *Tais* in *Prouence*, *Daulphine*, and thereabouts, and five thousand *Gruyers* or *Grisons* (to ioyne with the five thousand Suisses, entertained in *Piedmont*) with some three hundred men at armes. With this supply he recovered the field which he had long before lost, tooke many small places betwixt *Vercell* and *Yurec*, forced *Saint Germane*, (a towne vpon the way from *Chinasto* to *Vercell*, where the counter-scarpe of the trenches is as high as the wall, so as the Cannon cannot beat at the foot thereof) to plant the Ensignes of France, and then he marched before *Yurec*, and besieged it on all parts. But hee had small credit with the souldiers: and the King was discontent with him, for that he had so lightly suffered the Marquis to fortifie at *Carignan*, and to victuall it without any resistance. He therefore sends *Francis* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguieu* in *Bontieres* place, to bee Lieutenant General in *Piedmont*.

The Kings
army in Pied-
mont.

The Duke having taken charge of the army, he marched downe the Po, and at the first subdued *Palezol*, *Cressentin*, *Desanne*, and other places thereabouts, to make the way easie to *Carignan*: the which kept all the plaine of *Piedmont* in subiection, which the King desired infinitely to haue in his power. But the means to force it? It is a place in a plaine country, it was fortified with five goodly bastions of earth, curtaines, and a great trench, defended by foure thousand the best souldiers of all the Imperiall army, so as their only hope to recover it was to famish them. To this end he burnt the bridge they had vpon the Po, whereby they might daily haue refreshing from *Quiers*, *Aix*, and other places vnder their command, and to cut off the victuals they had on this side the Po, he went to camp at *Yimeux*, two miles beneath *Carignan*. They received also many commodities from *Rencallier* vpon the river: a tort built vpon the said way a quarter of a mile from *Carignan*, cuts off all: and to enjoy the river of *Po* freely, he builds a bridge of boats two miles beneath *Carignan*, with a fort at either end, manned with 4 ensignes of Italians. Then passing the water, he went to camp at *Villedeslon* betwixt *Carignan* and *Quiers*. The Marquis made haste to assemble his forces, to succour the besieged, and came to lodge at *Camagnole*. Holding this lodging, he might fortifie himselfe, and suffering our men to die for hunger in a country already wasted on that side Po, he found the Marquisate of *Salusses*

full of all commodities, wherewith he might without danger refresh Carignan. The Duke A preuents him, and lodging at Carmagnole, drives the befieged to that extremity, as within few weekes they were draine to the Kings obedience. Carignan was the chiefe troope of the Marquis victories: he was loth to lose it without some blowes, and the Duke as loth to lose a prey which was ready to fall into his hands.

So the Court filled with the hope of an approaching battell, that gallant Nobility which had alwayes so willingly gone to horsebacke at the first bruite of a battell, would now haue beene loth to haue lost the sport. All post thither, some with leaue, others without. *Gaspar* Lord of Chastillon, *Francis* of Vendôme Vidame of Chartres: the Lords of Saint André, *Dampierre* of the House of Clermont in Dauphiné, *Jarnac*, the three brothers of *Bon-Binet*, *Bourdillon*, *Escaris*, the two brethren of *Genly*, *After* Master of the Ordinance, *la Hunauday* the onely sonne of the Admirall *Annebault*, *Rechfort*, *Lusarche*, *Wartis*, *Lafsigny*: to conclude, the Court was left in a manner naked: namely of thole, which as the Sunne-rising, followed the Dauphin, and he was not held an honest man that would not haue a share in it.

A happy arrival: they were all men of account, they had by this voyage emptied their owne or their fathers coffers, and the Dukes treasure was so wasted, as both he, his Treasurers, and all the rest of the campe had emptied their purses, and for want of money the souldiers would haue beene lesse courageous in this occasion that was offered. But what would not these braue Noblemen doe for the Kings seruice, and the authority of so gallant a Prince that commanded? With their voluntary lendings, the Duke contents his troops, attending forty thousand crownes which *Langcy* brought. This was the fourth part of that which was owing to the strangers: but they must seeke it elsewhere. The Emperour leaued a mighty army in Germany to invade the frontiers: moreover, a great storme threatened vs from beyond the Seas, which soonce after fell vpon Boulon and Montreuil.

They had no meanes to content the souldiers, if they had not presently found out the want of their numbers: they therefore resolute on Easter Eue the seuenth of April, to make a priuate muster of every company apart, and giue them hope to receiue money the next day. But they did foresee, that Easter day would not passe (the Armies being so neere) D without some blowes, & by consequence the enemies presence, and the necessity of fighting would easily make them defer the souldiers pay. And so it proved. The Marquis set forward with an intent to passe on this side the riuer of Po, to keepe our men on that side the water, without victuals and without money, and to recouer the Marquisate of Salusfes: being assured to find corne and meale there to victual his campe, and the towne besieged, forcing the French army in the end to seeke their retreat. Without doubt this had bene their ruine, for the souldiers being vnpaid, what meanes was there to keepe the field, and retiring into towns, the Marquis would haue spoiled Piedmont, burnt the country, driuen away their cattell, and ruined the country-man. This was his designe, and to receiue ten thousand men at Yurée, which the Earle of Challan brought, and with this supply to passe by the valley of Aouft, into Sauoy and Bresse, whilst the Emperour should make some great attempt vpon the frontiers of Champagne. E

But he reckoned without his host. The Duke takes counsell, and resolues to fight with him on the way, before he should recouer a country of strength, and to that end giues the foreward to *Boutieres*, (who vpon the newes of this battell was returned from his house) takes the battell to himselfe, and commits the reereward to *Dampierre*.

On Easter day every man is vnder his Ensigne, they discouer the Imperials marching from Serifolles to Sommerie: and the Duke to diuert them, sends forth *Aussun* with his troop and some shot, vnto a high ground of aduantage, who placing his Harguebuziers in a little groue, seekes to draw the enemy by skirmishes into the ambuscade. But the Marquis F dares not charge home, he fears some disorder before hee had discovered his aduersary. The Duke marcheth with about 300 horse, and the rest of his thor, and going to the hill, puts all his horse in battell vpon the side, and in the midst plants three mynions, which shooting against a battalion of the enemies, standing in the valley, kills some men, and giues a shew of battell. So the Marquis fearing to be fought withall as hee lodged, retired to Serifolles from whence he parted. Night approached, and the Duke seeing the Marquis returne to Serifolles, retired to Carmagnole, leauing two hundred horse to obserue the

A the enemies countenance in the night, then an houre after midnight he goes to field.

The Marquis seeing this retreat, perswaded himselfe, the French would passe on the other side of Po, and leaue him the passage: so as changing his designe, he parts an houre before day, to ouertake him before he should passe the Riuer. To returne to the fort which they had left, had bene (by some signe of sight) to daunt our men, and to giue courage to the enemy, necessitie therefore presseth both the one and the other to fight. The Imperials had ten thousand men more, and the aduantage of the place: they had recouered that high ground from whence our men were parted the night before: they should haue kept it, seeing their meaning was to returne. On the right hand of our men marched the B Prince of Salerne with ten thousand Italians, seconded by eight hundred horse sent by the Duke of Ferrara, to succour the Imperials. In the midst of *Ailfrand* of Madruce with many other Germane Colonels and Captaines, who commanded ten thousand Lanquenets all in white armour: and on the left, (right against our Gruyens) *Don Raimond* of Cardone with a battalion of six thousand men old souldiers, halfe Spaniards, the rest Germanes: betwixt these two nations the Marquis of Guast with the like number of horse: on the other side of the Spaniards the Prince of Sulmona, sonne to the deceased *Don Charles de Lannoy* Viceroy of Naples, Colonel of all the horse, with the like number of horse: ten pieces of Cannon by the Germanes, and as many by the Spaniards, placed with such aduantage, as our French could not march against them, but they shot into the C

The forme of two armies.

midst of their battalions. Thus they marched in forme of three great battalions of foot, either hauing a wing of horsemen. Their order being viewed, the Duke brings his armie into the like forme: on the right hand a battalion of the old French bands, being about 300 besides the thor, led by the Lord *Tais* their Generall, hauing on the right hand the light-horse-men vnder the Lord of Termes: on the left hand *Boutieres* with fourescore men at armes: then on his left hand a battalion of Suisses, of about three thousand men, supported on their left hand by the Duke of Anguien with a great troope of horse: and on the Dukes left hand 4000 Italians, and Gruyens, hauing on their left *Dampierre*, with all the Guidons and archers of the men at armes. The troopes thus disposed and ordered, he sent forth before the battalions about 800 shot, for a forlorne hope, led by Captain D *Montluc*: eight pieces of artillerie before the battalion of the Suisses, and the like number before the Gruyens.

At the Sun-rising the two armies stand one against another: the skirmish begins, and whilst that either army seekes to get the flanke of his enemy, they continue vntill eleuen of the clocke. In the end, the enemy finding himselfe too strong by a third part, he comes to the charge. *Tais* aduanceth to fight with the Prince of Salerne, but he was commanded by the Marquis, not to stirre before hee gaue him charge. So *Tais* seeing the Prince make no shew to march, and that our Suisses being weak in number could not withstand the shoocke of the Imperiall Lanquenets, which came to charge them: he turnes the head of his battalion, and comes neere to the Suisses, *Boutieres* being betwixt both. The Imperials E likewise change their designe, and of their great Squadron make two; one against the Suisses; the other against the French.

The battell of Serifolles.

At the same instant the horsemen of Ferrara approached to charge the French battalion in flanke when as the armies should ioyne. Termes with his light horse-men being loth to attend this hazard, chargeth them furiously, breakes and ouerthrowes them vpon the Prince of Salerne: and thinking to be well followed, chargeth into the midst of the Princes battalions: but his horse was slaine, and himselfe taken. A happy charge, for without it, it was likely the Prince of Salerne had marched vpon the flanks of the French battalion, and whilst that he was couered with the Ferrarois that were driuen vpon him, the French and Suisses had leisure to deale with their Lanquenets: Who falling vpon the F Suisses and French, fought long with the like armes and a doubtfull euent, till that by the aide of the French-men at armes led by *Boutieres*, all the Imperiall Germanes were broken. The Marquis seeing his Germanes in rout, vpon whom hee had anchored his chiefe hope, retires apart without striking stroke, and by this meanes makes the victory easie for *Dampierre* vpon the enemies horse-men, who supported the Spaniards. But this old battalion of Spaniards and Germans incounter our Italians and Gruyens with great aduantage: at the first charge they are surprised with feare, and all but the Captaines, which fought in the forme of franks, die.

With-

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Without doubt it was wisely advised of the Duke to leave the Suisses whom he promised to assist, to second their poor amazed souls, for without him not one had escaped. He suddenly charged the poor amazed souls, and taking one corner of their battalion, forced through them, and leaves not any ensigne of the whole battalion standing: yet not without great slaughter of his men. The Lord of Aslier, the Baron of Oyn, Lieutenant to the Earle of Montrauel, *Montsallais* Ensigne to the Baron of Cusoll, *de Glaiue* Gouernour of Cahors, *Cornille* and the Dukes two Squires ended their dayes there. *S. Amand* (otherwise called *Rochechouart*) and *Fernaques* were found among the dead carcases languishing of their wounds, yet they were afterwards cured: many others were slain or hurt, whereof fourteene or fifteene were Captaines or men of account; but he that fears B leaves, must not goe into the wood.

But this is not all, for the front of the Spaniards (who by the voluntary rout of our men that ranne away, had no foot-men to encounter them) come furiously and charge the Duke, who having no foot-men to second him, loseth more at this second charge than at the first: and to increase the danger (which had been sufficient to daunt a minde inclining to feare) he had no newes of his Frenchmen nor Suisses: a little hill kept them from the knowledge one of another: but hee had rather die then retire. Hee charged and recharged, and still a number of the enemies shot pel-mel at him, and a battalion of their pikes follow him without breaking their ranks, and his troope being greatly wasted, was not now above an hundred horse: an unequal force to fight with foure thousand men. C We may truly say, he is well kept whom God keeps. The Duke was ready to bee swallowed, as when retiring on the right hand, to free himselfe from the Imperials foot, which compassed him in on all sides: the Spaniards had newes of the defeat of the rest of their men. They see at the same instant some troopes valley themselves under the Cornet of their enemies Generall. So their first heat grew some what cold, and they begin their retreat, but they had no time to finish it. The Duke appoints *Aussun* with about fifty horse to charge them upon the flanke, and himselfe with those that came unto him, followed them in the taylor. All give way, all die, every man seeks to save himselfe, some in the wood, some in cottages: they beat downe and kill, all are taken or slain, few escape.

He wins the
battaille.

The French pursuing the victorie a mile, and especially the Suisses, incensed with the foule warre the Imperials had made at Montdeuis, and crying in reuenge of that day, Montdeuis, Montdeuis, put all they encountered to the sword without mercie. In the meane time the Prince of Salerne, seeing the whole defeat of the Germans, and of their horsemen, made his retreat without any great losse. And the Marquis of Guast posted away to Alt: but at his departure he had said unto the Citizens: *That if he returned not a Conqueror, they should shut their gates against him.* They take him now at his word. Without the cowardize of the Gruyens, the battalion of Spaniards had in few been defeated at the first charge: the Duke of Anguien had not received so fatal a checke in his troope, the retreat of the Prince of Salerne had not beene so easie: and pursuing the Marquis, E they might haue overtaken him, before hee had recovered Milan or any place of safety. But the necessitie this brave Duke had to be succoured at need, made this happy victorie imperfect in that respect. There were slaine of the enemies about fifteene thousand of all nations, in lesse then a quarter of a league.

Number of the
dead & prisoners.

Of Germane prisoners there were two thousand, five hundred and twenty: *Alibrand* of Madence their Colonell, was found among the dead bodies mayned in many parts of his bodie: of Spaniards six hundred and thirtie, amongst them *Don Raymond* of Cardone and *Montesola*, with seven, or eight, other Spanish Captaines. *Don Charles* Gontigua and many other Italians. The spoile was great and rich, an hundred thousand crownes in money, and plate, fifteene pieces of artilerie, all the bridges they had brought to passe the Po, much munition, meale, and other victuals wherewith they presumed to relieve Carignan; about eight thousand Corslets of Milan, and mountebanks of diuers sorts, of great value. Of the French two hundred slaine, and men of name, besides the above mentioned, the Ensigne-bearer to *Aussun* and his Nephew: *Charles* of Dros, Gouernour of Montdeuis, *Disero* of the Countie of Nice, Colonell of six Ensignes, of Italians, the Colonell of the Gruyens a Dauphinois, in the absence of their Earle; *de Castelles* Brigadier, Captain *Passin* a Dauphinois: *Barberan* and *Montaul* Gascons, and few others of

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A of the Suisses, the Baron of Saxe was hurt in the throat with a pike, and none else of account.

If the Duke of Anguiens ariall had beene pleasing to the armie, farre greater was the reputation which he got by his famous victorie with all the nations of Europe, and the credit he purchased with men of warre, commending his wisedome in so young yeares, admiring his valour, and louing his courtesie and bounty, vertues worthy of a great Prince and General of an armie. This bloody victorie had terrified the whole country, and amazed Milan. The Marquis of Guast stricke vp the drumme, and twenty dayes were spent before that any man came to his colours. Moreover, the King had made a new leauy of six thousand Grisons: the Duke of Somme, the Earles of Perillane, Mirandola, Martinengue, *Peter Stroffy*, *Valerio Vrsin*, *Roberti Malateste*, and many others leauied an armie to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien.

There was some likelihood after so furious a battaille, to deprive the Emperor of the estate of Milan. But he armed vpon the Rhine, his troops were ready to invade the frontier. The English were at sea, and the King had rather need to draw forces out of Italy, then to supply them.

The Duke therefore to draw them speedily to the Kings deuotion, sends the Lords of Tais with the French bands, two hundred men at armes, six great Cannons, with some other pieces, to force some places vnder the Emperors obedience. Saint Damian a place of C Montferrat, had not planted the French but the Spanish Ensignes: notwithstanding being without hope of succours, they yielded to the yoke, vpon condition that they should haue none but a French garison. Montcallier followed, being a strong place: Vigon, Pont d'Esture, *S. Salvador*, Fresnet of Pau: to conclude, all Montferrat, except Casal, Trin and Alba yielded their necks to the French obedience. And the Duke going to campe at Carignan, did by many forts so restrain the fallies of the besieged, and the entry of victuals, as extreme necessitie hauing forced them to demand composition, they departed with their armes onely, without ensignes or drums, taking an oath not to carie armes for six moneths against the King nor his allies. This done, the duke sent vnto the King, six thousand French souldiers of the old bands, and six thousand Italians to oppose against D the Emperors inuasions.

On the other side the Duke of Somme, with the other of the French faction, hauing leauied ten thousand foot, but few or no horse, came to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien: and the Princes of Salerne and Sulmona attended with a number of horse and foote, to fight with them at the passage of a riuer. They send to the Lord of Tais to demand a conuoy of horse. Hee promisseth, but performs nothing. And they (not able to retire without shame) charge the foot which were farre from their horsemen, and put them to rout: but they consider not, that leauing a place of strength, they giue the enemy the advantage they had of them. The horsemen come and charge them in flanke, as they had broken their ranks, thinking to haue gotten the victorie, and put them to flight, they take E many prisoners of qualitie, kill few, and no man of marke except *Valerio Vrsine*, the rest saued themselves at Quieras and Carignan. We commonly say, that a small ayde doth a great good. The foot-men being overcome, an hundred men at armes had made the victorie absolute.

This checke doth not daunt them. The Duke of Somme being newly deliuered from prison, (the Prince of Salerne his kinsman had freed him, fearing lest the Emperor should doe him some disgrace) and *Peter Stroffy* gathering together six thousand men of this shipwracke at Marandole, meaning to ioyne with the Duke of Anguien at what price soeuer, he being vnurnished of forces; for besides the twelve thousand men he had sent vnto the King, all his Suisses (except two thousand) had beene for want of pay dismissed: F They giue ouer the plaine, and passe out of Parmelan with much toyle, by the mountains of Genoa.

The Marquis aduertised of this new leauy, gathers together what forces hee could of horse and foot, draws forth his garisons, and to stop their passage, attends them at the foot of the mountains. They aduertise the Duke: who having no men, but for the guard of his places, resolves notwithstanding to effect two things at once, and both to surprise Alba where they had left no men but for the guards of the gates, and to succour *Stroffy*, and finding meanes to aduertise him, that he should march towards Alba, where-

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of the enemy was left in doubt. The Duke comes thither on the one side, and *Strossy* on the other: he makes a hole in the gate towards the mountain, on the other side of the water, about ten foot long: prepares to give an assault, and *Strossy* the scalded, which the besieged seeing, they grow so amazed, as they yeeld the place, and depart without carrying away of any thing.

Truce in Piedmont.

The Marquis makes haft to succour them, but knowing the towne to be lost, frustrate of his hope, hee retired, and the Duke having taken many places thereabout, returned to Carmagnole. Within few dayes after the Marquis practised a suspension of armes, which being confirmed by their two Maesties, there followed a truce for three monthes. Let vs now see the enemies attempt invading the Realme. The Emperor had no sooner found the King of Englands discontent, (whereof the marriage of the King of Scotland had been the chiefe motive) but forgetting, or rather dissembling the injuries he had received, hee wins him to his devotion, although hee had assured the Pope neuer to treat any alliance with him; vntill he had repaired the offence done vnto the Sea of Rome, intitling himselfe supreme head, vnder God, of the Church of England, and punishing them which maintained the authoritie of the Pope and Church of Rome.

Warre in Picardy.

Thus two grey-hounds tearing one another in pieces, lay aside their choller to runne after the Wolfe their common enemy. And for that, during the warre of the Dukes of Wirtemberg, by the bond of the Princes of Germany with the King, the Emperors designs had bene greatly crost, now perswading them (and about all the Protestants) that he hath done more then his duty to the French King, for the calling of a Councell, to call backe them that were strayed from the vniion of the Church, and to reforme the Pope and his Ministers (but the King onely had hindred this assembly) to giue him prouision of men and money, and ioynly to bandy with him to the destruction of this Realme. So he sends the Earle of Furtemberg with an army before Luxemburg, which hauing maintained the siege to the extremitie for want of victuals, the Vicont of Estuages was forced to capitulate, and to depart with baggage. Commerce was the second triumph of his victories, Ligny in Barrois the third, being the way for victuals which came to him from Metz and Lorraine. The castle is commanded by two or three mountaines: and the besieged notable to stand to their defences, came to parle, when as the Imperials entring D behinde, compassed them in that were come to the breach, attending the assault: and take them prisoners with small slaughter. Without doubt the place was not to withstand the force of an Emperor, being in person: neither was it so contemptible, but it deserved an honest composition. But the Earle of Brienne Lord of the place, and *Rouffy* his brother, *Eschenaïs* and *Gonzalles*, who commanded about an hundred men at armes, and fiftene hundred foot, won small reputation. Doubtlesse the Earle of Sancerre will win farre more honour in the defence of *Saint Disier*, a place ill flanked, ill rampared, and vnworthy to oppose against an Imperiall armie.

Saint Disier besieged.

Whilst the King assembled his forces, being ten thousand Suisses, six thousand Gisors, six thousand Lansquenets (whereof the D. of Neurs was General) and the twelue E thousand men which came out of Piedmont: he sent the Earle of Sancerre, to *Saint Disier* (whither the Emperor turned the head of his victorious armie without contradiction) with the Duke of Orleans company, of an hundred men at armes, whereof hee was Lieutenant, and some other troopes of horse: *La Lande* and the Vicont of Riuiere either of them with a thousand foot. The Emperor being come before the towne, hastens his approaches and trenches, makes two batteries, and plants fix great Culuerins towards the castle, to beat into the towne, and to hinder their ordinary sallies, he turned the water out of the ditch, and brought them to the vse of three VVels onely, which hardly could furnish the souldiers: and by a continuall batterie makes them careful to repaire it. *La Lande* was tyred with this toyle, and retiring at night to his lodging to refresh himselfe, a Cannon-f non-shot passing by the breach through the towne, takes off his head, whose losse was much lamented being a valiant Gentleman, and a good souldier. In exchange, about the same time the Prince of Orange going to visit the Emperor in the trenches, a Culuerin shot into a heape of stones, hurt him in such sort as he died, to the great griefe of the Emperor and his whole armie.

The death of the Prince of Orange.

The breach was reasonable, and they come to the assault. Eightene ensignes of Spaniards goe to it and fight hand to hand with them, which were besieged, for an houres space.

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A space. The Emperour causeth nine or ten thousand Germans, to aduance speedily to succour them: but if the assault was fierce, the defence was no lesse valiant. Our men ouerthrew the Spaniards from the breach into the ditch by maine force. The Emperour sends about eight hundred men with Veluer cassocks, and bourguinets on their heads: they turne them likewise downe. Eight ensignes of Germans renew the assault with many small barrels of powder and wild-fire. They are likewise repulled with such shame and losse, as all their engines and devices remaine in the ditches at the defendants discretion: (and very happily, for they wanted powder) and seven or eight hundredaine in three assaults, gaue a certaine testimonie of the valour of the besieged. A Cannon shot did miraculously take away the Earles sword which hee held in his hand without hurting him, but lightly in the face.

This braue defence made the Emperor thinke, that the besieged would accept of an honorable composition. He sends a Trumpet to trie their minds, but he had no audience. So the Emperor ceaseth his batterieto come to the myne. The besieged discover it, and in the night send forth *Linières* a Norman Capitaine, who forces the Spaniards to abandon the trenches, which they had brought to the bulwarke of victory: they bring some pioneers into the towne to tell newes, and cuts the rest in pieces. Moreover, the Duke of Aumale being at Srenay vpon Meuze, did greatly annoy the Imperials campe, and cut off their victuals from Bar-le-Duke. They must therefore seek to winne by policy, what they could not get by force. The Lord of Granuelle had surprisid a packet, wherein hee found the Alphabet of the Cypher, whereby the duke of Guise did communicate with the Earle of Sancerre. By this meanes he counterfets a Letter in the Dukes name, and makes an vnknown man to giue it secretly to a French drum, returning from the enemies armie for some prisoners, that he should deliuer it to the Earle. The contents were, that the King knowing in what want of victuals and powder they were ready to fall, commanded them to make so fauourable a composition, as their men might be saued, hauing yet no meanes to succour them. They had endured six weekes siege, their victuals and munition grew short, & their powder was not sufficient to endure another assault. So they obtaine twelue dayes truce, during the which, they should understand from the King, if he had meanes to succour them: or if he would be pleased, that for want of succours within the time, the horse-men should depart with their armes and horses, their Corners displayed, and casks on their heads: their foot-men with their armes marching in battaile, ensignes displayed, and drums sounding, carrying with them all their iewels, and foure pieces of artilerie furnished, at the choice of the besieged. This treaty pleased the King, and they departed according to the capitulation. As honorable a composition as euer was read of, for men besieged by so great an Emperor, with all the forces of the westerne Empire, in a bad place which had no better esteeme then a Country towne.

Saint Disier yielded.

But what was the motive of this easie accord? The Emperour was not ignorant of the small hope they had of succours, and that within few dayes famine would bring them E to his subiection. But hee would take from the King of England, (who camped before Boullen and Montreuil) all colour of excuse, and let him know that the fault was not in him, if the treatie were not fulfilled, according to the which, without any stay elsewhere, they should ioynne their forces nere vnto Paris, (the which vnited together, would haue made three score and ten, or foure-score thousand foot, and eightene or twenty thousand horse) and to force the King to fight with disadvantage, or to suffer his Country and Subiects to be ruined before his face. Moreover, hee did foresee, that the Dauphin camping vpon the riuier of Marne, with the bands come out of Piedmont in good order, and well armed, would make him consume his armie, whilst the King made a bodie of forty thousand men, the which confronting him being F fresh, lustie, and resolute, might cause him more losse and dishonour then he had received in Provence.

And therefore the Emperour, to proceed in his conquests, and designs, which hee had with *Henry* King of England, came to lodge at Vitry in Parthois. Here hee learns that the King of England is not resolute to passe on, before hee had reduced Boullen and Montreuil to his obedience: the first dislike which shall soone draw the Emperour to Bruxelles. He considers, that the trauels past at *Saint Disier*, and want, had greatly wasted his souldiers: that to proceed, were to ingage both his men and his person in a Labyrinth, from whence

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whence he should not easily free himselfe with honour: that hauing in front a mightie Armie, still prospering, hunger (besides the Kings power) would be sufficient to force him to make a shamefull retreat: that if the English take Boulle and Montreuil, he will impart nothing to him of his conquests: that being strong on this side the sea, hee will be more obstinate when there shall be any question to treat with him. So as he begins to raise of some proposition of peace, moved before Saint Disier by the Lord of Granuelle, and his Confessor a Spanish Monke, of the Order of Saint Dominick, and of the house of Guimant.

A treatise of
peace.

A day is appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at La Chaussee, betwixt Challons and Vitry. For the King there came the Admirall of Annabault, and Chemans, Keeper of the Scale of France: for the Emperour, *Fernand* of Gonzaga: and to know if the King of England would enter into it, they sent the Cardinall of Bellay, *Raymond* chiefe President of Rouan, and *Aubespine* Secretary of the State and Treasurer.

As the Emperour camped towards the riuer of Marne, a league beneath Challons, and within two leagues of the French armie, a riuer being betwixt both, *William* Earle of Fursenberg, parted about mid-night with a guide onely, to view a foard which hee had in former times passed, when as hee came into France for the Kings seruice. Being come to the foard hee leaues his guide vpon a banke: sounds it, finds it easie and passeth the Riuer. But hee discovered not some Gentlemen of the Kings House, and part of the Admirals companie, who had the guard that night, who without giuing any alarme, put themselves betwixt the Riuer and him, take him without resistance, led him to the Campe, know him, and send him to the Bastille at Paris, from whence hee shall not depart, untill he hath paid thirty thousand Crownes for his ransom. In the meane time the Emperour sees his armie ready to breake for hunger: they cut off his victuals behinde and on either side. And if that goodly Captaine whom the Daulphin had sent to draw into Espernay the victuals therabouts, to breake the bridge vpon the riuer, and to spoile the corne, wine, and other provisions, which could not bee saved, had carefully executed his commission, the Emperour (disappointed of the munition and victuals which hee found in Espernay, and hauing no meanes to passe the riuer) had not in the end enioyed those commodities, which hee found in Chateau Thierry, another storehouse of the French campe, wherby his troopes languishing for hunger, recovered some strength.

In the end, the Daulphin being come to the Campe at La Ferté vpon Louarre, and hauing sent a good number of mento Meaux, to hinder the Emperours passage, who desiring to make his retreat by Soissons, he takes his way by Villiers-cotte-Retz, and vnder-hand reuiues the proposition of Peace with the King. The King knowing that a battaile could not be giuen in the heart of his Realme, so neere vnto his capitall Citie, without a very doubtfull and dangerous consequence, and the losse of men, and in case he should vanquish, the King of England, and the Earle of Bures would encounter him with as mighty an armie as his owne: that by the losse of one, and (perchance) two battles, his Realme were in danger: that winning them he should get little, especially vpon England being an Iland. Moreover, the Marshall of Biez was almost forced to yield vp Montreuil to the English, for want of victuals and succours: the sufficiency of the Lord of Veruein Gouverneur of Boulle, as we shall shortly see, was not without cause suspected: and without a conclusion with the Emperour, hardly could these two important townes be relieved.

The King therefore sent the Admirall of Annebault againe to the Emperour, being in the Abbey of Saint Iohn des Vignes in the suburbs of Soissons, where in the end was concluded: That Charles Duke of Orleans should within two yeares after, marry with the Emperours daughter or his neece, daughter to *Ferdinand* King of Romans, and at the consummation of the said marriage, the Emperour should inuest the said Duke of Orleans in the Duchy of Milan, or in the Earldome of Flanders, and the Low-countries, at the choice of the said Emperour. And in exchange, this done, the King promised to renounce all his rights pretended to the said Duchy, and the Kingdome of Naples, and to restore the Duke of Sauoy to the possession of his Countries, when as the Duke his sonne should enioy the said Duchy of Milan, or the Earldome of Flanders: and all things during the terme of two yeares, as well on this, as on the other side of the Alpes should remaine in the

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A the same estate, as they were at the truce made at Nice. So the Emperour deliuered vnto the King on this side the Mountaines, *S. Disier*, Ligny, Commercy: and the King, Yuoy, Montmedy and Landrecy. Stenay was deliuered into the duke of Lorraines hands, and the fortifications razed. On the other side the Alpes, the Emperour had nothing to yield but Montdeuis: and the King, Alba, Quierras, Antignan, *S. Damian*, Palezol, Crescentin, Verruc, Montcal, Barges, Pont d'Esture, Lans, Vigon, *S. Saluador*, *S. Germane*, and many other places which he possessed.

These treaties thus concluded and proclaimed beyond the Alpes, the Duke of Angien returned into France, with as great glory and honour, as a wife and valiant Prince could desire: and the Emperour retired his army (which the Earles of Reux and Bures led ioyntly with that of England:) he dismissed his owne, and parting from Soissons, tooke his way to Luxelles, accompanied beyond the frontiers by the duke of Orleans, the Cardinals of Lorraine and Meudon, the Earle of Laval, *la Hunauday*, and others. The Emperour is now out of the Realme: let vs also seeke to send the King of England beyond the seas. Henry the 8 King of England, according to the league hee had with the Emperour, landing at Calais, with an armie of thirtie thousand men, fortified with ten thousand Lanquenets, and three thousand Reistres, which the Earle of Bures led, and the troopes of the Earle of Reux, chiefe of the armie of the Low-countries for the Emperour, hee found Picardy very much vnfortified of men: the King had with-drawne his forces towards Champagne, to oppose them against the Emperour: and the duke of Vendosme being weake in men, had fide places of importance to furnish, Ardre, Boulle, Theroenne, Montreuil, Hedin, all equally exposed to the inuasion of the English.

Henry therefore seeing no armie to withstand him, making his account to cary a legges or an armie of the body of this Realme, sent the Duke of Norfolk and the Earles of Reux and Bures to besiege Montreuil, and himselfe went and camped before Boulle. The Marshall of Biez was Gouverneur, but when he saw the enemy turne the point of his army towards Montreuil, hee left the Lord of Veruein his sonne in law, to command in Boulle: (from which he was dissuaded by some, to whom his sufficiency was well knowne) assisted by *Philip Corse* a Captaine very well experienced in armes, the Lords of Lignon and Aix, otherwise called Renty, yong and without experience, with their regiments, and halfe the company of a hundred men at armes, of the said Marshall: and hee put himselfe into Montreuil, with the Constables company of a hundred men at armes, ledde by *la Guiche* his Lieutenant (a man of great experience in the Art of warre:) *Genly*, Captaine of foure ensignes of French foot, the Earle of *Berenger* and *Francis* of Chiaramont, Neapolitans, either commanding a thousand men.

At the beginning of the siege of Montreuil, the duke of Vendosme aduerted of a conuoy of victuals, which came from Aire and Saint Omer to the enemies campe, guarded by eight hundred horse, and twelue hundred Lanquenets, with foure meane Culuerins, to fortifie themselves, if they were charged: he sent the Lords of Villebon, *Efree* and *Eguilly*, with their companies of men at armes, to busse the enemy, untill that he might come with his company of a hundred men at armes, *Chastaigneray*, with fifty of the Daulphins, and *Senerpont* with the like charges: who arising in troope, charge the enemy, breake them, put them in rout, and besides the dead, carie eight hundred prisoners to Theroenne, win two Culuerins (the other two remaining, for that their carriages were broken) and foure ensignes of Lanquenets.

On the other side, the Kings presence before Boulle, kindled the courage of the besiegers, and daunted *Vernern*, the head of the defendants, a man of no worth. The first approach of the Cannon killed his heart: and amazed with the furious battery of the enemy, after hee had endured a kinde of an assault (but whilest that *Philip Corse* stood by him, who being slaine with a Cannon shot) he sends presently to sound the intent of the King of England, and yields him the towne by composition: that the men of warre, and citizens, should depart with their baggage: and thus he deliuered him the place, with all the artillery, munition, and victuals, whereof there was great store. The inhabitants refuse this bad composition: the Maior offers, with the towne-men, and those that were well affected, to keepe the towne. A shew of loue very commendable in this people, but in such an action hee should haue proceeded farther, and haue lodged the Captaine, where he might hee yielded a good account to the King, and by the effect, haue performed what

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The King of
England besiege
Boulle and
Montreuil.

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was offered. Without doubt, his Maiestie would haue allowed the enterprife, as done for: A the good of his seruice: for the capitulation was no sooner concluded, and hostages not yet giuen, but a horrible tempest of winde and raine, ouerthrowes all the enemies tents, and leaues not one standing, and the foyle being fat and slipperie, they had no meanes to mount to the assault. An vndoubted signe of the present assistance of heauen. Moreover, the Dauphin marched with speed to succour them: who by his approach, had made the King of England to change his designe. But, said *Veruein*, *I will not breake my word with the King of England*. A foolish, and impertinent scruple, to continue constant in a treacherous promise to the enemy, and to make no conscience to breake his faith to his naturall and Soueraigne Prince. A scruple which shall soone make him iustly to lose his head on B a scaffold at Paris.

Siege of Montreuil.

This peace with the Emperour, had greatly impaired the King of Englands forces. To surprise their campe before Montreuil, and to take Boullen from them, before they had fortified it, the King causeth his armie to march with speed. But the duke of Norfolk, fearing lest the French armie would come betwixt Boullen and him, and cut off his retreat, he raised his campe, and went to ioyne with the King of England: who knowing his forces, being diuided from the Emperours, would be vnable to encounter the Kings army, he embarked a part of his great artillerie for England, and leaving the duke of Somerserset for the guard of his new conquest, he retired to Calais.

The hast he had to dislodge, caused him to leave part of his artillerie, victuals, and munition, in base Boullen, being fortified onely with some small trenches: for the surprizing whereof, the Dauphin sent in the night, two troopes, led by *Fouquerolles* and *Tais*, and to second them, he leaues six thousand Grisons in a valley. *Fouquerolles* and *Tais* enter the place, cut all in pieces they meet, winne both the artillerie, and munition, and think to haue gotten an absolute victory: but for want of making a stand, of ten or twelue ensignes betwixt base Boullen, and the high towne, to hinder their follies, and to leaue some troope in battaile in the market place of the base towne: five or six ensignes issue forth from the high towne, and finding the fouldiers in disorder, busied at the spoile, they put them in rout. *Fouquerolles* was slaine, *Tais* hurt, and no persuasions of the Captaine could euer stay the rest, but they cast themselves confusedly among the Grisons, to save their liues: yet were D they (saith the Originall) as good fouldiers, as any were that day in Europe: but in matter of enterprises, if all accidents be not foreseene, it is too late to repair them, when the disorder is hapned.

Day being come, and the raine falling in such abundance, as the most part of our shot had no fire: the victuals by reason of the bad way could not follow, all the country of Boullenois was wasted, spoiled, and burnt, euen vnto Montreuil: and from Montreuil to Abbeville (which were seuentene leagues) no grasse, nor forrage for their horses. So the Dauphin hauing receiued newes from the King, dismissed his Swisses and Grisons, leaving the Marshall of Biez in Montreuil, with the French and Italian bands, which came out of Piedmont, and retired to the King his father, at Saint Germaine in Lay. Then dyed *James* E King of Scotland, leaving by his death, his Realme in prey to his nearest neighbour. To saue it from oppression, and keepe the people in the obedience of the Queene Dowager (he had taken to his second wife the daughter of the duke of Guise) the King sent (with a good number of men, and money) the Earle of Lenox of the house of Steward, Nephew to the deceased Marshall of Aubigny. The Earle being young, and ill-advised, hauing in his vaine and riotous expences employed the Kings money, and fearing to be accused of theft, retired to the King of England, who desiring to vse his seruice, and tye him by some notable bond, caused him to marry a Nece of his, daughter to his sister, mother to the deceased King of Scots. The King aduertised of his revolt, sent *La Brache* a Gentleman of Bourbonnois, wife and well aduised, to giue counsell and comfort the widow, and soone F after, the Lord of Lorges Earle of Montgomerie, to crosse the King of Englands attempts against the Scots.

But in caring for the affaires of another, should hee neglect his owne? Boullen possessed by the English, was too great a beame in his eye; it was an open port for the enemy to take footing dayly, and to fortifie himselfe within the Realme. They therefore make great preparations by sea and land, to dislodge them. By sea, hee sends capitaine *Paulin* (hereafter Baron of La Garde) into Prouence, to bring five and twenty galleies out off the East

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A East seas, into the Ocean, by the straight of Gibraltar, and eight, or ten Carracks of Genoa: but they came so late, as they serued to no vse: most part of them perished at the mouth of Scine, for want of expert Pilots. By land he raiseth a mighty armie, vnder the command of the Marshall of Biez, to campe before Boullen, the riuer betwixt both, attending his armie by sea, and there building a good fort vpon the point of the tower of Ordre, to keepe the enemy within their walls with the Cannon, and to cut off all means for the ships to enter into the haven, to succour the towne: making account to goe afterwards in person, to besiege Guines, and there to fortifie: to keepe Calais, and the land of Oye in subiection, and by that meanes to famish Boullen. But man purpoiseth, and God B disposeth: we shall see both Boullen and Calais, by other meanes, and at diuers seasons, reduced to the obedience of this crowne. According to these designes, the King sent Cont *Reingraue*, the Colonels *Reichrac* and *Ladomwie* to fill vp the regiments of Laniquenets, to the number of foure or five thousand a peece, and to ioyne with ten thousand men, which he leaui'd in Gascony and Languedoc.

This done, his Maiestie rooke his way to Normandy, to embarke his armie at New-hauen, and being at Touques about Mid-summer, hee discovered his armie out of the Leuant seas, then vpon the assurance which the Marshall of Biez (hauing receiued the Lansquenets, and fix or seuen thousand pioners) gaue him, that by the midst of August the fort of Boullen would bee in defence, hee caused his Navy to set saile, C wherein the Admirall of Annabault commanded. But behold a pitifull beginning. As they came to weigh anchor in the Carraquon (which was the goodliest ship of the westerne sea, and the best sayler, being of eight hundred tunnes burthen, in the which the Admirall should fight) fire takes the gunners roome, and consumes it to ashes. Many, to auoid the furie of the fire, leaped into the sea: the Gallies saued many, and many were cast away, the fire takes the artillerie (there were a hundred great peece of brass) which sinking all that was before them, behinde or on the sides, forced the other ships to goe roomer. A hundred and fifty great ships, threecore barks, and five and twenty galleies set sayle, the sixth of Iuly, and bent their course towards the Ill- of Wight, and the haven of Portsmouth in England, where the English had threecore ships, well appointed D for warre.

The Admirall resolved to fight with them, made choise of thirty ships, to accompanie that wherein he would fight: *Boutieres* coasting this Squadron on the right wing, with thirty six ships, and the Baron of Curton on the left, with the like number: The aduantage of the place where the enemy lay, defended on the one side by some forts, and on the other with rocks, banks and sands couered with water, which lye in the midst of the way, and make a narrow & crooked entry, dissuaded him. To draw them to sea, the gallies aduance, skirmishing with their Cannon, and fighting, they retire towards their Squadrons. The calmnesse of the sea, without any winde, or great current, shewed it selfe fauourable to our men, for the space of a whole houre in the morning, hauing meanes to gouerne their Gallies at pleasure, and to annoy the enemy, who for want of wind lay open to the French E artillerie. So the *Mary-Rose* one of the best ships of their fleet, was sunke with the Cannon, and of five or six hundred men, onely five and thirty escaped: the great *Henry* which carried their Admirall had made the like end, if the neerer ships had not succoured it. And greater losses threatened them, when as the wind changed, and became good for them; perceiving them from perill, and desiring them to charge our ships with full sayles: which change was so sudden, as the English ships pursuing our gallies, were ready to ouerturne them, if by a great assurance of the Commanders, and experience of the Saylers, and rowers, hauing no Cannon in their peopes, they had not speedily turned their prowes, who (being without the reach of the Cannon) slacke their course, seeking to draw the enemy F out of the rocks and banks, as they had been directed.

Some English pinaces (these best ships more long in forme then round, more narrow then our Gallies) swift and easie to gouerne, and which better command the currents in that sea) followed with an incredible swiftnesse, and with their artillerie, did wonderfully annoy our gallies, when as the Prior of Capua, brother to *Peter Stroff*, impatient of this brauadoe, turnes his gally against a Pinace, which aduancing his companions, was ready to grapple with one of our gallies in poupee, and forceth him to retire to the body of the battaile. And our Admirall hauing now put his ships in order, and ready to giue the

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The King of France his Navy against England.

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signe of the bataille, he sees the enemy retire from the chase, and returne to their hold. In A this conflict, they lose some slaues, few souldiers, and no men of account.

They must now prepare another bait. The King of England was at Portsmouth, and the Admirall (burning his country, and killing his men in his sight) imagined that the indignation of this wrong, the compassion of his subjects blood spilt, the sacke and burning of his country, would force him to send forth his ships, to succour them (being not above two Cannon shot off,) or else the subjects wrongs, being no way relieved by the presence of their Prince, would breed some sedition, and mutiny in the country. Hetherfore makes three sundry landings, to diuide the enemies forces. The one by *Stroff*, vpon a little fort, furnished with artilerie, which did beat our gallies in flanke, and manned by the country. B men, who seeing the resolution of our men, abandon their fort, and fly to a wood neere by, some behinde were slaine, and the houses about it burnt. The Lord of Tais, and the Baron of la Garde, both Generals; the first of the foot, the other of the Gallies, land in another place, they encounter some squadrons of foot, who by couert wayes in the woods, were gathered together, to fight at their aduantage: they make head against our men, and hurt some, but the rest of the troops marching in bataille, make them abandon the place, and flie to recouer their straights, where they could not follow but in disorder.

Marly and *Pierrebon* Captaines of Gallies, were hurt in their landing, at an encounter of the English, but to draw them in grosse to fight, it was not possible, and lesse meanes to charge them on their own ground. Neither Captaines nor Souldiers wanted will, but the danger was too apparant. They must slip downe a narrow channell, where but foure ships could goe in front, and the like number of the enemies ships might easily defend it. They could not enter, but with the tyde and winde, and the foure first ships repulsed, had false backe vpon the rest of the fleet, and disordered them. They must of necessity fight neere vnto their land: and fauoured by their forts and Cannon, had they not meanes to hinder the approach, to the great preiudice of our fleet: and our ships boarding and grappling, the force of the current had driuen them on ground one vpon another. There was as little reason to fight at anchor, the cables might be cut, and this inconuenience avoided, the danger was not lesse, for the nature of the current is to turne the prow, so as D our ships in stead of the prow or the broad-side, must haue presented their poope to the enemy. Moreover, their anchors not able to stay the ships suddenly, by reason of the violent turning of the streame, either the anchor or cable might breake, and by consequence cast the ships on ground.

The French
consule to take
the Isle of
Wight and to
fortifie it.

They therefore propound two things in counsell, either to saile into Picardy, to fortifie the Kings armie, and to cut off all succours from Boullen, or to fortifie the Isle of Wight. Many reasons perswaded the most part to the last opinion: for hauing the Isle at their deuotion, they might easily become Lords of Portsmouth, one of the goodliest ports of England: and forcing the enemy to maintain a continuall armie both by land and sea, to crosse the Conquerors designs, it would consume them in exceeding expences. Moreover, they kept the passage of Spaine and Flanders: and might in time till the Island, and make it yeeld victuals sufficient to maintain men for the guard thereof.

Without doubt this was an opportunitee which hath not since happened, to oppose a strong barre betwixt both the Realmes. But lets say, that he which holds both land and sea, within the palme of his hand, would leaue this Island in the power of her ancient and lawfull Lord. But howsoeuer, the Admirall might easily haue left foure thousand men, and foure thousand Pioners, for the defence of the Island, as hee did to fortifie the Kings army before Boullen, after the overthrow of the Cheualier *d'Aux*, a Prouencall and Captaine of the gallies of Normandy, leaving his fleet well manned. As the Admirall lay at anchor before Boullen a Westerne winde ariseth, and makes him to seeke harbour vpon the coast of England. Being at the Perrais, and there kept by force of winde, and a swolne sea, the English fleet thinking to haue the aduantage, imbarke speedily: being a hundred good ships, and come with full sailes against our men, hauing the winde in poope. The violence of the windes, and the greatnesse of the seas, which might haue taken from our men the vse and seruice of their gallies, gaue them hope of victorie. On the other side, the Admirall feared that the tempest would drine him to shore, or force him to weigh anchor in disorder (for that the bad weather would not suffer them to keepe together.) and

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A and with great danger to passe the strait at Calais, or else to take his course towards Flanders, and so they might stop his passage in his returne: moreover, foule weather might stay him so long, as he should want victuals, and in the meane time, the enemy (who to attend him at the passage, would come to Boullen) would disturbe the Kings forts that hee pretended to make, the which he desired by all meanes to prevent.

And therefore following the aduice of his Captaines, hee attends at anchor the change of the tyde. The next day the winde and tyde fauours him, so as he desires to encounter the enemy. The night passeth, and at the breake of day, the English armie appeares. Hee followes them, but was so becalmed, as he could not aduance but with the tyde. Either hee B toger the winde, and coasting neere, salute one another with the Cannon. Some ships are sunk, and some men perish in the sea. In the end, the enemy seeing our men to haue gotten the winde, set saile, and take their course to the Isle of Wight, hauing both winde and tyde, which carried them without disorder to their Port, and the night approaching ended the combate. The enemy hauing recouered a safe Port, the Admirall tooke his course towards New-hauen, to refresh his armie, and to land many sicke men languishing in the ships. This was about the midst of August.

In the midst of August, the King meant to execute his enterprife vpon Guines, whereof wee haue spoken. His armie was of twelue thousand French, twelue thousand Lanquenets, six thousand Italians, and foure thousand Legionaries, a thousand or twelue C hundred men at armes, and seuen or eight hundred light-horse. But the fort before Boullen was no more defensible then eight dayes after it was begun. First not built vpon the point, as it was appointed, right against the Tower of Ordre, but against base Boullen, so as it could no way stop the entry of the ships into the hauen. The Marshall of Biez excused himselfe, that they had giuen him to vnderstand he should finde no water there, and that the souldiers could not lodge, for the violence of the winds. Secondly, he relied vpon this Enginor, *Anthony Mellan* an Italian Captaine, who was held to be a man of experience, and a good souldier, who being ignorant of his measures, made the worke fruitlesse for two months.

The Marshall notwithstanding assures the King, that within eight dayes, the fort would D be defensible, but it was no more forward, then at the first day. And to couer this defect, he lets the Captaines vnderstand, that he is aduertised, how the enemy assembled at Calais, to come and succour Boullen by land, holding it in danger to be famished: hee was therefore resolu'd to passe the river, and to abandon the fort. And without imparting of anything to the Lord of Estrée, Marshall of the campe, who contradicted this designe, he leaues three or foure thousand men in the fort, and goes to lodge at Mont-Lambert, within Cannon-shot of the towne, to make head against the enemy, and to fight with him, if he came to succour the towne. But what likelihood was there, that the English being weaker in force and numbers, would hazard a battell, and by land (seeing that one ship would carry more victuals then a thousand carts) come and victuall a towne, which E daily he might refresh by sea, without danger, in fight of the enemy. But in effect, it was a great honour for the Marshall of Biez, to see so many yong Princes subject to his command: and if Boullen had bene recouered, hee had lost the authority to command so goodly and mighty an armie. The hope of a battaile made all the youth in Court poist to Mont-Lambert, the dukes of Angiers, Neuers, Aumale, Thours Lord of Tremouille, the Earle of Lauai, and others, who by continuall skirmishes, sometimes with gaine, sometimes with losse, did trie their valours with the besieged. And the King relying vpon the assurance hee had of the Marshall of Biez, advanced, hoping that the bulwarks, and the Courtin: of the fort, had bene in such defence, as he might haue employed his armie else where. But there are two reasons which diuert him: The one F priuare, which was the death of the duke of Orleans his yongest sonne, who surprised with a Quotidian Feuer, which they held to be pestilentiall, died the eight day of September, in the Abbey of Forest Moutier, betwixt Abbeuille and Moutreuil, being three and twenty yeeres old, leauing a second griefe to the father, to haue lost two sonnes at such times as they grew capable to ease his decaying age: and without doubt the waywardnesse which made this Prince melancholike and difficult, will hasten the course of his life, to bring him to his grave. The other was publike: the Prince of Melphe being sent to visit the fort, hauing considered the time of the foundation, and the reime it required: to

Death of this
Duke of Orleans
which was
the last daye
of his life.

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Skirmishes be-
fore Bouillon.

come to the perfection, reported, that winter would be well passed, before it should bee made fit for service, without the assistance of an armie.

So the King seeing his hopes lost, and the season spent, for the effecting of his designs, he retired towards Amiens, to the Abbey of Saint Fuscien. In the meane time, the arrogance of the Kings campe at Mont Lambert, did invite both nations, daily to make great skirmishes. One day amongst the rest, the duke of Aumale, seeing our men withstand a charge of the enemies but faintly, and were ready to be overthrowne: making account he should be seconded by his troope, hee fals vpon a company of English, which went to charge our French vpon the flanke, and at the first approach stayes them: but being stricken with a lance, betwixt the nose and the eye, it breaks in pieces, and left the French halfe a foot within his head: without doubt, we may admire the generositie of this young Nobleman, who for so rough a charge, lost neither shirops, nor vnderstanding, to free himselfe from those which had compassed him in, and his admirable patience in enduring the paine, when they came to draw forth the three square head, as constantly, as if they had pulled but a haire from his head. Winter approached, and the King considering that his enterprise vpon Guines was frustrate: aduertised moreouer, that the English made a new leauie in Germanie of ten thousand Lanquenets, and foure thousand horse, to come with this supply and raise the siege at Bouillon, he fortified all the approaches in the countrie of Tierache, and about Aubenton, Veruein and Guise, to stop their passage. He sent the Marshall of Biez to invade, ruine and burne the land of Oye (for that Calais, Guines and Hames, which the English held vpon the maine land, had no other reliefe but out of that country:) and to dispose of the affaires as occasion should serue, he marched towards la Fere vpon Oize.

Description
and lack of the
land of Oye.

The land of Oye contains about foure leagues in length, and three in breadth: a marshy very fertill in pasture, hauing on the one side the sea, and at the one end towards the sea Calais: at the other end Grauelin, of the countie of Flanders: towards the land, and alongt the bankes of the Marish, is the towne of Guines, and the castle of Hames, and at the end towards Arthois stands Andres. For the safety of this Countie, the English had made great trenches towards the firme land, the which were commonly full of water, and fortified with Rampars: and to flanke them, forts and bastions well manned to defend the entry into the country.

The affection which euery one bare vnto the Kings seruice, made them to passe the channels which flowed into the country, directly against the forts. They assaile them, force them, and put all to the sword they finde. Two thousand English come to their succours, the French-men at arms charge and defeat them, and kill the most part: the rest cast themselves into the trenches, where the horse-men could not follow: fourescore or a hundred of our horse, with many men at armes, testified by their deaths or wounds, the fury of this encounter. The English were strong, both in high and base Bouillon, and in the Tower of Ordre (this Tower was built by *Iulius Caesar*, the second time he passed into England, to haue a Lampe vpon the top of it, to direct his ships, if they should be diuided by any storm at sea, as in his first voyage) and the retiring of our troopes, made them to enterprise vpon our fort, which was made on the other side of the water, right against base Bouillon. Seven or eight thousand choise men, come an houre before day, and mount suddenly to the top of the rampar, where they might easily enter in many places without any ladders. *Thibault Roubault* Lord of Riou, Lieutenant for the King within the fort, finding his succors faile off, (layes the originally) watched in the night, and rested in the day. If the enemy charged furiously, he repels him with no lesse assurance, kills all them that mounted, overthrowes the rest, and puts them in rout: so as by this gallant repulse, hee was afterwards freed from the attempts of the English.

A leauie of
Lanquenets
for the English
made fruitlesse.

We must now plant strong barres against the Lanquenets, which come to succour the King of England. They were lodged at Fleurines, a great Village in the countie of Liege, ten leagues from Mezieres. Mezieres was of great importance, if the enemy had surprised it. And the Emperor fearing that this great swarme of men, finding his countries vnfortified of souldiers, would doe some harme, had hindered their passage through his territories. This refusal might haue made the Germans to haue sought a passage by force through the Realme. So the King to crosse them, sent *Langy* into Mezieres with a thousand foot, and the horsemen of Bourgongne, and part of Champagne: he sent *Longueuil* his

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A his Lieutenant into Champagne, to muster the legion of the Country, and manied the passages where he thought the enemy would attempt. He sent the Duke of Anguien into Guise with three hundred men at armes, and a number of foot. In the end the Lanquenets hauing stayed three weekes at Fleurines, doubtfull where they should make their passage: the day of their pay being come, and the money yet in England, they turne their ensignes, and returne home the same way, leading with them the King of Englands Treasurers for assurance of their entertainment. Our *Francis* is now freed of a great care. By the death of the Duke of Orleans, the chiefe conditions of peace made with the Emperor were voyd: so his Maiesty sent from Folambray neere to Couilly, the Admirall *Anne Bault*, and the Chancellor *Olier* to enter into a new treaty. The Emperor was at Bruges, and determined to send an army against the Protestants and Commonalties of Germany, who yielded him no such obedience as he required of his subiects, and with this designe he went to Antwerp, to receiue money by imposition and loane.

This voyage is a cloake to delay our Ambassadors. But in effect he meant to know the minds of them of Antwerp, that according to the course of affaires, he might bee more milde or sower in his answer. And the sayd Ambassadors discouraging his ordinary delays and dissimulations, in the end tooke their leave, returning with no other assurance, but if the King beganne no warre against him, he was not resolu'd to make any. A word serues to a man of iudgement. What might the King conceiue of this cold entertainment? C but that the Emperor sought an opportunity to beginne a new warre with advantage: and if he had forced them to obedience whom he threatened in Germany, hee would bring all his forces both Catholiques and Protestants, ioyntly against the frontiers of this Realme. To auoid a sudden surpris, he giues the gouernment of Languedoc to the Duke of Anguien: that of Piedmont to the Prince of Melphie, lately created Marshall of France, hee sent to fortifie the weak places of Picardy, he made a fort about Maubert Fontaine, seven leagues from Veruein, and five from Mezieres, at the going out of the wood: and for that the frontier of Champagne lay most open to the Germans, he fortified Mezieres and Mouzon, built a fort vpon the Meuze on this side riuer within the Realme, betwixt Steuay and Dun-le-Chateau, which he called Villefranche, he fortified the Castle of Saint D Menchault, Saint Desier, Chaumont in Bassigny, Coiffy and Ligny: and made Bourg in Bresse able to make head against a mighty army. Thus the King provided for his frontiers, and places subiect to the enemies inuasions. But the plague had so diminished the number of souldiers that were in the fort right against Bouillon, as of twenty Ensignes, not above eight or nine hundred men escaped this mortality. The souldiers notwithstanding are commended for their fidelity, constancy, and patience in the regard thereof. The raine, snow, and other iniuries of the ayre, the moistnesse of their lodgings (being but holes in the ground, couered with a penile of straw, and when a whole household was dead, the ruines serued to bury their carcases) had bred these diseases. But the spring time hauing tempered the season, and stayed the plague, the Lords of Elbe and Riou, being refreshed and supplied with men, returned to their ordinary skirmishes, to the enemies losse. The fort wanted victuals. *Seneport* Lieutenant to the Marshall of Biez, was appointed for this execution. Three hundred English horse come to hinder this victualing. He meets them the day after Easter day neere to the bridge of bricke, beneath mount Saint Stephen: the skirmish begins on either side: the Lord of Tais, and the Conte *Reingraue* arise either of them with six or seven-score gentlemen, the alarme comes to Bouillon, and the English supply their men with seven hundred horse, and foure hundred Hargebuziers: *Seneport* chargeth the horsemen before they had ioyned with their shot: the *Reingraue* is hurt at the first charge, and overthrowne, and on the other side the Marshall of Calais, being chiefe of the enterprise, is slaine, with a hundred or six-score English, about two hundred horse on either side, and three-score and fiftene English prisoners, all in cassacks of velvet garnished with gold and furer.

A great plague
in the fort be-
fore Bouillon.

A while after the Marshall of Biez parted from his campe, for the same effect, accompanied with fifty men at armes, the *Reingraue* with his Regiment of foure thousand Lanquenets, and two hundred French shot, he encountered the Earle of Surrey followed by six thousand Englishmen, with an intent to take from our men the meates to refresh the fort with victuals, and necessary munition. Here the combat was long and furious: in the end the English being overthrowne, retire to a little Fort, where they force them. Seven or eight

1547

eight hundred of their men are slain. *Surrey* saues himselfe by flight, and leaues feuen or eight-score prisoners. Boullen was but a Church-yard for the English, and a waiting for their treasure. The King of England considering how obstinate the King was in the recovery of his towne, that moreover the Emperour (what league soeuer they had together) had his priuate designs, and regarded nothing but his owne interest, he lets the King vnderstand, that he is resolu'd to haue him for his friend, and to end all controuersies. So the Deputies for their Maesties meet betwix Ardres and Guines. For the English, came the Admirall *Annebault*, and *Raymond* the first President of Rouan: for the English, *Dudley* Admirall of England, (and afterwards Duke of Northumberland) and finally, after many consultations, a peace was made, with these conditions: *That the King within eight dayes should pay 800000 Crownes to the King of England, as well for the arrerages of his pension, as for many other expences made by the said King in the fortification of Boullen, and of the Country: and in regard of the said summe, the King of England should deliver vnto the King, Boullen, and all the country belonging vnto it, with the ancient places or newly edified by him, Mont-Lambert, the Tower of Ordre, Ambletuel, Blacquenay, and others, with all the artillery, victuals, and munition in the said places.*

The death of
the Duke of
Anguien.

This yeare is famous by the death of *Anguien*. In the moneth of February, the snow was very great, and the Court being at Roch-Guion, some young Noblemen attending the Dauphin, made a challenge, some to defend a house, others to assaile it with snow-balls: but this pastime ended soone with a pitifull and fatal spectacle. As the Duke came out of this house, a coffer full of linen, cast out of the window, fals vpon his head, and within few houres sends him to rest in the graue with his ancestors, leauing a suspicion of some great men, being enuious and ielous of his vertue, reputation, and fauour, which he had gotten with the King, the people, and men of warre, of whom he was more then any other of his age, esteemed, beloued, and respected.

The death of
the King of
England.

The beginning of this yeare is likewise remarkable by the decease of *Henry* the 8, King of England, leauing for his successor his son *Edward*, eight yeares of age. This death bred a great alteration and change in the health of *Francis*: they were almost of one age, conformable in complexions. And our King taking this for a presage or foretelling, that his turne should soone follow after, grew then more melancholly and silent then before. Hee fals sicke of a feuer, for auoiding whereof, hauing passed many places fit for the pleasure of hunting, la Muette, Saint Germain in Lay, Villepreux, Dimpierre neere vnto Cheneuse, Limours, and Rochefort, he came to lodge at Rambouillet, and as the pleasure hee tooke both in hunting and hawking, stayed him there some time, his feuer encreased, and grew to a Quotidian.

The death of
Francis the
first.

So finding his houre come, he disposed of his conscience and of his house: he greatly recommended his subiects and seruants to the Dauphin his successor: and the last day of March, in the yeare 1547, being fifty and three yeares old, hee changed the painfull and continual toils of this mortall life, with the eternall rest which the happy enioy for euer. A Prince wonderfully lamented both of his subiects and strangers, whose vertues deserue to be placed among the most famous. He was valiant, courteous, bountifull, iudicious, of a great spirit, and an excellent memory. A louer of learning, and men of merit, to whom Arts and Sciences owe the perfections they haue gotten at this day, hauing by his bringing vp of youth, founded Colledges in Paris, in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latine tongues, assembled from all parts of the world, learned men, and of good life, and by this means cleared the darknes of ignorance, wherewith the world had bene so obscured, by the malice of time, and negligence of former ages. A Prince fauoured with many good, yet croft with as many bad and finifter fortunes. Happy notwithstanding, that no aduersity could euer make him degenerate from a noble and royall mind, nor from the true beleefe of a good and faithfull Christian. Happy and blessed in his end, to haue pacified all foraine confusions, which had so long troubled his Estates and his subiects quiet. But without doubt, he had bene farre more happy, if hee could haue left his Realme free from those fatal diuisions, which even in his reigne had so miserably diuided his subiects, and shall cause hereafter strange combustions: the first consideration whereof, makes my haire to stand vp right, and my heart to tremble at that which is to come.

HENRY

1548

HENRY the SECOND:

The 59 French King.



B

Sage, nature, and the good education he had receiued vnder his Father in the government of the Estare, did countenance him in this succession: the which he receiued on the same day that hee was borne, and he confirmed it in Saint Germain in Lay, by the restitution of the Constable of Montmorency: by the publication of many goodly ordinances, for the reformation of apparell, ordering of the treasure, providing for the poore, suppression of new erected offices, gouernment of the Riuers and Forests, maintenance of Iustice, and relieuing of his subiects: but about

all, that necessary law against blasphemers, as we may see in the Originall. Doubtlesse this was a commendable beginning, and worthy the homage hee did owe to the Soueraigne Lord, as an acknowledgement of the fee, whereof he tooke possession, if hee had not polluted it with the mournfull spectacle of that bloody and fatal combat betwix *Iarnac* and *Chastaignery*, Gentlemen of Noble Families, hauing taxed one another with iniurious words, and the Lye past, to the preiudice of one of their honours, the King in stead of reconciling them by the aduice of his Councell, and to haue forced the culpable to do right to the interested, he granted them the combat, and on the sixteenth day of Iuly they came to the place appointed at Saint Germain in Lay, where in the presence of the King, Princes, Noblemen and all the Court, they entered the Lists. *Iarnac*, who was held the weaker being newly recovered from sicknesse, contemned and disgraced, ouerthrew the other (who before the combat was held a Conqueror) and wounded him in such sort, as within few dayes after he died; wherewith the King was much grieved, and hereupon did forbid all combats. He beganne his reigne by a bloody tragedy, and ended in like manner; whereby we may see, that God doth punish him that thirsteth after another mans blood, with the losse of his owne.

The restoring of the Constable, disappointed the Cardinal of Tournon, and the Admirall of Annebault, touching the chiefe gouernment of the State: and the Lords of Longueuall, Escars, Boncour, Frametzels, Antiboy, Grignan, the Baron of la Garde, the General Bayard, and many others, accused some for theft, some for other disorders in their charges, did somewhat trouble the Court. It was an old saying: that hee which eates the Kings Goose, will cast vp the feathers a hundred yeares after: but since, they haue turned this saying into a proverb; He that steales a hundred thousand Crownes from the King, is quit if he restore ten thousand. So some preuailed by this expedient, others escaped rigorous punishments through fauour.

The Constable
restored.

In the meane time, the ceremonies of the Kings Coronation were prepared at Rheims, and hauing receiued it the seuen and twentieth day of Iuly, by the hands of *Charles* of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, he made a voyage into Picardy, and did visit the forts which were made about Boullen: then did he prepare an army to succour Scotland, against whom the English made war, for that the Lords of the Country had refused to giue their Princeesse *Mary Steward* in marriage to goe to young King *Edward*, hoping by this bond to vnitte the two Realmes of England and Scotland, to the preiudice of the French, and of the common alliance betwix France and Scotland. The Lord of *Esse* was chiefe of the armie; *Peter Stroffy* General of the Italian bands, *d'Andelot* Colonell of the French foot, the *Reingraue* chiefe of the Lansquenets, marching by land against the English forces: & *Leon Stokly* Prior of Capoua, by sea spoiled the English of the greatest part of their conquests: but the confirmation of the peace lately concluded betwix the deceased Kings of France and England ended this waire, and brought backe our aduenturers into France.

Henry the
second crowned.

An army in
Scotland.

Francis at the end of his dayes, had well fortifed the Ieuaine, which should soone breed new combustions with the Emperor. *Henry* must be heire to his quartell, as well as to his crown, and knowing that the Pope had a fresh and iust cause of indignation for the

mur.

1548

murder of *Peter Lewis*, Duke of Parma and Placentia, his sonne; and for the inuasion of A Placentia, by *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, Lieutenant for the Emperor in Italy: he sent *Charles* of Lorraine, lately honored with a Cardinals Hat (this is hee that shall minister so much matter to talke of him, vnder the successors of *Henry*) to draw the Pope from the Emperors party, to the Kings alliance: but death shall frustrate the Pope of his intended reuenge. Commonly men fish best in a troubled streame: and many knowing this new King to be of a mild spirit, addicted to the delights of Court, and little practised in affaires, they kindled a desire in his mind to reuenge the wrongs the Emperour had done to France, whereof they vrge for a testimony the death of *Fogelsberg* beheaded in Ausbourg, at his returne from the Scottish warres for the Kings seruice.

Sedition for
the customs.

On the other side, the Emperour grew not a little ialous of the progresse the King made into Bourgogne, Briele, Sauoy and Piedmont, as if he had caried with him an alarme bell to stirre vp the people to the following warre. And it may be it had then been kindled, but an home-bred mutiny stayed it for a time. During the Kings voyage into Sauoy and Piedmont, the extorsions of the toll-gatherers and farmers of salt, caused the Commons of Guienne, Xaintonge, and Angoulmois, to rebell. In few weekes forty thousand men goe to field armed with all kind of weapons, the Islanders ioyne with them, and with a common consent fall vpon the toll gatherers. The people of Gascony doe presently follow this pernicious example. The commons of Bourdeaux rise, & finding *La Vergne*, *Esbonnac*, *Marquannan*, and others (Tribunes fit for their humors) they expell the customs, lacke many good houses, vnder colour to seeke for these exactors: the commons search throughout the towne, whence followed many massacres in diuers places, and many of the Kings officers were slaine, who abusing their charges had bene the cause of this mutiny. The Mayor, Jurats, and other Magistrates of the City of Bourdeaux, and the Court of Parliament, with the Seigneur of Moncins, who commanded there as the Kings Lieutenant, in stead of remedying these tumults in the beginning, temporized too much, namely *Moncins*, who for that he did not suppress the insolency of *La Vergne*, one of the heads of these mutines, hee made him dare to raise vp the people by the sound of a bell.

Another error of his was, that he sent forth a number of shor out of the Castle of Ha, D thinking to terrifie this enraged multitude. But this increased their popular fury. They forced the Councillors of the Parliament to lay aside their gownes, to put on Mariners caps, to carry pikes, and to follow their Ensignes, and the masters of *Saulx* brethren, the one Capitaine of the towne, the other of Castle Trompeté, to bee their Leaders, to assist at the sacking of many houses, and to see their friends and fellow Citizens massacred before their eyes. They spoile the Towne-house, a goodly store-house for armes: and to increase their villanies, they murder *Moncins* most cruelly, being come amongst them, thinking with courteous words to pacifie the fury of these mutines. Having wrought their wils, and being laden with booty, they disband, some one way, some another: the Parliament fortified with men of honour, and refusing their authority, punish by exemplary iustice *La Vergne*, one of the chiefe Tribunes of this rebellion, and some other of the most apparant. The King was no lesse ready to reuenge this outrageous and rash rebellion, then the commons were active in the execution. The Constable had the commission for Guienne, *Francis* of Lorraine Duke of Aumale (whom we shall afterwards see Duke of Guise, so famous vnder *Francis* the second, and *Charles* the ninth): that of Xaintonge with foure thousand Languenques and many French hoise. This man seeking to winne the reputation of a mild and mercifull Prince, pacified the Country without punishment of what had passed. The other marched after another manner, for ioyning both armies together, he entered into Bourdeaux, disarmed the people, tooke and burnt all the records, Registers, rights, and priuileges of the Citizens, and of all the country of Bourdelois: he caused the Court of Parliament to cease; beats downe their bells: forced fene score of the chiefe to goe vnto the Carnes (who had three dayes after the mutiny, in the night taken vp his poore dismembred carcasse with a Gentleman of his called *Montelien*) to fetch the body of *Moncins*, and to conduct it in mournfull sort vnto Saint Andrews Church, and by the punishment of the two *Saulx*, *Esbonnac*, (another Tribune, who had seized vpon Castle Trompeté) and many others, hee purged their offence. *Talemagne* and *Galassie*, Colonels of the commons, were afterwards broken vpon the wheele, either

La Vergne
drawne vnto
saule bretois.

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A ther of them caryng a Crowne of burning iron for a marke of the Soueraignty which they had vsurped.

The end of this year was more comical. *Anthony* of Bourbon Duke of Vendosme married *Isabe* of Albret, daughter to *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, and of *Marguerite* sister to King *Francis* the first, and the Duke of Aumale, the daughter of *Hercules* of Elte Duke of Ferrara, and of *Renée* of France daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth. And during these sports in Court, that extraordinary chamber, against them who they cal Lutherans, was erected, who persisting constantly in the profession of their faith, suffered their bodies to be consumed to ashes. The birth of *Lewis* the Kings younger sonne, the third of

B February, at Saint Germaine in Lay, his baptisme the nineteenth of May; the Coronation of Queene *Katherine* at Saint Denis, the tenth of Iune; the stately entry of their Majesties at Paris the sixth of the same moneth; and the great tourney at the Tourneils, made in fauour of the Ladies, continued the sports in Court: which finished, the King sitting in his seat of Iustice the second of Iuly, would giue sentence in his Court of Parliament at Paris, according to the ancient custome of his Predecessors. The presence of the Prince giues authority to the Magistrate, and the eye of the King (saith the Wiseman) scatters ill counsells.

At that time the Nobility of England were at iarre with the commons. During the which, the King sent *Paul* Lord of Termes, to continue the warre in Scotland begun by

Troubles in
England.

C *Elfr*, who hauing lately defeated the English before Hedington, and taken the Isle of horses, resigned his charge to his successor. After much sport at the Queenes Coronation, the King caused a general procession to be made in Iuly, where he assisted, with the Queen, the Princes of the blood, Cardinals, and all the Orders and Estates of Paris; and at his returne from the Bishops lodging, where he had dined, hee would see certaine Christians burnt detesting the errors and abuses maintained by the Church of Rome. Among the which there was a Taylor, who some few dayes before had made answer of his beliefe before the King and many Courtiers, and spoken boldly to the Duchesse of Valentinois, telling her that she should rest satisfied to haue infected France, and not seeke to pollute so holy and sacred a thing as the true Religion, and the truth of the Sonne of God with her

Execution of
some of the
Religion.

D filthinesse; and that it was to be feared that God for this cause would send some great plague both vpon the King and Realme. But the King being incensed and not amended (being caried away by the allurements of her that did betwixch him) hauing commanded that his processe should be dispatcht, he would be a spectator of this Taylors execution, standing in the Lord of Rochports lodging in Saint Anthonies street right against the scaffold, whereas the Taylor shewed a wonderfull constancy and patience.

Hauing discovered the King, he began to behold him so constantly, as nothing could diuert him, yea the fire being kindled, he had alwayes his eyes so fixt vpon that object, as the King was forced to retire himselfe, yea he was so troubled, as he confest that he thought this mans shadow did still follow him, and that for many nights this spectacle did present E it selfe vnto him, whereupon he protested that hee would neuer see nor heare any such people: but forgetting his protestation, ten years after he heard these which hee should haue giuen attentive care vnto, and pretending to see a great personage burnt, whoe words did merit credit, he lost both sight and life.

In the moneth of Iune past, *James* of Coucy Lord of Veruein was beheaded at Paris, and *Ondard* of Biez Marshall of France degraded, after a long imprisonment: the one for that he had inconsiderately committed the guard of Bouillon to his son-in-law, the other for that hee had so lightly yielded vp a strong and well fortified place vnto the enemy. There were witnesses and Commissioners found out for the purpose by them that were in credit: so as soone after it appeared that the innocency of these Noblemen had bene F suppress by the enuy of Courtiers, which possit the King, who acknowledged the error he had committed, but he could not helpe it, but this processe lay dead with Verueins, vntill the year of our Lord 1575, that his sonne and heyre by an expresse declaration of King *Henry* the third, caused the memory of his Father and Grand-father by the mother side to be restored to their former honor and fame, one of the Heralds being commanded to assist at the Funerals of these two Noblemen, the which were solemnly made at Boloine in the year 1577.

This year was pleaded in the Parliament at Paris the cause of Merindol; since the year

1548

year 1540, the Parliament of Prouence, had for matter of religion condemned seuentene persons of Merindol to be burnt, the village to be razed, and the trees to bee cut downe within two hundred paces. The Clergy pursued it: but some gentlemen and others lesse bloody, stayed the execution of this decree, and King Francis sue moneths after sent a pardon to these Vaudois of Merindol, and other places, vpon condition that within three moneths they should abjure their errors. They appeare in Court, and protest that they haue not maintained nor published any erroneous thing, offering to yeeld, if by the word of God they can shew them any founnder doctrine: they giue a confession of their faith in writing, with an answer to the reproaches wherewith they were taxed, and require to be allowed, or iudicially heard in their defences.

Four years passe away, during the which, being onely threatened with words, they subsist. But the President *Chassan* being dead, *John Menier* his successor, a violent man, became a mortall enemy to those of Cabrières and Merindol, amongst whom there dwelt certain subjects of his of Oppede, whose lands he possessed to ioine them to his owne. Through the perswasions of *Menier*, the Cardinall of Tournon, obtains Letters Patents from King Francis, to the Court of Parliament, for the execution of the first sentence, according to the which, *Menier* terming himselfe Lieutenant of the Lord of Grignan, Gouvernor of Prouence, accompanied with the Baron of la Garde, and a great troop of others, in the month of April 1545, fired many villages neere vnto Merindol, put many of the Countymen into the galleys, spoiled, razed, and burnt Merindol being vnpeopled, tooke Cabrières by composition, and against his faith, in cold blood, hee cut in peeces five and twenty or thirty men, chosen at his pleasure, rauished wifes, and young virgins, burnt about forty in a barne, whereof the most part were with child: put about eight hundred to the sword, and caried away many prisoners to Marsailles, Aix and Auignon.

This did too farre exceed a decree giuen against seuentene persons, abusing the Kings authority, with too great violence: who in his latter age, toucht with a remorse of conscience, by reason of this horrible proceeding against his subjects, whom he had too lightly abandoned to these butchers, grieved that he could not before his death punish the authors of these murders exemplarily: lying in the bed of death, he commanded *Henry* his sonne expressly, not to make his memory hatefull vnto strangers, nor subiect to the wrath of God, in not punishing of this guile. Even so, that great King *Dauid*, amongst other dispositions of his last will: *Thou knowest* (said he to him that should sit on the throne after him) *what Iobab the sonne of Tereia hath done vnto mee, and what he hath done to the two Commanders of the armies of Israel, Abner the sonne of Ner, and Amasa the sonne of Iether, whom he hath slaine, hauing shed blood in time of peace: Thou shalt not suffer his white hayres to descend with peace into his grave. But Salomon* performed his fathers will more religiously. The King granted an euocation of the cause to the Court of Parliament at Paris, where it was solemnly pleaded about fifty times in the great Chamber. There was great expectation of seuerer punishments for those horrible murders: but these great mountaines proued mole-hills, and in the end it did euaporate into smoke. Yet one at the least must suffer for many: the chance fell vpon one that was least guilty, named *Cuieris*, an Advocate by profession, who was hanged at Paris. The Cardinall of Tournon, *Grignan*, and *la Garde*, were in some trouble, but more feared then hurt. *Menier* escaped, but hee died after, being tragically possessed with a fury, & a secret fire which consumed his bowels. The year ended with the death of two famous personages: Pope *Paul*, the ninth of November, to whom succeeded Cardinall *John Maria* Bishop of Mantoua: and the vertuous Princesse *Marguerite* of Valois, sister to King Francis deceased, and wife to *Henry* of Albret King of Nauarre, the fourteenth of December. They say commonly, that for offences there needs but one satisfaction. Seeing then, that by the punishment of the chiefe authors of the sedition in Guienne, the King had pardoned the commons, hee was not so inexorable, but for a small satisfaction they were easily admitted to fauour: so as in October past, they of Bourdeaux had obtained a remission, binding themselves perpetually to his Majesty: *To entertaine at sea for euer* (as well they as their descendants) *two ships furnished for the warre: to victual the Castle Trompet and du Ha, and to renew the victuals euery year.* By this means their Parliament was restored in January, and all things settled in their former estate. By their example the three estates of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoulmois, Perigot, Lymouin, and la Marche, in the beginning of this year, obtained abolition of the

King Francis
solicited in
conscience.

Gods iudge-
ments vpon
murderers.

1549

A the custome vpon salt in Guienne, paying foure hundred and fifty thousand frankes, and five and twenty thousand for the satisfaction of the Kings officers of the said custome, Then sprung there many and sundry fire-brands of warre.

At the same time three Presidents of Paris, not pleasing to the House of Guise (who were then in credit) were dismissed from their charges. Soone after *S. André* and *Minard* hauing promised to be good seruants, were restored: *Lislet* was made Abbot of Saint Victor to giue place to one that was not so cunning as himselfe. In this solitary kind of life, hee would be dealing with Diuinity, wherein he was no apt Scholler: for of a good practitioner he became an ignorant Sophister, and was scorned, so as he died for griefe. Hee had

B shewed himselfe a sworne enemy to them of the Religion, thinking to aduance himselfe by his cruel inuentions: but hee was ouerthrowne in his course, to serue as an example for them that are more sufficient then he, not to attempt against him who surpriseth the most cunning in their deuices, and against whose wisdom humane force is but foolery and vanity. And this year, for that the coynes were found for the most part clipt, the King commanded by his Edict, that all clipt money should bee new minted, wherupon many Masters of this art, and counterfeit coyners were punished with death.

Edict against
disorders in
money.

But before we quarrell with the Emperor, the English must yeeld vs Boullen. The fort which the Lord of Chastillon had built in the year 1548, annoyed them much, and the recovery of the forts of Selague, Blaconnet, and Bonlamberg, and so many men defeated by C the surpris of them, gaue the Duke of Somerset and the Earle of Warwick to vnderstand that there was nothing but blowes to be gotten in maintaining the warres of Boullen: moreover, the diuisions of England, and the warre of Scotland, called home their troops. So as for the summe before specified, payable at two termes, a peace was againe concluded with the English, and Boullen restored to the King, into the which his Majesty made his entry the fifth of May, and did his homage, whereunto the Kings of France are bound by the institution of *Lewis* the eleventh, as we haue elsewhere obserued. Hereafter those

Peace with the
English.

small sparkes, which began to appeare, after the murder of *Peter Lewis*, sonne to Pope *Paul Farnese* deceased, slaine by his household seruants, by the perswasion of *Andrew Doria*, and *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, with the priuety and consent of the Emperor, to seize vpon

D the City of Placentia, with the more facility, haue kindled so great fires, as wee shall seee France, Germany, and Italy in combustion. *Paul* had giuen Parma to *Ottauio Farnese* son to the said *Peter Lewis*, whereof he had institution of *Iulio* his successor. This *Peter Lewis* was inclined much to the French party. He had giuen ayd to *Peter Storffy*, when as he came into the country of Placentia, with some forces for the seruice of the most Christian King, and that which more incensed the Imperials, he was suspected to haue assisted the Count of Fiesque in an enterprise made vpon Genoua for the Kings seruice, the year 1547, in the which *Iacotin Doria* was slaine, and *Andrew Doria* expelled. This caused the death of *Peter Lewis Farnese*. *Ottauio* his sonne had married the Emperors bastard daughter. But they say that charity begins by it selfe. The Emperor did labour him much: hee would

E gladly ioine Parma to Placentia, and that by lawfull means, letting the Pope vnderstand, that Parma being of the patrimony of the Church, the which was in his protection, hee ought to be preferred before *Farnese*, seeing that *Farnese* could not keepe it but with the men and money of his Holinesse. The Pope being of a base metall, and fearing the touch, tempted with the Emperors practices, sends to Duke *Ottauio*, that hee could no more furnish the extraordinary charges, wherewith he had promised to assist him: and *Farnese* finding that the Emperor laid this plot to dispossesse him of his inheritance, hee seeks a strong support in France against his father-in-lawes practices. The King who had not renounced the ancient pretensions of the House of Orleans to the Duchy of Milan, declares himself (but with the Popes good liking) Protector of the patrimony of the Church

F and of the *Farneses*. The Emperor is in a rage, who with his violent exclamations fo terrifies the Pope, as he abandons his vassall *Ottauio*.

The Pope on the other side (nothing well affected to the French) grew bitter against the King: he commanded him to renounce this protection: and for not obeying, he threatens to curle both him and his realme. Thus *Iulio* the second not able to satisfie his greedy desire with the keyes of Saint Peter, he vniuersates the sword of Saint *Paul*, kindling by his madnesse these deadly diuisions throughout all Christendome, as if the Bishop eard the spirituall sword in his hand to draw it for vnlawfull things, at the first impression of his

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fantasie. To crosse the Pope, the King forbids expressely to cary or send any gold or siluer to Rome for any dispatches, Bulls, Annars, Dispenfations, or any other thing, commanding the Metropolitans of the Realme to provide according to the ancient priuiledges and liberties of the French Church. And for that *Gonzaga* besieged Parma (to giue both the Emperour and the Court of Rome a blow) he commanded *Charles* of Coſſe, Lord of Briſſac, and Marshall of France, his Lieutenant Generall in Piedmont by the death of the Prince of Melphe, to fortifie and furniſh Mirandola. *Briſſac* ſends ſome ſouldiers: *Gonzaga* ſurpriſeth them, and puts them ſecretly to death, and ſuddenly doth beleaguer Mirandola. Warre is now begunne on all ſides, and for light occasions, he that ſeckes a quarrell, wants no apparant ſhewes to colour it. Both theſe Princes expected ſome worthy occasion: but let vs raiſe vp our thoughts, and ſay, That GOD had now poured out all his iudgements againſt Chriſtendome, being full of exceſſe, and worthy of ſharpe puniſhment.

The King ſends new forces into Piedmont, and commands the Marshall to ſuccour Parma and Mirandola. He effects it, and by the taking of Quicrs, Saint *Damian*, and other places, he forceth *Gonzaga* to abandon the Countrey of Parmelan, to ſuccour Montferat, and to defend the eſtate of Milan. On the other ſide, *Mary* Queene of Hungary, and Gouverneſſe of the Low-Countries for the Emperour, armed in fauour of her brother, both by ſea and land. And vnderſtanding that for a greater confirmation of loue, the Marshall *Saint Andre*, carried in the Kings name the Order of France to young *Edward* King of England: ſhe cauſed certaine ſhips to lye betwixt Calais and Douer, to leiſe on him in his paſſage. But to preuent her policy, the Marshall cauſed ſome Flemiſh ſhips to ſtayed, which lay at anchor in the roade of Deepe, vntill they were aſſured of his arriual in England. And *Mary* likewiſe aſſetled all the French ſhips that were within her government. Thus heart-burning grew on all ſides, which burſt out into open warre: euery one calls home his Ambaſſadors, and aſſures the places neereſt to the enemy: the King, eſpecially *Lorraine*, hauing ſome iealouſie of *Chriſtienne* the Dowager, and neere allied to the Emperour: who to free her ſelfe from that imputation, did put her ſelfe with her ſonne *Charles* into the Kings protection: who cauſed him to be brought vp with the Dauphin *Francis*, and afterwards he married one of his Maieſties daughters.

Before we proceed to open acts of hoſtility, the King excuſed himſelfe vnto the Pope by the Lord of Termes, for that which he did in fauour of *Oſtavian* *Farnese*, and by the Abbot of Belloſanne, he proteſted againſt the decrees of the Aſſembly which was held at Trent: the which (conſidering the Popes and the Emperors ſpleene againſt France) hee could not hold to be a lawfull and holy generall Councell: *Not that I pretend* (ſaid he) *to withdraw my ſelfe from the obedience of the Church: but onely to auoid the ſurpriſes of ſuch, as vnder colour of reformation, ſeek to diſgrace both my perſon and Realme.*

After this proteſtation, the King publiſhed an Ediſt made the yeare before, touching Benefices, and againſt the frauds and abuſes of the Court of Rome: and alſo vpon the ancient Ediſts and Decrees againſt Annats, and the abuſe of Reſeruations and exactions inuented by Popes: forbidding all his ſubiects to goe any moroer to Rome for Annats, nor for any other occasion concerning Benefices: commanding the Ordinaries to diſpoſe thereof, publiſhing to all men the wrong which *Julio* did to him, and to *Oſtavian* Duke of Parma, who was deſtroyed of that whereof he had bene ſolemnly inueſted. The Cardinals and other the Popes creatures in France, fearing that this Ediſt (vpon the which *Charles* of Moulin, a famous Lawyer, did write a learned Commentary, wherein he diſcovered many terrible practises of Rome) ſhould ſhake the Popes authority. They did very carefully procure the King to publiſh very ſeuere Ediſts againſt them of the Religion, to the end that *Julio* and the Cardinals at Rome ſhould aſſure themſelves of his friendſhip, whenſoeuer they would adhere vnto him. Theſe Ediſts were followed by cruell executions in diuers parts of the Realme againſt many of the Religion, who were burnt alive, for that they had conſtantly maintained the truth of the Goſpell, and reiected the Traditions of men eſtabliſhed in the place of Gods diuine ſeruiſe. Thoſe that were at Trent did write vnto the King to induce him to receiue the decrees of their Councell, and to ſend the Biſhops of his Realme thither: moreover, to entreat him to be ſure that the Swiſſes ſhould ſend thither: but the warre being now begunne in all places, and the Emperour hauing called the Spaniards which were in Germany, to come

into

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A into Italy to the warre of Parma, the purſuit of them of Trent was ſuſpended.

The warre being kindled, the King reſolved to aſſure himſelfe towards Lorraine, hauing ſome diſtruſt of the Ducheffe Dowager, whereupon he cauſed ſome troops to march towards the frontiers, and the Emperour did alſo man all his places, the one looking vpon the other with diuers deſignes whereof the effects did ſoone after appeare. While it that the King perſecuted them of the Religion in France, he treated ſecretly with the Proteſtant Princes of Germany, and generally with all the Electors and free Cities of the Empire, who ſaw their liberties and freedoms in a manner ruined, if they did not oppoſe ſome mighty aduerſary againſt the Emperour who by maine force might ſtay the courſe of his vnmeaſurable courtouſneſſe. The Emperour (contrary to his oath) detained *Iohn* Duke of Saxony, and *Philip* Landgraue of Heſſe in miſerable captiuitie. He had vanquiſhed moſt of the other Princes in war, and fearing leſt the French ſhould in the end demand the right viſtured in old time by the Saxons vpon the heyres of *Charlemagne*, when the Empire was hereditary: he pretended to tranſport the Imperiall Crowne into his Houſe for euer; and now he thought to haue a fit opportunity. He had ſuppreſſed his enemies in Germany: he had a Pope at his deuotion, and he was armed. The moſt part of the Cardinals who aſſiſted at the Councell, were either naturall Spaniards, or of the Spaniſh faction: and by conſequence, might eaſily by a decree of this Councell, giue authority to what he intended. With this deſigne he had cauſed his ſonne Prince *Philip* to come out of Spaine, (who died King of Spaine in the yeare 1598) to haue him declared his ſucceſſors, or at leaſt his aſſociate in the Empire: oppreſſing the people of Germany by inſolent and tyrannicall exactions. The Electors not accuſtomed to ſeruitude, and leſſe to the ſlavery of Spaine, not able with their owne forces to ſhake off the yoke which they ſaw ready to be laid vpon them: they repaire vnto the King, and ſhew him the wrongs and outrages done vnto them: that they pretended the ouerthrow of the whole Empire, and the abolishment of the rights and priuiledges of the Electors, Commonalties, and Lords of the ſame: they beſeech him that in regard of the ancient league betwixt the Empire and the Crowne of France, he would take their iuſt cauſe in hand, and maintain the common liberty of Germany. The King reſolues to enter into league with them, according

D to the which in the beginning of the yeare he ſent the Biſhop of Baione for his Ambaſſador vnto the Princes Electors, with Letters full of proteſtations and offers of friendſhip, and an ample declaration of the wrongs done by the Emperour vnto the Princes and Cities of Germany: adding, that he was reſolved to employ both his perſon and forces for the defence of the rights and liberties of all Germany, without reſpecting any other recompence then the honor to haue donchis duty, and to haue bound ſo mighty a Nation vnto him: giuing moreover aſſurance by oath of this his affection and intention, taking God vnto witneſſe, and ſwearing by the faith of a Prince, that his deſigne was to free all the Eſtates of Germany from the oppreſſion of the Emperour and his Miniſters. The which he alſo pretended to do particularly in fauour of his moſt deare and well-beloued Couſins *Iohn* Duke of Saxony, and *Philip* Landgraue of Heſſe, detained in miſerable captiuitie by the Emperour, notwithstanding he had promiſed and ſworne the contrary. In the end of his Letter he added theſe words: we promiſe you alſo by the Almighty God, before a the Kings, Princes, and Potentates of Chriſtendome, that we will not ſuffer with our priuaty any wrong or injury to be done to you all in general, nor to any one in particular, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer he bee: and much leſſe will We (who cary the Title of moſt Chriſtian) endure that any harme ſhould be done vnto the goods or perſons of your moſt Reuerend Prelates, Abbots, and other Clergy-men, as hath bene wrongfully giuen out by our aduerſaries: Nay rather we are reſolved to take you into our protection, ſo as you declare your ſelues for vs and our allies, and giue vs ſufficient aſſurance of your wils: hoping there-vnion of the Church, the which is reſpected by the recovery of the publike liberty; for the which (with the helpe of GOD) we will employ all our forces. The which we haue thought good (moſt Reuerend Prelates, moſt famous Princes, and other the Eſtates of the ſacred Empire) to let you vnderſtand, to the end you may not be ignorant of the true cauſe of this warre, by the which we pretend to purſue the Emperour with all violence, and (to our grieve) cut him off as a putrified member from the body of the Common-wealth: or at the leaſt force and conſtraine him to eſtate from oppreſſing you.

Letters from
the King to the
Proteſtants
in France.

LII 2

Hercupon

Edict against
the abuses of
the Court
of Rome.

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The King makes a league with the Princes of Germany against the Emperor.

The Kings army.

Hereupon they give him this honourable title, *Defender of the Germanes, protector of the Nation, and of the holy Empire*. He armes thirty thousand men, and desirous to countenance his forces with his owne presence, he appoints *Queene Katherine* his wife Regent in France: he makes many goodly Edicts for the government of the State, for the ordering of his men at armes, and for the obseruation of military discipline: hee reformes the abuses of Commanders, suppresseth the insolency of souldiers (a commendable institution in comparison of that which hath bene seene in the reignes of his children) and gives the rendezvous for his army at Vitry. He was accompanied with *Anthony Duke of Vendosme*, (whom we shall shortly see King of Navarre, by the decease of *Henry of Albret* his father-in-law) *John Duke of Anguien*, *Lewis Prince of Conde*, all brethren: *Lewis D. B* of Montpensier, *Charles Prince of Rochefort*, all of the Royall Family of Bourbon: the Dukes of Nevers, Nemours, Guise, Aumale, Elbeuf: the Lords of Rohan, Rochefoucault, Chastillon, d'Andelot, and others in great numbers, in very good order.

The Constable of Montmorency was made General of the army (a House which shall hereafter be made a Duchy, and a Peere of France) *Claude* of Lorraine Duke of Aumale, a younger brother of the House of Guise, was General of the horse, consisting of fifteen hundred men at armes, every one having two archers: two thousand light-horse, as many Argoleiers, besides an infinit number of voluntary French Nobility, marching vnder the fauour of their Prince, and desirous to make their valour apparent by good and faithfull seruices. *Gaspard* Lord of Chastillon, afterwards Admirall, was Colonel of the foot, consisting (besides the new and the ordinary companies, which were twenty Ensignes of the old bands of *Piedmont*, and five and thirty ensignes of Gascons and Prouençals (they note the two companies of the Lord of Duras to be compounded for the most part of Gentlemen and old souldiers, worthy of command) of ten thousand Lanquenets in two Regiments, commanded by the *Reingraue* and *Reichbro*. To these bands the Protestant Princes ioyned a battalion of horse, vnder the command of Colonel *Charrel*. But let vs now see their exploits.

The City of Thoul at the first abord, puts it selfe into the Kings protection, but this was not the chiefe point of his designe. The Emperor passing into France, had the passage of Metz at his deuotion, and had victuals and other necessaries out of that Country. The King now requires the like from them: they offer victuals for money, and consent to admit his Maiesty into their City, with the Constable, followed with some Princes and Noblemen: but as for any passage of the army, they excuse themselves, and pretend neutrality. The Constable departs, and protests that he will haue free passage, free entry, and free issue at his discretion, without any limitation; & partly by promises partly by threats, he wins the inhabitants. The Citizens had not foreseene this storme, and lesse provided any remedy to auoid it. Thus being forced to bid their liberty adieu, they agree with the Lord of Bourdillon, afterwards Marshall of France: That the Constable accompanied with some Princes and Noblemen should enter with two companies of foot: the companies were six hundred men strong: they increased them with halfe as many more, all chosen men of account, the which being entred, repelled the people, became masters, and draw after them so long a traine, as the Metzins had no meanes to resist.

This was the tenth of April on Palme-Sunday: nine dayes after, the King made his entry in armes, being followed with all his forces put in battell: he received the oath of the Citizens, and sware solemnly to them in the porch of Saint Stephens Church, as hee had done to them of Thoul: which was to defend them against all men, and to maintain them in their freedoms, rights, priuiledges, and liberties: moreover, to provide for the fortification of the place, which he pretended to make one of the bulwarkes of France. He left *Gonnor* brother to the Marshall of Brillac for Governor; and with him the company of the Earle of Nantueil, two hundred light-horse, two hundred Harguebuziers on horsebacke, and twelue Ensignes of foot. Thus the famous City of Metz was brought vnder the obedience of this Crown: a portion of the ancient patrimony of the Kings of France, and in former times vsurped by the Emperors.

The Constable would gladly haue vsed the like stratagem to Strasbourg: but he found more assurance and resolution then at Metz. They put a strong garison into their Citie, and prepared for defence against any that should seeke to make them subiect: so as seeing that neither reproaches, threats, nor bitter words, could draw any thing from the inhabitants,

A bitants, but victuals and necessaries for the campe, the army tooke the way of Haguenau and Wisbourg. Thither came deputies from the Count Palatine, the Archbishops of Mentz and Treues, and from the Dukes of Cleues and Wirttemberg, who were then assembled at Wormes for the good of the Common-wealth. They make petition vnto the King that he would not spoile the Champion Country, but take pittie of the poore Commons: and seeing that hee had protested to make this warre for the liberty of Germany, that he would stay his army: for if hee advanced, it would be very preiudiciall to the Empire. They also besought him that hee would hearken vnto a peace, whereof they had spoken vnto the Emperor, and were in good hope thereof. As touching any particular alliance, they desired him not to presse them, but to haue regard vnto their honors, and to the faith which they ought vnto the Empire. At the same time, being the eleuenth of May, Duke *Maurice* Elector of Saxony, sent Letters vnto the King, containing all that had bin done at Lintz, where the confederate Princes of Germany had treated of a peace with King *Ferdinand*, who negotiated the same for the Emperor, in whose name he promised a speedy resolution to the good and quiet of Germany. He also desired the King (in case he would be comprehended in the Treatie) to declare with what conditions he meant to compound with the Emperor. Having receiued these Letters contrary to his expectation, and hearing that the Queene of Hungary had taken Stenay vpon Meuse, and spoiled the Country being without defence, he resolved vpon his returne: but before his departure he made answer to the Princes Deputies: That he was well satisfied that the captive Princes should soone be deliuered, and that Germany should be in quiet: That if at any time it should haue need of his assistance, he would employ all his meanes to succour it.

As touching a peace with the Emperor, he referred himselfe vnto them, hauing by his trauell, charge, and valour, freed Germany from those miseries which did oppresse it, whereof they must now be carefull, and not basely lose that libertie, which he so honorably had recovered for them. Notwithstanding, to enterraine his Confederates, and to haue one alwayes in Germany, which might aduertise him truly how matters passed betwixt the Confederates and the Imperials, and the better to be enforced of the Emperors designs, he left *Du Fresne* Bishop of Baionne his Ambassador with Duke *Maurice*, who in an Assembly held at Passau, to aduise what was to be done for the restoring of Germany to her beaury and ancient liberty, in the presence of the Emperors Ambassador, and of the Electors and many Princes of the Empire, he made a long and eloquent speech the third of Iune, propounding the ancient coniunction of Germany and France. The great affection which the King bare vnto the Empire, being very ill gouerned by Spaniards and their adherents: he also held it fit that the Protestant Princes should make an accord with the Emperor, so as the prisoners might be released & the ancient alliances of France with the Empire, and the last league made with the Princes ratified for euer: That the Emperor should doe him right for his pretensions: That hee desired to satisfie them, and especially Duke *Maurice*. The Princes answer consisted chiefly of thanks and declarations, so deliuered, as neither the Emperor nor the King could pretend any cause of dislike. As touching the renewing of the ancient alliances, they sayd that a matter of so great weight required a greater Assembly. In the meane time they desired, that the amity so long continued betwixt these two Nations, might remaine firme, and that the differences which the King had against the Emperor, might be pacified: promising therein to employ all their meanes: In the meane time they intreated the King to declare what wrongs hee pretended to haue bene done him by the Emperor, to whom they would write, to aduance the businesse to some good peace.

In the meane time, the King leauing Germany, brought backe his army into France: as hee advanced, the Marshall of Cleues, who led the Queene of Hungaries forces retired, and his troops disbanded: which made the Kings Councill resolute to vndertake the conquest of the Duchy of Luxemburg. They first attempted a strong Castle called Reck-de-Mars, the which was presently taken and spoiled: the like was done to Mount Saint-Iohn, Solleure and other places, the which were ruined whilst the Kings and Emperours forces skirmished before Thionuille. The army hauing passed nere it, they approached to Danuilliers, the which being battered, yielded to the Kings discretion, the Captiues were detained prisoners, and the souldiers sent away with white wands. Yuoy being battered,

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yielded

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Deputies from the Princes of Germany to the King.

The Kings answer to the Princes Deputies.

Assembly at Passau.

Answer of the Princes.

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yeelded in like manner, and the Gouverneur was sent to Paris. All the goods were given to the Constable, who distributed the greatest part unto his company, and to that of his eldest sonne, wherewith the old bands did mutine, and beganne to disband: Mommedy followed Yuoy. During these prizes, the Marshall of La Marke obtained some troops of the King, with the which he recovered the towne and castle of Bouillon, with all the other places depending vpon that Duchy. After which, the Castles of Trelon, Glaiion and others were ruined. To content the old bands, they gaue them the sacke of Cinay, a towne and castle belonging to the Duke of Arles. The besieged retiring into the castle, and offering to parlee, they were forced by the portall and other places, by the fury of the assailants, being greedy of spoile. They ranne thither with such violence, as a match falling into certaine powder, there were about 120 of the forwardest burnt and slaine. The fury of the warre consumed Townes and Castles to ashes. But for as much as the armie beganne to decrease, some disbanding being laden with spoiles, but the most part sick and diseased, in the end of Iuly they put the rest into garisons, to see what the Emperour would doe, who hauing to doe with the Protestant Princes and the King, he resolved to make an accord with the Princes, that he might be assisted with their means against the King. The last of Iuly he granted a peace to Germany, that he might make violent warres in France. The King was much discontented with this accord: notwithstanding, hee sent backe the hostages to Duke Maurice, who also released his, which were the Earles of Nantueil and of Iametz.

Peace in Germany.

Emperours desire against Metz.

Difficulty of the siege of Metz.

Metz besieged by the Emperours.

The Duke of Aumale defeated.

After this accord with the Germanes, the Emperour prevailed so, as the Princes and townes granted by little and little to furnish him with men, money, and artillery, to chase the King out of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, Imperiall townes. Thereupon hee leaues an army of 50000 foot, and 20000 horse, with much artillery. Whilst he prepares, Albert Marquis of Brandenburg, who had in the Kings name made cruell warres against some Townes and Bishops of Germany, now seeks vnder-hand to bee reconciled vnto the Emperour as well as the rest, but he will insinuate himselfe by some notable seruice: being followed by 2000 horse, and 8000 foot, and drawing after him some artillery, he approached the frontiers of Luxembourg and Lorrain, where for a long time he entertained the King with hope to carry arms for him, during the which he did wonderfully spoile the champion Country. In the end, the Marquis retired himselfe from the French army, and hauing cut off the victuals from them of Metz, he went and caried armes for the Emperour. Winter approaching, many thought the Emperour would not hazard so mighty an army, to encounter (without any profit) the cold, frosts, and discomforts of the season. But the hope he had to take Metz, in the which there were many Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen, made him reiect all other apprehensions, so as his forces began to aduance towards Lorraine, and comes to Sarbruch seven leagues, from whence he sends the Duke of Alua his Lieutenant Generall, and the Marquis of Marignan with fourteene thousand foot, four thousand horse, and six field pieces, to view the City, and to choise a convenient place to lodge his army, attending his coming with the rest of his forces. The Duke of Guise, Lieutenant generall for the King, sends forth some troops to skirmish, where he loseth Marignia Gentleman of Picardy, two Captaines, and five souldiers; and the enemy about an hundred and fifty men. But the Marquis of Brandenburg reuengeth this difference vpon the Duke of Aumale, and by a second stratagem, hee giues the King an assured testimony of his defection; and to the Emperour, the effects of the seruice which hee had vowed vnto him. The Duke considered the Marquis his retreat, and cuts the heaviest of his troops of pieces, when as the Marquis (turning head) ouerthrowes a great troop of seruants mustred together to make a shew: and chargeth a squadron of light-horse: who making but a weak resistance, leaue the place. So all fall vpon the men at armes, who were ill furnished to withstand the shoocke of the Restles pistols. The Duke seeing his men at armes broken, and seeking to save themselves, rallies a small troop, and returns to the charge. The multitude inuitions him, and doth oppress his best men: some are wounded, and others taken: two hundred Gentlemen, by their death, and the taking of many others, made the Marquis valour famous. The Duke being ouerthrowne, remained as a pawne of an assured victory, and shall not bee deliuered vntill the King hath paid fifty thousand Crownes for him. This chanced in the end of October. But we shall see this losse recompenced with a happy successe against the Emperours attempts.

The

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A The Earle of Reux entred Picardy at the same time, with the desolation thereof, and the burning of Noyon, Nefle, Chauny, Roye, Folembray, and about eight hundred villages: a testimonie of the Emperours spleene. Then hauing besieged Hedin, and filled vp the trench with the ruines of a wall which they had vnder-mined: the towne was very lightly yeelded by the Lord of Rasse, who was in danger to haue bene made a publike spectacle vpon a scaffold, if the Constables fauour had not protected him. The reason was, for that he had not endured any force, nor made any resistance, and had a little before sent the King word, that there was no feare of the Castle.

The second losse made them to apprehend a third. The Emperour incamped before Metz: and the King desirous to vnderstand in what estate the besieged were, as the Duke of Guise, John and Lewis of Bourbon (the one was Duke of Anguien, the last was Prince of Conde) brethren to the Duke of Vendosme, Charles of Bourbon, Prince of Roch-sur-yon, Francis and René of Lorraine, (the first Grand Prior of France, the last Marquis of Elbeuf) brethren to the Duke of Guise: the Lords of Rochefoucault, and Randan brethren: Peter Stroffly, la Brosse, Brian, Gennor, Parroy, with an infinit number of others, who had voluntarily thrust themselves within the wals, to eternize the memory of so generous a preservation of their new conquest against the Imperiall forces: they all with one consent and resolution, free the King of this suspence, and the effects second their promises. They toyle the enemy with continuall sallies both of horse and foot: they come vp to the Cannon, ouerthrow their tents, force their quarters, put the whole campe in alarme, and performe more then hath bene heard of in any former siege. The place did well deserve it, and their vertue was the more admirable, for that the time was so vnseasonable both for the one and the other, being in the cold of winter: But the constancy of the besieged, and the obstinacie of the besiegers, encountered the rigour of raine, snow, cold, and ice.

The 16 of Nouember they batter the wall with forty Cannons, without any intermission, but to coole them: and the besieged both Princes, Noblemen, and souldiers, carie earth indifferently to rampar vp the breach, making the Imperials admire their diligence and valour. The King resting assured, leaues the Duke of Neuers to command his armie in Lorraine, and gaue commission to the Lord of Chastillon, then Admirall of France (Annebault being lately dead at la Fere) to goe into Picardy, as Lieutenant to the duke of Vendosme.

The Duke of Neuers employes all his cares to cut off the Emperours victuals: and the Admirals approach chafeth the Earle of Reux from Hedin, leauing his sonne with a strong garison in the Castle. Hauing spent foure thousand and threescore Cannon shot, he makes a breach the 16 of December, but yet not reasonable: notwithstanding the besieged being amazed, yeeld it, to haue their liues and goods saved: And the Duke of Neuers did still molest the Emperours army, and at one time cut off a great conuoy of all sorts of victuals and munition by Mons: de Monty, without the losse of any one Frenchman wherein he got great honour, hauing aduanced himselfe far, and retired discretely from among many of the enemies troops, leauing not any one engaged behind him. This blow troubled the Emperour: the iniuries of the ayre molested his men before Metz: extreme hunger made them weak, the continuall sallies of the besieged diminished them, his treasure grew short, his reputation decayed, his mynes were blowne vp, and all his attempts were made fruitlesse: to conclude, all went against the haire. So the Emperour giuing charge to the Duke of Alua, to order the retreat, he left the Empire deuiued of the Country of Metz, and the Crowne of France assured of this new conquest, by the Constables industry, and happily preserued by the valour of the besieged.

But there followed rough encounters. Hedin and Therouenne had till now bene the instruments of warre. It is better (saith the Prouerbe) to stumble once, then to stagger alwayes. The Emperour to be reuenged for some part of his losses, sends the Lord of Binecourt with a mighty army to besiege Therouenne. The Lord of Else, and Francis of Montmorency defended it. The place is furiously battered, the besieged sustaine a most violent assault of three charges, and many die on either side. The chiefe among the French, were the Lords of Else, of Vienna, of Beaudisne, of Roch-polay, of Blandy, Captain Ferrières, with many Gentlemen and souldiers. They vndermine, they myne, and with the ruines of the wall fill vp the trenches, which caused the besieged to demand a composition. But

whi-

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whilest they are busie in parle, (an error which often chancing, should make a Commander wise) the Germanes and Bourguignons enter at diuers places, and kill all they encounter. The Spaniards louing money at that time more then blood, saved many. The Seigneur of Quarr, to save the life of *Montmorency* his Generall, was fore wounded, whereof hee dyed soone after. And the Emperor causing the towne to be razed and spoiled, shall save many foules which should be lost in the defence and winning thereof.

Hedin assailed, battered, and vndermined more then a Foxes burrow, had like successe vnder *Emanuel Philibert*, sonne to the Duke of Sauoy, and Lieutenant Generall for the Emperor, his vnckle by the mothers side. The Duke of Bouillon, and *Horatio Farnese* newly married to *Diana* the Emperours bastard-daughter, had taken the guard thereof, and had prepared great store of wild-fire at the breach to defend the assault. A Priest, either through malice or negligence sets it on fire, and consumes many souldiers ready for the defence. The Imperials on the other side, blow vp their mynes, and bury a great number of men in the ruines thereof: they enter pell-mell, and so become masters of the place. *Farnese*, the Vicount of Martigues, the Senehall of Castles, with many other Gentlemen, were flaine there. The Duke of Bouillon with many others, had a long and hard imprisonment.

Let vs take our reuenge. The French armie assembled about Amiens and Piquigny: the Prince of Conde led the light-horse, who in the midst of August incountered with some troopes, led by the duke of Artois: he charged them, defeated them, and followed them about a league: he slue seven or eight hundred men, tooke about 560 prisoners, and amongst the rest, the Duke himselfe with twenty Ensignes. The Kings armie consisted of about seven thousand horsemen, five and twenty thousand foot, with an hundred pieces of artillery, great and small, doing nothing more, then to make his valour admirable, by the issue of some happy battaile. Being and abiding in the enemies Country, the Constable went to Bapaume two leagues from Mary-mont, a place well fortified, and also strong by nature, with fife thousand French horse, and as many foot: In the which *Hautfmont* (a Knight much esteemed among the Burgonians) was Gouverneur, hauing twelve companies of foot, and three or four hundred horse, who at their first approach spared not his Cannon, and entertained them with a hote skirmish, the which continued foure houres: during the which, the Admirall with a small troope viewed the towne, and found it pregnable, the Rampar being made of a crumbling sand, but the difficulty was to haue water, whereof they could finde no lasting springs, which made them change their resolution for the siege. At their departure they burnt all Villages and places belonging to the enemy euen to the gates of Bapaume. The Imperiall armie coasted them in their retreat, keeping still a riuer betwixt them. The King finding that the enemy fought nothing but to temporize, vntill that winter came on, whereby his army might be weakened by cold and diseases, and then to fight with him vpon aduantage.

The King resolved with his Councell to draw him to battaile, if it were possible, or to take the first place he should attempt, and so ruine the whole country in view of the Emperour, and so to returne in triumph, as hauing braued him in his owne dominions. Hee therefore meanes to found Cambray, both for that the taking thereof would be an example to other great townes, as also thinking the Imperiall armie would rather hazard a battell then lose such a place, where the inhabitants would willingly shake off the yoke, which not long before had been laid vpon them, yet being a neutral towne.

The French were incamped two little leagues from Cambray: by the breake of day the King caused his armie to be put in battaile, and sent an Herald to summon the towne, letting them vnderstand, that he was not come to oppress them, but to restore them to their ancient Liberties, whereof they were deprived by the Emperour: if they were desirous to shake off their bondage, they could haue no better meanes then by his comming, being there in person ready to fight for their Liberties: but if they did otherwise, they would be the cause of their own ruines, in losing the priuiledge of Neuter townes, which affect neither quarrell, and whereby they had libertie to traffike in both their countries. Besides, their country should be freed from the miseries of warre, and from all manner of exactions and spoiles. But they demanded eight and forty houres respite of the King, to aduise thereon, and to yeld him an answer: whereupon the King caused his armie to retire a league backe, making a Proclamation, vpon corporall punishment, that no man should take

A take any thing within the territory of Cambray without paying for the same. In the meane time the Emperor is aduertised of this summons, being then at Brussels, who sent them diuers instructions. Among others, that they depended of the Empire, and that hee was Emperour to protect them, not the French King, who fought nothing but their ruine: so hauing set before their eyes the example of Metz, he promised if they were besieged, to succour them by all meanes whatsoever: and then he gaue order to the Prince of Piedmont (who was gone with his armie towards Valenciennes) to yeld them what succours they should demand, appointing the Earles of Boffu and Brabant for gouernors. The time limited being expired, the King sent to know their resolution: who answered, that if it pleased his Maiestie they would remaine his humble neighbours and friends, offering to furnish the armie with victuals, but it was not in their power to dispose any further of themselves, the Emperour hauing put a great garison into their towne.

Answer of them
of Cambray.

Vpon this answer the towne was adiudged for enemy, and the same day being the 8 of September, the Constable with two Regiments of men at Armes, and three or foure hundred light-horse, being followed by the Admirall with ten ensignes on foot, went to view the towne, where the Cannon played on them from all parts, and the souldiers sallied forth gallantly to skirmish, the which the French continued six dayes together, making a shew as if they would besiege the town: but the weather growing very rainy, they dislodged to the Castele of Cambray, from whence they marcht within two leagues of Valenciennes, whereas the Imperiall armie was lodged in a fort which they had made about a Culuerin shot from Valenciennes vpon the riuer of Escau.

And on the 17 of September, the French hauing left their baggage in their lodging with a good guard, the rest of the armie aduanced to seeke out the Imperials, and to present them battell. The Avant-currers going before, found many of their horsemen in battell, vpon a little hill, ready to fight: and hard by they tooke one on horsebacke, in habit of a merchant, as a spy, who gaue intelligence, that the Imperiall foreward had passed the riuer to come to fight with them, so being brought vnto the Constable, and sent by him vnto the King, he was the cause that the armie aduanced with all speed that might be, and was put in battaile: in the meane time the skirmish grew hote, many of the Imperiall armie sallied forth, which did greatly annoy the forlorne hopes.

French seeketh
Imperiall army.

During this skirmish the Imperiall armie was put in battaile within their fort. The Kings armie being likewise in battaile, and the skirmish growing still hote on either side, the Imperiall horsemen stood still vpon a little hill about three houres, as it seemes, expecting some aduantage: which the Constable foreseeing, hee commanded the light-horse-men to charge them, which they did with such resolution, as they forced them to retire vnto their trenches, which done, the French armie seeing they could not draw the Imperials out of their fort, retired backe againe vnto their lodging from whence they came, and from thence it marched within two leagues of Saint Quentin, where it was dislodged the 20 of September: which done, the King sent the Marshall of S. Andrew to E spoile the County of S. Pol: then in the end of October, hee puts part of his forces into garison, the rest hee dismiseth and sendeth away. Now our armes are laid aside vntill the next spring.

At the Spring the King diuided his forces into three armies. The first was commanded by the Prince of La Roche-sur-yon in Vermandois, being compounded of ten thousand foot, three hundred men at armes, and five or six hundred Argoletiers. The Constable had the charge of the second towards Crecy, containing five and twenty Ensignes of French, as many Suisses, two Regiments of Lanquenets, two thousand horse, some of them light-horse, and some Argoletiers, with some English and Scottish horsemen. The third (led by the Duke of Neuers) had twenty Ensignes of English and Scots, two Regiments of Lanquenets, three hundred men at armes, eight hundred light-horse, and shot on horsebacke, with two hundred Reifers, Pistoliers: and all three breathed nothing but reuenge, and desire to requite those confusions in Picardy.

New exploits

The Prince enters into Arthois: he spoiles, burnes, and defeats two Cornets of horse, hee kils two hundred vpon the place, and sends their colours to the King. The Constable takes Mariembourg, fortifies Rocroy, ruines the forts of Trelon, Glajon, Simay, and others built within two yeares. The Duke batters and takes the Castles of Orcimont and Beaurin by composition, ruines and burnes a great number of villages: then hauing (by the

The Duke of
Artois taken.

Cambray is
summoned by
the French
king.

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the taking of some strong places seated vpon the Meuz) opened the passage of the riuier, he A enters Liege and takes Agimont and Bouinies by assault, putting almost all the inhabitants to death, either by the sword, or by the hand of iustice, for that they presumed to stand against an armie Royall, and for their outrageous speeches: and to increase their punishment he burnt the towne: he assured himselfe of Castelhery and Valuin being abandoned, he tooke and spoiled Dinan, but hee preferred the female sexe from the violence of the Germanes, being fled into a Church. *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of Sauoy, by the death of his father *Charles* lately deceased, assembled his army with an intent (said hee) to fight with the French, if they advanced. We must try this braue resolution.

The King passeth the riuier of Sambre the 25 of Iuly, being followed by the D. of Ne- B uers: he enters the country of Hainault, spoiling, burning, and making all desolate, seeking to draw the enemy to fight. Some troopes charge euē vnto the suburbs of Niuelle, the first towne of Brabant: and for a note of their passage, they fire the said suburbs and villages thereabouts, so as many pleasant dwellings were consumed vnto ashes. The Duke of Sauoy flies the lists: and the armie marching towards Bains, (one of the chiefe towncs of Hainault) left nothing behinde it but teares, sighs, desolation, fire, smoake, and ashes: and to conclude, a mournfull scaffold whereon two great Princes played a horrible Tragedy, being cruelly incensed one against another. The castles and pleasant dwellings of the Gentlemen of the country, yea Bains it selfe, and Mary-mont that stately house, and others belonging to *Mary* Queene of Hungarie, sister to the Emperor, Tragny that goodly and proud castle, Reux, Hauets, with an infinit number of others, were (in reuenge of that goodly place of Folembray reduced to that estate, as they might well say, Here was Bains, here was Mary-mont, here was Tragny, Reux, and Hauets).

In the end the French (having spoiled the whole country) drew the Prince of Pied- mont to fight: the two armies incounter about the midst of August neere vnto Renty, where there was a sharpe incounter: the Imperiall fore-ward chargeth the D. of Guise his troopes, but to their confusion: he defeats them with the helpe of those succours that came speedily vnto him, he kills eight or nine hundred men, and strikes such a terror into the rest of the Imperiall armie, as they retire hastily into their campe, as hauing no more desire to fight. So the winter approaching, and want of forrage troubling the men at D armes, the King dismissed the Swisses and his Nobility: then leaving the D. of Vendosme Generall of the rest of the armie, he tooke from the enemy all meanes to endamage the Realme, but by sacking and burning of the country about Hesdin. The thirteenth day of March Pope *Iulius* the third died, *Marcel Cerein* borne in Tuscanie succeeded him: but soone after his election, death buried both his name and memory. *John Peter Caraffe* a Neapolitan, called Cardinal *Theatin*, the chiefe author of the Iesuits sect, held the Roman see, and called himselfe *Paul* the fourth. We shall this year quench the fires of the year past, but it shall kindle new combustions, both on this side, and beyond the Alpes. So as no affection to the publike good, but the onely indisposition of the ayre, hath made vs till now surcease our armes.

Philip sonne to the Emperor *Charles* had the year past married with *Mary* Queene of England by the decease of *Edward* the sixth, and whilst that England did flame on all sides, by reason of the burning fires against such as had shaken off the yoke of the Romish obedience, they did solicit our two warriors to pacifie their mutuall hatred by some firme and durable peace. Cardinal *Poole* an Englishman was employed therein, but without effect: for the fore was not yet ripe. The courtes of the Imperials made the French to attempt vpon castle Cambresis, the which was taken by scalado, and faire warres made vnto the Spaniards, and to victuall Mariembourg at diuers times, by *Bourdillon* Lieutenant to the Duke of Neuers, while on the other side *Francis* of Cleues Duke of Neuers, with the Admirall of Chastillon, Gouvernour in the absence of the D. of Vendosme (who F was goneto take possession of his new estates, false to him in right of his wife, by the death of *Henry* of Albret, and shall hereafter bee King of Nauarre, and Soueraigne of Beaugue order for the defence of the frontier,

But behold one of the trickes of our ordinarie confidence. Fifteene hundred of the Arrierban, and foure hundred foot with some garisons of Picardy, returned home laden with spoile, without fronts, (saith the Originally) without order, without feare of the enemy, and without courage. *Hausfiment* Gouvernour of Bapaume, being more vigilant, incou-

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ters them betwixt a wood, a village, and a riuier: chargeth them, and in a moment takes from them both their bootie and their liues at his discretion. The Hannuyers and Arreseians made a iest, that they had taken the Nobles of France without weight. The Imperials seeing Mariembourg victuall'd, opposed a Fort called Guiers, whence foraging all the neighbour country, they did starue Mariembourg. Twenty thousand foot, some ensignes of the old Spanish bands, and five or six thousand Reistres, vnder the command of Count *Barlemont*, camped about this fort, to hinder another victualling, conducted by the duke of Neuers, the Admirall, *Sanjac*, *Bourdillon*, and others, with eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light-horse, and some eight thousand foot.

B The 26 of Iuly, the French horse charge the Reistres, and drue them into their fort: then seeing the Imperials loth to make any farther adventure, the time being very rainie and vnseasonable, want of forrage, cold, hunger, and many other difcommodities caused them to found a retreat, and to leaue the third victualling of Mariembourg, to *Sanjac* and *Bourdillon*: after the which the rigour of the season, and the injuries of the aire, forced both parties to liue in rest. The King hauing then gotten from *John* of Brosse Duke of E-stampes the rights which hee pretended to the Duchy of Britanie in the right of the house of Blois, he gaue him in exchange the Earldome of Ponthieure. Whilst they remaine quiet vpon the frontier, let vs visit them beyond the mountains. The Marshall of Brissac had the winter past, seized vpon Yuree and Bielle: the Spring hee had fortified S.

W. beyond the Alpes.

C *Iaco*, taken Crepacuore, surprized (by the industry of Captaine *Saluafion* Gouvernour of Verre) Cazal, the store-house of victuall and munition, prepared for the Imperials for the recouerie of Piedmont, ruined Poman, Saint *Saluador*, and other small places not to be held, and vneasily fortified in any short time. About the end of Iuly, the Duke of Alua, successor to *Gonzagua* in the government of Lombardie, went to field with twenty thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and forty Cannons, who at the first besieged Saint *Iaco*: but he found good resistance, *Birague* and *Vimerca* commanding in the place, forced him to retire, and to fortifie at the bridge of Sture, hoping to vanquish those by famine, who had repulsed his attempts by force. The Marshall being fortified from the King, with foure thousand horse, and fourteen thousand foot, led by the duke

D of Anguieu, Prince of Conde, the Dukes of Aumale and Nemours, the Vidame of Chartres, *Aubigni*, *Connor*, *Vantador*, & *Vrse*, *la Chastre* and *Lude*, with a great number of voluntarie Gentlemen, besieged Vulpian, defeated the succours which the Duke of Alua sent, took the high and the low towne by force, and the castle by composition. Montcaluo took town and castle (after the dismantling of Vulpian) followed the Conquerors fortune: the French made these conquests in September and October: some dayes after, the Dukes troopes had by meanes of an Ambush layed neere vnto Incise (where some French were slaine and others taken) a small reuenge for their losses at Vulpian and Montcaluo: the remainder of the year was more quiet. But before wee proceed, let vs speake something of the warres of Siena, which beginning long before, were ended this

E year.

The insupportable behaviour of *Don Diego* of Mendosa, Gouvernour of Siena for the Emperor, had driuen the Citizens to put themselves into the Kings protection, and to bring into their citie foure thousand men, vnder the command of the Earle of Pettillano, who being entred, force the Spaniards, kill some, and expell the rest by composition. These men chased from Siena, seize vpon Orbitello and fortifie it. After the siege of Metz, the Emperor sent *Don Garfie* of Toledo Viceroy of Naples, with fifteene hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot, to spoile the Country of Siena: and the King to crosse him, sends the Lord of Termes with twelue thousand foot, besides the Inhabitants of the country, all hauing vowed to roote out the government of the Spaniards. Termes being F entred, he provided for the fortification of the citie, and assured himselfe of Montelice, Montelle, and Montekin against the threats of the Viceroy, and of *Ascanius de la Corne*, attending the arrival of *Peter Streffy* who came with the title of Lieutenant General for the King, with a good troupe of men at armes.

Streffy being arriued, he makes new leauius in Italy. *Cosmo* Duke of Florence giues intelligence to the Pope and Emperor, and all ioyne together to send home the French, giuing the charge of their common army to *James de Medicis* Marquis of Marignan. The Marquis besiegeth Siena, and at his first approach had almost surpris'd it by night, the fortifications

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tifications being not yet finished. The Sienois withstand him, give him the repulse, and kill many of his men. He then incamps before the towne, spoiles the country, and had already reduced them to want, while that *Stroffy* was busied to provide for the other places within the estate of Siena. *Stroffy* comes into the towne, and goes presently to field againe with six hundred men; he surpriseth *Ralph Bailon* and *Ascanius de la Corne*, who had an enterprize vpon Chiusi: he defeats their troopes, kills *Bailon*, and sends *Ascanius* prisoner to the King.

The King relieved him with new supplies in Tuscane, and likewise in the Ile of Corsica, where the Lord of Termes had taken from the Genouois (partisans to the Emperor) the Townes of Saint *Florent*, and Saint *Boniface* a port of the sea. These last succours consisted of five thousand Suisses and Gascons, with some light horse. And whilst they take breath in Siena, *Stroffy* makes a second fallie, with five hundred good horse, and six thousand choice foot, takes Montcalin and Montcarlo from the Duke of Florence, and by this stratagem hee forceth the Marquis to leave Siena for to succour the Florentine: then seeing the Marquis fortified with new troopes, hee returns with his men to Siena. Moreover, *Leo* brother to *Peter Stroffy* ranne along the coast of Tuscane, and spoiled the ports belonging to the duke of Florence. But as he approached too neere to Scarlin, to discover the place, he was slain with a shot. *Stroffy* to revenge his death, comes to continue the siege, attending the succours which the Lord of Montluc brought. *Montluc* being arrived, *Stroffy* makes an armie compounded of six hundred Italians, two thousand Gascons, two thousand Suisses, two thousand five hundred Lanquenets, and about a thousand horse, with which troopes he resolved to fight with the enemy, if he presented himselfe: having left the guard of Siena to *Montluc*, hee went to batter Chiuselle in the territory of Florence.

The Marquis goes to succour it, and at his arrival chargeth *Stroffy*, who makes head against him, and both the one and the other bathe the field with a great effusion of blood. *Stroffy* leaves Chiuselle, to set vpon Foian, a strong and rich place: hee batters it, and the first day takes it by assault, cutting *Charles Frin* in pieces with all those that kept it, spoiles it, and abandons all to fire and sword. But see a troublesome Catastrophe. The Marquis approacheth better furnished with artillery, and *Stroffy* marcheth towards Montpulcian, favouring the retreat of his men, with many and rough skirmishes: then the Italians, being the chiefe strength of his army, slip from him, and leave him much inferior to the Marquis: who following with speed, overtook him betwixt Marian, Lucignan and Foyan, and gives him bataille. *Stroffy* entertaines it, and with a bloody fight gives testimony of his valour. But *Bighet* an Italian, being ensigne Colonell of the army, turns his backe cowardly: and the French saving their lives after him by the nimbleness of their legges, leave the horse, the Gascons and the Suisses to endure the charge, who had rather dye with their armes in their hands, then turne their backs. *Bighet* and the Earle of Alte were afterwards beheaded, the first as being the principall cause of this defeat: the other for that he had cowardly yielded Lufignan, a place impregnable. They reckon two thousand five hundred slain (some say four thousand) besides a great number wounded to the death, and five or six hundred prisoners. *Stroffy* saved himselfe in Montcalin, and the Marquis recovered Foyan, Martian, Lucignan, and some other places, which euen then began to force the Sienois to obey the Conquerors command, who camped before their towne with all his forces. *Montluc* comforts them, and confirms their resolutions: but the coming of *Stroffy* with two ensignes of foot, and two companies of men at armes, saved in this shipwrecke, reuived them more: the which hee did hazard in favour of the besieged vpon a report of the death of *Montluc*. *Montluc* foreseeing, that bread would sooner faile the besieged, then courage, had already set an order for euery mans diet. The Marquis repulsed by the losse of six hundred men, at a scalded giuen in the night to the Cittadell, and the fort of Camollia: and finding that by skirmishes, batteries, assaults, intelligences, or other stratagems, hee should neuer be master of Siena: hee resolves vpon the longer, but the more easie expedient: so as the watches, the toyles, the diseases, and worst of all, famine and despair of succour, forced *Montluc* the twenty one of April this year, to save the rest of his men by an honorable composition, which is read at large, in the history of the warres of Italy. Siena fell afterwards into the hands of the Duke of Florence, and the Marquis, for that hee had prolonged the warre of Siena,

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A Siena, contrary to the Emperors liking, and wasted a mighty armie before it, dyed in disgrace, in the end of the same year.

Now the Emperour (whose humour we haue sufficiently learned by the discourse of the History) thinking vnder the burthen of the affaires of this world, wearied with the toyles of warre, toucht with some remorse for the blood spilt in those long and mournfull warres of Christendome, being perswaded, that his discord with our King, had made the Turke to preuaile much in diuers parts of Europe, his comming of late in fauour of the French, to the Ile of Corfe, to assist them at the siege of Caluis, and Saint *Boniface*: to aide them to conquer the Islands, then in their retreat to spoile the coast of Tuscane, to besiege Plombin, and the Ile of Elbe, of the territory of Florence: to assist the estates of Naples, Sicilia and Calabria, with infinit miseries, and being laden with great spoiles, to cary away with controll, and to sell infinit numbers of Christian soules at Constantinople and other places.

These considerations caused him to call *Philip* his sonne from England to Bruxelles; where by autentike letters, of the five and twentieth day of October, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him: commanding all his estates and subiects, to acknowledge him as their true and lawfull King, he aduised him particularly, amongst other exhortations, to make a peace, and entertaine loue with the French King, vnting their common forces, rather for the defence, then oppression of Christendome. King *Philip* following his fathers aduice, and being solicited by *Mary* Queene of England his wife, was inclined to a Peace: for the effecting whereof, after many voyages, a truce was concluded for five years. The Earle of Lalaine came to Blois to see the King sweare the truce, and the Admirall of Chastillon went to Bruxelles to the Emperour and King *Philip*, but this truce was as soon broken as made.

During the continuance of this truce, one called *Villegagnon* a Knight of Malta armed certaine ships, and made a voyage to America, promising to doe wonders for the King in this new world. But his vnstedfast spirit, and his vnusd dealing expell him, so as hee performed nothing of worth. If this enterprize had incountered a discret Commander, there had bene a port open for the execution of great matters, but the gouernour of the world had beene otherwise disposed.

Paul the fourth was enemy to the Spaniards: and the *Colonne* suspecting him to be of the French faction (as in truth the house of *Caraffe* had of old time fauoured the title of our Kings, to the realme of Naples) fought to assure their estates and persons. To this end they held some secret assemblies within Rome, in the houles of *Marc Anthony Colonne*, and the Cardinal of Saint Fiore, enemies to the house of France. The Pope to crosse them imprisons this Cardinal in the Castle of S. Angelo, with *Camillo Colonne*, *Julian Cesarin*, and the Abbort of Breslegue: he summons *Marc Anthony*, and plants guards and Sentinels throughout all the Citie. The *Colonne* and their adherents, fly to the Castilian. He commands the D. of Alua to succour them. The Duke marcheth with that designe, and takes E from the Pope about Rome Anagnio, Pilaftine, Segne, Tiouli, and by the siege and taking of Ostia, cuts off the victuals from Rome, and the *Colonne* fortifying themselves about Rome, kept the Pope mewed vp within compasse of his walls.

The Pope appeales to the King for aide, and sends him by his Nephew the Cardinal *Caraffe* a triumphant hat with a stately word. Our two Kings did not greatly loue: their ancient hatred and discontents were yet fresh, and their household flatterers (to whom common confusions did serue as a ladder to aduance their estates and to enrich their houses, whereas peace sends the most of them home to liue privately) were glad that Rome kindled the coales of new quarrels betwixt their masters. So the French (meaning to crosse the Castilian, in fauour of the Pope) sent *Stroffy* (Marshall of France in the place of the Lord of Sedan, lately deceased after his returne from prison out of the Low-Countries) to oppose against the Spaniards, attending the succours led by the Duke of Guise. The Duke of Guise arrived at Turin, with about fiftene thousand foot, eight hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred light-horse, being assured of supplies as soon as the warres should begin: having ioyned his forces with those of the Marshall of Brisac, he marcheth directly to Valencia, making this his colour, that the garison had shot at the French going to succour the Pope: and for that it was secretly giuen out that the French had taken Paulia, he amazeth *Spulerin*, who kept the towne with two

The Emperour
resignes his
Kingdome to
his sonne.

A truce for
five years.

Duke of Guise
comes into
Picamont.

Valencia taken;

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thousand men: summons him to yeeld, threatening him to put all to fire and sword, if hee **A** enter by force. Thus *Spoluerin* being terrified, departs with baggage and baggage; and loseth his head at *Paui* for a reward of his base cowardise.

The duke of Guise being come to *Thurin* in January 1557: the chiefe towne in Piedmont, the Spaniards fortified Milan, and refresheth the garisons of all places of importance in Italy. The duke of Florence armed, and lodged troopes vpon the frontiers of Ferrara, manning Florence and other townes of his obedience, especially towards *Bolonia*. The Duke of Alua fortified the townes in the Realme of Naples, and along the sea coast in Calabria. So as all Italy was in alarm, and stood vpon their guards. On the other side, *Stroffy*, *Montele* and others which were in Rome, issue forth with 600 horse, and five thousand foot, recover *Ofsia* by composition, and expell the Spaniards from *Velitres*, *Tusculum*, *Marin*, *Grotteferate*, *Palestin*, *Saint Angelo*, *Saint Paul*, *Vico*, *Valerio*, and other small places in the territories of Rome. The duke of Aluaes retreat had opened the way to Rome for the duke of Guise, presuming vpon the convention lately made betwixt the King, the Pope, and the duke of Ferrara: whereby the Pope should furnish twenty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and the charge of the army: the King the like number of foot, and 2000 horse: the Duke six thousand foot, two hundred men at armes, six hundred light-horse, and twenty pieces of battery. But Popes haue commonly advanced their affaires at their costs that haue beleued them, and then haue abandoned them very lightly that haue assisted them at their need. The duke of Guise comming to *Bolonia*, findes no men in field, neither were the Popes coffers open, and it may be, if they had not toucht this string, the expedition had been more successful.

In the meane time the French armie decreased for want of pay, the Spaniards increased, and the Ferrarois in stead of assisting, craued aide of the duke of Guise his sonne-in-law. What could our men doe, but study of their returne into France? but the Pope had not yet firmly settled his affaires: and if he had long remained alone betwixt two stools, without doubt the Spaniard would haue ouer-ruled him. And therefore, to stay the duke of Guise, he sweares, *Not to treat any accord without the Kings consent, and that for assurance thereof he would send his Duke of Palliane for hostage into France*. But it was rather to attend the successe of the affaires of Picardy, where they prepared a Theater to play a bloody Tragedie, then with any intent to discharge his oath. The Admirall having, by the taking and spoile of *Lens* in Artois, begunne the warre in Picardie, the Prince of Piedmont accompanied with *Ernest* and *Henry* Dukes of Brunswicke, the Duke of Arles (newly come out of prison) the Earles of Mansfield, Aiguemont, Meigne and Builemont, leading fortie thousand foote, and fiftene thousand horse: ten thousand English foot and fiftene hundred horse, came soone after that to his succour. The Prince of Piedmont, hauing newly proclaimed warre against the King, came and threatened Guise, but in effect it was to besiege *Saint Quentin* being vnfortified of men.

The Admirall resolved to enter it, and parted from *Pierrepont* the second of August, with foure companies of men at armes and three of light-horse. Being at *Han*, he was forced (by reason of the halt of his voyage) to content himselfe with two companies of footmen: the third part whereof entred with him into *Saint Quentin*, the rest remained behinde, and were forced to retire, for that the towne was in a manner all inuaded. The Constable being aduertised what past within the towne, he sent the Prince of Conde generally of the light-horse, the Marshall of *Saint Andrew* with foure hundred men at armes, and the Lord of *Andelot* with ten companies on foot, to put themselves into *Han*, as well to annoy the enemy, as to refresh *Saint Quentin* if they could: *Andelot* offered to enter with two hundred men, whilst that a generall alarm should be giuen vnto the enemy, but the enterprise being discovered by some prisoners, he could not effect it, but with a small number.

In the meane time the Spanish army was fortified with ten thousand English foot, and about fiftene hundred horse. The Constable desirous to see them that were within *Saint Quentin*, caused his armie to passe the riuer beneath *La Fere*, and on the tenth day of August being *Saint Laurence* day, marched towards *Saint Quentin*, where they arrived about nine of the clocke in the morning, and put themselves in bataille, at the suburbs of *Ille*, which the Spaniards had won, whom they chased away. In the meane time the artillerie played vpon the Prince of Piedmonts campe, and caused great disorder, during the

The Admirall
persuaded him
into Saint
Quentin

Constable leads
his army to
S. Quentin

1557

A the which the Constable put what succours he could into the towne. The Spanish army rehelued suddenly to ioyne with the Constable, and to force him to fight: whereupon the prince of Piedmont and the Earle of Egmont ioynd.

The Constable making his retreat, without any intent to fight, hee ioynd with the Prince of Conde, who made a stand with the light-horse-men nere vnto a Wind-mill, and they two together without losse, ioynd with the body of the army. The enemy followed them close with eight great battalions of horse: the Earle of Egmont (who that day did great seruice vnto his master) was the first which charged the French on the one side with 2000 horse: *Ernest*, and *Henry*, dukes of Brunswic, seconded by the Earle of **B** Horne, with 2000 Reistres and one thousand men at armes, fell vpon the other side: The Earle of Mansfield with other Commanders, forced the midst with such violence, as the French were ouerthrowne: for though the party were very vnequall, yet they did fight, whereas the Constable was wounded and taken prisoner, with the Dukes of Montpensier, and Longueville, the Prince of Mantoue, the Marshall of *S. Andrew*, with many other Noblemen, and Gentlemen of marke. The chiefe of them that were slaine, were *Iohn* of Bourbon duke of Anguien, the Vicount of Turenne (the Constables sonne-in-law) the elder brother of *Roche du Maine*, the Lords of Chandenier, Pontdormy, with very many others, and in a manner all the foot Captaines, who seeing the horsemen put themselves into a square battalion, but they were presently broken; part of them were cut in pieces, and the rest taken prisoners. This bloody battaile lasted foure or five houres, the victors pursued them within a league of *La Fere*, and it hath beene held strange how so great a number escaped, seeing their amazement. The Prince of Conde, the duke of Nevers, the Earle of Sancerre, and the Lords of Bourdillon, Grammont, Crueccour, Piennes, Descars and others escaped. *Montmarancy* the Constables eldest sonne tooke another way. There was a great amazement at Paris by reason of this defeat, where they had lost a number of men, whereof writers speake diuersly, some say five thousand; others report eight thousand, slaine vpon the place. The King retired from Compiegne to Paris, assured his capitall city, and drew from them a Subsidie of 30000 pounds sterling to supply his vrgent affaires: whilst that King Philip receiving the ensignes taken from the French, and seeing the prisoners led before his lodging as it were in triumph, he contented himselfe with his victory, not entring any farther into France, the which many townes did apprehend.

As for the besieged in *Saint Quentin*, King Philip comming to the campe, the battery was furious, and the besieged could not be relieved, but with three hundred men, whereof two third parts were slaine seeking to enter. Their towers and defences were beaten downe with the Cannon, and the Spaniards were become masters of the ditch, on the seventh day of August, the besieged (who were not above eight hundred men (distributed into eleuen breaches) endured a generall assault, and could not be forced: But the towne was taken by a Tower which no man guarded. The French souldiers were **E** in a manner all slaine. The Admirall, his brother (who escaped foore after) *Larnac*, *Saint Remy*, *Humes* with many other Gentlemen of marke were taken prisoners. The sonne of the Lord of Fayette, with the Captaines *Saluerti*, *Ogier*, *Vicquet*, *La Barre*, *Eslang* and *Gourdes* were slaine.

After the taking of *Saint Quentin*, the Earle of Aremberg with twelue hundred horse, and three Regiments of Lansquenets, besieged *Castelet* and made a furious battery. The Baron of Solignac commanding there, seeing himselfe destitute of succours that were promised, that the place was not to be defended against an assault, hauing not three hundred men, and those not very resolute, he yielded vp the place without fighting, for the which he was caried captiue to Paris, and had lost his life if he had not escaped out of prison, for that hee had promised (as they said) not to leaue the place without an assault. **F** After which the Spaniards taking *Han*, *Chauny*, and all other places that might annoy them in Picardy, made their victory absolute. Thus the Spanish forces had a happy season, and the Pope resolved to leane to the stronger. These losses make him easily forget the speedy succours hee had found in France: so as at the first approach of the duke of Alua, he sends him a blanke, by the Cardinal *Cerast*, and renouncing in September following the league made with the King, he made frustrate all his designs against Italy. Doubtlesse the counsell of the Constable, the Admirall, and many others, aduising to maintaine

Constable
charged in his
retreat

Saint Quentin
taken by assault

The Pope
conciles him
selfe to the
Spaniards

A great inundation at Rome

the truce, was farre more expedient, then this light and painfull enterprife in fauour of a Pope, who was content to haue imbarcked vs in a new Labyrinth of confusions, whereof we shall not be freed, without a mournfull and exemplary spectacle. To reach Princes: that an accord confirmed by a reciprocall oath; ought to be holy and inuiolable. So this reconciliation was made famous by a strange wonder. The same day, and the day after this peace was concluded, almost a third part of the buildings of Rome, and a great number of Christians perished, by a sudden and violent inundation of Tiber.

The King being at Paris during these tempests, as he went to heare masse, a yong man named *Caboché*, borne at Meaux, who had long followed the Court and serued the Secretaries of State, by reason of his faire writing, whether that he was distract of his wits, or thrust on for some other consideration; came and presented himselfe before the King, with a naked sword in his hand, and cried out aloud, *Stay King, God hath commanded me to kill thee*. Whereupon the Suisses of the Kings guard apprehended him presently, whom the King caused to be deliuered into the hands of iustice to determine of his offence: whereupon the Court of Parliament caused *Caboché* to be hanged for this attempt.

There was some likelihood, that *Philip* after his victory at Saint Quentin would haue entred further into the realme with his armie: but vnderstanding that the King expected a supply of fourteene thousand Suisses, and prepared his campe at Laon, he was content to fortifie his last conquests: and so gaue the King meanes to stay the troopes, which the dukes of Guise and Aumale brought out of Italy to chase the Baron of Polleuille from Bourg in Bresse, the which he besieged in the duke of Savoie name, with twelue hundred horse, and twelue thousand foot. The duke of Guise being come with his army out of Italy to the King being at Saint Germaine in Lay, he was by reason of the Constables imprisonment declared his Lieutenant generall. Should the King then suffer the courage of these forces newly arriued to quail, with idleness, when as hee might profitably employ them? The English had held Calais from vs two hundred and ten yeares: the Constables imprisonment had hindred the execution of a designe which he and the Admiral his Nephew had vpon this towne, by the meanes of *Senarpont* Gouverneur of Boullon. But now they winne that by force, which they could neuer get by policy or industry. His Maiesty declares the duke of Guise his Lieutenant Generall in all his countries: he leaues two armies, the one he giues to the Duke of Guise: the other, to the Duke of Neuers. The first aduanceth vnder colour to hinder the victualing of Saint Quentin. The other turning towards Luxembourg, drawes the Spaniards and Wallons to the defence thereof: then suddenly he sends his forces to the duke of Guise, who marcheth with all speed against Calais. In this armie, among many others, were the Princes of Conde and Roche-sur-yon, the duke of Aumale, and Marquis of Elbeuf brethren, the Marshall *Stroffy*, *Montmorency*, eldest sonne to the Constable, the Lords of Andelot, Termes, Grandmont, Creuecoeur, Piennes, Randan, Allegre, Sanfic, Tauanes, Senarpont, *Esfree* master of the Ordnance, and *Goardan*, who lost a legge in this action.

Calais taken.

The French armie appeared the first day of Ianuary, and at the first arriual takes the fort of Nieullay: and the next day, that of Risban. Thus the way to the towne being opened, and the besieged suddenly surprized, without hope of speedy succours, first the castle, and then the towne returned to the obedience of this crowne, as gladly, as wee haue seene here ancient Burgesses bid their poore and desolate country mournfully farewell, in the yeare 1347. The county of Oye, and all the forts the English held there, returned likewise to the subiection of their first and lawfull Lord, Guines, and other places dismantled, spare the cost which should be consumed in the defence thereof. The same moneth the King called a generall Parliament at Paris, where he had a grant of three millions of gold for the warre, and then he went to visit Calais, and gaue the government to *M. de Termes*. On the other side, the duke of Neuers did take for the King, the castle of Herbecmont: the forts of Iamogne, Chigny, Rossignol and Villeneufue. Thus their sorrow was turned into ioy, their hearts panting yet with that bloody battaile of Saint Laurence. The Court was partaker of this ioy, celebrating the 23 day of Aprill, in the midst of these prosperities, the marriage of *Francis* Dauphin of Viennois, with *Mary Steward* Queene of Scotland, daughter to *James* the 5, and *Mary* of Lorraine, daughter of *Claude* D. of Guise, and widow before to the duke of Longueuille.

During these happy victories, and conjunctions of alliances: the Duchesse Dowager of

The Dauphin married to Mary Queene of Scotland.

A of Lorraine, laboured to increase these solemn and publike ioyes, by the conclusion of a peace betwixt the two Kings. The Cardinal brother to the Duke of Guise, met with her at Peronne to that intent: but this parle without effect, hastened the execution of an enterprife vpon Theonville, the which being battered from the fifth, to the 21 day of Iune with five and thirty Cannons, and the mynes ready to play, receiued an honourable composition. The proiect of this prize is giuen to the Duke of Neuers, the glory of the execution, to the duke of Guise: and the duke of Nemours, the Marshall of Stroffy (who was slaine there, with a shot vnder his left pap, the duke of Guise leaning on his shoulder, as they caused a plat-forme to be vndermined) the Lords of Montluc, Vielleuille, and Bourdillon, had the honour to haue giuen good testimonies of their valours in this prize. Chigny taken afterwards from the Wallons, was fortified: Arlon, Villedont, and Rossignol, burnt and made vnprofitable for the warre.

The English in the meane time, spoiled the coasts of Normandie and Picardy: and the King to stop their courses, prepares two small armies, one at la Fere, vnder the Duke of Aumale: the other at Calais, vnder the Marshall of Termes, who succeeded *Stroffy*. The Marshall attempts Berghes (they feared not the French there, and the towne which the Spaniards held vpon that coast were ill furnished) he takes it, sacks it, and by that meanes opens the way to Dunkerke. Dunkerke being taken and spoiled in foure dayes, enriched both the souldiers, and boyes of the armie.

C But the Flemings force them to make restitution: the Marshall camped before Graue line: and the Cont *Aiguemont* Lieutenant for the King of Spain in the Low-countries, hauing speedily assembled out of the neighbour garisons, and of other forces, about sixteene thousand foot, a thousand or twelue hundred Reistres and two thousand horse, cuts off his way vpon the Riuier of A, which comes from Saint Omer, and forceth him to fight.

At the first charge, the French armie overthrowes some squadrons of horse: but at the second shocke, the Marshall is hurt and taken, with *Villebon*, *Senarpont*, *Morvilliers* and *Chauue*, a great number of captaines and souldiers are slaine vpon the place, and all the troops lo discomfited, as of all the companies of men at armes, of three coronets of light horse, fourteene ensignes of French foot, and eightene of Lanquenes, few escaped death or imprisonment: a wound which reuiued the scarce of Saint Laurence, and did frustrate the Duke of Guise his enterprife vpon Luxembourg: but it was partly recompenced by the Lord of Kerfimon, vpon six or seuen thousand English and Flemings which landed at the haven of Conquet, spoiling, and burning the weakest parts of the coast of Britany. This was in the end of Iuly. The duke of Guise sayling of Luxembourg, came to lodge at Pierepont in Tiraiche, and there fortified with seuen corners of Reistres, brought by *William*, yonger sonne to *John Fredericke* Elector of Saxony, and a new regiment of Lanquenes, led by *Iacob* of Ausbourg, made the French armie as strong, as the yeare before. About others, were most apparant the companies of the Duke of Guise, Lieutenant Generall, of the Dukes of Montpensier, Neuers, Aumale, Bouillon, Nemours, Saxony, Lunembourge, of the Prince of Roche-sur-yon, of the Prince of Salerne, of the Cont *Charry*, the Marshall *S. Andre*, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and of the Lords of Roche-foucault, Randan, *Corton*, *Montmorency* (the Constables eldest sonne) *Efcheneis*, *Roche-du-Maine*, *Jenlis*, *La Vauguion*, *Bourdillon*, *Tauanes* and *Beauuais*. The light horse of the Earles of Eu and Roissy, of the Lords of Valette, Bueil, Laigny, Rottigort, Lombay and others, whereof the duke of Nemours was Generall, and so great a number of Germanes, Suisses, and Frenchmen, as this flourishing armie (lodging neere to Amiens, along the riuier of Somme) prevailed much for the treaty of peace, which followed soone after.

F *Philip* had his armie likewise vpon the riuier of Anthy, both intrenched and fortified with artillery, as if they meant to continue there, and in time to tire one another. Some monthes passe without any other exploit then in roads and light skirmishes. In the end, the eternal God of armes, who from his heauely throne beheld the feat of these two mighty armies, changed the bitterness of former warre into a pleasing peace, confirmed by alliances the yeare following. The Abbey of Cercamp vpon the confines of Arthois and Picardy, gaue the first entry. And as the Constable (being freed from prison) the Mar- shall of Saint Andrew, the Cardinal of Lorraine, *Morvilliers* Bishop of Orleans, and

The Marshall of Termes defeated.

M m 3

Subscript

Ambrosine Secretarie of State, assembled for the King, treated with the Duke of Alua, the A Prince of Orange, *Regimes de Sines*, Cup-bearer to King *Philip*, *Granduile* Bishop of Arras, and *Vilge* of Zuichem, President of the Councell of State for the Low-countries: behold the death of *Charles* the fifth Emperour, chancing in September, and that of *Mary* Queene of England, in the middest of Nouember, changed both the place, and the time of this conclusion.

Castle-Cambresis had the honour to finish it at the second conference, the which was confirmed by the mariages, of *Philip* with *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to King *Henry*: of *Philibert Emanuel* duke of Sauoy, with *Marguerite* the Kings onely sister: and of *Charles* duke of Lorraine, with *Claude* a younger daughter of France. The King yielded to the B Castilian all that he had taken from him, as well on this side, as beyond the mountaines. To the Sauoyard, he restored *Bresse*, *Sauoy* and *Piedmont*: to the *Genouois*, the Isle of *Corse*, and about foure hundred places more conquered, during these fatal and pernicious warres, which had made so many Provinces desolate, ruined to many castles, villages and townes, drunke so much Christian blood, and slaine so many millions of men of all qualities, retaining nothing but the territories of *Boullen* and *Calais*. Thus the wind doth suddenly drink vp, all the toyle, all the trauels, all the sweat of many ages. And the Lord saith vnto man: *Thou foole, this night will I take thy soule from thee, and who shall haue the things which thou hast prepared?* And, *All men are vaine, doubtlesse man labours for a shadow, hee troubleth himselfe for nothing.*

The King being at peace with his foraine enemies, with whom euery man thought there should be eternall alliances, he was counselled to continue his seuerer proceedings against his subiects of the religion, the which had increased much during the troubles, for the redressing whereof there needed no violent, but spirituall remedies: many ill aduised Councillors to this Prince (who of himselfe was of a milde and temperate disposition) made him conceiue a wonderfull hatred against them of the said religion, filling his eares with vnworthy reports. The Lord of *Andelot* was the first that smarted, being sent prisoner to *Melun* for his religion. This caused many discontents and ialousies amongst great houses, which was the cause of great mischief after the death of *Henry*.

The prisons were full of such as they called *Lutherans*, and even then many noble families were toucht with that cause. Moreouer, many officers of the Parliament, wished a milder proceeding against those prisoners. This diuersitie caused an assembly, which they called *Mercuriale*, to heare the opinion of presidents and counsellors vpon this controvertie, the which the King was required to countenance with his presence. *Anne du Bourg* vsed a great libertie of speech: some others did second his opinion. This freedome transported the King into choller: hee commands the Constable to put them in prison, and vowes to see them burnt within few dayes, if they persist. But oh Prince: *The yeeres of thy account are come, and thou entrest into a path from which thou shalt no more returne.* The Constable deliuiers them to the Count *Montgomery*, captaine of his Maiesties guards, who leads *Bourg* to the Bastile, and the rest to diuers other prisons. Let vs not iudge hereby, but admire how soeuer, the iudgements of God: in that we shall see these three personages, euery one in his ranke, die an extraordinarie and tragicall death.

In the meane time the Courtiers made all the inuentions that might bee for sports and delights, to solemnize the mariage of the Kings daughters and sister, the which in outward appearance seemed to bring a great happinesse to France: But the sighs of prisoners for matter of religion, the horrible punishments and executions of others, the earnest prayers of infinit families threatned, who found by experience that this peace was concluded betwixt the French and the Spaniard, to make an irreconcilable warre against them, were the windes which drew from aboue these wonderfull alterations, which the wise prouidence of God did let them see soone after. *Elizabeth* of France, hauing beene conducted by the King her father, to our Ladies Church at Paris, was there married with great state and triumph, by the Duke of Alua, who had procuracion from the King of Spaine his master, the ceremony was done by the Cardinall of Bourbon, where there assisted many Princes, Noblemen, Cardinals, and Prelates, from all the parts of the realme, with an infinite number of the Kings officers and household seruants: there also assisted the Duke of Sauoy, the Prince of Orange, the Earle of Egmont, and a great number of other Noblemen of the Low-countries: after all their sumptuous banquets, sports,

Councillors of
the Parliament
imprisoned.

A maskes and dauncing, followed the last act which changed all these pleasing Comedies and sports, into a bloodie and mournfull Tragedy, whereof the King was the lamentable prologue, for hauing published a solemn running at the Tilt, the King (contrary to the aduice of many who besought him to leaue that exercise to others who would giue him content) would needs be one of the challengers, being seconded by the Dukes of Guise and Ferrara: but the second day of this Tournay, after that he had runne well, being intreated by the Queene to retire, wherein the Duke of Sauoy laboured also, hee sent her word by the Marshall of Montmorency, that he would runne but once, and that for her sake, he sent a Lance to the Earle of Montgomery. The Earle excuseth himselfe to B runne against his Maiestie: the day before hee could not hit any one, and it may bee now he feared a second shame. But hauing a second charge from the King to enter the Listes, hee runnes, and breaks his Lance vpon the Kings Cuirasse, and with a splinter thereof (his Beauer being somewhat open) strikes him so deepe into the eye, as the tenth of Iuly his soule left his body, in the house of Tournelles, the foure and fortieth yeare of his age.

The death of
King Henry.

The day before his death he would haue the mariage of the Duke of Sauoy and of the Lady *Marguerite* his sister, celebrated in his chamber, and that whatsoeuer had beene accorded vnto the Duke by the Treaty of peace, should be fully performed. His heart was interred in the Celestines Church in the Dukes of Orleans Chappell. His royall Obsequy was celebrated on the thirteenth day of August, and his body was layd at Saint Denis in the common tombe of the French Kings: during this Princes reigne, there were two great finnes crept into France, *Archeisme* and *Magicke*, whereunto was ioyned the corruption of all good learning: for the knowledge thereof, being brought in by King Francis the first, was in many curious and malicious spirits an occasion of all wickednesse, especially in that multitude of French Poets, who by their impure rimes, full of blasphemies ouerthrew a number of soules.

He had by *Katherine de Medicis* his wife, siue sonnes and siue daughters. *Francis* his successor, of the age of sixteene or seuentene yeares, *Louis* Duke of Orleans, who liued few moneths: *Charles-Maximilian*, *Edward*, *Alexander*, afterwards named *Henry* the third, and *Hercules*, afterwards called *Francis*. *Elizabeth* married to *Philip* King of Spaine, *Claude* to *Charles* Duke of Lorraine, *Marguerite* to *Henry* of Bourbon, then King of Navarre, *Jane* and *Viviana* twinnes, who died soone after their birth. Hee was a religious Prince, goodly, of a mild disposition, peaceable, affable, not greatly subiect to passions, generous, louing his seruants and men of merit: but voluptuous, and not able to discouer in due time the ambition and couetousnesse of such as possessing him, made sale of lawes, iustice, offices, and spirituall liuings, empied the subiects purses, and nourished the warres which wee haue before obserued, namely, since the breach of the truce: finding such sweetnesse, profit, and honour, in the managing of the treasure, and commanding of the Kings armies in the voyage of Italy, and especially in this last Lieutenantcy in Picardy, as hereafter we shall see a young Prince reigne like a shadow, and they being seized of the gouernment of his person and of his Realme, shall dispossesse the chiefe Officers of the Crowne, keepe backe the Princes of the blood, the true and lawfull Gouernors of the State, the King being in his minority: and plot the means to raise their Race to the Royall Throne.

FRANCIS

FRANCIS the SECOND,

The 60 French King.



THIS Reigne is short, but very memorable. Wee see a Theater, whereon is acted a horrible Tragedy, a King young of yeares, and of iudgement, governed by his mother and his wifes vncles, and of a new forme of Court. The Princes of the blood haue now no more credit: and seeme to neglect both the publike and priuate interest. The Courtiers stand at a gaze, and for the most part stoop to the stronger. The Clergy shield themselves vnder those that kinde these fires in France. The Nobility wearied with former toyles, doe not yet wipe off the dust and sweat from their armes.

The people diuided for matter of Religion, and oppressed with the burthen of former warres, desires to breathe. The Constable holds his place: yet is he not so surely seated, but they will displace him. There are two factions in Court: the Constable holdeth the one, those of Guise the other. The first was firme and sincere, the last, cunning and pliable. The Queene Mother ioynes with the last. The King of Nauarre might crosse them, and therefore to be the better informed of his designs, shee entertaines seruants and pensioners about him. The Princes of the blood, the Constable, the Marshalls, the Admirall, and many other Noblemen, prepared for the funerals of the deceased King, when as the Duke of Guise and the Cardinall of Lorraine, leading the King, his brethren, and the Queenes to the Louvre, begin a strange alteration, a true patterne of the inconstancie of this world. The Duchesse of Valentinois had quietly governed the deceased King, and by her practices had caused *Francis Oliver*, a man of a singular reputation, and Chancellor of France, to be dismissed. At the first entry, shee is spoiled of her precious Jewels, which witnessed the Kings loue vnto her, to adorne the Queene that reigned: and by her disgrace, leaves the place to *Katherine*, to rule hereafter without companion.

The Queene Mother (who hated her extremly) was glad to see her thus disgraced, for that she would not lose the fauour of the House of Guise, who although they had beene aduanced by the Duchesse, yet seeing her to bee a weake support, they abandoned her, and ioynd with the other, who assisted them no lesse then the first. They took the scales from Cardinall *Bertrand*, and sent him to Rome: and from *Auançon* the Superintendence of the Treasure, yet he remained still in Court, for that it was not yet necessary to force him to seeke a new party.

The Marshall of Saint Andrew aduanced by the fauours of the deceased King, and made fit by the confiscations of them of the Religion, and by borrowing, which he neuer payd againe, hauing made offer of all that he had vnto them of Guise, he is receiued into their band, and *Oliver* restored to his Chancellorship.

The Constable seeing the King had made a declaration, that his meaning was they should addresse themselves for all matters concerning the estate of the Crowne and of his House, vnto his two Vncles, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorraine: and by consequence, his mortall enemy seated in his place, and executing that which belonged to his office of Constable and Lord Steward of France, yea in the presence of Spaniards and strangers who before had so much respected him: within few dayes after the death of *Henry*, he goes to the new King, and deliueres vp the Signet (which his deceased master had committed vnto him) who told him that the charge of the Treasure and of the affaires of State was giuen vnto the Cardinall, and the commandement of all that concerned the warre vnto the Duke: telling him withall, that he would retaine him still of his Council, and that he should be welcome when he came to Court. He thanked the King for giuing him leaue to retire himselfe, beseeching him to excuse him for not comming to Council, for two reasons: The one, for that he could not serue them whom he had alwayes commanded: The other, that being held an old dotard, his counsell was not necessary. Then offering his life and goods vnto the King, he went to visit the Queene mother, who entreated him roughly, reproaching him that he had told the deceased King

Two factions
in Court.

Alterations
in Courts.

The Duchesse
of Valentinois
is disgraced.

The Constable
sent home to
his house.

A meaning wife, that he had not any child like him but his bast daughter, who was married to the Marshall of Montmorency. She added withall, that for the loue of the deceased, she would forget her priuate iniury: and that without this respect she had meanes to cut off his head. In the end she perswaded him not wholly to abandon the Court, but to come sometime. He maintained that he was falsely accused with that speech of the Kings children, intreating her to remember the seruices which he had done to her and the Realme, and not believe the reports of his enemies, who should not doe him so much harme as they pretended. So hauing taken his leaue, and conducted his master to his grate, he retired to his house.

B The two brethren to play their parts absolutely without controule, send the Prince of Conde into Flanders, vnder colour to confirme the peace, and him of Rochelle into it, to carry the Order of France to the King of Spaine: then at his returne they depure him with the Cardinall of Bourbon, to conduct *Elizabeth* to Philip her husband.

In the meane time, the Guisians call the Cardinall of Tournon from Rome: a man fit for their humours, an inueterate enemy to the Constable and to them of the Religion. They displace part of the ancient officers of the Kings house, and place new at their deuotion: they furnish Provinces and frontiertownes with Governors of their owne choice: they obtaine a Declaration from the King, sitting in Parliament, whereby hee made it knowne, that touching all affaires which concerned the estate of his Crowne and house, his pleasure was, they should hereafter repaire to his two Vncles.

C The first Edicts were against the carying of Pistols and Harguebuzes, and then against long cloakes, and great hose. It was a common saying, that the Cardinall (as fearefull a man as euer was) hauing vnderstood from a Magician at Rome, that through enuy, and when he was in his greatest dignity, his enemies should cause him to be slaine with a peece, had procured these defences, being wonderfully disquieted, euen then when as all yielded vnto him: they doe and vndoe, place and displace, in Parliament and Priuy Council, like to a King of absolute power. And the Queene Mother challengeth the gift of money growing by the confirmation of offices and priuileges of townes and commonalties, the which by right cannot be exacted, but when the Realme falls into a collateral line.

D Now they are settled in this vsurped government: they haue officers at their pleasure. But there is yet a moat in their eye. Those of the Religion, who were then called *Reformed*, (let vs hereafter call them Protestants) for their common cause (with the Protestants of Germany) multiplied infinitely. Some Princes, and many Noblemen did countenance them, and were ready to take their protection. To weaken them, nay rather to ruine them quite, the Kings Letters Patentes are granted the 14 of Iuly, with a Commission to certaine Iudges, for the trial of *Anne du Bourg*, and four of his companions prisoners. It was to be feared, that their proceeding against these five Counsellors, would preiudice the whole party. They beseech the Queen by their Letters (who had made shew to incline to their doctrine, when as she was barren) to vse her authority in the restraint of these rigorous pursuits. She passeth her word to the Prince of Conde and Admirall, so as they will liue secretly and without any scandall.

E She had beene importuned by Letters from one named *Villemadon*, who knew much of her secrets, and put her in mind of her affection to Pietie, at such times as she was barren, exhorted her not to reiect the Princes of the blood from the managing of the affaires of State, to aduance them of Guise, and to make them petty Kings. These Letters were written the 26 of August, and wrought this effect, that the Queene seemed to bee inclined for some dayes to ease them of the Religion.

F In the meane time they of Guise, to make their Government more pleasing vnto the people, and not to lose any thing, published in the Kings name Letters of reuocation of all alienations made, as well for life as for yeares in recompence of any seruices, except sales, whereof the money had beene employed for the Kings great and urgent affaires, the portions of the daughters of France, and the dowry of the deceased Queene *Eleanor*, which the Infanta of Portugall did enioy; the rest to be re-united to the Kings demesnes and ordinary receipts. This reuocation was a foreblow to some Princes and great performances, who were disappointed of the fruits of their seruice and of the deceased Kings bounty. On the other side, the fauorites of the House of Guise obtained other Letters of exemption, and so they stript some, whilest that others remained in possession, or got some

Alienations
made by the
deceased King
reuealed.

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some new purchase. The Constable seeing *Henries* death approach, had sent to sollicite the King of Nauarre, to come with all speed to Court, and to seize vpon the Governement before any other. This Prince was not desirous to manage the affaires, and was somewhat jealous of the Constable, which made him to sit still, giving them of Guise time to seize vpon his place.

Some Princes and Noblemen hauing prest him, he gaue care, and imparted this businesse to his foure chiefe Councillors, which were *Larnac*, the Bishop of Maude President of his Councell, *Desfars* his Chamberlane, and *Bouchars* his Councillor, who were of opinion that he should goe presently to Court.

They of Guise are aduertised hereof, who promise wonders to *Maude* and *Desfars*, if they can frustrate this resolution, who did worse: for suffering their Master to goe to horsebacke, being far aduanced, they begin to put water in his wine, and to forge ineuitable dangers if he stood too directly vpon his ranke: that he must proceed mildly in this businesse, and entertaine all men politely.

Being come to Poitiers, whereas many Princes and Noblemen met him, hee shewed much resolution, and gaue good hope to the Ministers of the Churches assembled, especially at Paris, Orleans and Tours, entreating them to beare a little in that which concerns the open profession of Religion. Being come to Court, which was at Saint Germaine in Lay, what entertainment doe they giue, this first Prince of the blood of France? His Harbingers find no lodging for him within the castle. *It shall cost me my life, and tenne thousand more with me* (said the Duke of Guise to his Harbinger) *before hee take from mee the place and lodging which the King hath giuen me nere vnto his person.* No man goes to meet him: those of Guise looke that he should goe to salute them: and which is worse, the next day he hath no place in Councell.

After some dayes, the King sayes vnto him, that his Vncles hauing the charge of affaires, he desired them that would haue his fauour, to obey them in all things. So hauing obtained confirmation of his offices and pensions, he approved by his silence, the usurpation of the House of Guise, who lead the King to Rheims, where hee was triumphantly anointed the eighteenth of September, by the Cardinall of Lorraine, Archbishop of that place.

Soone after the Coronation, the Queen mother gets a resignation from the Constable, of the office of Lord Steward, in fauour of the Duke of Guise, and in recompence made his sonne Marshall of France. The Admirall foreseeing that they would dispossesse him of the government of Picardy: he first gaue the King to vnderstand that it belonged to the Prince of Conde, for that his predecessors had long enjoyed it. His resignation was willingly accepted, but not the condition. It was better to purchase a good seruant and partisan, which was the Marshall of Brisac. Thus the Princes and chiefe Officers of the Crowne were disgraced, but those that were least passionate amongst the people, were not mute. They had a good share in the private discontent of these great personages, foreseeing the disorders that might ensue, and require a Parliament, as the foueraigne cure for such diseases, whereby the Queen mother might be excluded from the Regency, and those of Guise put from the Kings person.

To please the King, they perswade him, that they sought to bridle him, and to make him a ward, that he should hold them enemies to his authority, and guilty of high treason that talke of a Parliament. The King of Spaine crosseeth them, and by letters written to the King his brother-in-law (the which were read in Councell in the presence of the King of Nauarre) he declares himselfe (saith he for the good affection hee did beare) *Tutor and Protector of him, his Realme and his affaires, against those that would change the government of the Estate, as if the King were not capable of the government.* Pleasant people, which reiect so much the word of lawfull tutelage, and yet they vsurpe it against the lawes and orders of the Realme, holding it onely by tyranny. This other affront sent the King of Nauarre home into Bearne whence he came.

They continued their pursuits against the Councillor *du Bourg*, which moued them of the Religion at Paris to send a supplication to the Queene Mother, exhorting her to her duty, and denouncing the vengeance of God, and the danger of future troubles, by reason of these great rigours: But she gaue them no pleasant answer: besides *du Bourg*, towards the end of this yeare, there were many imprisoned at Paris for Religion, and their

The Princes
and chiefe of-
ficers of the
Crowne dis-
graced.

Supplications
to the Queene,
and what tel-
lowed.

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A their houses sacked, as in a towne taken by assault: there were witnesss suborned to depose that in a certaine Assembly made on Thursday before Easter day, in an Aduocates house, at the place *Matibert*, a great number of Lutherans, Men, Women, and Maydens, after the Preaching, hauing receiued the Communion, and eaten a Pigge, in stead of the Paschall Lambe, the candles being put out, they went and lay together. The Cardinall moued the whole Court with these informations: but the Queene Mother hauing vpon this occasion spoken against some of her maids that were of the Religion, they wrought so as the two chiefe witnesss were heard in her presence, being two young boyes, who had maintained, that then and at many other times, they had carnally knowne the daughters of

B this Aduocate, they then began to wauer, and courtely to deny it. Notwithstanding the accusation and suit continued: and for that in the apprehension of prisoners there was some resistance made in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, they sent vnto all their houses to take away their armes, yea their knives, the which was brought vnto the Hostell of Guise. The Aduocate thus slanderously charged, did constitute himselfe prisoner, with his wife and daughters, where the maidens were found virgins, and yet the false witnesss nor their suborners were not punished, notwithstanding their complaints they by vertue of an Edict, which set all prisoners at liberty for matter of Religion, were in a manner forced to goe out of prison.

All this did but increase the hatred both of great and small against the Guisians. Many Treaties are published, written, and printed, and all tend to proue, that it belongs to the Estates, to prouide Gouernors for Kings in their minorities: that these two brethren are incapable of the government, being both strangers: the one a Priest, the other presuming to stay in the life of the deceased King, that the Realme belonged to the House of Lorraine, as issued from *Charlemagne*, from whom *Hugh Capet* had vsurped it. A proposition which they haue presumed to publish in these latter times: but so often confuted, as it needs no further discourse. They had made open pretensions to some members of the Crowne, as to the Countie of Prouence and the Duchy of Anjou: they propounded the lamentable effects of their ambition, in the breach of the truce, and the last voyage into Italy, the cause of the losse of the battell of Saint Laurence, and the danger of the whole Realme, to prevent the which they were forced to yeeld vp all the conquests which *Francis* the first, and *Henry* had made.

They did not forget their exactions, the managing of the treasure, and the Kings great debts. The King beganne to grow, and euen now hee complained, that they kept him from hearing of his subjects complaints, hee was so sickly as there was no hope of long life. To get sure footing in the government of Estate, they resolute to purchase many seruants in the Courts of Parliament, to winne the affections of Courtiers and men of warre, and by a burning zeale, to the rooting out of Protestants, to purchase the loue of the Clergy and people.

They publish sundry Edicts against them, they promise great recompences to them that discouer their Assemblies: many townes fill their prisons: they employ aire, fire and water to ruine them, and yet it seemes that the more they kill, the more they increase. The eight and twentieth of December, *Anthony Minard* President of the Parliament at Paris, was slaine with a Pistoll in the evening coming from the Palace to his house, and yet it could neuer be knowne whence it came, no more then the death of *Italian Ferme*, agent for the House of Guise, slaine nere vnto Chambourg, where the King was, and stript of certaine instructions of importance, against the life of some great personage. Some were imprisoned and in great danger for *Minard*, amongst others, *Steward* a Scottishman (who although hee were allied to the Queene reigning) was cruelly tormented, yet could they draw nothing from him that might preiudice himselfe or any others. About this time the Elector *Palatine*, hauing sent his Ambassadors to the King, to demand *du Bourg* whose seruice hee would vse at Heidleberg, the Cardinall, being incensed for the death of *Minard*, wrote vnto the Parliament, that they should execute the sentence giuen against *Anne du Bourg*, who (persisting in the confession of his faith vpon the points of Religion in controuersie) was on the twentieth of December hanged at the Greue, and his body then burnt to ashes. The Councillors: *La Porte*, *Foix*, *Faux*, and *Fumet* imprisoned for the same cause, escaped with some sharpe admonitions.

Many could not beare this oppression. The Princes were kept backe: the greatest of the Realme

Slanders and
false witnesss
against them of
the Religion.

Anne du Bourg
executed.

Minard a Presi-
dent of the
Parliament.

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Realme out of credit, threatened, and secretly pursued to the death: the conuocation of the Estates refused: the Parliaments corrupted, the Iudges for the most part at the Guisians deuotion: and the publike Treasures, Offices, and Benefices giuen to whom they pleased.

Usurpations of
the House of
Guise incensed
the French.

Their violent government, and against the lawes and orders of the Realme, purchased wonderfull hatred against the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall of Lorraine, and caused many which could no longer endure these oppressions, to consult vpon some iust defence, to the end they might restore the ancient and lawfull government of the Realme. They demanded aduice, touching law and conscience, of many learned Lawyers and Diuines, who resolved that they might lawfully oppose themselves against the government which the House of Guise had usurped, and at need take armes to repulse their violence, so as the Princes who in that case are borne Magistrates, or some one of them would vndertake it, being required thereunto by the Estates of the Realme, or by the founder part of them. They which first thought of this act of consequence, had severall considerations. Some moued with a true zeale to serue God, the King and Realme, thought they could not doe a worke of greater piety, then to abolish Tyranny, and to restore the State; and withall to find some meanes to ease them of the Religion.

There were others desirous of change: and some were thrust on with hatred, for the wrongs which the House of Guise had done them, their kinsmen and friends: to conclude, all had one designe to suppress this vnlawfull government. But for that in this generall, lawfull, and commendable designe, there were priuate considerations which were wonderfull defectiue, it is no wonder if there were confusion in the pursuit, and that the euent was so fatal vnto the vndertakers: namely, for those which did mixe their priuate passions with the consideration of the publike. As for the rest, who had no other end but to free France from the yoke of strangers, although that most of them bee dead, in the pursuit, as well then as since vnder the reignes of the two succeeding Kings: yet are they departed this world with this singular content, to haue courageously sacrificed their liues for their countries liberty.

In these consultations it was held necessary to seize vpon the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinall his brother, being aduowed by some one of the chiefe members of the State, and then to require an Assembly of the three Estates, to the end they might yeeld an account of their government, and to prouide for the King and Realme. Some haue rashly thought and written, that all this proceeding (which afterward was called *The tumult of Amboise*) was an enterprize of rash seditious men, enemies to God and the State, thrust on by despair and fury: in like manner there were others which ill affected to the House and memory of the Prince of Conde, (who was prest to vndertake this charge) haue presumed to charge him, that he was thrust on by priuate passions in these intelligences, and that he sought to end a quarrell against the House of Guise by this meanes, and afterwards to cause greater troubles. But the truth of his intent is well knowne to some yet liuing, and future ages will rectifie their testimonies and writings, as full of passion, and repugnant to truth: and will aduow that the Prince did herein shew himselfe a true Frenchman, and well affected to the King and Realme. The Prince of Conde then being instantly required to accept of this charge, he examines the consequence of the fact, and hauing imparted it to some persons louing the good of the Realme, hee giues commission to informe secretly of the crimes where with the House of Guise was charged, to prouide for the same, as conscience and the common good should require. They find by informations, and certaine personages well qualified, being priuy to their secret designes, did witnesse that their intention was (the King being vnable, by the iudgement of the Physicians, to live long, nor to haue any issue) first to root out all Lutherans in France, then to murder all the Princes of the blood, and to seize vpon the Realme. Moreover, they were charged with many thefts, robberies, and extortions, and by consequence were in many things found guilty of high treason.

The difficultie was how to seize vpon these two persons. *Godfrey of Barri*, Lord of *Renaudie*, Baron of *Perigord*, accepts the managing of this action, and the Prince promitteth to assist him with his authority, *So as nothing be said or done against God, the King, his brethren, the Princes, nor the Estate*: protesting to oppose himselfe first against any one that should attempt the contrary. All that were in the action, bind themselves to the same oath,

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A oath, yea to aduertise the King, if any thing were pretended against his Maiesty: they appoint the tenth of March, hoping to find the Court still at Blois. Five hundred French Gentlemen with other troops vnder the command of the Baron of Castelnau, should accompany *Renaudie*, followed by a thousand others, besides their troops on foot. But it is almost impossible to keepe secret at enterprize imparted to so many diuers humours, but some one will discouer it. *Renaudie* lodged at Paris in the Suburbs of Saint Germain, in an Advocates house called *Auenelles*, a Protestant by profession, who hauing discovered somewhat of this enterprize, vnder colour to employ himselfe for the aduantage thereof, he learned all that passed. But hoping of some notable recompence, he suddenly went and discovered it to *Alemand*, Master of Requests, a fauorite to the Cardinall, and to *Milet* Secretary to the Duke of Guise, And *Lignieres* one of the Captaines of the enterprize, did afterwards bewray the names of the Commanders, the Rendezvous for their troops, with other circumstances, to the Queene Mother, to saue (said he) the honour and life of the Prince of Conde, whom they accused of high treason.

To assure their persons, they transport the King to Amboise, they send letters from the King and his Mother, to call the Admirall and his brethren to Court, they dispatch many Letters Patents to Bayliffes and Seneschalls, against all such as should be found carrying of armes vpon the way to Amboise. The Admirall being ariued, makes great complaints to the Queene Mother, in presence of the Chancelor, of the extreame violences and pursuits made against the Protestants: and the Chancelor hauing freely propounded the Admirals aduice in Councell, there followed an Edict for the abolishing of that was past for matters of Religion. But this pardon excluded all Ministers, and such as should be found to haue conspired against the King, his mother, his wife, or the Princeesse, his chiefe Officers, or the Estate, and all other culpable of like crimes.

Notwithstanding this Edict, *Renaudie* proceeds, and the Prince goes to Court to present these informations to the King against the House of Guise, when as they should bee seized on. The execution was put off to the sixteenth, by reason of the change of the place. In the meane time the Guisians had assembled men from all parts, so as the troops ariuing one after one to the appointed places, were presently surprised. The Baron of Castelnau, and the chiefe of the faction, are at the Castle of Noisy: the Guisians aduertised thereof, persuade the King that there are rebels assembled to murder him. The King sends the Duke of Nemours with a troop, who at the first surprizeth Captaine *Mazeuer* and *Rannay*, walking without the Castle, and then hauing set strong guards about it, he carried those two to Amboise, returning after dinner with five or six hundred horse. The Baron had sent to *Renaudie* that he would come speedily to vngage him, being loth to abandon the place, where there was armes, powder and munition: but seeing himselfe inuested, and the Duke returned, he entred into parlee, vpon the instance that was made vnto him: and hauing related at large the causes of this enterprize, the Duke entreated him often to lay downe armes, and to goe and speake with the King, binding himselfe by the faith of a Prince, that not any harme should be done vnto him, nor to any of his companions, but should all be set at liberty. The Baron relying vpon the word of a Prince, obeyed, with the rest that were with him: but being come to Amboise, they spake not with any man but with Commissioners that were sent for their trial by them of Guise.

Baron of
Castelnau taken.

Renaudie caused his troop to aduance covertly through the woods: but they had walked vnder the gate, by the which they should enter, and the horsemen sent by the Guisians compassing them in, many were led away and presently hanged, and afterwards drawne to the ruer. And as he laboured to rally his disperfed troop, the Lord of *Paradillan* encounters him in the forest of Chasteau-Regnard, and passing by, discharged his pistoll, the which not taking fire, *Renaudie* had his sword first drawn, as he was about to kill him, one of *Paradillans* seruants ouerthrew him with a Harguebuzze-shot: being slaine, his bodie was straight-way caried and hanged on the bridge at Amboise, with this Inscription: *Renaudie, called la Foret, chiefe of the Rebels*. Among other prisoners, was *La Bigne*, who had serued *Renaudie* as a Secretary and was found seized of a paper in cypher: to saue his life he decyphers this paper, which contained nothing else but what had been concluded by all the associates, and their expresse protestation not to attempt any thing against the Kings Maiesty: nor against the Princes of his blood, or the estate of the Realme: And the Articles tended to no other end, but to take the government of the Realme from them

Signe Secretary
to Renaudie.

N n n

of

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of Guise, and to cause the ancient orders of France to be observed by a lawful Assembly of the Estates. He was also found seized of an admonition vnto the King from them of the Religion, whereas the Cardinals vsuist proceedings against the Parliament of Paris, and against *du Bourg*, among other things, were discouered. At the first they of Guise would not haue had one prisoner escaped: but afterwards, considering that the multitude would make them more odious, they let the Souldiers goe, to euery of which, they gaue eight, reene pence to beare their charges.

Captaine *La Motte*, *Cocqueville*, and some others did not yett faint, but gaue a hor alarme to the Courtiers at Amboise, and without some error in the intelligence, which caused them to retire without losse of any one horse-man, the enterprise, (yee after the death of *Renard*) had bene executed. But this did but incense the fury of them of Guise, who caused all the foot-men they could get at this time, to bee hanged. It was then very dangerous for any man whatsoever to bee found alone about Amboise, the least harme that could happen vnto him, was to be tripped into his shift, and then did the Souldiers of the Kings guard commit strange thefts and extortions. Those of Guise being assured of their enemies, and their troop dispersed, they gae commandement to the Prince of Conde, in the Kings name, not to depart without leave. They begonne to cut off heads, to hang and to drowne their prisoners, tyed to long poles, six; eight, tenne, twelue, and fiftieene in a company: and although there were herein more question of Estate then Religion, yett they gae out, that the Lutherans would maintaine themselves by the sword, and as such men, they caused many to be executed, who by their examinations and perrigent answers touching matters of conscience, did witness that they were not yett seafonned with any other doctrine, then that of their fathers.

This alarme had put the young King in feare: but more the impression of his vnles perswading him that they fought his person: *And what haue I done? (said he often) what haue I done, that my subiects should attempt thus against me? I will heare their complaints, and doe them right.* And sometimes to those of Guise: *I know not what it is, but I understand it is you only that they fecke: I would gladly you would absent your selues for a time, to see if they would attempt against you or me.* Amongst all the prisoners, foure are especially noted, *Castelan*, *Villemaignis*, *Champagnac*, and *le Picard*, for that with an admirable constancy and resolution, they had blamed the Chancellor, who against his conscience, had signed the sentence of their deaths: which so terrified him, as he suddenly fell sicke of griefe, and melancholy, and soone after left this world, murmuring, sighing, and forswearing the Councellor *du Bourg*, and crying out some houres before his death, the Cardinall of Lorraine comming to visit him, *O Cardinall! thou hast damned vs all.* *Michael Hospital*, then Chancellor to the Duchesse of Saunoy, was called from Nice, and substituted in his place.

The Prince of Conde was at Amboise during these horrible combustions, who caried himselfe like a man without feare, that had an innocent soule. They of Guise incensed the King against him, and suborned men to observe his words and actions, whereof the Cardinall held a Register, especially of some words which the Prince vied, being much grieued to see some prisoners, (looking out at a window of the Castle) executed: which were, that the King was ill counsellor, to put Noblemen and Gentlemen to death, which were honest men, and so well borne, considering the great seruice they had done vnto the deceased King and Realme: That being thus deprived of them, it was to bee feared that strangers during these great troubles would make some enterprise: and that if they were supported by any Prince, they would easily make a prey of the Realme. Soone after they caused *de Vaux*, Gentleman of his house, to bee apprehended, and the King sent for the Prince into his chamber, to tell him that he had vnderstood by informations, that he was to bee the chiefe of the conspiracy, adding withall some threats. The Prince in his answer besought the King to assemble all the Princes, Knights of the Order, and priuie Councell which were then at Amboise, to the end that he might heare his answer in that honorable Assembly. The company was presently called into the Kings presence, whereas the Prince recited the Kings speech, and what had followed: adding, that the Kings person excepted, with his brethren and the Queenes, they which had reported vnto the King that he was the head and conductor of certaine seditious men, who (they said) had conspired against the King and State, had falsely and trayterously lied: That to proue his innocency, he would (for this regard only) quite abandon his ranke and dignity of Prince

Prince of Conde
deintified his
innocency to
gainst all men.

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A of the blood, and make them confesse with his sword or lance, that they were villains, and that they themselves fought the ruine of the State, name, and blood Royall: for the preservation whereof, he would employ both life and goods, as he had alwayes giuen good proofe, and also for his owne interest to the Crowne and House of France, the maintenance whereof he should procure with a better title then his accusers: pressing the company, that if there were any one that had made this report, or that would maintaine it, he should presently declare himselfe. But no man presenting himselfe, he besought the King to hold him for an honest man, and not to giue care to such slanderers and abusers, but reiect them as enemies to his person, and to the publike quiet. Having spoken this, he went out of the Councell, to leaue them to their consolation. But the Cardinall making a certain signe, the King brake off the Assembly, without demanding their aduice, whereas there might haue bene somewhat concluded to the preiudice of the House of Guise.

The Queene Mother was much troubled during these broiles, yett leaning still to the stronger (according to the world) shee sent the Admirall into Normandy, to learne the cause of these troubles, intreating him earnestly to aduertise her without dissembling, promising to requite him, and to hold his aduertisements secret. He performed his commission speedily and exactly, and soone after, without feare of any, sent a Gentleman vnto the Queene, signifying that they of Guise were the true cause of the troubles happened within the Realm, by reason of their violent and vnlawfull government. He gaue proofes thereof, adding, that the faithfull seruants of the Crowne held it for certain, that these calamities would not cease so long as strangers gouerned the King and State. Whereupon he exhorted her to take the affaires in hand, and to giue some rest to them of the Religion, causing the Edicts made to that end to be observed.

The Admirall
shewes him-
selfe a faithfull
seruant to the
King & Realme

These aduertisements produced Letters to all the Parliaments and other Iudges, to release all prisoners detained for matter of Religion, the execution whereof notwithstanding was somewhat long and difficult. There was another thing which helpt it forward: some prisoners of Blois and Tours, for the enterprise of Amboise, hauing found means to escape out of prison, wrote a ieaunting Letter vnto the Cardinall, yett full of threats, that they would come and see him with the rest that he held not, and that they were resolved to spoile him.

This man being timorous, grew more calme, whereof followed the enlargement of many prisoners throughout the Realme. Finally, they of Guise seeing themselves assaulted from diuers parts by writings (which were the forerunners of a new charge) the last of March they caused the Kings Letters to be dispatcht to all Parliaments, and other inferior Iudges, and to all forraigne Princes, intimating, that all they of the enterprise of Amboise, especially the heads, were accused of high treason, wherein they of the Religion and the Ministers were disgraced with all manner of reproaches: and withall they promised to make goodly reformations both of the State and Church. An ample answer was made vnto these Letters, and directed to the Parliaments, the which painted out them of Guise in all their colours, & required that in a lawful Assembly of the Estates they should yeeld an account of their government. The Parliament of Paris sent this answer vnto the Cardinall by an Vsher. But that of Roane thinking to do more, the Deputies which were sent to the King, were forced to retire with all speed, and did not any thing.

The ninth of April there were Letters written in the Kings name, of the same tenour: moreover, he was entreated to seize vpon certain men which were about him, being accused to be of the enterprise of Amboise. There was also a relation of the charge imposed vpon the Prince of Conde, and how he had justified himselfe. The Prince on the other side sent a Secretary of his vnto his brother, to aduertise what had past, to aske his aduice, and to vnderstand his mind. This was discouered to them of Guise, who wrote a Letter to the Prince, full of excuses, to the end they might lull him asleepe, the which he sent also vnto his brother, who made answer in general termes, for that he would not bee discouered. The Protestants during these combustions, which concerned both the State & Religion, increased in multitude, and in many places they could not containe nor content themselves with secret Assemblies. An vndiscreet zeale transported them of Valence, Montauban, and Romans, to exercise their Religion in ordinary Churches at noon day. The Lord of Clairmont, Lieutenant for the Duke of Guise in Dauphine, was of that guild an humour: and *Angiron* more violent. The Duke giues him commission to sup-

Letters to the
King of Navarre

N n n 2

p r e s s e

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Cause of the
troubles.

proffethem, and to vfe his authority in the Parliament of Grenoble. *Maugiron* enters A
Valence with fixtene Companies of the old bands of Piedmont, and fome other troops
of men at armes: he makes the streets flow with blood, fackes the houfes, and entreats
the inhabitants as in a towne which is taken by affault. *Montlamar* alfo followed the
like fortune.

Morouer, the President *Truchon*, and fome Councillors of Grenoble, imprifon three-
fcore of the chiefe of Romance: they hang two, whip one, and then fend him to
the galleies: and at Valence they beheaded two Minifters, and hang three of the chiefe
men in the towne, the reft efaped, fome by abiuiring, fome by whipping, fome by banifh-
ment, and fome by a fine. At the fame time *Paulon* of Richiend Lord of Mouans, one B
of the chiefe of the enterprife of Amboife, hauing failed to furprife Aix, ouer-ranne Pro-
uence with two thoufand men armed at their owne charge, and a great number of Gentle-
men, and other voluntaries. But their armes were no otherwife employed, but to con-
uert the images, reliques, and ornaments of the Church into gold and filuer, the which
with fome refpect to warlike difcipline, and more commendably then in the following
age, they left in the Magiftrates hands of the place. This was to fummone the neighbour
Prouinces to the like reuolts: but the Earle of Tande hauing ftayed the fury of this flying
army, they fheathe their fwords, and vnfhed the pennes, onely by fupplications to the

The Prote-
ftants petition
to the king.

Kings Maiefty, and to his Mother, protefting of their fincerity, they difcouered the ground
of their griefes againft the Guifens, and propounded remedies to auoid ciuill warres. C
Their admonitions contained three chiefe heads: *That order might be taken for the govern-
ment of the Realme, offering the King a Councell, according to the ancient conftitutions of
France. That to pacifie controuerfies touching Religion, a free and holy Councell fhould be held.
That thofe of the Religion in the meane time might quietly, and with liberty of their confci-
ences live in their houfes, following that which is contained in the confeffion of their Churches.*
The two brethren feeing themfelves directly charged by the Proteftants, thunder ouer a-
gainft them: they write to the King of Spaine, and to the Catholike Princes: that the
Lutherans and Caluinifts are the onely authors of the troubles of France, and of the ru-
mours of Amboife. And to the Proteftants; that fuch as were executed in diuers parts of
the Realme, are onely certaine Sacramentaries, enemies to the confeffion of Ausbourg. D

A bare fhift and weak remedy to quench the fire which beganne to confume a part of
the world. Hereupon *Philip* aduifeth them, to bring the Inquifition of Spaine into
France. The priuy Councell yeelds to it, and the Parliaments allow thereof: but the
Chancelor *Hopital* was too wife a politician: he would not fee France difguifed after the
Spanifh manner. *Katherine* was much troubled, not knowing how to faile amidft fo ma-
ny ftormes. The Conuocation of the Eftates might eclipse her authority, the reftoring
of the Princes of France, incompatible with a Florentin humour: the reftitution of the
Conftable, whom he hated to the death, accusing him to haue laid to King *Henry*, *That*
no one of his children did refemble him, but his bafard, whom his fonne Montmorency had
married. Thefe things did wonderfully afflict her. Yet would fhe gouerne and rule, fore-
feeing that the could not better maintaine her greatneffe, then by the difcord of the two
Houfes of Bourbon and Lorraine. She relies vpon the laft, and arming them with her au-
thority, fhe puts the King her fonne, and her felfe, into the protection of the Duke of
Guife, and the Cardinall of Lorraine. This makes them fwel both in heart and fpeech:
but there muft be a meanes found to pacifie this quarrell which concerned the Eftate, that
vnder the clofke of Religion, (a goodly and ordinary pretext for great perfonages) the
people might forget the vnlawfull vifurpation wherewith they were charged. They pro-
teft therefore to employ all their meanes and th:ir friends to fuppreffe thofe that fought
any alteration in Religion: hoping that when they had cut this new from the Princes of
the blood, they fhould be more eafily reuenged, both of them and of the Conftables fa-
ction. As for them of the religion, fome gentlemen which made open profeflion, although
they had no part in the enterprife of Amboife, were accused & fent for, to come and iuf-
tifie themfelves before the King. They feeing that their ruine was intended, afsemble toge-
ther, and conclude fome to go to the Prince to incourage him, & others throughout al the
Churches, to let them vnderftand that their ruine approached, if they did not provide for
their fafeties: It had bin propounded in Councell, to feize vpon the Prince of Conde, and
to draw him in queftion for his lifterne Cardinal was wholly of this opinion, but the D. of
Guife

Refolution of
force of the
Nobility.

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Prince of Con-
de efapes
from Amboife.

A Guife did oppofe, and by a long fpeech fhew that it was not fir, and that it fhould bee a-
gainft his confent. Some at the firft were amazed to fee thefe two heads in one hood thus
difagree: but finding afterwards that they omitted no meanes to take the Prince, they
faw that this contrariety was but counterfeit, to draw a confent from the whole Councel,
to the end they might fortifie themfelves againft all euent. This irrefolution was available
to the Prince, who with great dexterity efaped their fnares, and got into Bearne to the
King of Nauarre his brother. They who were accustomed (as they fay) to make bread
offtones, and to turne all things to their owne aduantage, began to affure the King and
Queene, that without doubt the Princes retreat did argue that he was guilty: wherupon
B new Comiffions were giuen forth to leauy men, to make warre in Gafcony, whither
the Marfhall of Saint Andrew (vnder colour to goe vifit his brethern) was fent to difco-
uer, which made thefe two Princes to ftand vpon their guard.

They had yet another tafke in hand, to fee if the Conftable were engaged in the Princes
Councels, whom they thought they had already entrap. To this end they procured the
Queene Mother to fend fecretly for *Lewis Regnier*, Seigneur of La Planch, one of the Mar-
fhall of Montmorencies Councell, who being brought into her cabinet, (the Cardinall
being hidden behind the hangings) fhe preft him to declare what he thought of the caufes
and remedies of the prefent troubles, whereof he made an ample difcource, fhewing that
they of Guife being ftangers, fhould not haue the government of the State, vnleffe they
C gaue them naturall French-men, for a counterpeaze and bridle. He alfo answered at
large to the accusation made againft the Prince of Conde, fhewing, that it was a meere
abufe, to thinke that the enterprife of Amboife was attempted againft the Kings perfon,
or to trouble the State. He then decyphered the beginning of the Houfe of Guife, and
caried himfelfe fo politickly in all his answers, as he efaped from the Court, and there
was no hold to be taken of the Conftable nor of his houfe.

La Planch dif-
couers them of
Guife.

They of the Religion apprehending by the aduice of many of the Nobility, that their
ruine approached, if they did not provide fpeedily for their affaires, after they had recom-
mended themfelves humbly vnto God, they refolved to call themfelves into the armes of
the Princes of the blood, as fathers, tutors, and defenders of the innocency of the poore
D afflicted, being called by the lawes of the Country to thofe charges, during the minority
of Kings. For this effect certaine fpeciall men were deputed, to goe to the King of Na-
uarre, and Prince of Conde being at Nerac, to whom they reprefented (with all their
meanes) an ample declaration of all the wrongs done by the Houfe of Guife to the King
and Realme, befeeching the faid Princes, to take fome lawfull courfe to deliuer the King,
and to maintaine the State. Being hereby much confirmed in their refolution, to acquit
themfelves of their duties for the reliefe of France, they began to fet hand to worke. A-
mong other agents, the Prince of Conde fent a Balque called *Sagne*, to many Noblemen,
to entreat them not to faile him at need. He receiued answer from the Conftable and the
Vidame of Chartres, and came to Court, where he deliuered fome Letters. Attending

They of the
Religion put
themfelves vnder the pro-
tection of the
Princes.

E his difpatch, he bewrayed his charge vnto one Capitaine *Bonual*, who hauing difcouered
him to them of Guife, perfuaded him, and brought him backe prifoner to Fontainebleau,
where the Vidames letters being read, whereby he promifed the Prince to maintaine his
iufte quarrell againft all men, except the King, his brethern and the Queenes, whom they
fent to apprehend at Paris, and committed him to the Baftile, where hee continued with
great rigours vntill his death. They found no great matter againft the Conftable, or at
the leaft they made no fhew of it, fearing to haue too many irons in the fire at once. *Sagne*
payed for his prating, and they drew from him all that he knew, and more too. His
confeffion vpon the racke made them of Guife to haften their defignes: who provided for
the frontiers of Lorraine, and caufed the old bands to come out of Piedmont and Daul-
F phine, to march downe the riuer of Loire, writing to all them of their faction.

The Princes
councels dif-
couered.

The Queene Mother who feared much to be fupplanted in her authority: by the ad-
uice of the Chancelor and Admirall (whom fhe feemed to heare willingly) refolved to
propound vnto the Councell, that it was neceffary the King fhould call an Affembly of all
the Princes, Noblemen, Knights of the Order and men of authority of his Realme, to
provide fome meanes to pacifie the troubles which they did hold to grow efpecially by
reafon of the perfecution for Religion. They of Guife were well pleaed with this refolu-
tion, thinking they had found a fnaie to entrap the King of Nauarre and his brother: and
hoping

Propofition
to call a gene-
rall Affembly.

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hoping also for that most of them which should be of this Assembly were of their faction) there should be nothing concluded to their prejudice : and finally, that this expedient should breake off the Convocation of the Estates, and settle their affaires. They began to write Letters in the Kings name, entreating them all to make their appearance at Fontainebleau the fifteenth of August, to that effect. They of Guise did also write their Letters full of good hopes and promises. The King did write particularly to the King of Navarre, entreating him to assist, with his brother, and those Noblemen that were about him. But vnder-hand they of Guise by the means of some secret seruants, stayed the King of Navarres iourney, contrary to the aduice of the Constable, and many Noblemen, who said, that there was then good means offered to expell them of Guise, and to restore the lawfull government of the Realme.

The Constable better resolved, thinking the Princes would assist, arised with eight hundred horse, and by this troop makes the Lorraines to shew him a good countenance. At the opening of the Assembly, the Admirall presents a petition to the King for the Protestants, who required to haue Temples granted them, and free exercise of Religion throughout the whole Realme. Thereupon Charles of Marillac, Archbishop of Vienna, shewed with so great liberty of speech, the necessity to assemble a nationall Council to remedy these controuersies growne for Religion ; and a Parliament to order the government of France, as he furnished but few dayes after his Oration. The Admirall touched the cause of Religion and State more vehemently, taxing by inuectiues such as giuing the King guards vpon guards, entertained him in distrust of his subiects, and his subiects in hatred of their King.

As they had made shew to like of this Assembly, so they seemed to allow of a Parliament. They appoint it first at Meaux, and afterward at Orleans the tenth of December, and the Synod for the Clergy at Paris the twentieth of Ianuary following, to determine of what should be expedient to be treated of in a generall Council, whereof they gaue them hope. But as they had vnder-hand with-drawne the Princes from comming to this Assembly, so must they make them vnwilling to be present at the Parliament. To this intent those of Guise in the Kings name, command the companies of ordinary soldiers, to be ready the twentieth of September : they lodge them in such sort as those whom they suspected, had them in front, in flanke, and behind them, and spies likewise to discouer them : and they giue charge to the Commanders to cut all them in pieces they should find marching to ioyne with the Princes. If their forces were not sufficient to diuert the Prince of Conde, whom they knew to be more active, and to endure lesse : they doe also procure Letters from the King to the King of Navarre, whereby hee doth charge the Prince to haue attempted against the Estate of France, and to haue sought to seize vpon some of the good townes of the Realme. Hee desires him therefore to send him his brother with a good and sure guard : if not, he himselfe will fetch him well accompanied.

The answer made by the King of Navarre and his brother, encountering the Lorraines with their owne armies, holding them guilty of the same crimes wherewith they charged them, made them to change their note. They find a second commandement, whereby the King giues his word to the Princes to come in safely, he promisseth to heare all mens admonitions and iustifications willingly : to receive them according to their Estates and dignities : not to disturbe any Prince in his Religion, whereof he now made open profession : and that they should retorne when they pleased, free from injury or violence.

In the beginning, the King of Navarre shewed much courage : but hearing that the affaires of Lyons and Dauphiné, had not succeeded so well as they expected, he beganne to grow cold, and yet the Deputies of the Prouinces did offer to send their troops for his preservation, before the men at armes of France should seize vpon the passages : or if that it were not held expedient, they promised to rise in al parts to fortifie him, at the Assembly of the Estates. He had about him a Chancellor called *Amaury Bonchard*, who was Master of Requests to the King. This man in the beginning had solicited him much to giue care to the admonitions and complaints which were made vnto him from diuers parts of the Realme; but hearing that the enterprise made vpon Lyons, by young *Malherbe* had not bene successfull, hee wrote secretly vnto the King, beseeching him to call the Prince of Conde away from the King of Navarre his brother, for that hee did daily importune him to attempt many things against his Maiesties Ministers, & to trouble the

Policy to subdue
the Princes.

King of Navarre
entreated by his
Chancellor.

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A the Realme at the instigation of Lutherans, and Preachers come from Geneva, wherunto he added, that as yet his matter had not giuen care vnto them : but it was to be feared that by long importunitie he might be wonne ; whereof he would not faile to aduertise the King, being his naturall subiect, and most humble servant, and one of his ministers of Iustice. Hee did also write vnto the Cardinall, promising to tell him one day many things of great consequence, which might not be written. Finally, hee promised to giue him means to arraigne the Princes, and the greatest Noble-men of the Realme. Some thought that *Iarnac* who had quite forsaken the Princes, with *Sainde-foy* his brother (before Lieutenant of the Prince of Condes company of men at armes) had practised *Bouchard* to write thus much.

B And to draw the King of Navarre his brother on, the Cardinall of Bourbon, (a Prince not well able to discouer the cunning practises of the enemies of his house) is expressly sent vnto them. They march, and are no sooner come to Limoges, but seven or eight hundred Gentlemen well appointed, doe visit them. The Deputies of Prouinces offer them six thousand foot, Gascons and Poiteuins : foure thousand horse and four out of Languedoc : as many or more out of Normandy, and the other Prouinces promise to rise on all sides, to fortifie them at his assembly of States : so as it will please the King of Navarre to declare himselfe Protector of the King and Realme, against them of Guise. But the Cardinall of Armagnac, Elscars, Iarnac, and some other Councillors of the same mould, had seruants to their master, propounded so many dangers, so many inconveniences vpon their comming to Court with force, (and why should they not resist their enemies force) as he sent backe all his company, and countermanded such as came, promising notwithstanding to employ himselfe courageously in the Parliament for the good of all France.

C Having therupon made them great Declarations, and intreated him that at least the Prince of Conde might remaine behinde, to hold their enemies in suspense, but they answered their innocencie should suffice, and that it was no easie matter to put Princes of the blood to death : which if they did they would take it in good part : that God had many other means to deliuer France, and not to make them the occasion of the ruine of so many good men, which desired to ioyne with them. The Noblemen and Gentlemen which did accompany the Princes, being ready to retire, protested that being thus abandoned of their heads, they hoped that God would raise them vp others, to free them from the oppression of tyrants : these words were spoken in the presence of some secret seruants, who aduertised them of Guise. In the meane time, hearing that the Princes were vpon the way, they sent the Lord of Monpesat, one of their confident seruants, to forbid the Princes in the Kings name, that comming to the Court, they should not enter into any walled towne belonging to the King, vpon paine of rebellion, and to be held guilty of high treason. They were now compact in by their enemies forces, led vnder the command of the Marshall of Termes. The Cardinall of Armagnac, *Delears*, and such other bad seruants, made the King of Navarre beleeeue, that this verball defence of *Monpesat*, was but a brauado of them of Guise, the which the King and his mother would disauow.

The Princes hauing past Chastelleraut, they were more certaine of the future danger, and perswaded to keepe the high wayes for feare of ambushes which were laid to kill them. They had also means offered them to recouer Angiers, and then Normandy, where they should want nothing : yet they continued constant in their first resolution, marching by small iourneys, and it seemed that one of the brethren was a Prouost to lead the other prisoner.

F They aduertise the King, that the Lutherans of Orleans praisted to subuert his estate, as they had of late attempted at Lyons. To assure themselves of the towne, and to punish some which were noted in the booke of death, whose confiscation vvas good, the Guisens first send *Sipiere*, Lieutenant to the Prince of Roch-sur-yon, gouernor of Orleans, to disarme the people, and to fill the houses suspected, with men of warre : they call together the Nobilitie and men at armes of France : then they conduct the King thither, to make his entry with the Queene, the 17 of October. The Princes armed by their innocencie, arised on All-Saints Eue, and passe from the Potterean to the Kings lodging vpon the Estappe, betwix two ranks of armed men. The Cardinall of Bourbon, and

Policy to use
the Princes.

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and the Prince of Roch-sur-yon receiue them. Nor a Courtier nor a Bourgeois meetes A them : and for their first affront, when as they sought to enter on horse-backe, according to the vsuall custome, they were answered with a brauado : *The great gates doe not open.* The King attended them: hauing done their duties to his Maiestie, and no man aduancing to bid them welcome, *I am* (said he to the Prince of Conde) *aduerstised from diuers places, that you haue made many enterprises against me, and the Estate of my Realme, and therefore I haue sent for you, to know the truth from your owne mouth.*

Lewis iustifies himselfe so plainly, and doth charge his enemies so directly, as the King himselfe could not impute their accusations, but to the wilfulness of his Vnclcs against his owne blood. But he was possessed by them, and suffered himselfe to bee easily B abused. So he commands *Chauigny*, Captaine of his Guard (sent by them of Guise) to seize vpon the Prince. *Chauigny* flus him vp in a house hard by, before the which they make a fort of Bricke, flanked with canoniers, and furnished with field-pieces to defend the approaches. The King of Nauarre desired to haue the keeping of his brother, and that he would answer for him life for life, the which was refused, and withall they tooke his Guard from him, and set watches ouer him continually. The Lady of Roy his mother-in-law, was likewise caried from Anici, a house of hers in Picardy, prisoner to Saint Germaine in Lay, by *Renauart* and *Carrouges*. *Ierolme Gressot* Bayliffe of Orleans, (vnder colour that his father had bene Chancellor to the deceased King of Nauarre, and hee an affectionate seruant to the Princes, accused also to bee the protector of the Lutherans in C Orleans) was likewise imprisoned two dayes after the Princes arrivall. *La Haye* Councillor in the Court of Parliament at Paris, who did solicit the Princes affaires, was also in trouble. *Aumary Bouchart*, Master of Requests vnto the King, and Chancellor to the Nauarrois, was sent prisoner to Melun, with others brought from Lions, to haue proofes against the Prince, whose tryall they did hasten with all speed. But they meant no harme to *Bouchart*, he had already retired himselfe, and blabbed by his Letters to the Cardinall of Lorraine, to the preiudice of his master.

Neither the informations taken at Lions by the Marshall Saint Andre, nor the prisoners at Melun, were sufficient to make the Prince a spectacle vpon a scaffold. They send for the President of Thou, *Bartholomew Fay*, and *James Viole*, Councillors of the Parliament at Paris, to examine the Prince vpon the point of high Treason : and if this piece of battery were not of force, then to touch him vpon the point of religion, and to condemne him for heresie : the Prince propounds diuers causes of recusatation, and appeales from them to the King. The priuy Councill reiects his appeale, and decrees, that vpon paine of high treason, the Prince should answer before these Commissioners: he answers, purgeth himselfe clearly of all crime, and aduowes his religion freely.

By this confession, iudgement was giuen against him, and he condemned to die : a day appointed the tenth of December, to countenance the beginning of the Parliament. They only note the Earle of Sancerre, the Chancellor, and the Councillor *Asterier*, which did not pollute their soules with the approbation of this vnjust sentence. This E sentence should in the end cause the ruine of all that were accused or suspected, as well for matter of State, as Religion. And for the execution of this designe, the forces of the Realme diuided into foure, marched already into diuers Prouinces vnder the command of the Duke of Aumale, and the Marshalls of Saint Andre, of Brissac, and of Termes. And with the same fury the King of Nauarre should bee confined into the Castle of Loches : the Constable and his children to the great tower at Bourges : the Admirall and some principals, into one at Orleans, the which was afterwards called the *Admirale*, neare to that of Saint Aignan.

But behold, there are two more violent and more brutish Councillors, *Brissac* and Saint Andre, they hold opinion, that to auoid all trouble in giuing the King of Nauarre F any guards, they should put him to death. They seek to poison him at a banquet : then they resolute to kill him coming from the King : but neither succeeding, they perswade the King to stab him, and to spill his owne blood, the which God would not permit : for the King hauing a dagger vnder his gowne, and growing into bitter tearmes against the King of Nauarre, he answered so discreetly in the presence of them of Guise, as hee escaped. There was another designe to kill him going a hunting. The Constable had not yett falne into their snares, yett they had sent out Commissions to seize vpon the Lord of Danuile

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A Danuile his second sonne. As for the Admirall and his two brethren, their Declaration to be of the Religion, was sufficient to condemne them ; for the effectual accomplishing whereof, the King commanded a generall assembly of his order, to be held (all excuses set apart) vpon Christmas day following. During the which, there was a confession of the faith set downe by the Doctors of Sorbonne, which no man that had any feeling of religion would haue signed.

The day being come, this confession should be presented by the King himselfe, who should signe it first, requiring euery one to doe the like, with an oath to obserue all the Articles inuolubly, and to oppose themselves against all them that should contradict B them without any exception. And whosoever should refuse, hee should be presently degraded from his Order, and from all his estates, dignities, and honors, and should be burnt the next day.

The like should be done among the Cardinals by a generall assembly the same day, to entrap the Cardinall of Chastillon. After which, all the Princes and Noblemen of the Realme should signe this confession, and then all the Gentlemen and Officers of the Kings house. The Chancellor had commandement to doe the like to all the Masters of Requests, Secretaries, and other Officers following the Court. The Queene-mother undertooke to caule all her Ladies and Waiting-women to signe it. After which they should send to all the Parliaments, and other iurisdiccions to require the like confession of faith, and if C any one did refuse, to be burnt without any other proceeding. The 10 of December approached, and the Deputies for the Estates arriue by degrees. They presently forbid them in the Kings name, vpon paine of death, not to moue any thing concerning Religion, his Maiesty hauing referred his controuersie to the Councill : which the Pope (being then Pius the 4, successor to *Theatin* lately deceased) appointed to begin at Trent, at Easter following. Those of Languedoc amongst the rest, came furnished with ample instructions both for the State and Religion : but they found means to stop their mouths, seizing both on their persons and instructions.

The ninth day of the moneth, they giue commandement to the King of Nauarre, to be ready to goe to horse-backe : their meaning was to carie him to Loches, whilst they D should present the Prince his brother vpon a mournfull scaffold, to the people of Orleans. But O God ! we haue heard with our eares, and our Fathers haue declared, the worke which thou hast done in their time, and in the old time before them. Behold the King is taken during Euen-song with a great fainting, continued with a paine in his head at the left eare, accompanied with a Feuer. The Guisens notwithstanding, sent forth many commissions to leauy men, and command the Marshall of Termes to ioyne with the Spaniard, who tooke the way of Bayonne to spoile the countrie of Bearne, and then to assaile all those whom he should finde to haue fauoured the King of Nauarre, and the enterprise of Amboile.

It may be they would haue sold their liues dearly. Seven or eight hundred Gentle- E men goe speedily to horse, followed with five or six thousand foot, resolute, when the Marshall should passe Limoges, to hem him in betwixt two riuers. He hath some intelligence thereof, and retires to Poitiers. This designe being made frustrate, the Kings sickness increaseth, those of Guise meane to proceed with violence, and to murder the King of Nauarre. God raised vp the Cardinall of Tournon, who (thinking to doe a greater act) prevents it. He aduiseeth to attend the Constables coming, with his children and Nephewes to the end (said he) that killing one, we saue not the rest, who afterwards may doe more harme then the Princes. The departure of the Kings health, made them of Guise to set a good countenance on a bad cause. And the Queene-mother seeking to hold her authority by supporting them of Guise, calls the King of Nauarre into her closet : as he was F entring, a Lady of the Court said to him in his eare : *My Lord, deny the Queene Mother nothing that she shall demand, else you are dead.* So he signed what shee desired : A grant of the right which hee might pretend to the government of the King and regency of the Realme, and his reconciliation with them of Guise. Vpon this grant, shee promisseth to make him the Kings Lieutenant in France, both for peace of warre, and nothing should passe but by his aduite, and of the other Princes, who should be respected according to the degree they held in France.

In the meane time death presseth the King : and those of the house of Guise shue vp in their

The Prince of
Conde imprisoned.

Commissioners
to craigne the
Prince.

The Prince
condemned.

A miracul-
ous deliue-
rance.

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The death of
Francis the
second.

their lodging, and having possession of three or fourescore thousand franks which remained yet of the treasure, came not forth in two dayes, vntill they were assured of the King of Nauarre, who hauing embraced one another, all quarrels seemed to be laid vnder foot. In the end this Catarre with a Feuer brought the King to his graue, the 14. of December, hauing giuen no time, by reason of his yong age, & the shortnesse of his raigne, to discouer any thing in him, but only some shewes of courtely, continency and modelic: vertues which his Vncles had easily corrupted by the tast of cruelty, which began to take an impression in his soule, as they did in his successors: little lamented for his person, but of such as possessing him in his nonage, grounded the greatnesse of their vilsed estates vpon his life, to ouerthrow the fundamentall lawes of the Realme, whatfoeuer B some wretched Writers doe babble, whose soules haue beene as vendible, as the Guisens armes were then new in our France.

This death gaue life to the Prince of Conde, opened the prisons for such as had beene committed for this cause, reuiued an infinit number, whom the Princes condemnation had drawne into danger, countermanded the troopes of Spaine, which aduanced towards Bearne, disappointed Montluc of the Earldome of Armagnac: the which he had deuoured in hope, by the promises of the house of Guise, and brought many of their most secret feruants to the King of Nauarres deuotion.

CHARLES the NINTH,

The 61 French King.



OW we fall from a Feuer into a Frensic. Wee shall see vnder another pupill King, of cleuen yeares of age, raigning in the wrath of God, the heauens to powre vpon this Realme, all the curses, dauntly promised against a Nation, whose iniquities he will punish in his displeasure. A raigne cursed D in the city, and cursed in the field, cursed in the beginning, and cursed in the ending. Mortalitie, sword and famine haue followed it euen vnto the end. The heauens about are of brasse, and the earth vnder it of iron: the carkases are a prey to the birds of the aire, and to the beasts of the field, and no man troubles them. They suffer nothing but wrongs and robberies, and no man relieth them. Men marry wiues

but others sleepe with them. They sow and plant, but the nations whom they haue not knowne deuoure the fruit. To conclude, there is nothing but cursing, terrour, and desolation.

A Parliament
held at Orléans.

The 23 of December the Parliament began, and that which the Queene-mother most desired, the confirmation of her Regency, allowed by the Chancellor, and afterward by those that were the speakers. John Quintin of Autun a Doctor of the Cannon-law at Paris, for the Clergie: the Lord of Rochfort, Damoiseil of Commercy, for the Nobility: Angelo then Advocate at Bourdeaux, and afterwards Councillor there, for the people. The Chancellor propounded many Articles touching the meanes to pacifie the troubles, and the remedies for that which concerned the estate and Religion, and to discharge the Kings debts.

Quintin would haue the Ministers of the Church inforced to discharge their duties, not altering any thing in the reformation thereof, the which cannot erre: not to suffer any other then the Catholike, Apokolike, and Romish Religion. Against such as demanded Temples, and against the deliuerer of their Perisition (meaning the Admirall) (said hee) they should declare him an Hereticke, and proceed according to the Cannon and ciuill constitutions, for the prohibiting of such bookes as were not allowed by the Doctors of Sorbonne, and for the rooting out of Lutherans and Caluinists. Rochfort did speake against the iurisdiccions vsurped by the Clergie, against the disorders growne among the Nobles, against the wrong done to the true Nobilitie, against the confusion growne con-

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Quintin ex-
cused him-
selfe for
the Admirall.

A confiscations for matter of Religion, against seditious, of the meanes to order the Clergy, and to containe them in their vocation; for the reliefe of the people, especially in matters of Iustice, the which should bee reduced to a certaine number of Officers. Ange insisted much vpon the ignorance, couerousnesse, and dissolution of the Clergy, whence proceeded the greatest part of these present scandals.

The next day, vpon the Admiralls complaint to the Queene-mother, Quintin excused himselfe vpon the instructions which were giuen him in writing, and in his second speech he did moderate his plea to the Admiralls content. The Estates continued their conferen-

ces, and made the beginning of this yeare famous, by some prouision for matters of religion, wherby it was forbidden vpon paine of death, not to reproach religion, or to another, and commandement giuen to all Iudges and Officers, to set at liberty all such as had beene imprisoned for the said religion. Many other good and necessary lawes were published, but with more confusion then profit. And in truth, a number of lawes ill obserued, peruert iustice, and giues the people occasion not to regard them. But when they come seriously to handle the discharge of the Kings debts, and that the Nauarrois submits himselfe to restitution; if it be found that he hath received any extraordinary gifts: those of Guise and others, which could not make the like offer, found meanes to frustrate this proposition, by the referring of the Estates to Pontoise, hoping hereafter to finde some device to prevent their yeelding vp of any account. And in truth all these assemblies vanished away like smoke, without any other resolution, then to lay the paiement of the Kings debts vpon the Clergy. The King of Nauarre, the other Princes of the blood, and the Constable, seeing themselves held to no end in Court, and that for matters of State, they had but the leauings of them of Guise, it made them trusse vp their baggage to retire, with an intent to crosse the regency of the Queene-mother, and the Guisens authority. To frustrate this designe, he makes a new accord with the Nauarrois, she doth associate him in the government of the Realme, and concludes with him, that leauing the title of Regent, he should be called Lieutenant general to his Maiestie, in all his Countries and Dominions. But this was but a government in paper: these strong factions of two parties, shall briefly assayle one another, causing great wounds within this Realme, from whence D we haue seene the blood flow euen to these later dayes.

Soone after, the Prince of Conde being called to Court, he came from La Fere in Picardie to Fontainebleau, and the day after his arriual, being the 13 of March, he came into the Councell, where the King in the presence of them all declared, that he had done him right for his innocency, suffering him to pursue a second declaration to the same effect, in the Court of Parliament at Paris, whither the Prince went within few dayes.

This treaty did preiudice them of Guise, and in the end, peace must needs send them from Court to liue at home like priuate men. They had in their conceits, the argument of a new Tragedy, the which we shall shortly see played vpon this Theater. The Protestants multiplyed, and the King of Nauarre supported them openly. The Prince of Conde (who pursued the sentence of his iustification in the Parliament) and the Admirall, had preaching in their chambers. This sring is strained po high. They publish generally, that these preachings will be the overthrow of the ancient Religion within this realme: and particularly among the duke of Guisles partisans. That vnder colour of rendering accounts, and of extraordinary gifts, they would displace them, hauing managed the most important affaires of the realme, for the space of forty yeares. The Constable holding for a Maxime, That the change of Religion brings an alteration in the State, begins to applaud them: the Duke of Montpensier, and the Prince of Roch-fur-yon, Princes of the blood of Bourbon, vpon this nice point of new religion, ioyne willingly with them. The people conforming themselves commonly after the patterne of great men. Great personages F frowne one at another, so doe the people: one beares the name of Huguenot implicitly: another cannot endure that of Papist: in truth, turbulent and factious names. From hence sprung diuers mutinies, at Beauvais, Amiens, Pontoise, and else where, where the weaker was forced to yeeld to the stronger.

These new broyles caused an Edict to be made at Fontainebleau (where the Court remained, attending the renewing of the Estates intermitted) prohibiting these mutuall reproaches of Papist and Huguenot: to search no man in his house, nor to retaine any one in prison for his religion. From thence the King made his voyage to Reims, and was solemnly

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The Kings
coronation.

Edicts of July.

lennly crowned by the Cardinall of Lorraine. The Parliament at Paris (not able to digest this last Edict) informs the King, that diuerſity of religion was incompatible in an estate: reiects this pretended liberty of conſcience, and beſeecheth his Maieſty to force his ſubiectes to make open profeſſion of the Catholike, Apoſtolike and Romiſh religion, vpon ſuch paines as ſhould be aduiſed on in Councell.

Now blowes a contrary wind, the which aſſembles (in the Parliament at Paris) all the Princes, Noblemen, and others of the Priuy Councell, with all the chambers, to the end they might freely, and with all purity of conſcience deliberate, aduſe and conclude vpon a matter ſo much importing the good and quiet of the Realme. This aſſembly brought forth the Edict, which they called of July, an Edict confirming the decrees of former Kings, commanding his ſubiectes vpon paine of death, to liue hereafter in peace, without iniuries, without reproaches for any reſpect of religion, and beliefe. But ſee the fire-brand of ciuill warres, which now we handle. All religion, faith or doctrine, other then that of the Church of Rome, was baniſhed the Realme: aſſemblies of Proteſtants forbidden; and they condemned to ſeek their abroad elſe-where.

Some what to temper this bitterneſſe, they limit their exile, by the determination of a generall Councell, or to the next aſſembly of the Prelates of the Realme, at Poiſſy. And at the ſame inſtant the ſentence of the Prince of Conde innocency was pronounced in Parliament, by the Preſident *Baillet*, ſitting in their ſcarlet gowns, the doores open, and all the chambers aſſembled, the King of Nauarre being preſent, with the Duke of Montpenſier, the Prince of Roche-sur-yon: the dukes of Guiſe, Neuers and Montmorency, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Guiſe, Chaffillon and other Noblemen: his remedy referred againſt whom it ſhould appertaine, as the reputation and quality of his perſon and dignity ſhould require. The King calling the Princes and Noblemen to Saint Germain in Laye, he cauſed the Prince of Conde, and the D. of Guiſe to embrace each other, promiſing to continue good friends. The Eſtates remitted to Pontoife, hauing produced no other effect but a new approbation of the Regency for the Queene-mother, in whoſe fauour the Admirall laboured to the Eſtates, relying vpon the great aſſurances he had giuen him, to procure much good for them of his party, and the King of Nauarre, by reaſon of the reſuſals which the Deputies made to paſſe this Article, declared vnto them by mouth, that he had renounced his right, and ſome meanes to open the coffers of the Clergy, for the payment of the Kings debts: they began to proceed to the conference of Poiſſy. For the Catholikes, came the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, Armagnac, Guiſe, Chaffillon and Tournon, aſſiſted by a great number of Prelates and Doctours of Diuinity, and Cannon law. The Pope doubting leſt they ſhould make ſome conſolutions prejudiciall to his authority, ſent the Cardinall of Ferrara his Legat into France, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt any alteration in religion, and to haue the cauſe referred to the councell of Trent, the which he had publiſhed.

Conference of
Poiſſy.

Theodore Beza, *Peter Martyr* a Florentin, *Auguſtin Marlorat*, *Francis of Saint Paul*, *Raimond*, *Iohn Farel*, and others, to the number of twelue miniſters, and two and twenty Deputies of the Proteſtant Churches, offer a Petition vnto the King, at his firſt entry, beſeeching him, that the Prelates might examine the confeſſion of their faith, whereof they had conference, ſince the month of Iune, to impugne it if they had thought good at their firſt aſſembly; and vpon their obiections, to heare the defences of the ſaid Churches, by the mouths of their Deputies. That the King ſhould bee Preſident in this conference with his Councell, and that the Clergy, (for that they are parties) ſhould not take vpon them the authority of Iudges. That all controuerſies might be determined by the Word of God. That two Secretaries choſen on either ſide, might examine the diſputations that were daily written, and that they ſhould not be received but ſigned by either party.

Before they entred into open conference, the Cardinall of Lorraine would treat priuately with *Beza* before the Queene-mother: and hauing heard him eſpecially vpon the Lords Supper. *I am greatly contented* (ſaid he) *with that I vnderſtand: and hope aſſuredly that the iſſue of this conference will be happy, proceeding with mildneſſe and reaſon.* It began the ninth of September. The King did briefly touch the cauſes of this aſſembly, cauſing his Chancelor to deliver them more at large. The Cardinall of Tournon in the behalfe of the Prelates, demands the Chancelors propoſition in writing, and leaſure to conſider thereof:

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A thereof: the which is reſuſed. *Beza* with his companions brought in by the Duke of Guiſe, appointed to that charge with the Lord of la Ferre Viſcay Captaine of the Guard, makes an ample collection of all the Articles of the Chriſtian doctrine, expounds thoſe which are in controuerſie, toucheth by the way the diſcipline of the Church, proteſts that both he, his companions, and all thoſe that aduow them, deſire nothing but the reformation of the Church: that they will liue and die in the Kings protection: deteſt thoſe that ſeek to ſequeſter themſelves, and pray to God for the proſperity of his Maieſty, of his mother, his Councell, and his Eſtate: then he preſents vnto the King the confeſſion of the Proteſtant Churches, and deſires the conference may be made concerning it. The King hauing receiued it by the ſaid Captaine of his Guard, delivered it vnto the Prelates. The point vpon the Reall preſence in the Sacrament had troubled them. They conclude, that the Cardinall of Lorraine aſſiſted by *Clande Eſpenſus*, and ſome other Doctours, not by way of diſputation, but not to faile of a reply, ſhould answer to two points onely, *of the Church, and the Lords Supper*. And the ſixteenth of the ſaid moneth he makes his oration, and diſcourſeth at large of theſe two points, and then he intreats the King to continue conſtant in the Religion of his Predeceſſors, and to ſummon the Miniſters to ſubſcribe to that which he had delivered, before they paſſed to the other Articles: otherwiſe to deny them audience, and to ſend them out of the Realme, which could allow but of one faith, one law, one King.

C The four and twentieth day, *Beza* made answer to the Cardinall, diſputed with the Doctours *Eſpenſus* and *Sainctes*, and the 26 day, hee treated with him againe touching the Lords Supper: the other Miniſters replied likewiſe to ſome obiections of other Doctours of Sorbonne, and finally all was conuerted into priuate conferences, without any reſolution or conſolution that might end theſe troubles. The Prelates ſent backe their Doctours in October, and referred all reformation to the Councell at Trent, whither the Cardinall of Lorraine and Doctour *Sainctes* went: of whom we will ſpeake a word by the way, ſeeing it fits with the matter. We finde by a fragment originall, drawne out of the writings of a Chanoin of Reims, and publiſhed in the year 1598, by the means of *Perrequin Maior* of Langres: That the Kings Ambaſſadors at the Councell of Trent were (amongſt other inſtructions, ſigned *Charles*, *Katherine*, *Alexander*, which was *Henry*, the third, *Anthony*, and vnderneath it, *Charles* of Bourbon, *Francis* of Lorraine, *Montmorency*, *M. Hoſpital*, *S. Andre* and *Francis* of Montmorency) charged to demand, "To haue the ceremonies corrected and all other things whereby the people might be abuſed, vnder a ſhew of piety. That the cup might be reſtored in all Communions, within his Realme and all his Dominions: That all adminiſtrations of Sacraments to the Laity, might be done in the French tongue. That in the Pariſh Churches, and not Collegiall, Cathedral, or Monacall, the uſe of the Proſe ſhould be inſtituted according to the firſt and holy inſtitution: that during the high Maſſe in Pariſh Churches, the Word of God ſhould be read and interpreted at the houre accuſtomed, with the catechizing of youth: to the

E end that all men might be inſtructed, of that which they ſhould beleue, and how they ſhould liue according to God, & that in ſtead of the Proſe, publick prayers ſhould be made in the French tongue: that without changing any thing of the ſeruice of the church, in the Latine tongue: ſome houres ſhould be appointed, as well at Maſſe as at Euenſong, whereby it might be lawfull to ſing Pſalmes in the open Church, peruſed firſt and corrected by the Biſhops & ordinary ſuperiours, and approved by famous vniuerſities or provinciall councells. And alſo to complaine of the vnchaſt life of the Clergy men, which breed ſo many diſorders & corruptions among the people. Theſe articles concluded, had without doubt made the way to reduce many realmes & prouinces to the Vnion of the Church, appeaſed the troubles of this realme, ſatiſfied many troubled conſciences, and prevented a greater ſchiſme. But hatred and humane paſſions makes vs yet to attend a ſtroake from heauen to draw vs ioynly into the fold of one vniuerſall Biſhop. Thus the conference at Poiſſy hauing not yielded that remedy, which was expected, for the common miſchiefe, now diuers factions grow in France. The Proteſtants, which before had by many petitions required temples, for the exerciſe of their religion, they now take them by force in many places, and without further attending the approbation of their demands, they aſſemble at diuers times. The Catholikes muring, eſpecially at Paris, and purſue them with ſtones, ſwords, ſtaues & fire, in their returne from *Kerſay* (a garden without the Temple-gate.)

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and in the suburbs of Saint Marceau: they ring the alarm bell at S. Medard, they wound, A
kill, take and hang many. *Gabaston* amongst others, Knight of the watch, to appeale the
people, lost his head. To make some Edict for the pacifying of these broiles, the Queene-
mother assembles the chiefe of the Parliament, with the Princes of the blood, Noble-
men, Councillors of the Priuy Councell, Masters of Requests, and other men of authori-
tie, and to give some contentment to those that with vehemency required places and
Temples for their assemblies with liberty.

The chiefe Catholics, especially those of Guise, disallow of this course, they accuse
the Queenes facilitie, and murmure openly against the King of Nauarre, the Prince of
Conde, the Admirall and his brethren. These crosse them with an enterprise, made to ca-
rie the duke of Orleans (the Kings yonger brother) into Lorraine, so as they retire from
Court: the duke of Nemours, who had played the principall part in this tragedy, saues
himselfe, and returnes not before the ciuill warres haue fired all France. This new change
seemes to draw the Regent to the Protestants party, she desires to know their forces, and
their means. They give her a List of two thousand an hundred & fifty Protestant Churches,
the Deputies wherof offered their goods and persons to the King to withstand the
forces of them of Guise, who called the Spaniard into France.

The Guisens absence made easie the grant of that famous Edict, which beares vnto this
day the name of January: the which disannulling that of Iuly, gaue liberty to the Pro-
testants the fouenteenth of the said moneth, to assemble without the townes, and provided
that all men might liue in peace one with another. But alas in stead of peace it shall breed
horrible confusions. The difficultie was in the execution. The Parliaments publish it as
slowly as may be, and that of Dion, neuer. Those of Guise and the Constable ioynd
with them, and diuerted them by their authority. But they had another string to their
bow, which preuailed according to their desires. They employ the Ambassador of Spaine,
the Cardinall of Tournon, *Elcars*, and some other household flatterers to the King of Na-
uuarre, to perswade him, that carying himselfe a Neuter, and causing the Prince his sonne
to goe once to the Masse, the King of Spaine would giue him the Realme of Sardinia, in
recompence of that of Nauarre. The Pope likewise confirms him in his hope. This was
properly to conceiue a mountaine, and bring forth a Moufe, and to take from him all
means to recouer his Realme of Nauarre, when he should attempt it. So as being drawne
by those Spanishe and Lorraine practises, hee estrangeth himselfe by little and little from
the Protestants, sollicit the Queene his wife to returne into the bosome of the Romish
Church, and so to instruct her children. Vpon her refusal, there growes a breach betwixt
them, and he falls in loue with one of the Queene-mothers maids. In the meane time, shee
entertained the Prince of Conde and the Admirall, whom shee knew to be yet strong
within the Realme, maintained the Protestants in their peaceable exercise, and for that
end commanded euery gouernour to retire to his government. Shee would haue sent the
Prince of Conde into Guicenne (whose presence without doubt had stayed that horrible
and cruell shedding of blood) whereby *Montuc* vpon his refusal opened the veins of a
body wonderfully afflicted. But so passeth the world, euery one would gouerne the King
in his turne, and the Regent by little and little did vndermine the foundation of the
Edict, to ouerthrow the whole body. Morcouer, those of Guise were desirous to returne to
their places, neither had they retired but to get better footing. They are now strong e-
nough, hauing drawne the King of Nauarre from the Protestant part. They march to-
wards Paris, and passing from Iainville to Vassy, they dispersed about twelue hundred per-
sons, which were assembled for their exercise: murder two and forty, wound many to
the death, lead away prisoners, and sacke the towne.

This was the first fire-brand of the ciuill warres which were now abreding. This ad-
puts the protestants in alarm, and makes them to leaue the trowell and the hammer, F
which they employed in many places, to build their Temples, euery one scowres his
harnesse, euery one prouides him armes and horses. Their Churches and Nobility com-
plaine, and demand iustice of the King. The Regent giues them good words: and the
King of Nauarre rebukes them, and chargeth them to be the first motiues of this trouble.
They haue (saith hee) cast stones against my brother the D. of Guise, hee could not retaine the
fury of his followers. And whosoever shall touch the end of my brothers finger, shall touch my
whole bodie. The arrual of the Duke of Guise, the Constable, the Marshall of Britain,
Mont-

Edict of Ja-
nuary.The King of Na-
uuarre forswears
the ProtestantsThe massacre
at Vassy.

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A Montmorency. Termes, and afterwards of the K. of Nauarre to Paris, drawes the Prince
of Conde and the three brethren of *Coligni* likewise thither. But the stronger caries it.
They were too weake to incounter the counsels which were held daily at the Constables
houfe. To vnderstand what forces the Prince had within the city, they make a proclama-
on: That all men of what quality so euer, should depart within foure and twenty houres. So the
Prince retires to Meaux, and eals together such as might by their armes force his enemies
to some agreement. The Queene-mother (seeing the Guisens fortified within Paris, and
seized vpon the Kings person, whom they caused to come from Fontainebleau to Paris,
writes vnto the Prince, and recommends vnto him, both the mother and the children.

B The Princes intention was to come to Court, when as newes is brought him, that they
possesse the King, and bring him to Paris. He therefore leaues Meaux to goe & seize vpon
Orleans: and at the same instant, either faction assures it selfe by diuers surpris of places,
exposed to their wils: the Constable catcheth the houles of Ierusalem vpon Saint Iames
his ditch, and of Pepincourt without S. Anthonies gate, to bee beaten downe, where the
Protestants did assemble for their exercise, and in all other places, the people transported
with the like humour, vse extreme violence. The Protestants grow bitter, and in all pla-
ces where they had might, reuenge themselves on the Churches, images, priests, and reli-
gious houles. To conclude, euery towne thus diuided, prepares a wretched Theater, to
act a mournfull and bloody Tragedy. Yet euery one iustifies his cause. Without the
C Realme the Prince produceth the Regents letters in an open assembly of the Princes of
Germany. Within the Realme, he exhorts them of his party to prouide men and mony,
and by an association made with the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of his party, hee promi-
seth to employ himselfe for the deliury of the King and Queene, and for the maintenance
of the Edicts, and the Estate of the Realme.

On the other side, the King declares by his Letters Patents, that both he, his mother,
and his brethren, are at liberty, forbids all his subjects to arme vnder that pretext: com-
mands them that are armed to surcease, and to retire home to their houses: and by another
Edict he commands the execution of the Edict of January, but within the City of Paris
and suburbs thereof. But to quite abolish it, hee calls the Nobility the 28 day of Aprill,
D and declares by Proclamation, the Prince and his adherents to bee seditious and bad
Christians, and that the Prince made prouision of foraine forces to disturb the quiet
of France. It is an example of dangerous consequence, when a people armes vnder
colour to set their Prince at liberty: for oftentimes in stead of libertie, they make him
captive. The Queene-mother did easily arme that party which shee meant to employ: but
great men, who commonly maintaine their authority by armes, doe more willingly take
them, then lay them downe. Shee cannot now cause them to surcease, whom shee had ar-
med for this deliuerance: the confusion is too great, their courages are too much incen-
sed, and their hearts putt vp with many hopes: they must come to blowes, their fingers
itched on either side. In the meane time, the heads being gone, and perswaded to preferre
E the publike before all priuate respects, they offer in shew, to lay downe their armes, and
to retire home to their houses, so as their aduersaries will submit themselves to the like.
But to conclude, the companies of men at armes being for the most part armed at Pa-
ris, with part of the old bands, the King of Nauarre, the Duke of Guise, the Constable,
and the Marshall of Saint Andre (the Protestants called the three last Triumuires, and in
truth they were but three heads in one hood) hauing by an Edict banished the Calvinists
out of Paris, take the way of Chastaudun with twelue thousand foot, and three thou-
sand horse. The Prince was as strong, and euen then would haue ioynd with them: *d'*
Andelot and *Boucard* aboute all others vrged it, but the Regent abused them with fruitles
hopes of an accord, whilest the Kings armie grew stronger, both with French and fo-
raigne forces.

Having thus lost the opportunitee of a battaile, the Prince maintaines his armie about
two moneths, with a commendable discipline, without blaspheming, whoring, robbing,
or theft. In the end, they lose all patience. Baugency taken by assault, opens the gates to
disorders: for this first heate soone past with the French growes cold, money for their
pay growes short, and the Nobilitie could not frame themselves to this strict disci-
pline of warre, which the Admirall did practise, being a great enemy to robbing. In many
Prouinces, matters went indifferently betwixt the Catholics, and Protestants: and to
guc

Orleans taken
by the Protes-
tants.

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give two strokes with one stone, to stay the dissipation of this armie, and to relieue them that might in the end fall, the Prince sent the Earle of Rochefoucault, with some troopes into Poitou, Xaintronge and Angoulmois: *Soubize* to Eyons: *Tuy* brother to *Genlis*, to Bourges: *Montgomery* into Normandy: *D'Andelot*, to hasten the succours of Germanie, and *Bisquacant* into England. These troopes from the moneth of Aprill, vntill the midst of August, did possesse Orleans, Baugency, Vendosme, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Mans, Angers, Bourges, Angoulême, Rouen, Chalon vpon Soan, Mafcon, Lion, and the most part of Dauphiné, with many others, not without effusion of blood, spoyleing of Churches, and such insolencies, as the warre doth cause in a country of conquest.

Bourges recovered.

Orleans and Bourges held by the Prince, did much helpe their affaires, but Bourges might easily bee surpris'd before it were fortified. The King then (whom the Commanders had drawne into the armie) marcheth thither, and the composition which *Tuy* made with his Maiesty, put him for a time in disgrace with the Prince. This arme cut off (as the Guisens said) from the Huguenots, inuited the Kings armie to the siege of Orleans, where the Prince and the Admirall were. But the resolution of these two Commanders, and the feare to receive shame and losse, made them passe on to Rouen, where *Montgomery* commanded with seuen or eight hundred souldiers of the old bands, and two companies of English. The end of September, was the beginning of this siege: a famous siege, by the hurting of the King of Nauarre in the shoulder, as hee surueyed the weakest part of the city: whereof he dyed the seuenteenth day of Nouember, three weeks after it was taken by assault, and spoiled. *Montgomery* saued himselfe in a gally, but many of the chiefe passed through the executioners hands. On the other side, *Lewis* of Bourbon, duke of Montpensier, reduced to the Kings obedience, the townes of Angers, Mans and Tours: the Marshall Saint *André* tooke Poitiers from the Lord of Saint Gemme, and *Henry* of Montmorency, Lord of Damville, incourted the Protestants forces in Languedoc, whilst the Earles of Tende and Suzer, by the defeat of Momburn, tooke Cisteron for the King, and *Montluc* with *Bury* governor of Guienne, put to rout the troopes of Gascons which *Duras* led to the Earle of Rochefoucault, besieging Saint Iean d'Angeli. The cuerthrow of *Duras* brought the Earle with 300 Gentlemen, and the remainder of the defeated army, on this side Loyre, to ioyne the Prince with the Reistres whom *D'Andelot* brought. This supply made the Prince to resolue to goe to Paris, and by annoying it, to encrease the feare wherewith they were possessed. He marcheth, forceth Pluuiers, takes Estampes, and besiegeth Corbeil: but finding it better furnished with men then he expected, he approacheth to Paris, makes a great skirmish, and beats back the troopes that were come out of their trenches. So he camped at Gentilly, Arcueil, Montrouge, and other neighbour villages, the Queene-mother busies him seuen or eight daies with diuers parleys, during the which, foure and twenty Ensignes of Gascons, and Spaniards arriuing, were lodged within the suburbs of S. Iames. The Prince then seeing his enemies forces to encrease, resolues to fight with them, before they were all vnited, so as all hope of peace being conuerted with smooke, he riseth the tenth of December, takes the way to Chartres, and resolues to goe into Normandie, to receiue the men and money which came out of England, and by that meanes to diuert the siege of Orleans. The Constable and duke of Guise march after him.

A notable dressing.

Dreames are lies, as we commonly say: yet haue we often tryed those which present themselves in the morning (the spirit hauing taken sufficient rest) to bring certaine aduertisements of that which is to come. The night before the cue of the bataille, the Prince dreames that he had giuen three battails one after another, obtained the victory, ouerthrowne his three principall enemies, and finally himselfe wounded to the death, hauing laid one vpon another, and he about them all, yielding in that sort, his soule to God. And to say the truth, haue we not seene this vision verified by the death of the Marshall of Saint *André*, which is at hand: by that of the D. of Guise before Orleans the year following: and by that of the Constable at the bataille of Saint Denis, and of the Prince himselfe in that of Bassac.

In the Kings army, they numbred two thousand horse, and nineteene thousand foot. In that of the Prince, foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot. They ioyne the nineteenth of December, and without any skirmishes, charge with all their forces. The Princes Suisses lose seuentene Captaines, with three parts of their troops, which were about three

The heretick of Lyons.

A three thousand, and endure three charges before they could bee broken. On the other side, the taking of the Constable, the death of the Marshall *Saint André*, the defeat of their troopes, caused a general confusion in the Kings armie, if the duke of Guise charging the white cassacks, and the Reistres with fury (whose Pistols had made a great slaughter of his men) had not forced through the Princes horse, who straying too much from the battell, fell prisoner into the hands of the Lord of Danville, the which made the victory doubtfull, seeming before to incline to his side. The conflict continued from ten of the clocke in the morning, vntill night, with many charges, there are seuen thousand men slaine vpon the place, on both sides, many hurt, and in a manner, all died, and a great number of prisoners. The King lost (besides his Suisses) the most part of his horse, and a great number of foot. There were slaine of men of marke, the duke of Neuers, killed by one of his household seruants, either by hazard, or of purpose, the Lords of Montbrun (the Constables sonne) *d'Annebault*, *Giury*, *la Bresse* and his sonne: there were hurt, the Duke of Aumale, brother to the Duke of Guise, Rochefort and Beauvais. *Aufun* a Nobleman of Galeony, whom feare made fly to Paris, and there hee died of griefe. The Prince lost about two thousand two hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty horse, French and Reistres.

This bataille is famous, by the taking of two Generals, the one in the beginning, the other in the end of the bataille, so as the field was left by both parties: but after the treat, it was viewed, and taken againe by the D. of Guise, and the next day, as it were, recovered by the Admirall, who presented himselfe in bataille. So the Prince had the advantage ouer the dead, and the honour to haue made his retreat with order: but the duke had the advantage of the victory, for that hee lodged vpon the place of bataille, spoiled the dead, and won the Princes artillery, who (a strange matter considering their hatred) supped, and lay all night with the duke of Guise. Doubtlesse, it was a courtesie in the one, and a resolution in the other. By the taking of the two Commanders, the duke of Guise was declared the Kings Lieutenant General in the army, and the Admirall tooke the command for the Protestants. Either had sundry designs. The duke to recouer the places held from the King: the Admirall to preferre Orleans with more facility, by the conquest of some places about it: and then to finish his voyage into Normandy, whither the treasure of England called him. So hauing taken Selles in Berry, Saint Aignan, Montrichard, and Sully vpon Loire, he deliuered the guard of Orleans to his brother *d'Andelot*, with fourteenne ensignes of French and Laniquenes, foure of the inhabitants of the towne, and a great number of the Nobility, vnder the conduct of *Duras*, *Bouchanet*, *Buffy*, *S. Cyre*, *Anaret*, and other voluntaries: and tooke the way to Normandy, thinking by this meanes to diuide the enemies forces, who had Orleans for the chiefe object of their armes. The fift day of February, he camps before it, and the next day hee wins the Portereau, with the slaughter of foure hundred good French souldiers, being abandoned by the Laniquenes, who cowardly left the place they had in charge.

E The eighteenth of the moneth, hee was ready to giue an assault: and making his reckoning to winne the towne, hee writes to the Queene-mother, that within 24. houres hee would send her newes of the taking thereof, and would make the day very memorable, sparing neither sexe nor age: that after he had shroued there, hee would extinguish the remembrance of the towne. But man knoweth not his destiny, nor what shall happen vnto him. The same day as he returned towards night, vpon a little Moile, from the campe to the castle of Coruey, his ordinary lodging, *John Pelliot*, Seigneur of Mery, a Gentleman of Angoulmois mounted vpon a Spanish horse, by his owne proper and priuate motion, shoots him into the shoulder with a pistoll charged with three bullets, and saues himselfe by flight: but hauing wandred all night, he was taken the next day: soone after, hee was pinch't with hot irons, and so drawne in pieces with horses at Paris. The D. of Guise dyed the 24. of the said moneth, and was interred at Paris, with pompe like vnto a King. *Henry* his sonne being yong of age, was preferred to the place of great Chamberlaine, and Lord Steward of France.

The D. of Guise slaine.

The Admirall in the meane time, runnes ouer Normandy without opposition, and followed by foure thousand horse, hee coopt vp them into their forts, who had had free scope, since the taking of Rouen: namely, the Marquis of Elbeuf, and *Renouart* a new Knight of the Order, molested by the Protestants of Caen, tooke some, and slue others.

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The money, artillery, powder, with five companies of English, and two of French, which A he newly received, came very fitly to reduce the towne, and the strong castle thereof, to his devotion, *Montgomery* conquered Honefieu: and the Lord of Colombieres, Bayeux: and by this prize, he so amazed the garison of Saint Lo, as they left the place. The Admirall sent *Montgomery* thither, who was received into Auranches without contradiction. Viré being taken by assault, endured the ordinary rigour of the warre. The Earle went on with his forces, even as the packet of peace arrived, the which called the Admirall to Orleans. So the 14 of March, he marcheth thitherward: the 18 he entrencheth into Bernay by force, and causeth some priests to be hanged being found in armes perswading the people to resist in a packy dog-hole. Two days after, the Vicont of Dreux takes Aigle, and purs all B to the sword that he finds armed. *Falaife* compounds: Argenton redeemes it selfe for ten thousand franks. Mortagne a great village in Perche (seduced by some indiscreet priests) makes resistance. They force it, and the most mutinous pay for their folly with the price of their lives. The Monks of Saint Calais had received garison, and ill treated some of the household servants of the Lord of Coignee: but now hee takes a sharpe reuenge, and *Cerauy* surprizing the castle of Mezières neere vnto Dreux, makes the garison for euer after vnable to beare armes. So the Admirall re-enters into Orleans the three and twentieth of March.

At the beginning of the siege of Orleans, the King, his Mother, the Priuy Councell, and certaine Deputies of the Court of Parliament at Paris, were come to Chartres, to arrange (said they) the Prince of Conde. The Duke of Guise had by this means given C two strokes with one stone: for the losse of the Prince of Condes head, had stricken off the Constables. But *Dumouille* hauing the honour to haue taken the Prince in battell, had likewise the honour to preferre his life, by the dispersing of this assembly. Now that the Queene-mother stands no more in feare of the duke of Guises authority, shee reuiues the treaty of Peace begun before his death. For the effecting whereof she holds an assembly in the Isle of Oxen, where the Prince and the Constable assist being yet prisoners. The Constable protests at the beginning, that he will not suffer any peace made with the conditions of the Edict of January. The Prince craues leaue to conferre with his councell in Orleans. His councell giues him to vnderstand, that neither the Queene, nor he, can de- D derogate from the Edict so solemnly made, confirmed, and sworne, at the instance of the Estates, and so notable an assembly of all the Parliaments of the Realme.

But the Prince was grieved to see himselfe guarded by a company of horse, and three ensignes of foot, and many Gentlemen had not of long time seene their families. More- over, they gaue the Prince to vnderstand, that the Articles of the Edict of January were not altered, but onely to content the Catholikes: that armes being laid aside, they should by little and little obtaine free liberty. So the Articles of Peace drawne in forme of an Edict, were concluded the twelfth of March, and all confirmed in the Kings Councell at Amboise the nineteenth following, verified in Parliament the twenty seuen, and the same day proclaimed throughout the towne by the sound of Trumpet. E The executions qualified with the name of Iustice, the robberies, general and private massacres, committed on the persons of the Protestants at Paris, Senlis, Amiens, Abbeville, Meaux, Chaulons, Troyes, Bar vpon Seine, Espernay, Sens, Auxerre, Neuers, Corbigny, Aurillac, Moulins, Issoudun, Mans, Vendôme, Angers, Craon, Blois, Mer, Tours, Bourgueil, and places therabout, Poitiers: Rouen, Valongnes, Viré, Saint Lo, Bourdeaux, Agen, and generally in all parts of the Realme, are read at large in the Originals, and would augment this Volume beyond the iust proportion. Time and leisure may hereafter giue all this discourse specified more particularly. Let vs onely obserue the most memorable exploits chanced during these first troubles, from the moneth of April, in the year 1562, vnto the publication of the Peace.

The Protestants of Meaux exceeding the Catholikes in number, had vntill the end of Iune, continued the exercise of their religion, without any disturbance: then transported with an indiscreet zeale, and ill-advised presumption, grounded vpon their numbers, they fly to the Churches, beat down Images, and make the priests retire. This insolency made the Court of Parliament at Paris to censure them, and to abandon them to any that could spoile or kill them, without any forme of proceffe. Therevpon *Lihoux* brother to *Mont- sieur*, comes to Meaux, and with the consent of the Protestants, restores the exercise of the

A peace con-
cluded at
Orleans.

Particular
numbers at
Meaux.

A the Catholike religion, and then giues commandement to the inhabitants, to bring their armies into the towne-houle. Some obey, others to the number of foure hundred, march to ioyne with the Prince *Portian*: they charge them, and kill them all but forty, which recouer Orleans with much adoe, leauing their wiues to the mercy of the stronger, whereof many were forced to goe to the masse with blowes, many mariages solemnized anew, many children (but without order) baptized againe. The 13 of February 1563 some fugitiues tried to recouer the place, but this caused a rotall ruine of their companions, who remained within the towne, they were massacred, drowned and hanged, their wiues and children rauished, their goods spoiled, and their houses made inhabitable.

B At Chaulons, *des Bordes* Lieutenant to the Duke of Neuers, Governour of Champagne, slue many men and women, imprisoned handicrafts men, spoiled their houses, caused mariages to be re-solemnized, and children to be re-baptized. Those of Bar vpon Seine became the stronger, and rashly in a place easie to be forced. Some Cannons planted onely against the castle, scattered all within it like vnto Partridges. So the besiegers entring, finding few men to execute their reuenge on, they fall vpon the women, maidens, and children, open some of their stomacks, pull out their hearts, and with a fury (vnworthy doubtlesse of one created after the same image and likeness) tear them with their teeth. *Ralet* a young Advocate, son to the Kings Proctor, was (a prodigious thing) hanged by his fathers procurement. In the moneth of January following, some fifty horse of the garison C of Antrain, surprized the towne at the breake of day: and at the first tied this *Ralet* to the top of his house, then with their pistols caused him to expiate the death of his sonne. The other murderers were murdered, and their spoile spoiled by other spoilers. So the Lord requires the blood of many by the hand of man himselfe.

Saint Eslenne being returned from Orleans, with two of his brethren and some o- *Saint Eslenne* thers to refresh himselfe, in a house of his neere vnto Rheims, was beset, besieged and battered with the Cannon, by a troop of fifteene or sixteen hundred men, who going forth vpon their word to speake with the Duke of Neuers, who (they said) asked for him, was murdered by his owne Cousin germane the Baron of Cerny, and his two brethren, with sixteen others stabbed.

D A hundred persons of all qualities were mistrably slaine at Sens, their bodies cast naked into Seine, their houses spoiled, and (as if it had beene no sufficient reuenge) their Vines were pulled vp. The eleuenth of May 1562, the Catholikes of Neuers called in many Gentlemen of the Country, seized vpon the gates, and three dayes after fell vpon the Protestants. *Fayette* arises, ransacks their houses, re-baptizes the children, expels whom he pleased, and so laden with booty, worth fifty thousand Crownes, he retires to his house in Auvergne. *Noiset* Marshall of the Company of *Fayette*, entreated them of Corbigny in the like sort. Captain *Blany* surprized the towne few dayes after, and restored the Protestants to the publike exercise of their religion. Captain *Blasse* surprizing the towne of Antrain, slayed the Catholikes from committing the like excess, as they had done at Antrain. *Blasse* E Auxerre. *Stephen Blondel* a Priest, and another called the *Dangerous*, were hanged and shot. *Jfferieux* (called in by the Protestants of La Charité to take the charge of the town) was set vpon by *Cheneon*, *Achon*, and other troops, and finally (being besieged by *Fayette*) he yielded vp the towne vpon an honest composition for his partie. This was the tenth of Iune, but the Grand Prior entring, he pulled the Capitulation (being signed) out of *Jfferieux* hand, and afterwards *la Fayette* abandons these poore Protestants to spoile and ranisme, like to them of Neuers. The third of March following, the Captains *du Bois*, *Blasse*, and *Blany* re-enter by Scalado. Leauing it afterwards in guard to *du Bois*, who defended it with threescore and seven souldiers, and some inhabitants, against an army of foure thousand foot and horse: slue about fourescore of them, and forced them to raze F the siege.

Those of Chastillon vpon Loire, standing amidst many difficulties, and in the end spoiled of all their commodities, fortified their little towne, and the fifth of January endure an assault against the Lord of Prie, kill seuen or eight of his men, and hurt many others, the men defending themselves with stones, and the women pouring boiling water vpon the assailants. In the end, *Montenard* Governour of Berry besieged it, battered it, and took it by force, killed men and women, young and old, spoiled the towne, euen to the hinges of doores, glasse and bars of windows.

Gyen

1562

& 63

At Chaulons

At Bar

At Sens

At Neuers

At Corbigny

At Antrain

At La Charité

Chastillon vpon Loire

1562

At Gyen.

Gyen maintains it selfe long, the Protestants were the stronger, but the insolvency of Captains and Souldiers, whom the Prince of Conde sent thither from Orleans to refresh themselves one after another, forced many of the inhabitants to retire to Orleans. So the towne remaining at the devotion of the Kings armie, who camped before it, was subject to the violence of the stronger, where the Italians amongst other insolencies, cut a young child being alive in two pieces, and with a horrible fury eat his liver.

At Montargis.

Montargis was the Sanctuary of many Protestant Families, under the countenance of Renee of France, daughter to King Lewis the twelfth, and Duchesse Dowager of Ferrara. The Duke of Guise her sonne in law sends *Malicorne* thither with foure companies of men at armes, but the prey he sought was safe within the Castle: his fury fell vpon an old man met by chance, who was slaine and cast into the river. *Malicorne* threatens the Duchesse to bring the Cannon to force her to yeeld the castle and the Protestants that were in it. But the generous resolution of this Duchesse, and the death of the Duke of Guise, stayed the execution of his threats.

At Auvergne.

Bersons, according to the Commission he had from the Duke of Guise to seize vpon the forts of high Auvergne, enters into Auvergne, murders eight men, spoiles the towne and that of Argentat, with some castles, ranseth wifes and maidens, making his account to root out all the Protestants in the Country, if the Edict of pacification had not forced him to surcease. *Montare* comes to Moulins with like Commission, he expelled out of the towne whom he doubted, then giving liberty to his troops, they spoiled the houses and farmes thereabouts: he caused fix men to be hanged, and five others to be drowned, returning from Orleans with three Merchants of Dauphiné, suffering the hangman to execute them without any forme of Proceffe, whom the multitude deliuered vnto him to be put to death. Thirteen young men of Ifoudun were beaten downe in the water the eight of May at Saint Lisiene, a village two leagues from the towne, and the ninth of Iuly following, *Sarrazay* seized vpon Ifoudun, armed the Catholike inhabitants, drew massacators out of prison, and filled it with Protestants, who for the most part died, being smothered under the ruines of a Tower, of fixteene that escaped, ten saved themselves at Bourges. Vntill the Edict of peace, he spoiled both the towne and country, ransoming some, deliuering others to the Hang-man, which had not meanes to redeeme themselves: he ransith wifes and maids: and to conclude, exposed these poore creatures to all the insolencies of souldiers. The third of April 1562, those of Mans became masters of the towne. But violence neuer continued long, and souldiers led by a Commander of small credit and little authority, did neuer see their armes prosper.

At Moulins.

These men are no sooner armed, but they employ themselves to the beating downe of Images, sacking of Churches: and from the towne they runne to the Villages neere. The commons assemblable, kill such as they meet, and rescue the booty. In the end, an apple of discord diuides them of the towne and the castle: the insolencies of the Captaines and Souldiers amaze the Protestants: the Duke of Montpensier prepares to assaile them, and off three Captaines which command within the towne, two haue intelligence with him. This being discovered, the towne being also ill furnished, *La Mothe Tibergeau* draws forth tumultuously eight hundred men carrying armes, leading them through many difficulties into Alançon, who then tooke sundry parties: some not praised in armes remained there: others put themselves into the troops of the Conte *Montgomery*, others of the Duke of Bouillon, and the other two Captaines submitted to those to whom they had given their words. Thus the Catholikes haue their turne, they were driven out of the towne, and now they re-enter, and full of spleene they spoile the Protestants houses, both within the towne and abroad, fill leagues compass: and without respect of kindred, kill, spoile, and ransome men, women and children. Some women of good account, some simple people, seruants and chamber-maids, retired to their farmes, or to their friends in the country, remaine at the deuotion of 500 Harguebuziers, leauied for the guard of the towne and country thereabouts, who forbore no kind of reuenge and rigour. The prisons are filled, they forbid by any meanes to sollicite for them: the accused are not admitted to except against any witness, and for the last act of this Tragedie, about two hundred persons of all qualities and sexes, purge by their mournfull deaths the insolencies of these first furies. The absent were executed in picture, their goods confiscate that were dead carrying armes: their children degraded from all offices, and declared incapable to succeed.

At Ifoudun.

At Mans.

Catholikes com-
mited in Mans.

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A succeed. In Villages neere and farther off, about sixscore persons yeelded their throats to the reuenging swords of them to whom the change of armes had now giuen the aduantage. One Capitaine *Champagne*, to glut the Pickrels in a poole which he had, doth gorge them with about fifty persons. *Bois-lardin* his Lieutenant fills two trenches neere vnto his house, with fifty or three score carcasses. *La Ferié-Bernard*, *Sablé*, *Maine*, *Loire-Castle*, *Meners*, *Belesme*, and *Marigue*, had the fields thereabout white with the bones of such as were slaine, whose flesh was deuoured with birds and beasts. The Images out throwne at Vendosme, the Altars beaten downe, yea the monuments of the House of Vendosme too insolently broken, might not these stirre vp some reuenge? *Tou beat downe* (say the Catholikes) the Images, and destroy the reliques of the dead: but we will beat downe as many liuing Images as shall fall into our hands. The Monkes of Saint Calais second them, and of many Protestants which held their Abbey, they massacre five and twenty or thirty. Some troops which kept the fields, kill the first that passe, stone them and cast them into wells. The Lord of Congneé ioyning with some gentlemen, comes to charge them, kills the murderers, and (except a few which fled betimes) puts them all to the sword: then hee dispatcheth the rest of his fury vpon the Priests and Monkes, and causeth two of the most insolent to be hanged in their Church, yea where the alarm had rung to assaile the Protestants.

At Vendosme.

Those of Angers become the stronger, yet without any offence to their fellow-citizens, and make an agreement within themselves: *To line peaceably one with another, under the Kings obedience, with obseruation of the Edict of January*. This modesty continued from the fifth of April to the two and twentieth. Then they lose all patience, ouerthrowing the images and reliques of Saint *Samson*. The Catholiques rest patient, but they could well chooseth the time of their aduantage. It chanced that the Prince of Conde required a supply of men and money from the Protestants of Angers. Many Gentlemen and Souldiers march, and by this meanes make their party weak. *Paygailard* a Gascon Capitaine, sent by the Duke of Montpensier, enters the Castle the fifth of May, and the next day winnes a part of the towne: then to lull the Protestants asleepe, and to haue them in the end at his deuotion, he grants them free liberty of Religion. But two dayes after, vnder colour of disarming them, they enter their houses. A receiuer of Subsidies and some others bar vp their gates. They found the alarme, their houses are spoiled, and the prisons filled vp with men and women: and after the eleventh of the said moneth vnto the end of the yeare, about foure-score men were executed after diuers manners. Many women of all qualities were put into sackes, drawne through the dirt, and their bodies cast into the River, and their daughters ransith: some making strong resistance were stabbed with their daggers. And the Duke of Montpensier, hauing published the Edict of the Parliament of Paris, *To pursue all them that should be any way suspected of the Protestant religion*, many Gentlemen and others about Angers during these furies lost both life and goods.

At Angers.

At Blois they were masters both of the towne and castle, but being too weak to encounter the forces of the Duke of Guise, all the men of warre retired to Orleans. Those which remained in the towne, payed for their companions: for besides them that were beaten downe in the streets at the Duke of Guises entry, many tyed to stakes, were cast into the river, wifes and mayds were ransith, houses spoiled, and as often chanceth in these inuicill tumults, many Catholikes were slaine in these confusions, as liberty giues euery man meanes to reuenge his priuate quarrels. They compaine to the Duke. *There is no remedy* (saith he) *we haue too much people in France. I will deale so, as visitals shall be good cheape*. As if the disposition of seasons were in thy power, oh Duke! or if the earth should desire to be watered with mans blood, to become fertile.

At Blois.

The Towne of Mer was spoiled ten dayes together. *Beaupais* a Minister of the Church hanged, some men slaine, some women being ransith di. d, some of them in the hands of them that ransith them, others of grieffe soone after. The foresaid decree was published euery Sunday in places depending on the Parliament. It was a meanes to arme theceus, vagabonds, villanes, leud and idle persons: it made the plough-man to leaue the plough and the crafts-man to shut vp his shop: to conclude, it did change the multitude into Tygers and Lyons, and fleteth them against their owne Countrymen. A troop of these rascals fall vpon Ligneul, hang some men, pull out a Ministers eyes, and then burne him. Another company runnes vpon the marches of Comeri, l'Isle-Bouchart, Loches, Azé they burne, and

At Mer.

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At Tours.

and the neighbour places, beating downe and murdering men, women, and children. A Those of Tours were seized of the towne, but hauing spared the images no more then the rest, the Duke of Montpensier comes in Iuly, and summons them to yeeld. They had no meanes to keepe the towne, nor the Prince of Conde to succour them. So they make three Ensignes of foot, and two Cornets of horse, and ioyned with them of Chinon, and Chastelleraud, making a troop of a thousand men of warre. This was but a fire of straw: seven or eight companies of men at armes, and some cornets of light-horse of the Earle Villars, charge and ouerthrow them, kill some, and cary others prisoners to Chastelleraud: some recover Poitiers, others which had yeelded themselves at the first in this defeat, being sent backe to Tours with passports, fell out of Scylla into Charybdis. The multitude B receiues them disarmed, and beats them downe. About three hundred recover the gates of Tours with running, hoping to find a Sanctuary at their houses. But the people armes, and murder most of these amazed men, cast their bodies into Loire, massacre their companions remaining within the towne, sacke their lodgings, and in this furious liberty, die the Riuier with the blood of their fellow-Citizens, men, women, and children. Chaungy C armes, and by his presence doth countenance this popular insolvency. Bourgeois President of Tours, no Protestant, but onely suspected to fauour their partie, had redeemed his life out of the hands of Cleruauux, Lieutenant to Chaungy, for three hundred crownes, and a basin of silver, but in the end, being murdered with stauces and swords, hanged by the feet, his head in the water vnto the breast, they open his belly, teare out his bowels, and cast them into the riuier, and placing his heart vpon the top of a Lance, they cary it through the towne, crying: Behold the President of the Huguenots heart. The Duke Montpensier arises, and by gibbets, wheelies, and other tortures, plays the last act of this vnciuill Tragedie. The Protestants of Poitiers, being masters of the towne, did not forget to beat downe Images.

A horrible cruelty.

Poitiers.

The Earle of Villars, and the Marshall Saint Andre besiege them. Saint Gemme commanding there for the Prince of Conde, sustaines a furious assault, making the assailants to determine of a retreat, when as Pineau Capitaine of the Castle, practised by the assailants, giues them a signe to returne: he shoos against them that were at the gate, and forced them to leaue the defence. The gate being thus wonne, they come to fight for the marker places. The Protestants began now to yeeld to the victors force, when as Mangot a Capitaine of Lodun breaking the lockes of Saint Cyprians gate, makes a way for the Citizens and Souldiers to saue themselves, leauing the towne and country about, subiect to all the insolenicies incident to a country of conquest. Corneillis a Scottish Capitaine, escapes from Poitiers with his troop, and to suppress the peasants fury, greedy of blood and spoile, he layes an ambush, and then he cunningly ioynes with them, and by this stratagem, takes from them all desire to assemble together againe for the like effect. The vnrstrained liberty of armes, made the strongest of all sides to seize vpon their townes, thinking delays to breed danger. But alas, how many pitifull Catastrophes grew by these inciuill and fatall tumults: Rouen was not the last to make tryall thereof.

The first siege of Rouen.

The fifteenth of April 1562, the Protestants seize vpon the towne, enter the Churches tumultuously, beat downe and ruine reliques, images and altars, in about fifty parishes, abbeys and religious houses: the exercise of the Catholique Religion fireweaked, and the Court of Parliament retired to Louiers. During these broiles, the Duke of Aumale comes as the Kings Lieutenant Generall. Villebon Bailiffe of Rouen, seizeth vpon Pont de Lauche, the Baron of Clerc, on Caudbec: and so blocke vp Rouen both aboue and beneath the Riuier: the Magistrate ceaseth to administer iustice, the Merchant histrafficke, and the handicraftsman shuts vp his shop: heavy foretellings of a horrible confusion to come. Many difficulties did now presse them of Rouen, when as Moruilliers coming from the Prince of Conde, and slipping cunningly by water into the towne, prouides for the souldiers disorders, and for the guard of Saint Katherinees fort, prolonging the hope of the besieged. The Duke of Aumale assailes the fort, and tires them with daily skirmishes, but most fatal for himselfe: he loseth at the first charge an hundred men, and the besieged Saint Agnan and Languelet brave Capitaines, at the second a great number of men, and two Ensignes caryed into the towne. The eleuenth of Iuly, the Duke giues a generall assault, and so furious as three Ensignes of the enemies planted vpon the rampier, did so inflame the courage of the besieged, as they ouerthrow both Ensignes and men, pursued them to their campe, and

A and forced them to dislodge the night following, in confusion, with losse of their victuals, munition and baggage, to goe and reuenge the dishonor lately receiued at Rouen, by the taking of Ponteau de Mer and Honfleur. Moruilliers content to haue preferred Rouen, at this time, retires to his house, and leaues the charge to the Earle of Montgomery, called by them of Rouen out of base Normandy. About the end of September, the King, the Queen, and the King of Nauarre come to the army, consisting of fixteene thousand foot, and two thousand horse, besides Reistres and Lanqueens: five dayes are spent in skirmishes, but with most advantage to the besieged. The fixt day, most part of the souldiers goe to refresh themselves within the towne. A Capitaine named Lewis, who had intelligence with the enemy, giues them aduice. They runne hotly to the assault (during these skirmishes, B they had made a breach in the wall with fire or fix hundred Cannon shot) they kill many good souldiers, many pioners, eight and twenty women, and take the place: but with the losse of Lewis his life, slaine by one of his souldiers as he did helpe the assailants to mount. A worthy reward for so notable a treachery. Three hundred Burgeses did runne to the defence: but the fury of the assault caryed some to their graues, and others to prison, and made the way easie for the taking of the Bulwarke of Martinnille, and the Fort of Montgomery. The thirtieth of October a hot assault was giuen against the town from the morning vntill night, and many men on both sides slaine. The next day, about cleuen of the C clocke, they renew the assault, and plant three Ensignes vpon the rampier of Saint Hilary. Montgomery repels them, and drives them backe beyond the trench, killing of his enemies about eight hundred men, and losing of his party, foure or five hundred men, women, and children.

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The second siege.

The fort taken.

The King of Nauarre slain.

The next day was fatal to the King of Nauarre. If I may (said he to a Nobleman) escape from this siege, I will neuer cary armes more for this quarrell. A certaine fore-telling of the mischiefe that followes vs, doth commonly touch our hearts. Hauing visited the trenches, and dined neere vnto the wall without the battery, he was shot in the shoulder as he made water: the bullet being drawne out too late by the Surgeons, and his wound inflamed by his voluptuousnesse, accompanied with a Feuer, he gaue his soule to God the seuenteenth day of Nouember following, as we haue said before. In the meane time, the battery continues, many thousands of shot beat downe diuers towers, many Mynes play without effect. The fourth assault was more auailable, the 26 of October. Thereby the assailants win the breach at the port Saint Hilary, they enter in troop, and kill all they encounter, force houses, raiuish wiues and maids, and commit all such ordinary in the like accidents. Montgomery vnable to withstand this last violence, saues himselfe in a galley with such as could get in, the rest remaining in prey were spoiled, slaine, drowned, and made prisoners. The Parliament returns three dayes after the taking of the towne, and at their first sitting the President of Mandreuille lost his head: Soquence and Berthenouille Councillors, and Marlorat a Minister, were hanged, and the next day five Capitaines, and diuers Burgeses of the towne. Moreouer, enuy and hatred amidst the popular furies brought in question E the Seigneur of Anthot, chiefe President, and Boissager the Kings Aduocate, being Catholickes, but enemies to sedition, and wise politicians. In ciuill tumults, the vulgar doth commonly take for essentiall markes of Religion, the insolenicies and excesses, which fury and the suffrance of the Magistrats doth suggest.

Rouen taken.

Diepe seized.

And taken againe.

Diepe serued for a retreat to many Protestant Families, but the ouerthrow of some troops which Briquemant sent to Montgomery for a supply, and the taking of Rouen, terrified most part of the inhabitants, who being pressed by Aumale and Villebon, were content to yeeld, and to cease the exercise of their religion. Ricarville and Bacqueuille had the gouernment: the former of the Castle, the other of the towne. But how many Capitaines by indifferencie haue lost both liues and places: Ricarville going out of the castle to see his F horses, is slaine, and suddenly the castle is seized on by Carcuille and Capitaine Gascon, who going from thence into the towne, take Bacqueuille, and restore the exercise of the Protestants Religion vnder the gouernment of La Crec.

Montgomery laboured with all his power to maintaine to Protestants in base Normandie, but he had the Duke of Elrampes and Matignon to encounter him. In May, hee had taken Viré, beaten downe the images, and caried away the reliques. The last of Iuly, the Catholikes awaked at this first rumour, surprize the Protestants coming from the preaching, reuenge their losses by the death of some, and hurting of others. About the

end

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end of August, *La Moth, Tibergean, Auaines and Deschamps*, sent by *Montgomery* with six-score horse, surpriseth the towne, and spoile both it and the country. The fourth of September the Duke of Estampes comes with eleven cornets of horse, they force the towne, kill *Auaines*, take the Castle, slay two hundred men that were fled into it, ransell and kill women and children. *Tibergean*, and many others ransomed their liues: so as generally there was nothing but taking and re-taking of townes, with most cruell and inciuill stratagems.

The Vidam of Chartres, and *Beauvoir la Noche* his brother in law, hauing assured themselves of New-hauen, the Vidam going into England, treated with the Queene to succor the Protestants: and for assurance of her men and money, deliuered the said place into her hands, with protestation, as well by him, as by the Queene, no way to preiudice the Kings soueraine authority, nor the estate of the Realme. And shee shortly yeeld it without any difficulty. According to the treaty, there arises six thousand English in Normandy, vnder the Earle of Warwicke, and are dispersed in Rouen, Diepe, and New-hauen. After the taking of Rouen, the Reingraue brought his Reistres before New-hauen: but his violence preuailed as little, as fifty thousand crownes did, with a collar of the Order, and a company of men at armes entertained, which the Queene Mother promised to *Beauvoir* to corrupt him to yeeld vp the town. Britanie continued vnder the moderate government of the Duke of Estampes, both for that the Queene Mother liued in suspence, and entertained both parties, as also for that the factions of Normandy had drawne away the worst affected. Those of Guienne, Languedoc, and other places, made warre against the Images and Altars, ministring occasion to shed the blood of liuely images at Grenade, Castelnauudary, and Cahors, where about six-score Protestants assembled to heare the preaching, were slaine. On the other side, *Bury* and *Montluc* (scourges to the Protestants) reuenged the beating downe of Images throughout all Guienne, with infinite murders, and lamentable spoiles, *Duras* hauing abandoned the protection thereof, vpon a commandement which he had receiued from the Prince of Conde, 'to bring his forces to Orleanse, which succeeded ill for him, as we shall see.

Bury and *Montluc* did runne vp and downe the country to crosse the Protestants designs: and those of Bourdeaux (hauing too slackly proceeded in an enterprise made against the towne and castles) caused the Parliament to search their houses, and to put them to death, who had not in time retired themselves vnder *Duras* Ensignes. *Montluc* incensed especially against them of Agen, tryed all his wits, to bring them vnder his power and command. He had against him the L. of Memy Generall of the war for the Protestants in Guienne and the neighbour country, a sickly man, and not greatly practised in such affaires: for if he had made benefit of the great forces which he had at his command, and would haue beleueed *Arpajon* and *Marchastel*, he might in shew haue cut *Montluc* in pieces, being much weaker of men, who knowing the cariage of his aduersary, wearied him with daily courtes and alarms, to the contempt of the Protestants, which fell into his hands, as he himselfe doth vaunt in his Commentaries, a true portraitt and table where we may read at large the horrible defolations chanced in those countries during the first troubles. In the end, those of Agen fecing their towne vnable to resist the Cannon, make a troop of about six hundred men, and retire for the most part to the castle of Penne committed by *Duras* to Captaine *Liouran*. The next day, the common people of Agen troop together, spoile and kill all they meet: *Bury* and *Montluc* flye thither, they execute many prisoners, and such as were absent they hang in picture. *Duras* not able to diuert this heauy accident, takes the way of Quercy, wins Lauffet by force, kils fise hundred three score and seuen men, amongst the which, nine-score and foueteene Priests were found slaine, without any respect of their Order, through this detestable warlike insolvency. For a counter-change, *Montluc* comes to besiege the castle of Penne, forceth the place after the death of *Liouran*, puts man, woman, and child to the sword, and (continuing the course of his prosperity) takes and sacks Castellanoux, Marmande, S. Macaire, Bazas, Toneins, Port S. Mary, Villeneufue of Agenois, the Castle of *Duras*, and Montsegur, leauing bloody trophies of an vnciuill and pitifull victory.

Lecloure, the chiefe towne of Armagnac, was at the Prince of Condes deuotion. *Bugale* a Captaine of Bearne and a Catholike commanded there: who by the taking of Sauuetat of Gaure, of Larromien, and of Tarraube, had assured the Protestants of his constant

New-hauen
deliuered to
the English.

Orleanse.

Lecloure.

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A stant affection to their party. *Montluc* sends Captaine *Pierot* his sonne to suppress *Bugale*. *Pierot* treats with *Bugale*, and reapes the fruits which follow by his parlee. Captaine *Mesmes* led two hundred souldiers to fortifie Lecloure: *Bugale* causeth them to stay vpon the way, vnder colour to send them a guard to make their passage easie. And to this intent he speedily sends to field three hundred men at armes, and fise and forty Argoletiers, and himselfe leads other troops of foot to Tarraube, that by the weaking of Lecloure, *Pierot* might haue means with his men at armes, to stop the returne of the troops of Tarraube to Lecloure, and by the same stratagem cut off the passage for Captaine *Mesmes*, leauing him in prey at Roquebrune a poore village, from whence he passed through his enemies, being foure or fise to one, and retired into Bearne. Moreover, although Tarraube was furnished of meale and water, yet he kept his foot-men therein, that being besieged, they might more easily be at *Pierot*'s mercy, as it afterwards fell out. And to fill vp the measure of his treacheries, soone after the yeelding vp of Tarraube, hee with a brother of his followed *Pierot*'s Ensignes, and against his plight faith, he beheld him to cut in pieces two hundred thirty one prisoners at Tarraube, hang some, and ransome many. *Montluc* aduertised hereof, assembles the Commons with fix companies of foot, besiegeth Lecloure, makes a breach, giues an assault in foure places, *Brimant* giues him the repulse, hauing not with him above an hundred souldiers, a weake number, the which induced him in the end (together with the Quof Nauars treaty, to whom the town belonged to depart by composition. Now we must perform our promise touching the exploits of *Duras* in Guienne: with the first forces he had gathered together, he tried to assure Bourdeaux: but hauing failed of his designe, he chose the country betwixt the riuers of Garonne and Dordonne, to re-view his troops. S. Macaire gaue him bullets as he passed in stead of victuals, and kils some of his men. He is offended therewith, assaults the towne, forceth it, and takes his reuenge of the former outrage. *Bury* and *Montluc* pursue him, (they knew well that hauing slaine him, all Guienne vn furnished of a Commander, would be at their discretion:) they over-tooke him neere to Rozan, and charge him at their aduantage, being abandoned by the most part of his company, which were vnwarlike, and not capable of discipline. This first checke was sufficient to abandon all: yet the cause whereof he had taken the defence, did D summon him once more to trie the hazard of armes. He gathers together what hee can, assembles new forces, takes the way of Agenois and of Quercy, helps them of Agen, reuengeth his iniuries vpon *Lauffet*, as we haue heard, marcheth towards S. Antonin, and there fortifies himselfe with two companies of foot, led by *Marchastel*. His meaning was to goe into Languedoc, and to ioine with the Lord of Crusol: But the Earle of Rochefoucault inuities him to the succour of Orleanse, and for a guard, sends him *Bordet*, a valiant Gentleman of Xaintonge, with sixty horse, two hundred Argoletiers, and two Ensignes of foot. These troops consisting of about fise thousand men, horse and foot, march to Montauban, there they receiue men, munition, and artillery, and so turne to Xaintonge: in the way they force the Castle of Marcues, take the Bishop of Cahors, and threaten to hang him as the author of a massacre made of the Protestants within his Diocesse: fise or fix souldiers made satisfaction for this offence by their deaths.

Bordet had a spleene against them of Sarlat: they had in this passage slaine two of his Gentlemen. So at his perswasion *Duras* encampes before it the first of October. *Bury* and *Montluc* flye to succour it with a great number of horse, and some eight thousand foot. *Duras* raiseth the siege, and to lodge at ease, diuides his men into Heudreux, Ver, and other places neere: the rainy weather gaue them likewise some impression and confidence of the enemies temporizing. But they were vigilant, and fearing lesse the injury of the ayre then *Duras*, they came thundring vpon him. Without doubt when two armies are neere together, the first that makes his retreat giues the other an aduantage. *Duras* who supposed they had beene but the enemies scouts, determined to retire softly, and to lodge his men in safety: when as *Bury* and *Montluc* seeing him retire, charge him behind, and finding very small resistance, kil fise or six hundred of his souldiers, charge home to the artillery and baggage, kil 1500 seruants, & hang some prisoners, especially Ministers that followed the troops. But the booty qualifying the victors heat, gaue leisure to the first that fled, to set wings to their feet, and by a sudden flight to prolong their liues for some daies: for the most part of them that escaped, were taken againe, and led to Agen, and there hanged on a gibbet set vp exprefly, which they called the Confitory.

A great terror.

The battell of
Ver, and the
second daies
of October.

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Battels are variable, and he is no Merchant that wins alwayes, saith the Proverb. *Duras* gathers together some remainders of this shipwracke, and advertised that *Laumosner* a Capitaine sent by *sanjac* to overthrow him quite, did attend him at Embowet with five hundred men, hee marcheth directly against his enemy, surprizeth him at the brake of dry, cuts in pieces both the Capitaine and his souldiers, reseruing three only to cary newes vnto *sanjac*, and by this foule slaughter reuengeth the disgrace which he had lately received: then most of his troops being gone, some to *Rochel*, some elsewhere, and hauing no man of command remaining, but his eldest sonne, *Bordes*, *Puch*, and his brother, with about forty Carabins, and eightheene hundred souldiers, halfe disarmed (his horsemen being gone before, and ioynd with *Rochfoucault*) hee recovered *Orleance* and there died vpon the conclusion of the peace. Through the absence of *Duras* the Protestants estate in *Guienne* was very lamentable, their bodies and goods left to the discretion of their enemies. *Piles* a Gentleman of *Gascony*, hearing of the outrages which *Bury* and *Montluc* committed without controule, parts from *Orleance* (hee came with the troops which *Grandmont* brought out of *Gascony*) and surmounting a world of difficulties, in the end he recouers his house neere vnto *Bergerac*, and notwithstanding the garison which the Duke of *Montpensier* had left there, he opens the prisons, and sets all them at liberty that were committed for matter of religion, and then retires to his house.

This new and bold attempt puts the Country into armes: all rise against *Piles*, who tooe to yeeld to violence, withdraws himselfe, being followed by fifteene horse, and hitheer *Harguez* on foot: at *Montagnac* hee surpriseth a Corner of sixscore light horse, commanded by *Montcassin*, hee kills their Leader, with fourtene others, and puts the rest to 1000; and by means of the horse which he recovered there, of good souldiers he made profitable men at armes. *Piles* had left *la Riniere* about *Bergerac*, a young gentleman, who (wedding the practice of armes to the study of the Lawes, from which hee was newly returned) became as soone a braue Capitaine, as a resolute souldier: for his first stratagem, hauing suddenly trooped together some twenty souldiers, and a good number of peasants with staves, he surpriseth *Sainte Foy* vpon *Dordonne* by scale, cuts the Corps de gard in pieces that was set in the market place, and commanding in the streets many and sundry things, as if he had beene followed by seuen or eight hundred men, hee slew *Reau* one of *Montluc*s Capitaines, his Lieutenant, his Prouost, with fourescore of his souldiers, and became absolute master of the place. *Bury* and *Montluc* chafing at this disgrace, recetued by an Apprentise in warre, lodge many troops betwixt *Bergerac* and *Sainte Foy*. But *la Riniere* hauing forced through the troop of Capitaine *Salé*, and a Squadron of horse, made his retreat, passed the River of *Dordonne* in safety, and went with his troop to ioyne with Capitaine *Piles*. Vpon the way, behold a band of souldiers encounter him being sent from his men, and as he enquired newes of *Piles*, they overthrow, hurt, and kill him. But passing ouer a bridge he casts himselfe into the water, recouers the contrarie brinke, and so saues himselfe at *Hymet*, a towne of *Agnois*, whereas *Piles* prepared for the surprize of *Mucidan*, the which *Montluc* thinking to take from him about the end of January 1563, by means of the Sneschall of *Perigord*, hee left the vnderaker confounded in his designe, and his troops put to flight. This successe giues courage to *Piles*: he attempts against *Bergerac*, and at the second charge enters it the 12 of March, putting three Corps de gard to the sword, and all such as could not in time recouer the Castle. The next day a tower being undermined, hauing smothered them that were within it, the Castle vnsurrounded of munition, yeelds at the victors discretion, who puts them all to the sword. Ah cruell and more then inciuill warre! What worse vylage could wee expect of straggers and barbarous people, whose inhumanity we willingly abhorre: and doe wee not tremble at the effusion of our Country-mens blood? In the Countries of *Angoumois* and *Cognac*, the Seigneur of *Murron*, by many murders, ransomings, and robberies, ransacking of wines and maids, and other oppressions which the war doth vially bring forth, reuenged the excess the Protestants had committed, in beating downe the images at *Angoulême*. In *Xaintonge*, Count *Rochfoucault* maintained their affaires, but the taking of *Poitiers* before described, & the defeat of *Duras*, caused the Protestants to be spoiled at *Xaintes* by Capitaine *Mogret*, and the exercise of their religion to be abolished at *Rochel*, and the neighbour Ilands, by the Duke of *Montpensier*. But alas, all these disorders and bloody confusions do not counteruaile the horrible furies of *Tholoufa*, & other places of the

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A the Parliament of *Languedoc*. *Toloufa* is one of the greatest and best peopled cities of the Realme, and at that time the Protestants numbered aboute five and twenty thousand persons of their Religion, of all qualities, ages, and sexes. After the publication of the Edict of January, matters passed with great moderation vntill April. A little sparkle doth soone kinde a fire of sedition: and a small cause thrusts the seditious into furie, especially if the Magistrats (ordained rather to restrain the bloody-minded) doth countenance their insolencies. The buriall of a dead body was the Prologue to a horrible Tragedie, whereof the first act was played in the suburbs of *Saint Michael*, *Saint Stephen*, and *S. Saluador*: and so passed the wals, and put all the City into a mournfull confusion. The Parliament did winke at it, but the Capitols being more modest, employed their authority to quench these first flames, which must needs put all their State in combustion: foure of the most seditious being hanged, and two whipt, did make some satisfaction for the blood and death of such as were wounded, slaine, and cast into Wels. This pursuite makes the people mad. The Protestants, to warrant their liues, and to save themselves by some good capitulation, seize on a gate, and vpon the Towne-house. The Parliament stormes, calls in the Nobility, assembles the commons, giues authority to their furious armes, and by a generall proclamation, both within the City and abroad, commands them to arme, and to fall vpon the Huguenots, with warrant from the Pope, the King, and the Court of Parliament. Then they kill, they fill the prisons, they massacre many. When they find no holes to hold them, the ruer is heaped vp with carcasses: they cast them aliue out of the windowes, and if they labour to recouer the banks, they beat them downe with stones and staves. The Protestants shut vp in the Towne-house, and hauing no other hope but to despair of life, resolute to sell their liues dearly. They had Cannon, and with the thunder thereof amaze their enemies, they make many sallies with great effusion of blood on either side. They treat an accord with them: they demand an assurance of their liues and goods, with the obseruation of the Edict. It is refused: and so this vnciuill and scall combat continued many dayes. In the end, the 16 of May they grant them, *To retire in safety, leaving their armes in the Towne-house*. They goe forth towards night. But oh confusion! it is the best expedient to disarm an enemy with dispensation of conscience, with whom they will keepe no faith. At their going forth they imprison such as they can lay hand on, the rest escape by the gate which they held: some recouer *Montauban*, or other places of their partie, others are subiect to the mercy of the peasants and souldiers lying in the fields. So as aboute three thousand five hundred persons (saith the Originall) lost their liues in this mutiny.

The Catholiques are now absolute masters of the City: they beat downe the Protestants Temple, and foure dayes together they kill, imprison, and spoile. These broiles and popular tumuls haue oftentimes confounded the authors themselves, and the spoile of rich houses is a very dangerous and attractive bait. The Parliament knowes it well, and begins now to feare, lest the insolvency of such, to whom they had giuen liberty, should fall vpon themselves. They therefore leaue a sum of money to content the companies, and to void the towne of them. So *Montluc* and *Terrides* march against *Montauban*, *Fourquenax* against *Beziers*, *Atrepoix* the younger against *Limoux*. The Court hauing the gouernment without controule, displace two and twenty Councillors that were least partiall, and most suspected with some chiefe men: condemne prisoners, and from the end of May vnto February following, they execute by diuers manners, foure hundred persons.

This massacre of *Toloufa*, that of *Gaillac* in *Albigeois* against eightscore persons, and the approach of *Bury* and *Montluc*, had so amazed the inhabitants of *Montauban*, as they abandon the towne: but the taking of *Agen*, and the troubled Estate of *Bordeaux* (as we haue heard called away both of them for this time. In the meane time, *Arpajon* and *Mar-chesse* putting two thousand men into *Montauban*, had put new courage into them, when as newes comes that *Montluc* and *Terrides* came to besiege them with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot: the which made the Capitaines take a new resolution to goe to *Orleance*: the people are amazed, feare drives many out in confusion, the drum sounds, they issue forth tumultuously, forsake the towne, and abandon the gates. But which was the better expedient, either to die in defence of their houses and families, or to fall into the hands of the enemy, from whom they might expect no mercy? The most part being

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surprised in the fields, were forced to yeeld their throats to their swords that pursued them, others brought to Toloufa ended their liues vpon sundry gibbets: the Captaines and some few others recovered the towne. The 24 of May, *Montluc* arriues, but being content with some skirmishes, and to haue wasted the coine, hee retired to make a greater leape. He returns in September following, with nine companies of men at armes, a great number of voluntary Gentlemen, five and twenty Ensignes of foot, four companies of Arquebiers, and three of Spaniards, which made twelue hundred men, and thirteene peeces of Artillery. The partie was stronger on either side then at the first, for *Duras* and *Marchaisel* were entred, vnder hope to lead both the companies and Cannon to Orleans. So as *Montluc* hauing lost some six hundred men in diuers skirmishes, and refused to fight with *Duras*, who offered him battell, he retired the second time.

Then *Duras* and *Marchaisel* leading away the troops, vnfurnished the towne of two great Cannons, and two field Pieces, the which were afterwards lost in the battell of Ver. *Montluc* aduertised of the estate of Montauban by *Fontgrau*, one of the Captaines of the towne, hastens thither, offers a scalado, and giues the alarme in three parts. Two hundred recover the first curtaine, being followed by the two Ensignes of *Bazourdan*. *Laboria* borne in the towne and a Captaine there, beats them back, and with the slaughter of two hundred of their men, forceth them to leaue their attempt to winne it by force. The thirteenth of October, they batter it with nine peeces of Artillery, and continuing untill the 22 of the moneth, he beats downe a peece of the wall. *Bazourdan* will needs discouer the breach: but being shot in aboute the left pap, he could not returne with any newes. The next day they giue a furious assault: the more courageously the assailants presse them, the more resolutely the assailed defend themselves, men, women, and children, euery one in his place. Oftentimes they obtaine that vnder the Foxes skinne, which the Lyon cannot effect. *Laboria* might doe much to draw the Inhabitants to composition. *Terrides* promisseth him the government of the Towne, vnder the Kings authority, and three companies entertained. He accepts this offer. But his new proceeding brings him presently into suspect, so as hauing no more credit, and the Citizens resolute not to giue care to any Capitulation with men, who hauing (say they) no faith, cannot keepe it with any. *Laboria* followed by his Sergeant, retires himselfe to *Terrides* campe: from that time vntill the fifth of April, being the day of the publication of the peace, the siege passed in assaults, sallies, and skirmishes, wherein the besiegers lost aboute two thousand men, with a great number of Captaines and worthy Gentlemen without any profit.

Carcassonne, Castelnauary, Reuel, and Limoux were partakers of these disorders. The Protestants of Carcassonne had their exercise in the suburbs. The 16 of March, 1562 the Catholikes hauing taken view of foure or five thousand men, giue an alarm to the protestants assembled in the suburbs: they made them leaue the place at the sound of their Cannon, drums and trumpets: they pursue them, kill, hurt, hang, and ranfome them. Castelnauary was subiect to the like fortune, about fifty persons were murdered with the like fury and popular tumult. Those of Reuel hearing of the confusion at Toloufa, saved themselves at Castres, and elsewhere, leauing their families and goods to the mercy of theuees and robbers. Some being apprehended by vertue of a commission granted by the Parliament, were led to Toloufa, and condemned, some to the gallies, others were fined, and some banished. At Limoux they had an advantage ouer the Catholikes: but *Pomus* being entred with terne companies, and eight hundred Bandaliers, Spaniards for the most part, and the Marshall of Mirepoix being sent by the Parliament, the towne was subiect to the will of the stronger, and suffered the ordinary insolencies of conquerors, spoiles, murders and rapes. He that sees his neighbours house on fire should looke to his owne. So the Protestants of Beziers aduertised of the murder of *Rassy*, draw some souldiers vnto them, and ruine the images in all the Churches. *Beaudiné* chiefe of the Protestants troops assisted them, and by the taking of Magzlas and Espignan, strong places which did much annoy Beziers, assured the towne to their party. *Ioyenze* followed by 5000 men, and 12 peeces of artillery, crossed their attempts, and hauing at the second assault forced *Lezignan*, and taking Montagnac by composition, he tooke the way to Pezenas. *Beaudiné* comes against him, and might easily haue defeated him, but five hundred Crownes, which the Master of his Campe had receiued of *Ioyenze*, with promise of a thousand more, made him lose about six-score Souldiers, and by the rout of his companies, opened

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A opened the gates of Pezenas to *Ioyenze*. Beziers was ready to receiue a law from him: but the sacke and murder of their neighbours, and the feare of the like vlsage, made them to shut their gates against him, and to goe to field, to force and burne Lignan, with the defeat of two companies that kept it: and then to surprize Seruiat, to force the Garrison of Casouls, scale Villeneufue neere vnto Beziers, and so to preserve themselves vntill the publication of the peace.

Beaucaire feared the like vlsage to Limoux: they therefore obtaine two companies from Nismes. *S. Veran* a Beauuoisin, with *Sernus* and *Bouillargues* led them, they assure the towne and castle, ruine images and altars, and then retire, leauing a company for the safety of B their companions. To encounter them, the Catholiques by twy-light bring in a great number of souldiers attired like peasants, and in the night open the gates to fifteen or sixteen hundred men, who coming from Tarascon, separated onely by the Rhone, made their coming famous by blood and spoile. The Protestants recouer the castle, and speedily call backe *Sernus* and *Bouillargues*, who returned to Nismes. They turne head: *Sernus* enters into the castle, and so descending into the towne, surprizeth his enemies, kills a great number, and pardons such as laying downe their armes craue mercy. *Bouillargues* coming from the rescue of the booty which they caried away, and weary with killing them that fled, he likewise enters into the towne, and puts all to the sword that hee encounters. Thus *Beaucaire* remained in the Protestants hands, vntill the Edict of peace.

C The like feare troubled them of Montpellier. The proceedings at Toloufa and other places amazed them: they fortifie themselves, raze the suburbs, in a manner as great as the towne, beat downe thirty Churches, and by these ruines make themselves able to sustaine a siege which threatened them. The enemy discharged his choller vpon certaine shut lodging in an old tower ill flanked, a league from the towne, who hauing yeelded to haue their liues saved, were notwithstanding slaine as they came forth. The like chance fell vpon the Captaine, and twenty souldiers that were in Maguelone, and deferuently, according to the diuine Iustice, hauing treacherously sold the Castle. At that time the Lords of Suze and Sommerie, the chiefe of the Catholikes army in Languedoc, had passed the Rofae with about three thousand foot, foure hundred Masters, and three Cannons, with an intent to besiege Saint Giles, a small towne vpon the Rhone. *Beaudiné* vpon this aduice, D parts from Montpellier, he speedily assembles six hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, vnder the command of *Bouillargues*, *Albenas*, and *Grille*: he is aduertised by some prisoners of a disorder in the enemies campe: he marcheth towards them, and chargeth presently. *Suze* and *Sommerie* turne their backs, their Captaines and Souldiers are amazed and run away: *Bouillargues* follows them that flye: not one makes resistance. *Grille* falls out likewise, and both jointly doe kill, what by the sword, and water, 2000 men, and win all their baggage, being richly furnished, as to a certaine victory, with two Cannons, (the Culuerin being sunke in the Riuer of Rhone) 22 Ensignes, and the Colonels guidon. This victorie makes them proud, and *Grille* contemning the aduice which was giuen him, suffered E himselfe within a few dayes after to be surprised and taken at Arenasses, to lose an hundred or six-score souldiers, his troops to be put to flight towards Lunel, Manguel, and Sommieres, and had it not bene for the arriual of *Beaudiné*, who freed him, hee had remained a trophie to his enemy.

In the meane time *Ioyenze* (seeing the plague to waste his men daily) retires from the Campe before Montpellier: it was rather to free the inhabitants from icalousie. He had practised certaine intelligences within the town, but the iustice of God brought two of the chiefe Merchants to be a spectacle vpon a scaffold for other crimes: who hauing confessed the treason, euen as the sword hung ouer their heads, ended *Ioyenzes* practices with their liues.

F His attempts vpon Agde were as fruitlesse, and much more preiudiciall vnto him: for being repulled by *Sanglas* from a scalado, and two assaults, *Bouillargues* cut off two hundred and seuentie of his men in his retreat, hauing diuided them into three bands. Hee drew three hundred Catholiques lodged within Avamon, into an ambuscado, slue the most part of them, and soon after seized on Saint Laurent in the Comtat, hee chased five and thirty Italian Lancers, three-score Arquebiers, and a company of foot. But the course of his prosperity was somewhat stayed by the death of *Rays*, Guidon of his company, and of Captaine *Aisse*, who kept the tower of Carbonicre seated in the Marshes

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of Aiguefortes, and did wonderfully molest the said towne, it being surprisid in an ambuscado, and they slay the twelfth of Nouember. The death of these men was recompensed with the slaughter of fourescore, surprisid and slaine by them of Montpellier, within Bourg, a small towne vpon Rhone, besides a great number that were drowned; seeking to saue themselves by the said Riuer. This happy successe inuited them to new attempts. A company of the enemies lodged in Agnanc, and spoiled the Country. *Rapin* Gouvernor of Montpellier, being followed by five hundred shot, and *Gremians* troop of horse, awaked them in the night, about Christmas, surprisid some asleepe, others in their shirts, slue the greatest number, and brought the rest prisoners to Montpellier. The yeare ended with the taking of Saint Paul and Damiette, separated by the riuer of Agout, be. B sieged, battered, and within three dayes taken from the Protestants by *Pieros* sonne to *Montluc*, with great slaughter. A Galcon Capitaine hauing slaine a Priest of purpose or other wise, made them beleuee it was the Minister: within few dayes after hee went to Castres, where the Protestants had still the better during these inciuill troubles. Let vs briefly looke into the Prouinces of Viuretz, Rouergue, Giuaudan and the County of Foix. In April the Protestants of Nonnay become masters of the towne, beginning presently to beat downe images: they opened and publicly burnt the relike which they call of Holy vertues. Doubtlesse, if man could iudge by the present what would after chance, he would restraîne his passions. For the interchange of worldly things suffers most offences at length to find a reuenge. The towne was vnfurnished of armes, and *Sarras* vnder C gouernor (threatened with a siege) goes forth the 22 of October: the next morning he comes at the breake of day to Saint Estienne in Forest (the abundance of armes and hardnesse that is forged there, makes the towne famous) sets fire to the Gates, and takes and packes vp such armes as he needed. But oh man! remember that thou shalt be measured with the same measure wherewith thou hast measured thy neighbour, and whilest thou dost loiter and linger behind with thy souldiers to search houses for the goodliest armes and the fairest women, thou giuist thine enemy leisure to prepare thee a portion full of bitterness. *Saint Chaumont* sent by the Duke of Nemours (who then made warre in Lionnois) encounters him, chargeth and takes him prisoner, hurts and kils about six-score men of his troop: and from that time those of Nonnay lay open to many outrages. He gathers D the commons together, besiegeth the towne, wanting both men, armes, and a Commander: he enters, sheds as much blood as he pleaseth, spoiles it, fires it, and burnes two and twenty houses: then vpon a brute of the Baron of Adretz approach with stronger and greater forces, he dislodgeth without Trumpet, and seemes rather to flie then retire.

The first taking
of Nonnay.

About the end of the yeare, *Saint Martin*, by the commendement of the Lord of Crussol, and the Cardinall of Chastillon, then Gouvernors of Guienne and Dauphiné, vnder the Prince of Condes authority, came to Nonnay, repaired the ruines, and provided for the defence thereof, leauing Capitaine *Prost*, *le Mas*, and *Mongroft* there. *S. Chaumont* flies thither with foure thousand men, but visit to force places well furnished, hee treats with the Citizens, offers an honest composition as well for themselves as for their strangers. E They accept it, the strangers depart, and the same night *S. Chaumont* cauleth or suffereth his men to enter, who forgetting no kind of inhumanity, murder some, others they cast from an high tower, some they burne in their houses, many they make to leape out at the windowes, beat them downe vpon the pavement, stab them in the streets, sell prisoners by the Drum, and for want of buyers they murder them in the place, and burne the houses for want of present money to redeeme them: there were six-score by this meanes burnt to ashes. And to fill vp the measure of this horrible confusion, wiues and maids were barbarously rauished, corne and other things which could not be caried, was scattered about: the heads of wine-vessels beaten out, the wals for the most part beaten downe to the ground, the towers dismantled, and the gates caried away. Bonlieu a small towne neere vnto F Nonnay, did accompany it in this lamentable defolation.

In Rouergue, *Valsergues* one of *Montluc*s Lieutenant, and Capitaine of the Garison of Villefranche, hauing wonderfully oppressed the Protestants of that place, and the Nobility of Rouergue, those of Villeneufue, Perrouffe, Froissac, Saignac, la Guepie, Espailon, Saint Afrique, those of Brescul, Compeyre, Millau, Saint Felix, Cornus, and of Pont Camates, resolved to defend themselves, and by their constant resolution had made frustrate their enemies attempts, if two of their Captains had not by their ouerthrow shaken their

Viuretz and
others.The second
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A their affaires. About thirty men led by *Peigre*, going out of Millau to refresh Compeyre, besieged by *Vesin* and others, were cut in pieces, their leader led to Toloufa, was at the instance of the Cardinall of Armagnac quartered aliue. And *Saignac* hauing failed in an enterprise he had vpon Villefranche, was inuited in the castle of Granes, where for want of water, hee was forced to accept his life to be saued, and theirs that followed him, being about a hundred souldiers: notwithstanding, all but six or seuen were put to the sword.

B These tempests fell likewise vpon Giuaudan, those of Ceuennes entering into Quacé, burnt the Image of our Ladie, and made a booty of two hundred and fourescore Markes of siluer, of the reliques and ornaments of the Church being molten. But this prosperitie was like a fire of straw, wherein they often confound themselves in their ouer-weening. Afterwards they campe before Mendes; and in the end of Iuly, they enter by composition, but they suffer one *Copier* to change his profession of a Minister to a Capitaine, to order the Treasure, and to dispose of matters of warre: who vnder this rash presumption, sends about six-score men to another enterprise, vnder the conduct of a Hosiier of Alby called *La Croix*, as very a nouice in matters of warre, as his pretended Colonell, *Treillans* the younger, sends part of his men, who surpriseth them in the field, and out of order, and kils the most part: and hee with the rest of his troope, rides directly to Mendes: he enters without any difficulty, carries away the Gouverneur, spoiles what hee pleaseth, and leaues the rest to the discretion of other bands, who laying hold vpon *Copier*, make him yeeld an account of his vsurped gouernment: notwithstanding some troops of his party rescued him within few dayes after, and brought him backe late and found with his companions. The Prouince of Giuaudan enioyed then some rest, when as the Barons of Guise, and Saint Vidal, *Treillans* and others came to molest it. They make a troope of two thousand men in the beginning of October, to ioyne with *royenne* at the siege of Montpellier: but the defeat of their men at Saint Giles, made them to change their designe, and to attempt Floras. Eight men onely commanded by *Boissy* a valiant souldier of Montpellier, kept it. The besiegers vsd both battery, scaldado, assault, mynes, and parle, and get nothing but blowes. In the end a report flying of the D coming of *Beaudiné* to succour the besieged, they raise their campe with confusion and disorder.

Marshallst, a Castle belonging to the Seigneur of Peyre a Protestant, had another issue. *Cossart* Gouverneur of Rocoles, besieged it in the beginning of February, and hauing taken it by treason, hee kept his faith with the souldiers like vnto *Granes*, which then was vsed as a Prouerbe in the mouthes of Protestants. *Peyre* afterwards incourted *Cossart*, slue three-score and ten of his men, and recovered his house. These confusions continued still euen after the publication of Peace: for the Baron of La Fare hauing tryed by all meanes (saith the Originall) to haue a maid of excellent beauty at his pleasure, besieged Floras the fifth of Aprill. But *Beaudiné* making hast to succour it, preferred both the E virgins chastitie, and the Citizens blood. The Lord of Pailles, Senechal for the King of Nauarre, in the County of Foix, fed the Protestants with words. The desolation of Toloufa made him to change his copy. So the Wolfe (according to the Fable) hauing sent away the dogges, doth then breake into the fold, and deuours the sheepe at his pleasure. Hee aduiseeth such as hee feared among the Protestants (seeing they had bene charged with the beating downe of Images and Altars) to retire themselves: else hee should be forced to imprison them. This terrour chalet many. *Pailles* entering into the towne, puts some in prison, and so terrifies others, as they were glad to leaue the towne. Of the prisoners, two were beheaded, two burnt, six hanged, six and twenty condemned to death, ten to the gallies, and the goods of them that were fled abandoned in prey to the souldiers: the other townes of the County terrified with his stratagem, accepted such conditions as *Pailles* would prescribe them.

F Onely *Pamiers* resisted. The towne belonged to the Queene of Nauarre, and the number of the Protestants was great. Man hath meanes to preserve himselfe from humane forces, but what harbour, what shelter can protect him from the wrath of heauen? Men make warre one against another, and two parties seeke one anothers destruction: but God with the same arme strikes both the one and the other, and it falls vpon whom he pleaseth. The Catholikes of *Pamiers* seeke all meanes to oppress the Protestants, and the

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the Protestants to crosse the practices of their enemies, when as a common scourge affires them both. The plague comes into the towne, and in few weekes takes away three thousand Citizens. But (a strange thing) of all this great number they did not account above fifty Protestants: so as subsisting in the midst of this mortality, and by this means protected from the injuries of their enemies abroad, they succour their neighbours of Castres, kill the Vicont of Seres and his brother, with the greatest part of three hundred men which he commanded, and so disperse the rest, as the way was open for them to recover their houses: where discovering a practice made by some begging Friars, to bring in *Pailles* and others, they made such a spoile in their Couents, as neuer after were they more scene or heard of. This bloody stratagem amazed the Priests and Chanoines. They saw themselves in the towne of Foix, where they spoile their houses and the Bishops. As one mischief follows another, the peace being concluded, in the beginning of May, a furious haile continuing by fits for the space of three weekes about Foix, cuts the corne and all greene things, so as there was no hope of fruit. The Commons murine, accuse the Clergy, being fled, to be the motives of this tempest, & were ready to fall vpon them. They auoid this popular fury, and retire to Maugency.

Let vs change our Climate, and turne into Gaule Lioinois. The last of April the Protestants were seized of Lyons at two of the clocke after mid-night, without any slaughter but of two men. The Lord of Sule had the first government. Amongst many of the Princes faction which posted thither, the Baron of Adretz (a valiant man, but proud and cruel) seized on the government. The Prince sent afterwards *Poncenat* and *Changy*: the first to command the horse, the last the foot.

Hereupon the Baron of S. *Vidal* and other Auernacs advanced, with three or foure thousand men, to wait the cuntry of Lioinois, whilst the D. of Nemours assembled an armie of Bourguignons, Auernacs, and Foreins, for the siege of Lyons. *Poncenat* with five hundred men goes to discover them, chargeth them at the first approach, makes such a slaughter, as by their rout he ouerthrowes their designe, and pursuing his victory, neere vnto Fours in Forest, he encounters with some troops of horse, which made against him: he chargeth them, puts them to flight, and presently forceth the towne of Fours, where most of them that fled had saved themselves.

Des Adretz arises, who hauing resisted the forces of *Sommerive*, *Suize*, *Carres*, *Maugiron*, and others, brought home places vnder his subiection, and amongst others *Montbrison* the chiefe of the Prouince. But there he blemished the reputation which hee had gotten in Dauphiné, and by his cruelty did violate the lawes of humanitie, and made himselfe odious, the which plunged him into many miseries, as we shall see hereafter. One afternoon hee tooke a delight to see many prisoners leape out of the high tower of Montbrison, amongst the which there were some Gentlemen of account. *Soubize* comes to Lyons, being sent by the Prince of Conde, with the title of Lieutenant and Gouernor: and did so politickely handle the violent disposition of *Adretz*, as he perswaded him to returne into Dauphiné, where hee did goodly exploits. But this decay of his authoritie did presently discontent the Baron: who on this first spleene laid the leaue of a speedy remede.

The siege of
Lyons.

On the other side, *Tanannes*, approached with five thousand French, and three thousand Italians, led by the Earle of Anguiole, not with any intent to force the towne, but to binder the haruest and the vintage. These Italians had many goats, so as in detestation of this horrible medley, the peasants cast all their goats among the Carion where they passed. The Duke of Nemours arises, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant general, and for the first fruits of his armes, he recieues Vienna vpon Rhone by composition, by the fauour of the Catholikes: hee kills few, and spoiles much. The taking of this towne threatened their victuals at Lyons. *Soubize*, to haue means to keepe the field, calls backe *Adretz* and the Prouengals. He brings foure or five thousand foot, and foure hundred horse.

The Baron of
Adretz arrives.

The Duke conceiuing an assured hope of victory by the weakenesse of their horse, encounters them, puts them twice in rout neere to Beaupaire, but with small losse: and if the conduct and resolution of *Adretz*, with the advantage of the place, had not fauoured him, he had then receiued a mate. Hauing speedily rallied his troopes, he incamps within two leagues of Vienna, holding the Duke of Nemours occupied with continuall skirmishes,

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A misfines, whilst *Soubize* gathered in victuals. Hereupon a packet comming from Orleanse to *Soubize*, falls into the hands of the Marshall of Brissac. Amongst other Letters one from the Admirall contained: That he must endure the violence of the Baron of *Adretz* as much as he could, lest of an insolent man he should make him mad. This was a fit expedient to put the Baron into furie. *Brissac* hauing presently sent S. *Sernin* to Nemours and *Adretz*, causeth them to enter into strange practices one with another. *Soubize* (who was alwayes vigilant both at home and abroad) and had (as the History commends him) spent largely vpon spyes, discouers presently their secret intelligences, causeth the Baron to be apprehended, and by the commandement of *Crussol* and the Cardinal of Chastillon sends him vnder sure guard to Nismes, whereas nothing but the benefit of a peace, whereby presently followed, persued him from the danger of death. Notwithstanding the Duke making his profit of the Barons practices, drawes neere to Lyons, and by sundry skirmishes cuts off their victuals. But he that vndertakes too much, speeds but ill. At one instant he attempts both Romance and Valence. The whole body of his army was necessary for this designe: and whilst that he seeks to deuoure all at once, he loseth all. He tries all his wits, and employs all his deuices to vanquish Lyons, and vpon hope to be assisted by them of the towne that were of his faction, he attempts it by *scallous* in diuers parts, but all in vaine. He is ill serued both within and without, and so rudely entertained by *Soubize*, as he must now put on another personage. He helps himselfe with the newes C of the bataille of Dreux, and proclaimes this victory. But now he finds out a new practice, whereby he hopes to attaine his desire.

Mark Herlin, Receiver of the Impost at Lyons, had been taken in skirmish in the month of February 1563. To giue two strokes with one stone, to save his life or his ranfome, and to mocke the Duke, he giues him to vnderstand, That hee had means to doe the King a notable seruice: that they had accustomed to employ him in the guard of the towne, and to trust him with many matters of weight: that if he will grant him liberty, he will watch some convenient time, to giue him entrance at Saint *Inss* gate, whereby hee should bring in a sufficient number of men to make himselfe Lord of the towne. Wee easily beleue that which is plausible to our desires. The Duke accepts this offer: he frees *Herlin*, but as D if he had escaped of himselfe, *Herlin* comes to Lyons: imparts it to *Soubize*, then returns to Nemours, and appoints him the 7 of March following.

The cue before this pretended execution, *Soubize* plants his artillery in the night, to scoure the streets, lodgeth three or foure thousand shot in the bulwarques, walls and houses of approach, and appoints *Poncenat* with his troope of horse to follow them. The day being come, *Nemours* approacheth: they giue him a signe from a small tower. Three thousand foot enters into the suburbs of Saint *Inss*, and from thence advance vnto the gate, *Herlin* goes to meet them and brings them in. But being entred by the wicket, he suddenly shuts it. The artillery playes, and two or three hundred muskets and all the other shot discharge vpon them: *Blacons*, *Poyer*, *Andefroy* and *Entreagues* pursue them with six hundred choice Harguebuziers, who defeat them quite: and if the horsemen had made speed, scarce any one had caried newes of this stratagem to his companions. Four hundred were slaine in the suburbs, many without, and a greater number ended their liues flying to the campe at Vienna and other places. This disgrace did so trouble the Duke, as he continued two moneths sicke in his bed, and in the meane time a Peace was concluded.

A stratagem
against the D.
of Nemours.

The first ciuill tumult in Dauphiné, was at Romans. *La Mothe-Gondrin*, Lieutenant to the D. of Guise in that Prouince, would haue bearen downe a house, whereas the Protestants had heard some Sermons. The Protestants troope suddenly together: and if he had not retired himselfe, they had put him in danger of his life. The second happened at Valence but fatal to the author: the 25 of April was the day of the election of new Consuls and of Councillors at Valence, *La Mothe* meaning his Pistoll should giue the first voice, and then to haue such named as he pleased, hee sends some horse out of the towne, either to prevent that none should come to crosse his designs, or to cut such in pieces as should seek to escape: he causeth the gates to be shut, enuiours the place of the assembly with armed men: he enters it with a fauchion in one hand, and his Pistoll in the other, the which hee discharged vpon a Secretary of his whom he findes there. The Protestants doubting that *Gondrin* would begin with them: a number of them retired into a house, and resolute to defend their liues.

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But as they came to force them, they slip out at a backe doore, and recover Saint Felix gate, where discovering *Gondrin's* horse leaping the Plaines, they cover themselves within the gate. These horsemen encountering no man, fall vpon some Countrey-men that came to Valence, and kill some of them, whose bodies are brought to the towne vpon ladders: for with out-rage the people require iustice. The next day being Sunday, the Protestants stirre not: they feared lest by reason of others of their party which came from all parts as the report of the former daies worke, some new tumult should arise. *Gondrin* commends them, and with sweet words perswades them to goe out of the towne for the exercise of their religion: that in doing so, they shall shew themselves obedient to the Edict. When they are abroad, they discover, or at the least imagine, that they seeke to surprize them: some runne to the gate: others enter the towne, and seize vpon the other gates. Munday morning, the whole party armes, they besiege *Gondrin's* house and fire it, who being retired into the next, he was slaine with six or seven of his household seruants: his house sacked, and to appease the multitude, they hang his carcase at a window towards the street. These are the effects which the insolenencies of an armed multitude brings forth.

They proceed yet farther: the report of images beaten downe in many other Provinces, transports them to the like insolenencies: they chose the Baron of Adretz, chiefe by prouision in Dauphiné, attending a confirmation, or some other certaine nomination by the Prince of Conde. The Baron (to make the entrance of his authoritie famous) sends boldly to the Parliament of Grenoble: that they should thrust out of the towne, the second President, the Attorney General, the Advocate of the towne, the fourth Consull, and some others, whom he termed seditious, and therefore hee threatened to hang them. These men, without either commandement or compulsion, were glad by a voluntarie exile to avoid the Barons threats.

The Protestants thus freed, seize vpon the gates of Grenoble the first of May, enter into the Priests, ouerthrow Altars and Images, plant the exercise of their religion: and for the security of the towne, bring in a company of foot sent by Adretz, who to encounter *Maugiron* (that termed himselfe the Kings Lieutenant Generall in Dauphiné) came in the end to Grenoble with a troope of horse and foot. Their first warre was against Images and reliques, afterwards they seize vpon the castles of Bissiere and Mirebell, and burnt the great house of the Carthusians, three leagues from Grenoble. Whilest these layle in full seas with a prosperous winde, behold others suffer a most pitifull ship-wracke. The massacre of Vassy, the Italian troopes of *Fabricio Serbellone*, a Bolois in Auignon, and those of Prouence ioyned with *Fabricio*, terrified the Protestants of Auranges neere vnto Auignon, who to crosse the intelligences, which they said these troopes had in Auranges, protect themselves with six hundred men. Moreover, *Fabricio* writes to *Sommerine*: That seeing he hath an army ready, he should performe a great worke, to bring it speedily before Auranges, whether there resorted daily a great multitude of Huguenots. If they were not suppressed at their first beginning, not onely Auignon should be annoyed, but also all Prouence receiue great harme. So *Sommerine* and *Suze* march against Auranches, and at the first finde good meanes to ruine the towne. *Parpaille* President in the Parliament of Auranges, had beene taken at Bourg vpon Rhone returning from Lions, where he had beene to make prouision of armes, for whose rescue the troopes of Auranges, being of their neighbour towne runne to Bourg. *Sommerine* and *Suze* fortified with many companies of Dauphiné and Auignon, besiege Auranges being without souldiers, they batter, make abreach, force it, and forget no kinde of cruelty that the Victors furie doth vniuallly inuent. All are put to sword without distinction of age, sexe, quality: and by a new kinde of death practised since in ciuill warres. they cast some downe vpon the souldiers Halberds, they burne others, tyed to their hookes in chimneys, they hang men, women, and children at their windowes, they throw some with their harguebuzes, murder others in their mothers armes: and to finish this desolation, they sacke and burne the towne, castle, palace and bishops house: six weekes after, *Parpaille* at the instance of the *Vicelégat* of Auignon lost his head.

But alas! this was (as they say) but to anger a Hornet. The Baron of Adretz studies of nothing but reuenge. Hee runnes, hee cries out, hee stormes, and full of indignation and threats, beats *Pierrelate*, and forceth it in few houres, puts all that he finds armed to the sword, enters in fury into the Castle guarded by three hundred souldiers of the troopes of

Siege and
falling on
of Auranches.

A of Suze; some he kills, others he casts downe, nor one escapes; with the like fury he takes the towne of Bourg. Pont S. Esprit brings him their keyes. He forceth Boulene a frontier of the Coniat, purseth the company of Capitaine *Barcelasse* to the sword, and threatened Auignon: when as newes came that *Maugiron* was entred by intelligence into Grenoble, where he spoiles, kills, and drownes. He poseth thither, affutes himselfe of Romans by the way, reduceth S. Marcelin to his deuotion, and puts three hundred of *Maugiron's* men to the sword. *Maugiron* fearing the fury of this man, retires into Sauoy, and from thence into Bourgongne to *Tannier*, leading with him all those of his faction: and the 26 of Iune Adretz re-enters into Grenoble, settles things in their former estate, and then hee marcheth into Forest, as we haue seene.

B Behold strange alterations: *Suze* and *Fabricio* beheld the Barons actions being in safety: his passage into Forest, draws them not to field. *Mombrun* makes head against them, and by the taking of Moras, doth partly reuenge the spoiles of Auranges. *Suze* will haue his reuenge, and comes to besiege Boulenc: but finding nothing but blowes to be gotten, hee goes and spoiles Vaurcas, in the County of Venaissin: and thinking to enlarge his limits, hee meetes with the Baron, who with a fury (without viewing or giuing him leisure to arange his troopes) doth charge him, defeats him, cuts in pieces the most part of his foot, kills him, with many Gentlemen, and wins his artillerie: but he shall not keepe it long. Then extending his victory, he vndertakes the defence of Cisteron, threatened by *Sommerine*, forceth S. Laurent des Arbres, and Roquemaur a strong place: takes and burnes the Castle of Pont Sorgues, kills all *Fabricio's* Souldiers that kept it, and the next day surprizeth *Fabricio* himselfe, and chafeth him euen vnto the gates of Auignon.

C As he continues his course along the riuier of Durance, and findes nothing to stay the violence of his victories, newes comes of the Prouengals ariuall at Gaillon. Hee wades through the riuier the first of September, chargeth them at the first, kills the most part, and puts the rest to flight. But in stead of going directly to Cisteron, whether hee had sent *Mombrun* with five hundred men, and the Cannon taken from *Suze* (he had some spleene against *Mauvais*, Capitaine of Cisteron) he takes the longer way by the Plaines: whereof D followed the ouerthrow of *Mombrun*, the losse of his artillerie, and the taking of Cisteron, as we shall see.

E Adretz had left the Councillor *Ponnet* for his Lieutenant at Grenoble: a man more capable of law, then fit for armes. Hereupon *Vinay* takes an occasion to attempt against the towne. *Saint Mauris* and *La Coche* receiue him so roughly, as the death of threecore of his best Spaniards and Italians, at the first skirmish, makes him to leaue Grenoble, to goe burne the peasants houses in the valley of Pragala. In the end, the course of the Barons prosperities is stayed by the taking of Vienne, and of the Castle of Piper, and by the two feuell ouerthrowes he had at Beau-repaire, whereof followed this change of sides, and the losse of the reputation and credit which he had gotten among his followers, as we haue heard. These losses caused the siege of Grenoble, whereof *Ponnet* (being called away by Adretz) had left the defence to *La Coche*. Six thousand men campe before it. But a goodly designe, and easie to be effected is often made frustrate by the discord of the Commanders. Many heads are the cause that Grenoble holds firme. They assaile it, but slowly: their victuals now growing short, after three weekes siege, pressed *La Coche* to capitulate, when as Capitaine *Furmier*, hauing assembled six or seven hundred foot, and four-score horse, passeth the riuier of Isère, surmounteth the straight of the Mountaine, forceth them that kept it, and aduanceth vnto the riuier of Drac neere to Grenoble. Meaning to ferry ouer, he sees the passage guarded by three or four hundred horse, with a great number of foot, and discovers another troope in ambush within the next wood, to charge

F him behind. He retires, & with a counterfeite feare, makes shew to turne backe: the enemy pursues him, he turns head against them, wades through the riuier of Drac, chargeth the first he meetes, breakes them, and by the resolution of his passage, in the face of so many enemies, he amazeth all the troope, scattereth and chafeth them with great slaughter: and this vnexpected ariuall, strikes such a terror in the campe, as every one abandons the trenches: every man flies, and staves not vntill they haue recovered the marches of Sauoy. *Crisol* had recovered Serignon and Auranges in base Dauphiné. *La Coche* surpriseth the Tower of Lempis, in the beginning of the yeare 1563, whilest those of Grenoble victualled

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The first fight
of Grenoble.

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Prouence was
betwixt the
father and the
sonne.

viſualized their place, and prepared to endure a ſecond ſiege. About the end of February, A there comes againſt them 8000 men, foot, and horſe: two great Cannons, and three field pieces: *La Coche* had to make head againſt them, beſides the citizens, fix hundred good ſouldiers, nine brave Capitaines, and ſome voluntarie Gentlemen, who hauing repulſed the aſſailants at their firſt aſſault, preferred, with the points of their ſwords, both the ſack of the citie, and the blood of their citizens.

Let vs paſſe into Prouence. The Earle of Tende was Gouverneur and his two ſonnes, *Sommerive* (iſſued of the firſt wife) was Lieutenant for the King in his fathers abſence. *Cipierre*, being then very yong, borne of the ſecond wife, and the Lord of *Cardet* of the houſe of *Saluſſes*, ſonne-in-law to the ſaid Earle, were (as many others did vaunt in thoſe dayes) maſtices which did defend the Proteſtants troope. *Sommerive*, a violent man and too bloody, did ſuddenly incenſe all Prouence againſt them: and being armed with force, he made his government famous by a horrible and generall execution of men diſ-membred, hanged, burned, cut in pieces being alive, drawne through the ſtreets, caſt downe head-long, ſtabbed, ſtarved, and ſuch like miſeries. The Earle his father, abhorring this generall deſolation, and not able by his authoritie to diuert his ſonne from the wicked proceeding, gathers together what force he can: giues the command of the horſe to *Cipierre*, and of the foot to *Cardet*, who by their armes kept all the townes beyond the riuier of *Durance* (except *Pertuis*) vnder their command.

On the other ſide, *Sommerive*, after the executions of Auranges before deſcribed, C hauing taken muſter of fifty enſignes of foot, and ſome Cornets of horſe, flies furiously to the ſiege of *Ciſteron*, being full of many Proteſtant families, that were retired thither, and manned with eleuen companies vnder the Lord of *Beauueu*, nephew to the Earle of Tende, and three hundred men commanded by *Furmeier*. The eleuenth of Iuly, *Sommerive* giues three aſſaults, continued from three of the clocke in the afternoone vntill night. Moſt of the moneth was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes: the priſoners on either ſide finding no mer-cie, nor grace of the ſouldiers. In the end, *Sommerive* (ſearing ſome new checke by the hands of *Adretz*, who had lately wonne the bataille of *Vourdas*) he went and intrenched himſelfe three leagues from *Ciſteron*. *Cardet* approacheth, but hee cannot by any deuice draw his brother-in-law out of his trenches. So the Earle of Tende, diſtreſt for victuals, D raiſeth his campe, puts ſome of his troopes into *Ciſteron*, and ſends the reſt to *Adretz*.

The ſecond
Siege.

Mambrun
deſcended.

Sommerive doubles his courage and force, and the ſeuen and twenty of Auguſt, fol-lowed by a hundred and two enſignes of foot, and many horſe, beſiegeth *Ciſteron* a new, on three parts, and vpon an intelligence which was giuen him, that *Mambrun* ap-proached to ſuccour the beſieged (as wee haue before ſpecified) *Sommerive* marcheth againſt him, chargeth *Mambrun*, kills about a hundred and fifty of his men, puts the other in rout, and wins two pieces of Cannon, which he had lately loſt. This victory was to *Sommerive* a foretelling of good ſucceſſe. The 14 of September hee ouerthrowes a hundred and forty paces of the wall: he planted two ſmall pieces, to batter the Friars. Three and thirty enſignes of foot, ſupported by a troope of horſe, goe to the aſſault, and continue it with a wonderfull fury vntill ſeuen of the clocke at night: that powder ſaying them on either ſide, they fall to ſtones, ſwords, and handy blowes: the greater number preuailling, the beſieged abandon the breach, retiring themſelues with great loſſe, and *des Adretz* re-turned into *Daulphiné*. *Senas*, *Monuans*, and other Capitaines, ſeeing themſelues vnr-niſhed of munition, without hope of ſuccours, charged with a multitude of men, not trained vp in warlike affaires, together with the enemies obſtinate reſolution, they pre-ferre the ſafety of their liues and perſons before the place: and in the night recouer the ſtreights and deſerts of the mountaine, and ſo come ſafe to *Grenoble*, from thence they were conducted to *Lions*, and there liued vntill the Ediſt of pacification. *Sommerive* at the breake of day, ſends ſome troopes after them: but the difficulty of the wayes, and feare F to loſe their part of the ſpoile, ſtayed the purſuit. So the victors enter into this aban-doned towne, and put to the ſword about foure hundred women and children, without diſ-tinction of age or religion.

Sommerive is now maſter of Prouence, leauing in all places pitfull ſignes of a bloody victory, whereof the originall notes (as principall instruments) *Carce*, *Mentin*, *Flaſſans*, thruſt forward eſpecially by *Bagarris*, *Cheſne*, *Saint Marguerite*, and others of the moſt ſeditious of the Court of Parliament of *Aix*, who with all impunitie gaue libertie to

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Bourgongne
Duch.

A to all thefts, ſpoiles, and murders: ſo as after the Ediſt of pacification, the Kings Priuy Councell gaue Commiſſion to the Preſident *Montan*, and ſome Councellors of the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, to ſuppreſſe ſuch diſorders: who by an exem-plary puniſhment of many, cauſed the following warres to bee managed with farre more moderation. But the quality of ſome, and the credit of others, ſaued many heads which were prepared to vomit vp, in open view, the blood which their hands had too prodigally ſpilt.

As for the Duchy of *Bourgongne*, *Tanannes* Lieutenant for the King in the D. of Au-mals abſence, Ioued ſiluer better then the blood of the Proteſtants, and the Parliament of B Dijon hauing by vertue of Letters obtained the firſt of March 1562, forbidden the exer-cie of their religion, *Tanannes* diſarmes them, puts the chiefe in priſon, forceth ſome to depart with threats, others he expels violently. The Maior and Sheriffs proceed farther: they thruſt forth wiues, maids, and children, commanding the peſants by Proclamation the 7 of Iuly, to ſet vpon the rebels and not to receive, lodge, nor feed them that are expelled the townes: (a rigour which humanity neuer viſed the moſt barbarous) they con-demne them, as guilty of high treaſon that had caried armes, or aſſiſted them with aide or counſell: and they giue liberty to kill them all with impunity that ſhould hereafter aſ-ſemble in any other places but in their ordinary Churches. This liberty cauſed many thefts and ſpoiles, at *Auſſonne*, *Aulun*, and *Beaune*: yet the people are commended to C haue contained themſelues within the bounds of modeſtie. Chaalon vpon *Saone*, *Maſcon* and *Belleuille*, ſeized on by the Proteſtants, ſerued them for a time as a Sanctuarie and refuge. *Mambrun* commands at Chaalon with 500 *Harguebuziers*: but being ſud-denly beleagured by *Tanannes*, and finding not the town furniſhed or deſenſible, by a dan-gerous, and (as the Originall ſaith) a deſectable example, hee left it in prey to *Tanannes*, and retired to *Maſcon*.

Tanannes goes thither with all ſpeed, and preſents himſelfe at the gates, hoping by kind offers to perſwade the people to receiue him, but he finds no admittance. So hee gathers together all his forces, and the third of Iune beſiegeth the towne. His army conſiſted for the moſt part of *Bourguignons* of the county, carying openly red ſcarfes. The beſieged D countenance themſelues with this pretext, and make their profit thereof, to auoid this preſent ſtorme that threatened them. They giue the King to vnderſtand; that it was not reaſonable, they being his naturall ſubiects, and deſiring to liue in peace, vnder the obedi-ence of his lawes, ſhould be forced to open their gates to *Tanannes*, armed with ſtrangers enemies to the crowne, who is ſuſpected of them for many other great reaſons. This ad-monition preuailed ſome-what: for *Tanannes* ſtraight-wayes retired by the Kings com-mandement, but it was to prepare for a ſecond ſiege.

Thoſe of *Lions* ſent *Entragues* to defend the ſiege. *Tanannes* makes his trenches, wins E the ſuburbs of *Saint Laurence*, and the fourth of Iuly, beats downe the defences, makes a breach, and views it, but to their coſt whom he ſent. So (as if ſome important buſineſſe had called him into *Bourgongne*) hee raiſeth his campe, and making his account that the beſieged would follow him, he layes a ſtrong ambuſh: but *Entragues* had no men to loſe. *Maſcon* ſired from this ſecond ſiege, behold *Belleuille* is aſſailed. *Saint Point* with other Gentlemen of *Daulphiné* came from the ſpoiling of ſome boats laden with the value of 40000 frankes in reliques of gold and ſiluer, which two Sheriffs of *Maſcon* had ſent of their owne authoritie to *Lions*, to be conuerted to their priuate vſes. So the robbers are often robbed. This booty puts them in hope of another. The 28 of Iuly, he comes with 200 horſe, fix or ſeuen hundred ſouldiers, and the common people thereofabout, to belea-guer this little towne: but the night before, two companies parting from *Maſcon*, were entered into it, by whom the aſſailants being repulſed with loſſe, turned their reuenge F vpon their neighbours cattell. The retreat of *S. Point*, made *Entragues* ſeeke to extend the limits of his iuriſdiction. He beſiegeth the Caſtle of *Pierredoux*, forceth *Montaſſat*, and ſue and twenty ſouldiers which commanded there, to yeeld at diſcretion: and car-ſeth them to be led priſoners to *Maſcon*: but this was to feed the Fox, who in the end ſhall eat his pullaine.

During theſe broyles, *Poncenat* comes to *Maſcon*, with *Suiſſes* and French, drawes forth the chiefe forces, beſiegeth *Tournon*, and becomes maſter thereof. But what can the fury of inciuill armes forbear? *Clugny* forced with the ſame rage, ſees that exquiſit and

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The third siege
and taking of
Maison.

and famous Library defaced : a most precious treasure, which made that Abbey to be greatly esteemed amongst others of France. *Tanannes*, advertised that Mafcon was unfurnished, and that *Entragues*, to please *Poncenat*, followed his ensignes, parts from Chalons with foure cornets of horse, and 800 foot, being assured of a practice which he had within the towne, whilst that his enemies, transported with their private affections, employed their forces elsewhere. The 17 of August, many waines drawne with Oxen, enter by his means that kept the keyes of one gate, being of the intelligence : they passe the first and the second gate : at the third, the first Carter overthrowes his Waime willingly, and by this policy stayes the rest. Twenty men coucht vpon their bellies behind a wall in a garden neere adioyning to the gate, runne thither : they kill some, bring in their men, overthrow a Court of guard, and become masters of the towne : the souldiers of *Pierreloux* are freed from prison, and cut off heads, armes and legges of the Protestants : they cast many into the riuer, spoile their houses, and ranfome the wealthiest. This *Bourgongne* returns to the Catholikes deuotion, and *Saint Poinet* had the government of Maicon, a violent and bloody man, who oftentimes glured his eyes after his meat, with the mournfull spectacle of such as he caused to be cast into the riuer.

These confusions did pitifully afflict all the Prouinces of this Realme : when on the other side, the heads of both parties, being prisoners, did sollicite the conclusion of a Peace. The Admirall, by ample Letters to the Queene, purged himselfe of the accusation laid against him, touching the death of the Duke of Guise : whereof *Polstrot* himselfe, in the midst of his most sensible torments at his execution, freed him. And the Queene-mother (leaving this thorne in the Admiralls foot, that she might raigne among these combustions of the houses of Guise and Chastillon) did cunningly giue two strokes with one stone : for shee made the Prince of Conde beleue, that the restraints propounded vpon the Edict of January, tended onely to content the Catholikes in some sort, and to open the way for the Protestants to haue greater liberty. Shee pleased the yong Duke of Guise with the execution of *Polstrot*, and his aduancement to his fathers offices : and the Constable, by the moderation of the Edict : for he had protested neuer to yeeld to the Edict of January. So the iudicious Reader may see, by the course of the History, which party did first breake it. But that which did most import *Katherine* in disarming her enemies, she entertained a discord betwixt two mighty families, whereby she maintained her authority.

In the end a peace concluded the 13 of March, gave liberty of Religion to Noblemen, hauing all manner of Iustice for them, their families and subiects. To other Gentlemen that had inferiour iurisdiction, for them and their families, with permission of the Lords of whom they held. In all Bailiwikes and Iurisdictions depending on the Parliaments a place appointed for their assemblies, at the election of the Prouince : besides all other places where the exercise had bene since the 7 of March. The Viconty of Paris onely excepted. Euery one restored to his former possession of goods, honours and offices. A generall abolition of all things past for matter of armes. All offences (except robbing) pardoned, and a defence to iniury one another, either for warre or Religion. This treaty did please and displease many. It reioycied such as made an account, that this sweet and pleasant name of peace should make an end of all their calamities, and restore euery man to his former estate. It grieved such, as (of three mighty enemies seeing two preuented by death, and the third a prisoner) thought that the government of the State was lawfully false to the Prince of Conde, who by consequence did derogate from his authority, subscribing to so weake and easie conditions of Peace, fore seeing also, that the secret oppositions of the Parliaments, and the violences of the most mutinous (who being armed sue dayly some of their men with all impunity) would in few yeares giue cause of new confusions.

So by this Peace, the Germanes were sent home. *Elizabeth* Queene of England held Newhaven, whereof the Prince had put her in possession, as a pawne and security for the money, wherewith shee had assisted his party. To make a breach betwixt her, and the Protestants, the English must bee chased away by them that had called them in. The King goes thither in person : they likewise vrge the Prince to goe with most of his party, and cause them to make the point. The place is strong, both by Nature and Art : but the fresh-water being cut off, and the plague hauing wasted about three thousand men,

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A men, the Earle of Warwicke entered into Capitulation the 28 of Iuly, and the next day yeelded the place to the King. One of the chiefe motives, that induced the Prince to yeeld so easily to these conditions of peace, was the Lieutenancy Generall, which hee expected by the King of Nauarres death, and the Queene-mothers goodly promises. But to confirme her Regency, she puts the Prince from all his hopes. She causeth the King to be declared of full age, being yet but fourteene yeares old : carries his Maiestie to the Parliament at Rouan, makes him protest, *That he will not hereafter endure the disobedience that hath been vsed against him since the beginning of these troubles : that his pleasure was to haue the Edict of pacification duly observed, threatened such as should oppose or make any*

B leagues. And afterwards, by an admonition made in writing, by the Parliament of Paris, touching the Edict of his maiory, confirming that of pacification, the Queene-mother causeth her sonne to name her Overseer and President of his affaires : and for an answer to the Court, according to the instructions of his mother : *I doe not meane (said hee) you should deale in any other thing, but with the administration of good and speedy iustice to my subiects. Vnderstand hereafter, that you are not confirmed in your offices by me, to be my tutors, nor Protectors of my Realme, nor Gouvernours of my city of Paris, as hitherto you haue perswaded your selves.*

The King being returned to Paris, the Duke of Guises widow, his children, and kinsfolke, came solemnly, and demanded iustice, of the murder committed on the person of the deceased, taxing the Admirall, as the chiefe author thereof. But it was not yet time to suffer these two houses to encounter. That of Guise might recieue as much, or more losse then the other, and *Katherine* pretended, to make her profit of the first. To auoid this brunt, she causeth the King, to command them to forcéase this quarrell, and appoints them another time to aduise thereon. In the meane time, shee honours them with the chiefe charges, and giues them all access and countenance neere his person. The rest of the yeare was spent in the confirmation of many Edicts, touching Ecclesiasticall and ciuill causes, and then was the iurisdiction of Iudges and Consuls among the Merchants erected, and the *Noraries* of confiscation established.

As these things passed in France, the Prelates assembled at the Councell of Trent, D provided for the support and maintenance of the Catholike religion, namely, in this Estate. The Cardinal of Lorraine (a man greatly practised in the affaires of the Realme) doth all he can to root out the Protestants. To that end, they find this expedient, that the Kings of France and Spaine should make a strict league, and he of Spaine should giue the French such forces as were requisite for the execution thereof, and in the meane time, they should seeke all means to abolish the Edict which allowed the exercise of the pretended reformed religion : that this treaty made for the preferuation of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion, should be called, *The holy League*. The Cardinal promisseth to employ all his endeouours and meanes to this effect, and assures the assembly of the willingness, and good affection of the Queene-mother, and the Lords of the Councell. E The chiefe of this league were the Pope, the Kings of France, and Spaine, the Princes of Italy, the Common-weale of Venice, and the duke of Sauoy. Of the Emperor, and the house of Austria they speake diuersly.

So from the beginning of February, they labour to produce some effects. Their Ambassadors come to Fontainebleau, demanded the obseruation of the Decrees of the Councell throughout all France, whereof the reading should be the 23 day of March at Nancy, in the presence of the Ambassadors of all Catholike Princes, assembled to make a generall league, against those estates that were false from the obedience of the Romish Church. They require also, that in fauour of the Clergy, the King should cause the alienation of Ecclesiasticall goods to cease, as against the law of God, and preiudiciall to his Maiestie and the Realme. That the Edict of pacification should be disannulled, and heretikes rooted out : namely such as had bene partakers of the duke of Guises murder. Behold new fire-brands to cast this monarchy into the flames of a second ciuill warre. But the fires of the first did yet smooke. And things not being so soone prepared to enter into new home bred combustions, the King answers : *That hee hath granted the Edict, so free the Realme from strangers : and that he hopes henceforth to maintaine his subiects in peace, according to the institution of the Church.*

In the meane time, such as were worst affected to the publique peace, attempted many things

The chiefe
Articles of the
Peace.New-hauen
assured.

1563

The edict of
peace ill obser-
ued.

things contrary to the Edict. The Commissioners sent for the obseruation thereof, had A
small credit in many places. The Estates of some Prouinces said plainly, that they could
no more endure two religions, then two Sunnes: the execution thereof had small or no
effect, in places where it was proclaimed: the Magistrates delayed to appoint the Prote-
stants places for their exercises, and by their slacknesse caused many to seeke their dwell-
ling elsewhere, to liue in quiet and safety.

The complaints and discontents which founded in the Kings cares from all parts, gaue
Katherine (vnder colour to lead the King in progresse through the Prouinces of his
Realme, and by his preference to end many controuersies, which euen then seemed to
threaten him with some imminent confusions) a goodly pretext of conference with the B
King of Spaine.

The voyage of
Bayonne.

Charles begins his voyage by Champagne, and through Bourgogne comes to Lions,
forbidding the Protestants the exercise of their Religion following the Court, yea euen
in the townes that were assigned them for their assemblies, whilest his Maiesty should be
resident there. The Protestants were here in great numbers, and might well fortifie them-
selves againe at need. To take from them all means, they build a Cittadell, and the King
stirres not before it be in defence. By the example hereof many other townes receiued the
like restraint, whilest on the other side, they dismantled Orleans, Montauban, and some
others. The Edict of Peace is greatly impugned by an other made at Rouffillon. The C
King forbid all Iustices to allow the exercise of the pretended reformed religion, but in
places specified by the Edict. For the first time, hee banished such ministers as had exer-
cised their charge, in places not comprehended in the Edict: and for the second time,
punished them with death. He commanded all priests, religious men, and Nunnes that
were married, to make separation, and returne to their couents: if not, to depart the realm,
forbidding the Protestants all their Synods, as making Monopoles vnder that pretext, and
stirring vp the greatest part of the Realme to rebellion.

Murder of
Creuan.

From words they fall to deeds. Those of Creuan in Bourgogne murder many
assembled for their exercise, with all impunitie. And the Kings abstinence from those places
where they were accustomed to see him, caused many seditions, and mutinies: amongst
the which, *La Curée*, Gouverneur of Vendosme, a Protestant by profession, was murdered, D
by the command of *Chauigni*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Montpensier, as hee sought to
suppress some, who vnder fauour of the troubles, had purposely murdered many men,
women and children, in the country of Maine, and places thereabouts.

Of Tours.

As this insoleny increased, a licentious rage transporting them of Tours, to fall
vpon the Protestants of their towne, comming from their exercise, they murder some,
hurt others, and with the same rage, bringing their weapons bloody into the towne, they
kill, drowne, and spoile, without distinction of age, sexe, or quality. The Marshall of
Villeuile was sent to suppress the mischiefe, before it spread farther. Hee was readie to
carie himselfe therein, according to the tenure of his charge: but *Chauigni* opposing by
open force, caused all this premeditated punishment to turne into smoake, as if the exami- E
nation thereof should discontent both great and small, and make things tend to new
troubles. In the end, at the importunate suite of the Protestants, who complained of these
horrible insolencies, and that they were forced in all places to furnish holy bread
at the parish masses, to hang tapistry before their lodging on *Corpus Christi* day, to con-
tribute to brotherhoods, and such other things: and at their instant suite, not to bee forced
in their consciences against the conditions of the Edict, the King staying in Dauphine,
commands all gouernours of Prouinces by his Letters, to enterraine and to cause the E-
dict of pacification to be duely obserued, and to haue a care that no mutinies should grow
within their governments.

Proces against
atheists.

This voyage of Bayonne is famous, by that notable suite of those which with a pre- F
sumptuous and partiall title, termed themselves of the societie of *Isleu*, decided in the
Court of Parliament, *Stephen Pasquier* pleading against them, for the Vniuersitie of Pa-
ris: a vehement and most graue Advocate of so rare a cause, and Master *Peter Verfore* for
their company: their pleadings are read, and their beginnings, and first entry into
France, their advancement, and all that concerns their sect, is so learnedly exprest in
an Epistle of the fourth booke of the said *Pasquier*, and in his pleading, as it is needlesse to
insert them.

This

1564

A This new yeare bred new troubles at Paris, and was likely to haue stretched farre. The
Cardinall of Lorraine comming from the council of Trent, accompanied with his Ne-
phew, and a number of men with Harguebuzes, contrary to the Edict, and followed at
hand, by the duke of Aumale his brother, went to Paris. The conclusions of the Council,
and this carying of armes, did much disquiet the Protestants. It is giuen out, that their
meaning is to offer them violence: they fly to the Marshall of Montmorency as gouer-
nour of the Isle of France, a wife-man, and louing the publike peace. Hee intreats the
Cardinall not to enter in this manner. This request neglected, he resolues to vse his
authority.

B The Cardinall growes obstinate, and offers to enter with all his force. But the Marshall
(as the Kings Lieutenant) opposeth himselfe, being followed by the Prince *Portein*, and
about forty gentlemen of account. The Cardinall growes amazed, saues himselfe with
his nephew in the next houses: and after some dayes of stay at Paris, he goes into Cham-
pagne to attend the Kings returne from Bayonne. Hereafter there is nothing but associa-
tions, leagues, and conferences. They must be reuenged of this affront. But they find too
strong a party: for the two houses of Montmorency and Chastillon (most straightly al-
lied by consanguinity) doe likewise vnite their wils in this defence. The Marshall assisted
by the Admirall his cousin, contains the Parisiens in peace, and makes the Parliament and
the Kings Councill to approue this act. The Queene-mother (feareing lest this mutinie
C should hinder the effects of the voyage of Bayonne, and by that meanes the fulfilling of
her desires would be made frustrate) makes the King to command by his letters patents,
such as were not yet entred into Paris, not to approach any neerer, and to such as were
there, to depart vntill that his Maiesty had ended this quarrell, after his returne out of
Gascony.

Now the Court was full of complaints. The Protestants accused the Catholikes of
violence and breach of the Edict. To content them, the Queene assigns them deputies at
Tolouise: but they returne without any other satisfaction, but a discovery that they meant
no good vnto them. There it was concluded, that all Princes and others, of what qualitie
soener, (whereof many were very farre engaged by their promise in a certain league made
D in France without the Kings pssuury) should renounce all confederations, both within
and without the Realme, and should binde themselves by oath to the King vpon paine of
rebellion. This was the aduice of *Montluc*. But the difficulty was to draw the articles,
for to make a soueraine Prince to enter into association and company with his sub-
iects, Was it not by a pernicious consequence to blenish his royall authority, and ouer-
throw that which should serue as a fundamentall law, for the quiet of the Realme, and the
obseruation of the Edict?

Aroyall league.

In the end, the King hauing visited all Aquitaine, he arriues at Bayonne in Iune, and thir-
ter comes his Sister *Elizabeth*, wife to King *Philip* of Spaine, to meet with him, accom-
panied with the Duke of Alua and others, to the end (said she) that the matter should bee
E lesse suspected, and that their league might take sure hold. But the most cleare-sighted did
attribute it to ambition, lest the Spaniard should seeme to vse any submission. Howouer
it were, the holy league was confirmed betwixt the two Kings, by *Elizabeth* means: For
the establishing of the ancient Religion, and extirpation of the new. And for that this Do-
ctrine did extremely afflict France, the Spaniard did promise the French such aide and suc-
cours as he could, and the French to the Spaniard (for that hee did see his estate of the
Low-countries to hatch a great confusion, which the following ages did bring forth) the
like assistance according to his power: but both doe promise ioyntly, to maintaine by all
meanes the dignitie of the Catholike religion, to cut off (as much as in them lay) all lets,
and speedily to seeke all occasions profitable for this designe, beginning first with the
F heads.

This businesse was not so secretly managed, but the Prince of Conde, the Admirall,
and other Noblemen of that party had intelligence. They stand vpon their guards, ad-
uertise their men, and for this time preuent surprises. The end of the yeare brought the
King home, much satisfied with the ioyfull entertainment his subiects had made him,
plunging himselfe with yong brethren, in masks and delights, whilest the Queene his
Mother, with her Councillors, gouerned France at their pleasure, and laid plots,
which shall soone breed as dangerous stormes as the former. Whilest our Christian

Princes

1565

The Furies
many at Malta.

Princes study by their enter-view and league, to kindle horrible combustions in their estates, they give the Turkish armie the better meanes to land in the Ile of Malta, to besiege and take the fort of Saint Elme, lately built by the Pryor of Capoua, and by this victory to make the siege of Malta more easie. Let vs observe three notable things, before we conclude the year. The first was that braue attempt of *Peirot*, the eldest sonne of *Montluc*, who weary to liue idle, rigged out some ships, with a good number of Gentlemen, Souldiers, and Mariners, to make a voyage into Affrica: he took and sackt the Ile of Madagascare, but with the losse of his life, leaving his troope excluded from all returne into France, by the pursuit the King of Portugal made, demanding satisfaction of the outrages done to his subiects. The Earle of Sanzay was sent to pacifie him: and euen then was treated (but without any effect,) the mariage of *Marguerite*, Sister to *Charles*, with the said King. The second was the death of *Ferdinand* the Emperour and King of Hungary, deceased in September, leaving his sonne *Maximilian* for his successor. The third was that of *Pius* the fourth, in whose place was chosen to the pontificall chaire, *Michel Gesileo* a Iacobin, Cardinall of Alexandria, and tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the fifth.

The death of
the Pope and
Emperour.

The first fruits of this year were very commendable, and if they had giuen hope of the like proceeding, the harvest had bene very happy: but such as trust not but vpon good cautions, take not all kindes of money for payment, growing very suspitious, by reason of the conclusions taken in this voyage. To make it more glorious and lesse suspect, the King calls an assembly at Moulins, of the greatest Personages of his Realme, as well for the government of Iustice, as for other causes concerning the good and quiet of the State, whereof followed that great volume of statutes, of which they rightly say; *That they were as iust and holy, as it is observed.* Those of the houses of Guise and Chastillon were called. The quarrell of Paris inuited the Marshall of Montmorency, and the Admirall, hauing purged himselfe by oath of the crime whereof they pretended him to be principall motiue (the King had already pronounced him innocent by his letters Patents) the King, the Queene-mother, the D. of Auion, brother to the King, the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise, the Constable, the Marshalls of Bourdillon and Villedieu, the Bishops of Valence, Orleans and Limoges; *Thou and Seguir* first and second Presidents of Paris, *Dalis* the first of Toloufa, *Laguerhon* of Bourdeaux, *Truchon* of Grenoble, *Le Feurs* of Dijon, *Fournenau* the second President of Prouence, and many other Noblemen assembled to that effect: besides the aboue-named Statutes, made the reconciliation betwixt the two houses, whereof followed imbracings, protestations and promises not to attempt any thing whatsoeuer one against another. But the issue will verifie the saying: that there is no trust in a reconciled enemy.

A Parliament
at Moulins.

In the meane time the resolutions of *Bayonne* appeared manifestly, the moderations they made of the Edict, the insolencies they committed in many places with all impunity, the threats they gaue the Protestants amazed them on all sides. The Prince & Admirall were vigilant, observing the countenances of their enemies. The preparations of Spaine against the Low-countries, made them to foresee that this enterprise would in like sort prejudice their partisans in France. The Prince of Roche-sur-yon had before his death discovered many particulars: they complained, that about three thousand persons had perished of violent deaths, since the Edict, without any iustice, and their complaints had no other satisfaction, but goodly words and gracious letters. To conclude, the winds (said they) which did blow at Bayonne, must needs cause a strange tempest.

Causes of the
Protestants
discontent.

So the causes of their discontent some were manifest, others secret, and consisted in the dismantling of some townes, to take from them the meanes, in the building of Cittadels in some places of their exercise: in the ordinarie murdering of their men, in the massacring of men of account without punishment: in the ordinarie threats, *That shortly they should not lift their heads so high*: but especially in the leauy of six thousand Suisses made vnder a faigned pretence, to guard the frontier against the coming of *Don Ferdinand Aluarez* of Toledo, Duke of Alua (who marched against the Protestants of the Low-country with a mighty armie) whom notwithstanding they caused to enter farre into the Realme, and by some letters intercepted, being sent from Rome and Spaine, they had discovered many practices made for their ruine. And the intelligences they had from one in Court well affected (yet secretly) to their party, that it was decreed in a secret Councell to seize vpon

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A vpon the Prince and Admirall, to put the one to death, and keepe the other prisoner; at the same instant to bring two thousand Suisses into Paris, two thousand into Orleans, and the rest into Poitiers: and then by the abolishing of the last Edict, to establish one quite contrarie. All these considerations made the chiefe heads resolute to stand vpon their defence, and to observe foure things in this new taking of armes. To seize on few townes but of importance. To bring a gallant army to field. To cut the Suisses in pieces, by whose fauour the Catholikes should be alwayes masters of the field: and to chase the Cardinall of Lorraine from Court if they might, as the chiefe firebrand of the confusions which would consume the whole estate. Man purposeth, and God disposeth: and of many resolutions few haue their desired end. The pleasure of God often disappointeth the designs of them which are most practised in knowledge, valour, discourse and wisdom: and some enterprises little or not at all premeditated, doe often fall out very successfully. For the execution of the first point, diuers considerations had made them to name three townes, Lions, Toloufa and Troyes.

But a great designe, imparted after the French manner to many meane persons, and vncapable of such actions, turne them easily into smoke. Not one of them that vnder-tooke the charge could effect it. For the second, the Protestants being first armed, were in the beginning masters of the field, but within six weekes the Catholikes forced the Prince and the Admirall to fly to the Germanes, which the Duke *Iohn Casimer* brought them, as we shall see. Their proiect against the Suisses was likewise discovered, and the forces which should haue met at an appointed day, failed in their expedition. The fourth succeeded, but it imported least of all: but this separation was but in shew, and not in authority, nor credit.

The King is much incensed against them. He was at Meaux, and prepared to solemnize the Feast of Saint Michael, according to the custome of the French Kings. The Prince approacheth with 500 horse, and by this attempt forceth the King to retire with some amazement to Paris, in the midst of 6000 Suisses, and a good number of horse, the which had bene in danger, if a hundred and fifty horse coming out of Picardy, and the Harguebuziers on horsebacke which attended the Prince, had adriued betwixt Paris & Meaux, at the day appointed. At the same time the Protestants party arme on all sides: and this generall taking of armes vnlooked for, with that bold enterprise vpon the Suisses, and the taking of Orleans, Soissons, Auxerre and some other places, had wonderfully amazed the Catholikes. But that which augmented this alarm, the Prince being too weak, loth to ingage himselfe in this forest of halberds, pikes and shot, went to lodge with his troopes in Saint Denis, where some others arriuing, in few dayes made vp the number of 2000 horse, and foure thousand shot.

The retreat of
Meaux.

The King assembles his troopes, and had already ten thousand men. But this sudden approach to Paris might perswade them, that the Prince expected speedy and great forces, and that he had good intelligences in Court and at Paris. Paris was the chiefe object of his armes. The Parisiens were not accustomed to fast: taking their victuals from them, he hoped of two things to effect the one, either to force them to fight, or to draw his enemies to a more assured pacification then the first. To this end he sends *d'Andelot* with 500 horse, towards Poissy and Pontoise, to seize vpon the passages of Seine beneath Paris: and other troopes to seize vpon such places as were about the towne. Some companies were sent to ioyne with the forces that came out of Guienne, who should come to Orleans, being lately surprised by *la Noue*. Hee and the Admirall with about 800 horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers keepe Saint Denis, and intrench Saint Owin and Aubertilliers, to curb Paris on that side.

The beginning
of the second
troubles.

But how could so many excellent Captaines vnderake so painefull and vnlikely a designe? May an Ant assaile an Elephant? How many mighty armies haue in former times lost their labours, thinking to effect such an enterprise: To remaine idle, had impaired their reputation. They were suddenly drawne into it, and they must for their honours sake attempt that which occasion seemed to present vnto them. Their men being fresh and full of resolution, made difficult things easie. One thing onely stayed the course of their successe. Such places as the Prince hoped to surprise vpon Marne and Seine (whither if he should be forced to abandon Saint Denis, he meant to retire himselfe and attend his Germans) there were two onely seized on, Laigny and Montereau. On the other side, the

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the Constable, Lieutenant general for the King in this army, resolved (having increased his troops) to force the enemy to fight. The great advantages he had, invited him unto it. He had fiftene or sixtene thousand foot, and two thousand Lances: hee was furnished with artillery: hee had a commodious place for a battell, and fit to lodge his troops and Cannon. The Parisiens were prest by famine, and were much grieved to see such tenants in their farms. And many cried already against the Constable, as a great temporizer, and as firme a partisan to his Nephewes, as to the King his master.

The battell of
Saint Denis.

They were to blame: for hee was no sooner aduertised of the error the Prince had committed in dismembred the body of his army, as we haue heard, but he presently embraced the occasion, sends seuen or eight hundred Lances, followed with some shot for their retreat, to discover the certainty of the protestants forces: and the next day, the 10 of Nouember, he goes to field, with all his army, and giues him battell. The Constables footmen, for the most, did little good, and the Princes very much. The horsemen on either side shewed great resolution and courage. In the end the Protestants are forced from the place, and followed about halfe a league, and it may be, but for the Constables hurt (whereof he died within few dayes after) they had bene chased more hotly: but the night fauoured their retreat, and parted the battells. To conclude, the Catholikes were masters of the field, and had the spoile of the dead: and by consequence the honour of the battell, the which shall be blemished the next day with a great disgrace.

The Princes
retreat.

This advantage seemed to inuite the Catholikes to perfect their victory the next day: C but the losse of the Constable kept them within their wals. The Prince attended a second charge, not thinking his enemies would haue taken it for a repulse: hee therefore sends speedily for d'Andelot, who comes to Saint Denis at mid-night, sorry to haue lost his part of the battell.

Having rested a while, the Commanders conclude to make an attempt to abate some of their aduersaries glory, gotten the day before. They bring their small army to field, present themselves before the suburbs of Paris: stand there some houres in battell, and burne a village and many wind-mills, to vrge them. But no man comes forth. They bury their dead, dresse their hurt men. The Captaines view their Cornets and Companies and will hazard no more. What should the Prince then doe, being encamped before Paris with a few men? The losse of one man did impart him more then an hundred of his enemies: and to stay there were his ruine. Hee dislodgeth, marcheth to Montre-reau, and there augments his army with the forces that came to him from Orleans and Estampes.

The death of this incomparable old man (but farre more happy in his age, if hee had shed his blood against the stranger, enemies to this Crowne, the which hee had so freely employed, during all the course of his life, and not against his country-men, yea against his owne blood) gaue the command of the royall army to Henry duke of Aniou, the Kings brother, a Prince of sixtene yeares of age, vpon whose head we shall see the Crowne after his brothers decease. He sought the opportunity to fight: his elder Captaines prest him forward, taking the Princes retreat for a kind of flight, and grounding their advantage vpon the great forces newly arriued of twelve hundred horse, and two thousand foot led by the Count Artemberg, one of the famous Captaines of the Low-countries. Moreover, if the Protestants did ioyne with their Reistres, the warre was like to continue long, or else to make the chance of a battell doubtful. But they diswaied him, weighing the importance of their Generall, and the constant resolution of the contrary party: who (said they) had then no other Councillor but Despaire, and no other wealth or riches, but their armes and horses.

To withstand the leauy of the Protestants Reistres, the Duke of Aumale was sent into Lorraine to receiue the forces which were brought to the King by Duke John William of Saxony, the Marquis of Bade and other Commanders; and young Lansac into Germany, to diuert those of Duke John Casimer, which were leauied in the Princes fauor. The Prince had ioyned with the troops of Guienne and Poictou, consisting of eight cornets of horse and three Regiments of foot, vnder six and twenty ensignes: and advancing towards Lorraine, he forceth Bray and Nogent vpon Seine to open their gates, and to giue him passage, and seizeth on Espernay vpon Marne, where he assembles the body of his army.

Experience teacheth vs now, that all policies and deuices are allowed in warre. To coole

A speech of
peace.

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A coole the heat of such as fle to the ayd of strangers, to stay them, and (it may bee) to surprise them. Vnder this pretext they begin to speake of a peace, in the which the chiefe of their party are imploied: and the better to conferre (said they) of the points propounded, they agree vpon two suspensions of armes, either being of three dayes. But whilest the Prince thought to enioy the benefit thereof, he had almost fallen into a pitfall. The Duke of Aniou approached, and the Prince remained nere vnto Chaalons, in a bad lodging farre from his troops, and had it not bene for the rout of the Captaines, Blais, Boller, and Clerg, defeated by the Earle of Brissac during the truce, the Prince himselfe had bene in apparent danger.

B Misfortune is good for something. This fury of Brissac teacheth the Prince not to trust his enemy, but vpon good assurance. And notwithstanding the iniuries of the Aire, and the difficulties of the wayes, leauing the Duke twenty great leagues behind, he makes him to lose all desire to follow him, and goes on into Lorraine to learne some newes of his Reistres, the which he receiued at Pont a Mousson. From hence Duke John Casimir, the younger sonne of Frederic Count Palatine of Rhine, Elector of the sacred Empire, being chiefe of this army, protests by writing vnto the King before he enters into France, *That he comes not for any profit of his owne, or priuate respect: but only to assist those who afflicted for the same Religion, had required his helpe. And if it please his Majesty to assure them liberty of conscience, and free exercise of their Religion, he is ready to retire himselfe.*

C Hereupon they renew their treaty of peace pretended the yeare before. The Queene-Mother comes to Bois de Vincennes, accompanied with the Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine, and Guise. For the Prince there came the Cardinall of Chastillon. Hee lets her vnderstand, that to settle a peace in France, the King must receiue all his subiects into grace, impart his fauours and the offices of the Realme indifferently vnto them, and giue them conuenient liberty of their Religion. Katherine answers, that such matches are not to bee allowed: that the Prince and those of his party should before all things countermand their Reistres, lay downe armes, and come and yeeld the King a reason of the enterprise of Meaux. The Cardinall replies, that they only defend themselves, that they oppose these succours to all sorts of strangers called in by the Catholikes, and cannot fend them backe, D but they must presently subiect their throats to their enemies swords: that they are ready to disarm when they shall see the Realme freed from Swisses, Flemings, Italians, and Germans, which were come to spoile them, and matters restored to their former estate. As for the enterprise of Meaux, their intention was only to beseech the King (from whose presence the violence of their enemies depriued them of all access, but by force) to reuoke that cruell sentence, which some determined to execute against all their party, being ready to proue by armes against all those that would maintaine the contrary, that they had neuer any other will against their Soueraigne, but as his most faithfull and obedient subiects.

The treaty of
peace renewed,
but in vaine.

During this negotiation, the Duke of Aniou fought for the commodity which he had lost to fight with the Prince, and the Prince receiued his strangers with a wonderfull contentment to the whole army, fearing lest the heauinesse of the Germans, should make them attend long in Lorraine. They expected a hundred thousand crownes at their entry, but they which had so suddenly drawne them to horsebacke, must haue leisure to make money. At last they make a vertue of necessity. And what might not two Commanders, (whereof the one by his natural pleasantness, and the other by his grauity, tempering the excessive chollier of some, and the exceeding suspition of others) obtaine of their men, amongst whom they had so great credit. The Prince by their example summons both great and small: the Ministers in their Sermons moue men, and the Captaines prepare their souldiers. Euery one contributes, some for zeale, some for loue, some for feare, and some for shame of reproach. They gather, what in money, plate, chaines, gold and Jewels, some fourescore thousand Franks, and by this voluntary liberality satisfy the first and greatest hunger of their Reistres. Being ioyned, the generall opinion was to make waire about Paris: an apparent meanes to haue a peace. Orleans was their nurse, neither could they from any place else recouer artillery, munition, and money, so commodiously. They therefore take the way to Beaulieu, and for their first beginning they defeat some troops of Italians and French, that came to charge them in the reere-vard vpon their passage of the Riuer of Seine. They force Itancy, and passe ouer the Riuer of Yone, Loing, and la Cure:

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A speech of
peace.

The truce
broken.

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Cure : they draw diuers commodities from all the small townes opposite to their passage, A
 alwayes assailing and alwaies assailed, and still with the losse of the one party or the other.
 Whilst this companie(hauing the mighty army of the Duke of Aniou opposite vnto them)
 marched into Beaufie, they fall to armes in other parts in fauour of their party. Affier,
 Sipierre, and others in Languedoc, Prouence, Daulphine, and Gascony, make diuers as-
 semblies, seize vpon Nismes, Montpellier, and many other places. *Ponçenet* and *Verdelay*
 leauy troops in Bourbonnois and Auvergne, whereas the forces of Guienne which marched
 towards the Duke of Aniou, incounter them, breaks them, and for that time makes their
 attempts fruitlesse. Moreover, the Duke of Neuers, with an army of fourteene thousand
 French, Suisses, and Italians, besieged Mafcon, battered it, and tooke it by composition, B
 but being incountered by fourescore horse, and some foot, ished out of Antrain, vnder the
 commands of Captaine *Beauvais* and *Bourgois*, as he aduanced with an hundred horse, to
 visit the Duchesse his wife, he was shot in the knee with an Harguebuze, which made him
 lame all the remainder of his life.

Moutluc, *Pons*, the Bishop of Tullis, and many other Catholikes in Guienne, being
 followed with foure thousand foot, and seuen hundred horse, surprise and kill about foure
 hundred men, spoile the life of Re, attempt to besiege Rochel: but too long delays makes
 their designe fruitlesse.

In the meane time the Viconts of Bourniguet, Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, Mouuans,
 Rapin, and other Protestants, aduanced with seuen or eight thousand men, of the bands C
 of Gascony, Prouence, Daulphine, and Languedoc. *Saint Heran* Gouvernor of Auvergne,
Saint Chaumont, *Gordes*, *Prife*, the Bishop of Puy, *Harefeuille*, *Brefieux*, and others, as-
 semble a troop to stop their passage, and runne as to a certain victorie, forbidding expressly
 all the neighbour towns, *To receive any one that flies, what liuery sooner he beares*. The which
 shall cost them full deare. The Viconts charge these horsemen, kill a great number, and of
 the chiefe, vpon the place: put the rest to rout, and makes them seeke their safety by flight.
 But the Pelants armed with the former prohibition, know no man, neither do they spare
 any man, but make of their country-men as great a slaughter as the victor did, & by this in-
 discreet stratagem, open the way for the Viconts to recouer Orleans. Being arriued, they
 stay the inroads which *Martingange*, *Richelieu*, and others made, euen to the gates of Or- D
 leanse : they take Baugency, attempt Blois, and take it by composition. The Gascons doe
 not easily forget their hands, and the souldiers of Richelieu, who were retired thither,
 could not free themselves from the sword.

Chartres
 besieged.

Hereupon the Princes army comes into Beaufie. Chartres is one of the chiefe store-
 houses of corne for Paris, and being taken would much auaille the Protestants. *Liquieres*
 was made Gouvernor for the King there, and two and twenty companies, fortified vpon
 feare of a siege with a Regiment of foot. The Prince besiegeth and batters it, but to
 small purpose : five Cannons and foure small Culuerins preuailed little against so many
 men of warre, being intrenched with great aduantage. They found out a place of small
 strength, where a breich gave hope of victory: but the Lord of Valette, a great Captaine, E
 comes to succour the besieged, with eightene cornets of horse. The Admirall is aduertised:
 and not to faile of his prey, hee made choice of three thousand five hundred horse,
 marcheth towards them, chargeth *Valette*, overthrowes part of his troops, carries away
 foure cornets, and puts the rest to flight. The Duke of Aniou encamped beyond Seine, and
 leeth to hazard a battell, left Chartres in apparent danger. But *Katherine* knew how (or
 so she did usually vaunt) with three sheets of paper to effect more then her warriors with
 their armes.

A good peace was no lesse necessary then wisht for. The Protestants did generally be-
 leeu, that the Catholikes would disarme with them, and the Nobilitie were particularly
 moued with a great desire to see their houses (it is a desire whereof we can hardly stay the F
 effects in them that are voluntaries.) Many whole cornets had already taken the way
 of Xaintonge and Poitou, they would not lose the season of their vines : many other pre-
 tend the lacking of their houses, where their presence was necessary: the footmen of some
 Countries lying farthest off, slip away daily, their purses were empty, and no man payd.
 It was in Mar-ly when as armies are accustomed to goe to field, and their French forces
 decreasing visibly, had driuen them in short time to stand vpon their defence : their ene-
 mies were whole and strong. To diuide their strangers into townes, were to dismember
 them.

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A second peace.

A themselves. These considerations and others, made the heads of the Protestants to ac-
 cept of a second Edict of pacification, concluded in Loumeau, saying : *That those of the*
pretended reformed Religion, should purely and simply enjoy the first Edict, and that it should
be executed according to the tenour, notwithstanding all restrictions, modifications, inter-
pretations, and declarations made since the day of the date thereof, untill the publication of
this second Declaration made the three and twentieth day of March.

This counterfeit peace caried *Iohn Casimir* with all his forces home into Germany: the
 Prince, and the Admirall, with all those of his party, retire euery man to his home. But
 diuers breaches of this Edict, did suddenly open the gate to the third ciuill war: and whilst
 B that euery one impures the cause of this sudden reppall of armes to the third ciuill war: and whilst
 the Catholikes grounded their discontentes, for that many
 townes refused the restraint made by this last Edict. Sancerre, Montauban, and other
 townes of Quercy, Viurets, Daulphine, Languedoc, and elsewhere, would not abso-
 lutely submit themselves to his Miesties good pleasure. Rochel refused to receive the
 garison sent by *Larnac* their ancient Gouvernor: they continued their fortifications before
 begun, neither did they restore the Catholikes to their offices, goods, nor religion : they
 armed out ships to keepe the Seas, without the Kings allowance. They refused the ayde
 and subuention, which his Maiesty required for the affaires of his Realme. Many Captains
 (without the Kings commission) led souldiers to the Prince of Orange, against the Duke
 C of Alba, to draw afterwards (said they) the Protestants of Flanders into France, and iointly
 to oppress the Catholike Religion.

The Protestants on the other side complained, That in stead of enioying the Edict and
 liberty of their consciences, they gaue them declarations vnder the Kings authority, to
 hinder the exercise of their Religion : That hauing dismissed their men, both strangers
 and French, with the least oppression of the people that might be; and deliuered into the
 Kings hands the townes and strong places which they held: yet they reuolued the Suisses,
 they entertained many companies of Italians, they did distribute their horse and foot into
 such townes as did most import the Protestants, Tours, Orleans, Amiens, and others, to
 the end (said they) to take them like Partridges in a net, being retired to their houses. That
 they sued in the Court of Rome for leaue to sell the temporal lands of the French Cler-
 gie, to the value of an hundred and fifty thousand Franckes by yeare, the money to be em-
 ployed to the rooting out of their party: That this counterfeit peace ruined more of their
 D men, then the rigours of warre : That they guarded townes, bridges, and passages of ri-
 uiers. These grudgings were openly published, when as another occasion makes them both
 to speake boldly, and to take armes.

The complaints
 of the Protec-
 tants.

In a manner all the Duke of Anious horse stayed about Paris, with five or six thousand
 foot, vnder colour to fortifie the guards of the King, the Queene-mother, his brethren,
 and the capittall Citie : and *Tauannes* sent towards Bourgongne with many companies,
 made them suspect that it was to beset and surpris the Prince at Noyers, a little and weak
 E towne of his owne, and the Admirall at Tanlay, a Castle belonging to his brother *d'An-
 delot*. Some acquainted with his practice giue them aduice : they complaine to the King
 of the iniustice is done them, beseeching his Maiesty to quench the fires kindled in his
 Realme by the factions of the Guisens; and to free themselves they take Rochel for their
 Sanctuary.

This braue prey being thus escaped, *Katherine* and the faction send forth Commissions,
 and appoint the rendezvous for the troops in Guienne and Poitou. The Duke of An-
 iou prepares : and for a reuenge of Meaux, he chafeth away the Protestants. The Queene
 of Nauarre, accompanied with three Regiments of foot, and eight Cornets of light
 horse (notwithstanding the endeouours of *Efcars* and *Montluc*) retires to Rochel with the
 F Prince her son, (who succeeded afterwards to this Crowne) and the Princess her daugh-
 ter. The Cardinall of Chastillon is forced to leaue Beaumoulin, and to saue himselfe in a
 small Barke in England. The Nobility of Poitou arme with the fist, and repaire to Ro-
 chel. The Earle of Rochefoucault was armed some dayes before. *d'Andelot* marched with
 a thousand good horse, and two thousand foot, gathered together in the confines of Maine
 and Britany.

The Duke of Martigues, Gouvernor of Britanie, going with three hundred Lances, and
 five hundred braue shot to Saumur, to the Duke of Montpensier, hee is aduertised that
 many

The Protec-
 tants are.

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many of the enemies troops are lodged in his way. He sends to discover them; and finding them lodged at large, after the French manner, passeth brauely through them, with the losse but of twenty men, and with the gaine of an Ensigne, and the slaughter of aboue fourescore of his enemies: and recouers Saumur, whilst that *D'Andelot, la Noue*, and other Commanders toynd with the Prince. If the Dukes of Aniou, Montpensier, and Marignies, who assembled men from all parts to oppose a mighty army against the Protestants, had in time fore-seene, that those which d. lodged in so great haste, went to seeke their fortunes farre off, and had sought to crosse their designs, the Prince and all his part had in all shewes beene coopt vp in Rochel. But behold, of poore vagabonds in two moneths they become masters of Niort, Fontenay, Saint Maixent, Xaintes, Saint Iohn d'Angely, Pons, Cognac, Blay, Angoulême, and are strong enough for the continuance of a long warre. While the Dukes arme, the King begins the warre against the Protestants by the Pen. He declares by his proclamation, that the Edict of Ianuary had beene but prouisionall, vntill he were of fullage: that now he forbids all exercise of the pretended reformed religion, in all the territories of his obedience: forfeits both the bodies and goods of them that shall breake it: commands all Ministers vpon great penalties, to depart the Realme within fifteene dayes. And by another, he suspends all officers making profession thereof, from their offices and charges, commanding them to resigne them into his hands within fifteene dayes.

The Protestants make their profit of these Edicts, and send them into Germany, Eng. C land, and to the Suisses of their Religion, to prone, That they are not purified as Rebels affecting the Crowne, (crimes by the which their enemies would make them odious.) And in truth these Edicts were spurs to hasten the leauie which the Duke of Deuxpouins shall bring the next year, and for the heads of Dauphine, Prouence, and Languedoc, to goe and oppose the forces of the said Provinces against the Kings army, which was ready to fall vpon the Prince. To this end, *Acier, Mouuans, Pierre Gourde*, and others, draw forth sixtience or seuenteen thousand floure, but few horse: seeming with this multitude of men to haue vn-peopled all that Climate. But as they did fortifie the Princes affaires on the one side, they did weaken them on the other: for after their departure, the Catholikes seized vpon many places, the which they might well haue held, lodging halfe their forces in them, then marching in troop close and speedily, they might haue arriued safe where their presence was most profitable and necessary.

But the presumption of equality, doth commonly engender a pernicious ieaousie among great men: and the opinion one conceiues of his force, and of his owne valour, with an obstinacy not to yeeld vnto another, is a dangerous plague in an armie. *Mouuans* and *Pierre Gourde*, finding themselves annoyed by strait lodging, as they had done till they came neere to Perigueux, they meane to lie more at large at Mensignac, not discouering that the Duke of Montpensier approached, who at his arriuall puts in rout two Regiments, and kills a thousand souldiers at their Colonels feet: who filling their liues dearly, forye the Dukes troops, as they could not charge *Acier*: yet they were amazed by the fearful report of such as were escaped, who made the Dukes forces exceeding great, beyond all truth, who retiring to Chastelleraud, made the way open for *Acier* troops, which remained of this shipwracke, to fortifie the Protestants army, and to make it able, not onely to endure the shooke, but to attempt something against the Catholikes. The Prince did misser his army aboue eighteen thousand Harguebuziers, and three thousand good horse. The Duke had ten thousand foot, beside Suisses, and foure thousand lances: the souldiers of both armies were well experienced in warre.

He that takes not the French in their first heat, they are easily broken: the chiefe sinewes of warre failing, might greatly coole this new vigour: and Winter approaching, withdraw the greatest part of them. The Prince therefore seeks to fight: the number and courage of F his men inuities him. He comes within two leagues of Chastelleraud, and by his approach annoys the Duke of Aniou: the Duke moued with the like desire, and grieued to see so many men at the Princes deuotion, knowing also that the forces of Germany would be ready to march in their fauour in the Spring, seeks to diuide his enemies power, and to overcome them by peece-meale. O. r. first motions are sudden, but they doe not alwayes bring forth effects premeditated. To come to a battell, was properly to cut away the sinewes of the Realme, and by their mutuall weakning, to inuite the forraigne enemy to the

inuaſion

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A inuaſion of this Estate. The ſoueraigne Commander of battels did ſhew at this time a ſigne of his accuſtomed fauour to this Crowne, taking from both the Generals the ſharpeſſe of their iudgements, and making them to loſe in one day a notable occaſion for either of them to preuaile againſt his enemy, as we ſhall here.

The Prince had intelligence, that the Duke camped in a place of aduantage, vnder the fauour of a meadow, intrenched on diuers parts: ſo not able to draw his enemy to fight, he diſlodged, and goes towards Luſignan. The Duke takes the ſame courſe, and one not acquainted with the others deſignes, the Marſhals of both Campes meet in a manner at one inſtant at Pamprou, ſix leagues from Poitiers, a great village furniſhed with victuals, and B in a very good country. They chaſe and re-chaſe one another, but loath to diſpute this Rendezvous with more hazard, they both leaue it (yet with an honourable retreat of either ſide) to put themſelues in battell, a quarter of a league from the place. The Admirall and *D'Andelot* his brother, ſupported their men with ſix Cornets of horſe, ſet in order vpon a ſmall hill, to keepe the Catholikes from viewing the valley, and to giue them ſome apprehenſion of greater forces lodged there. The Prince was a league from thence, and aduanced with great ſpeed. On the Dukes part there appeared ſeuen or eight hundred Lances, commanded by the Duke of Marignies. Being approached within Cannon ſhor, the Admirall cauſeth a Capitaine of Argoleſiers to aduance alongſt a hedge, who more valiant then diſcreet, ſals preſently to ſkirmiſh, and their cornet marcheth to ſecond them.

C *Marignies* thinks that they meane to fight, and ſends forth three or foure ſquadrons of Lancers: the Admirall and his brother grieued they had not prevented the indiſcretion of their Capitaine, who ingaged them to fight vnaduiſedly, and contrary to their charge, calls back theſe ſkirmiſhers, and with an aſſured countenance couers the weakneſſe of their troops. *Marignies* taking a troop of ſeruants for a battalion of Harguebuziers which appeared behind a village, ſtays his Lancers, and for want of footmen, loſeth the opportunity to fight. In the meane time the Enſignes of foot, and troops of horſe arriue from all parts: the night approaching, gaue them leiſure onely to ſkirmiſh with the Duke of Anious fore-ward. The Dukes fore-ward was too weake to endure the ſhooke: the Commanders deuiſe a policy, whereby they perwade the enemy, through fauour of the night, D that all their forces were preſent: their Drums ſound after the Suiffes manner, they double their guards, make great fires, caſt many matches amongſt the buſhes, keepe their men cloſe without any ſkirmiſh, leſt ſome priſoner ſhould diſcouer the truth, and after they had reſrefied themſelues, they diſlodge without any noiſe, ſome marching to Iaſeneuil, where the Duke lodged with the battell, the reſt to the village of Sanſey. So holding one another in ſuſpence, they loſe the opportunity of a great aduantage, the firſt in the Duke, the ſecond in the Prince. Mans counſell without God preuailes nothing, and, *The actions of great men, are in his power, as thoſe of the meaner.* So ſaith the Oracle. For the next day many things chanced more by hazard then by counſell. This retreat giues them courage to fight: to this end the Admirall follows them at the heeles, and the Prince marcheth after.

E ter. There were two wayes; one led to Sanſey, the other to Iaſeneuil. At the breake of day there riſeth a great miſt, which cauſeth the Princeto ſtray: after he had marched two leagues, he finds himſelfe in the front of the Dukes armie. Neceſſity giues him reſolution: he puts his Harguebuziers before, which were aboue twelue thouſand and forced to make ſome ſhew of fight, ſalutes the Duke with his Cannon, ſkirmiſhes with diuers volleys of ſhot, ſends to learne newes of his fore-ward, and wiſeth the Admirall to make haſte.

He had already turned head vpon the noiſe of the Cannon, but the Sunne ſetting at his arriuall, preventing a generall fight, cauſed all to paſſe in ſharpe ſkirmiſhes, with loſſe on either ſide: and after a daies breathing either part retired, the Duke to Poitiers, the Prince to Mirebeau.

F Few dayes after, they both returne to their firſt reſolution to fight. The Duke goes to field and recouers Mirebeau. But he doth not obſerue the compoſition, and giues *D'Andelot* cauſe for a reuenge, to cut in pieces the garriſon he finds in S. Florent, an Abbey neere vnto Saumur. The Prince held Loudun. It was in the Dukes way, and enioying it, he held a fertile Country from his enemies, which might feed his armie a moneth together: and there was no reaſon the Prince ſhould hazard his forces for the keeping of a weake place. The Duke approacheth: the next day he hath newes that the Prince puts his army in battell alongſt the ſuburbs: he likewiſe arangeth his: the Cannon playes on both ſides,

Rrr

and

*Mouuans and
Pierre Gourde
ſailed ſt. and
hane.*

*A peſtilence
ſtraggles.*

and passeth through their squadrons doing some harme. About forty thousand men almost all French, beheld one another in the midst of a champion field, without any advantage, and with an equal courage and countenance attend but the signe of battell. But the outward cold did quench much of this inward heat: the frosts were great, continual mists, and the wayes full of slippery, as no man could hold his footing. It was dangerous for the first that charged, the slippery wayes stayed their horses, and the maine ditches (made to diuide the lands) serued them as trenches. So as either of them being loath to hazard any thing stand firm, beholding one another, expecting when the most rash should begin the charge. Such as got to the skirmish, either brake or put some member out of ioynt: their fals hurt more then the shot. Three dayes passe in this sort, the fourth the Duke retires to warme his troops benumbed with cold, and for the most part lodged in the open aire (of twenty yeares there had not bene felt so sharpe a winter,) in his retreat three companies were cut off in a village, one of Suisses, and two of French, and the sickness falling among the souldiers, diminished both the armies of eight thousand men. This fruitlesse abode caused a generall murmure, and both Nobility and souldiers on either partie did threaten, if they were not lodged in safe and well fortified places, they would provide for themselves, notable to endure the extreame frosts and cold without any effects. The two Commanders agree. The Duke goes to winter beyond the riuer of Loire about Saumur, and the Prince at Thouars, Monfrucil, Bellay, and places thereabouts, either hauing some secret practice against his enemy, but with small effect. This retreat gave the Prince leisure to deuise meanes for the maintenance of the warre. The goods of the Clergy of Poitou were engaged and sold to them that durst buy them: The Rochelois contribute foure score thousand Frankes, and the Queene of England sent an hundred thousand Angels, six Cannons, powder and shot, for the which shee was paid in Salt, Wooll, and Bell-metall, for the most part at the Catholikes cost.

St. Michael besieged.

The Abbey of Saint Michael alone, amongst all the other places of base Poitou, bridled the Protestants. They besiege it, batter it, and take it at the third assault, and cut foure or five hundred men in pieces which defended it. *Martinengues, Entragues, and la Chastre* Governours of Guienne, Orleans, and Bourges, besiege Sancerre, giue many assaults, lose many men, and finally tyred with many sallies, leaue this small towne in quiet, to be hereafter a myrrour of singular patience in the perseruacion of their liues and families. But those of Sancerre, seeking to enlarge themselves, and to build a fort vpon Loire, suffer themselves to bee surpris'd, lose both fort and some fifty men, and are enforced to shut themselves within their walls.

During the sharpnesse of Winter, and this small surceasing of armes, the Vicounts of Bourniquet, Montclar, Paulin, Gourdon, and others, with seuen thousand shot, and some horse, made war, especially against them of Tolousa. Montauban was their chiefe retreat, and experience had lately taught them; That it were better to defend the Province and their Country, menagins *Montluc* and their enemies, then transporting their armes into a strange County, to leaue them againe in prey. *Piles* was commanded to perswade them to ioyne with the Prince. At their refusal, he armes twelue hundred shot, and two hundred horse, takes Bergerac and Sainte Foy: passeth into Perigord, burning all the Villages: and to purge the death of *Mouuins* and *Pierre Gourde*, hee kills all that were suspected of their ouerthrow: and so he marcheth towards the Prince.

The Prince had now taken breath, and hearing that the Duke marched towards Angoulême, fortified with three thousand foot, & some horse which the Earle of Tende brought him, and two thousand Reistres led by the Reingraue and *Balsompierre*, hee retires along the Riuer of Charente, to view the Dukes countenance, and to fortifie the places of his obedience: but with the prejudice of his army. The Duke comes likewise to Chasteauneuf, a towne vpon the Riuer of Charente, and at the first takes a castle by composition, which was kept by a Scottishman. The Admirall likewise arriues, followed with seuen or eight hundred horse, and as many Hargubuziers: and to hinder the Dukes passage, he lodgeth two Regiments of foot nere to the bridge, seconded by the horse: charging them to vex the enemies guards with continuall alarmes, to make them thinke, that all the Princes vanguard was lodged there, and then he retires to Bassac, with the rest of the vanguard. But this commandement wrought no effect. They had forgotten the manner of camping, every one would lodge, liue, and forage at his ease: so as the most

A most part going to quarter elsewhere, and leauing the passage vnfurnished of men, make the passage easie for the Duke. The Duke, through the care of the Lord of Biron, repairs the bridge, makes another of boats, and in the night passeth the riuer of Charente. At the brake of day, fifty horse being in guard, a quarter of a League off, discouers the enemies troops that passed, and aduertise the Admirall: (the Prince being a League beyond at Iarnac) the Admirall sends for his men disperfed in their lodgings, to come vnto him, and to make their retreat together, and in the meane time hee attended them at Bassac.

In a great action all delayes are dangerous. He spends three houres to attend them, and might easily haue retired, if his troops had bene ioynd. Hee had nine corners of horse, and some Ensignes of foot. *Montgomery, Acier, and Punnault* were Colonels, whom hee was loath to lose. Being all ioynd with him (except *Acier*, who could not arise in time with his six thousand shot) he finds all the Dukes army past, making shew by their skirmishes, that that day, being the 13 of March, should not passe without a battell. The Prince was aduanced halfe a league in his retreat, but he was too well bred to see his friends engaged, and to fight in his absence. Hee turnes head towards the Admirall, with those few horse he could suddenly draw out of his battell: for he camped not, but his armie was disperfed into quarters. The Admirall making his retreat, encounters a small riuer, which could not be passed but in two or three places. Then the Duke sends forth the flower of all his horse, being seuen or eight hundred, who at the first, overthrow foure Corners, take *la Nene*, and *la Lone* fighting, vanquish *Punnault*, charge *D'Andelot*, but with the death of *Montsales*, and fifteene or sixteene others of account.

The battle of Brillac.

In the end the Prince and the Admirall see themselves in a manner engaged betwixt all the Dukes forces and the riuer of Charente: they goe to the charge, suit the Admirall and then the Prince, and at the first make them turne their backs that were before them: and now they endured a second charge, more fierce and of longer continuance. But suddenly all the army fals vpon them, their horsemen are in rout, the Princes horse slaine, and he overthrown vnder him, abandoned by his troops, and prisoner to the Lord of Argence, to whom he had yielded, but he was shot in the head with a pistol by *Montsieuur* a Gascon, and Captaine of the Princes guards. A lesson for great men, and a maxime of warre: That a Generall should not fight, but being forced, for that in the losse of his person consists the ruine of his army. This Prince hath left this memory of him, to haue yielded to no man of his age, neither in courage nor courttesie, eloquent in speech, liberal, affable to all the world, and a most excellent Commander in warre. The Protestants lost in this battell nere foure hundred men, most horsemen, and few footmen of account: *la Tour* a Poiteuain Sea, Captaine, young *Chasteliers*, *Portant*, *Chandenier*, *Mesanchere*, *Brandanier*, the eldest of the *Bessons*, the younger of *Tabariere*, *Barrete*, *la Messeray*, and a great number of other gentlemen of diuers Provinces, many wounded, and many prisoners: the amazement and disorder being so great, as they could not flye fast enough. Of Catholikes there died about two hundred, amongst the which were *Montsales*, the Barons of Ingrand, and *Prunay* of the house of Billy, the Earles of Mirandole, of Morete, Montcature, Linieres, and some others of marke.

The Prince of Conde slaine.

Many Protestants would haue gathered together againe, but they pursued them too nere, and the Reistres arriuing in the pursuit, so hastened them that fled, as night surpris'd them in the midst of their flight. The Admirall and *d'Andelot* not able to pacifie the amazement, nor repaire the disorder, tooke their way towards Saint Iean d'Angely, and gaue the rendezvous for them that escaped at Xaintes, whither the young Princes of Nauarre and Conde were retired. The body of the army was entred into Cognac. The footmen with their Commanders, *Acier*, *Beaudin*, *Blagons*, *Chellier*, *Mirabel*, and many others; and of the horse, *Montgomery*, *Chaumont*, and others. To dislodge them from Cognac, the victorious Duke sends to besiege it: but his attempts against Cognac, his intelligences within Saint Iean d'Angely, and his fruitlesse threats that hee vsed against Angoulême, stayed the course of his victory.

In the meane time the Protestants gather together the pieces of this shipwrack: the Admirall led the Princes to Tonay. Charente, he tooke view of the horse: *Henry* Prince of Nauarre was declared Generall, and *Henry* Prince of Conde an assistant, foure thousand masters tooke the oath, *d'Andelot* gathers the foot-men together, provided for money,

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D. Andrieu
dies.Count Brisse
slaine at Mu-
den.

and stayed the enemies courtes, when as a burning feuer took him out of this world the 27 of May in Xaintes, leaving for euer a surname purchased by him of a *Knight without feare*. After did succede him in his charge, *Beaumont la Noelle* had his company of men at armes, but the Admirall the care and government of the whole army, with the managing of the chiefe affaires which concerned the Protestants estate. The Dukes army did ouer-runne Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Limosin, vnder the conduct of the Earle *Brissac*, Colonnell of the Infantry of France. Having recouered Aubierre, and some other places from the Protestants, he attempts Mucidan, being vigorously battered, and valiantly defended. In the end it is burnt to ashes, the castle endures some assaults, the most worthy men of the Regiments of *Brissac*, *Montluc*, and *Escars*, lose their liues there, and finally *Brissac* himselfe approaching to view the breach and the defences, is shot into the head and slaine vpon the countercarpe, leaving a wonderfull grieue to them that knew him, being now but six or six and twenty yeares old, and might in time haue proued one of the valiantest and greatest Captaines of his age. Yet necessity forced the besieged to a composition, to depart with bag and baggage. But the impatience to haue lost their Colonels, and so many brave souldiers, made most of them to be slaine, issuing out of their wals. *Piles* recompened this losse by the taking of the Isle of Medoc betwixt Bourdeaux and Rochelle, the spoile whereof enriched all his troop. Then *Wolfgang* Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Duke of Deuxpoints, brought vnto the Princes about six thousand Reistres, and five thousand Lansquenets. Ciuill warres alwayes make the way open to a neighbor stranger, the which he durst not attempt without the support of one partie. The difficulty was to ioyne with the Princes being farre off, and without a French conuoy it could hardly be done: but see what chanceth vnlook for.

Mory, *Ioules*, *Morilliers*, *Pequiers*, *Espremy*, and others, had in the beginning of this third inciuill warre, assembled five or six hundred horse, and two thousand harguebuziers, whom the difficulty to passe into Guienne had transported into Brabant to the Prince of Aurançes; Count *Lodowike* his brother, and Count *Volrad* of Mansfield, who hauing for a time entertained the warre with a variable successe against the Spaniard, passed the Meuse and offered battell to the Duke of Alua: but he sought onely to consume them for want of victuals, whereof they were so scantied, as necessity casting them backe into France, they came to Vitry, and so stricke vp into Germany, and by their arriall gaue *Wolfgang* the helpe he desired. Wee must now begin anew. The Duke of Aniou leaues Guienne, and takes the way of Berry, to keepe the Duke of Deuxpoints from ioyning with the Princes: but it had bene better to haue prevented his entry into the Realme. To this end, the King commits two armies, the one to the Duke of Aumale, the other to the D. of Nemours (neither of them being fortunate in war) both strong in footmen, but weaker in horse then the Germane. They aduance vnto Sauerne: coast the Germane Duke, who crost through Bourgongne, presse him on the flanks, and behind with sundry skirmishes, and oftentimes encounter goodly and fauourable occasions, which they let slip for want of iudgement and good correspondency, the true bond of the brauest exploits that may be practised in warre. But was it not a want of iudgement in these two great Commanders, fortified with twelve hundred horse and foure thousand foot sent by the Pope, to leaue la Charite vnfortified of men, knowing well that the Protestants could not passe the Riuier of Loire, without getting by force, or surprizing some of the passages thereon? *Wolfgang* attempts la Charite, presse it, terrifies it, and takes it, before that any succours can come, and thereby shortens his way about threecore leagues, where hee must haue passed at the head of Loire, and frees himselfe from a passage full of wood and mountains, whereas the horsemen would haue bene but an incumbrance.

The Admirall could by no means fauour these succours (for he had the Duke of Anious army in front) and holding it as a matter impossible for the Reistres to get a passage vpon the Riuier of Loire, he attended hourly newes of their rout. But aduertised of the successe: Behold (saide he) a good sene: let vs make it absolute by our diligence and resolution. So the Princes aduance towards the marches of Limosin, to keepe the Dukes army occupied, whilst that their Reistres marching through the Country performed the funerals of the D. of Deuxpoints, who being lately deceased of an ague, left the command of the army to the Earle of Mansfield, and in the end of Iune both the Protestant armies ioyned, the which vnited together made about six and twenty thousand fighting men: and in the

Kings,

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Incounter at
Rochelle.

A Kings, they numbred about thirty thousand. The Country of Limosin is vnfruitfull, and the fertility of the soile forced the troops to lie dispersed, the which might easily cause some surprize: but the Admirall desired rather to prevent then be prevented. The Dukes army camped at Rochebeille. To surprize him they march, resolute to giue him battell, and are in view of the enemy before he hath taken any alarme of them.

Three hundred Harguebuziers of Colonnell *Striffes* kept the principal approach to this lodging, being strong both by situation and nature: and happy were they to bee lodged in a place of defence. At the first brunt *Striffes* relieues them with five hundred others who the space of an houre held good against foure thousand of the Princes foot, while the dukes army was put in battell. This passage being vncafe to force, the Admirall sends forth foure Cornets of horse which renew the charge: they breake vp certaine palizados which cornered *Striffes* Regiments, kill two and twenty Captaines, and five or sixe hundred men vpon the place: take their Colonnell (without whole resistance the Princes foreward had passed euen vnto the Cannon without any lett) put the rest to flight, and nothing but the raine that fell hindred the successe of a great victory, the which was continued the next day by a skirmish against two hundred Italians, and some horsemen of the Duke of Nemours, whereof many slue some, tooke others, and chased the rest, being mounted vpon horses of aduantage fit for such a retreat.

After this encounter, the Duke sent to refresh his troops vntill the beginning of October, in the garisons neere to Guienne: giuing the Princes by this meanes leasure to seize vpon many places, both by force and composition: Tiuiers, S. Suplice, Brantonne, Chasteau l'Eucisque, La Chapelle, Confolant, Chibannes, S. Genais, and others. Whilst the Duke rested, the Earle of Lude, Gouvernor of Poitou, promised wonders; but more in words then in effects. He had five thousand foot, and some cornets of horse, whereof hee had toure ouerthrowne by *La Noue*, neere vnto Niort: the Princes absence encouraged him to besiege Niort: where *Puisault* entred in despite of the assailants: hee sustained three assaults and some scaldadoes, forcing *Lude* after the losse of five hundred men to raise the siege. In the meane time the Princes approached neere to Poitou, and at the first had taken Chastelleraud by composition the 12 of Iuly, and the 21 following, Lucignan, D. Courré, Sinfay, Viuonne, and other small places about Poitiers, to cut off victuals from the townes. At the same time, the subiects of the Queene of Nauarre had their part in the Cake. *Terride* gouernor of Quercy, had accepted the Commission, to summon the Queene and the Prince her sonne to leaue the party of the pretended Reformed Religion: if not, to invade the countries of Bearn, Foix, and Nauarre. So accompanied with *Nigrepelisse*, *Saincte Columbe*, and others, hee had easily reduced all to the Kings obedience, and held Nauarrin besieged, the onely strong place that remained to the Queene.

The Princes send the Earle of Montgomery to encounter him, who with a small army of five hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, forced *Terride* to raise the siege, and to retire himselfe into Orthex. His men were dispersed, and to prevent him from gathering E them together, the Earle pursues him, besiegeth him, giues an assault, forceth the towne, and makes a great slaughter: and to beat *Terride* with his owne armes, he suddenly plants the Cannon he found in the towne against the Castle. *Terride* vnquished with these terrible stratagems, yeelds vpon composition, to depart with their liues and goods: *Saincte Columbe*, the Baron of Pordiac, *Gohas*, *Tanas*, and some others of the Queenes subiects, were excepted in the Capitulation, and as guilty of treason (hauing seized vpon her places, and stirred her subiects to rebellion) were put to death. This resolute repulse of *Terride*, and the execution of the aboue-named, did suddenly reduce all the other places to the Queenes obedience, and the Earle hauing manned the townes of his new conquests, came to Nerac, made warre a while with the neighbour Garisons, and so came to the Princes P armie. Let vs see the progresse of their armes. *La Charite* gaue the Protestants meanes to annoy the Prouinces on this side Loire, and taking this place from them, then the Duke of Aumale should recouer many commodities to refresh his armie.

To this end he appoints *Sansac*, who was yet a Notice in Commissions of such importance. Yet he gathers together out of the Garisons of Orleans, Bourges, Chartres, Neuers, Gien, and other townes, about seuen thousand foot, and five or six hundred horse, besiegeth La Charite, being yet but weakly fortified, changeth and re-changeth his battery, ouerthrowes a great part of the wall, and sends to the assault, the which was so resolutely

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La Charite
besieged.

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Poitiers besieged.

resolutely defended, that of an hundred of the assailants scarce five returne to the campe: and vpon a false brute, that the Princes came to succour it, the besiegers display their Ensignes, and without any farther inquiry, recouer their Garisons, after amonethis figne, and the losse of aboute an hundred men. Within few dayes after, *Blosset, Bois*, and others, disbandd from the campe to visit thir families, fortifie the towne, spoile the Country, and by the taking of Douzy, Pouilly, Antrain, Saint Leonard, and other small townes, they made the way open to Berry, Niernois, and the neighbour Countries. The siege of Poitiers was lesse fatal, and of as small successe for the Protestants. The Admirall held opinion to force Saint Maixent, then Saumur, and to fortifie it speedily, to haue a passage vpon the Riuer of Loire, nere vnto them, and to transport the warre towards Paris in the time of haruist. Poitiers was then very well furnished: the Dukes of Guise and of Mayenne had put themselves into it: many Capitaines and companies both of horse and foot shewed a great resolution for the defence thereof vnder the ensignes of the two young brethren: these great and spacious townes being commonly the steeplechre of armies: yet all these reasons were of no force. The Nobility thereabouts preferring profit before honor, vrged the contrary: That Poitiers was indeed strong of men, but weake of defence, and to be forced: That this place taken, would be the conquest of all Poictou, a rich Prouince, the which would disspoint the Duke of Aniou of an assured retreat. But the hope of spoile was an enticing bait to draw them vnto it: for the more men are within it (saide the Nobility) the greater shall our booty bee. Yet the respect of their priuate profits made them forget the constant resolution of such as had vnder taken to guard it, the great means they had to defend themselves, and their small prouision of artillery, munition, pioneers, and other things necessary for the siege.

In the end, plurality of voices caries it. The Princes losse some weekes before Poitiers. The towne is commanded by hils, which as moyed them: but their slow batterie giues them time to fortifie the breach, and force the assailants to make new attempts elsewhere, and with the like successe. Hunger oppressed the Citizens, hauing lost many Capitaines, with a great number of souldiers: and the plague afflicted the Princes campe: those within find a good meanes for their liberty: and the Princes an honest cause to dislodge. The Duke of Aniou vnderstanding the extremity of the besieged, and that the Protestants arme began to dissolue, propounds two things to the Commanders, either to free Poitiers, or to suffer a place of that importance to be lost, in the which were many of their confident friends. Hec besieged Chastelleraud, and makes a breach: the French will haue the point: the Italians contend for it. In the end, the chance of the dice giues it them. They come brauely to the assault: the French disdain to follow them, and they within defend the breach. They overthrow the most resolute with a furious volley of shot, and force the rest to retire in confusion, leauing five Ensignes vpon the breach, about two hundred and fifty souldiers, and a great number wounded, whereof many died. This was the 7 of September. They prepared for a second attempt, when as the Princes taking this second assault for a lawfull occasion, raise their figne, where with they were no lesse troubled to depart. Hec besieged the honour, then the besieged were prest with extreme necessity. The Duke hauing no compleat army, and seeing his designe succeed, dislodgeth all night, retires to Celle in Touraine, passeth Vienne and Creuse, lodgeth his troop, and artillery in a place of aduantage, gathers together all his dispersed bands: and now the way is prepared for a second battell, and a notable victory.

The Princes being aduertised of this sudden retreat, take it for a kind of flight: march all night after them, passe the riuers, put themselves in battell, to force the Duke, or to make him retire to Tours, where the King then remained. Both the armies are in battell: but betwixt them is a small riuer, which makes the country moorish and very vnfit for a generall fight, so as they could not ioyne their battells, and had no meanes to bring the Cannon without hazard to lose it. The Duke who was lodged in Celle, a village well entrenched, flanked and gabioned, couered on the one side by a Riuer, and on the other with a wood, could not by any skirmishes be drawne to fight, vntill he had vnited all his forces. The Princes for want of victuals repasse Creuse and Vienne, and lodge at Eysie la Vineuse, and from thence (the Country being spoiled, and ill to lodge in) passe to Montcontour, a lodging of aduantage, both for the situation and commodity of victuals. The Duke pursues him, and by his speed deceiued the enemies. His foreward led by *Biron* meets

1569

A them vnlooked for at Saint Cere, chargeth *Monty*, who made the retreat with 300 horse, and two hundred Harguebuziers, kills about fifty men at armes, and almost all his footmen, so amazeth the Princes army, as they all begin to wauer, and had not a freight been, where onely twenty men might march in front, the whole army had then beene in rout. The Admirall makes hast to repaire this disorder, and by his presence renues their danted courages. They charge and re-charge twice or thrice at this passage, and not able to bee forced, the two armies campe within shot of Musket, leauing it betwixt both. The Duke had eight or nine thousand horse, leueneene or eighteen thousand foot, French, Suisses, and Italians, and fiftene pieces of artillery. The Princes had six thousand horse, French and Reistres, ten thousand Harguebuziers French and Lanquenets, and eleuen pieces of Cannon.

As these armies beheld one another, two Gentlemen following the Dukes campe, present themselves to the first they meet of the Protestant party. *Aduertise the Admirall* (saide they) *that he forbear to fight, for the succours newly arriued haue greatly fortified our armie: let him temporize amoneth onely: it is the time the Nobilitie hath giuen vnto the Duke, with protestation to serue him for that time, but not afterwards, then shall he bee forced to a peace to your aduantage.* Of two Counsels those which happen to their owne time do commonly follow the worst. They aduertise the Admirall herof, he apprehends it, and desires to follow it, so doe the most modest, and that at nine of the clocke at night they should take the way to Eruaux, putting the riuer, that runnes there, betwixt the two armies. Others of a more boyling humour, inferre: That these nightly retreats terrifie them that make them, preiudice their reputations, augments the enemies courage, and that they must doe it onely at the point of day. Moreover, this might bee a practice to amaze their troopes, and that coming from suspected persons, accustomed to deceiue, it was also suspect, and to be reiected.

This diuerfity of opinions troubled the Admirall, but see what afflicted him more neerely. The Reistres did mutine for want of pay, the Lanquenets refused to march: three or foure French regiments of the most remote Countries, had already asked leaue to depart, many Gentlemen were retired to their houses, and the Duke approached. The Admirall then beseecheth the Princes that were at Parthenay to come to the armie, that by their presence they might containe them in obedience. They bring 150 good horse. But whilst the Admirall labours to pacifie the mutiny of the Germans, two houres are spent, so as the troopes cannot recouer a place of aduantage nere vnto Eruaux, where they could hardly haue charged them.

These broyles appeard, the army takes the way to Eruaux the third of October, and discouers the Dukes which aduanced. They cause the Princes to retire, being yet too yong (but vnder colour to conduct them with more assurance, many retire with them) and arrange themselves in a valley, being couered from the Cannon. And vpon the approach of the Dukes foreward (consisting of nineteene Corners of Reistres in two Squadrons marching directly against the Admirall) the Admirall sends to Count *Lodowike* who led the battell, to send him three Corners. The Earle obeyes, but he lends them himselfe: who hath no sooner left his place, but hee remains engaged in the skirmish, the which continued three quarters of an houre: the Admirall was hurt in the face, and his horsemen being ouerthrowne, leaue the field. The battell makes a great resistance, but vnurnished of a head, it is forced to yeeld to the greater number: part of the footmen are cut in pieces, and part disperfed here and there, the artillery lost, and the ensignes caried away: all fly, euery man saues himselfe. Count *Lodowike* retires with three thousand horse in one company, turning head still against them that pursued, and recouers Parthenay, the refuge of the remainders of this shipwrecke. Foure thousand Lanquenets dyed in this battell, 1500 French souldiers, about three hundred men at Armes, many horses, seruants, and Lackeys of men of marke, *Puigrefrier*, *Biron* brother to him that led the foreward, and Saint *Bonel*, Corner of the Admirals company. *La Noue* was prisoner againe, with *Aster* and others: the Reistres baggage was spoiled, that of the French being more aduanced towards Niort and Parthenay, was saued. The Duke lost few foot, but five or six hundred horse, and twice as many hurt, whereof the most perished, as the eldest Reingraue, the Marquis of Bade, *Clermont* of Dauphine, and few others of quality.

Seldome

An vnlooked for accident.

Battell of Montcontour.

1570 many shrunke away, and in the end the campe was diminished eightene or twenty thou. A
land men.

A treaty of
Peace.

The army tyred with labour, and prest with want of victuals, and other discommodities, dislodging from *Saint Jean d'Angely*, gave the Princes leisure to determine of their voyage: and the King retiring to Angiers, assigned the Princes deputies thither, to begin the following year by the continuance of a treaty of Peace begun in the month of November. *Beaunais*, *la Noüe* and *Teligny* come thither in February, and returne with no other answer to the Protestants, but a liberty to live within the Realme free from search in their houses, and for their safety two townes, which *Biron* should name vnto them, in the which they might doe what pleased them, not impugning the Kings authority, nor the quiet of the Realme: his Maiestie offering to restore them to their charges, except such as had been dismissed by the order of Iustice, and the money (growing by the sale thereof) received by the Kings commandment: but forbidding all exercise of Religion, but of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish: banishing all Ministers out of the Realme, and requiring them to disarme, to send backe presently their foraine forces, and to yield vp all townes held by the violence and force of armes. In the meane time posts fly into England and Germany, and to diuert or stay the succours which the Protestants might expect from thence, the brute flies that a Peace is made in France.

The Princes and Admirall thinking they were but deuices to hinder their affaires, euery one prepares againe to put on hamesse: their forces were dispersed into diuers Princes: those about Bourges had an enterprize vpon the towne, by the practice of a soldier, who by treacherie makes them to lose thirty men at the entry, and as many prisoners. So he that thinks to take, is often taken himselfe. The reduction of Poitou, had likewise brought Marans and the Castell of Beauvoir vpon the sea to the Kings obedience. Angoulême and Rochel onely remained to the Protestants. They had lost Lusignan: but Blay, Taillebourg, the Isles of Xaintonge, Marennes, and Brouage, were yet at their deuotion. To try Rochel the King threatens them by his Letters, and by promises he seeks to win *Pardailhan* and *Romegon*, the Gouvernours of Blay and Taillebourg. They answer (saith the History) the King wisely, and *Lausac* courageously: *You cannot bee more grieued (said Pardailhan) to attempt to force me in this place: then I shall be, for the shame, losse and confusion, which I shall cause you to receive, or any other that shall attempt it. Romegon* speaks in the same sence. The effect was more to be feared then words: yet *Lausac* attempted nothing against them. The Islands had much annoyed the siege of *Saint Jean d'Angely*, and the Lanquens escaped from Montcontour, were dispersed there. The Earle of Lude, *Puigalliard* and *la Riviere Puitaille*, Gouvernours, the one of Angiers, the other of Marans, with eight cornets of horse, and twenty ensignes of foot, force the said Islands, and make such a slaughter, as there remained not about three hundred fighting men.

La Noue the Princes Lieutenant in Guienne, studied to recouer Brouage, a place of great importance for the Rochelois, when as the Baron of la Garde attempting vpon Tonne Charente, made both their enterprises to proue vaine. Rochel is now blockt vpon all sides. Lude and *Puigalliard* had an armie in Poitou: *la Riviere Puitaille* the elder, held Marans and other places thereabouts: the younger commanded in Brouage. *Landezean* Vice-admirall held Olone. The Brittons & Bourdelois cut off the Rochelois victuals by sea. *La Garde*, then Generall of their gallies, did runne offensives euen into their haven: but to presse them on all sides, he would gladly haue beene master of Tonne Charente. *La Noue* had undertaken the defence thereof: who vnderstanding the Barons practice, so planted his shot, as at his enemies first landing, hee slue their Commanders, and many others, gaue liberty to the flauces, and became master of the galley: and if he had not too soone transported them, the rest comming to enter into Charente, and resolute to land, they could not haue escaped death or prison. This galli did afterwards serue *Romegon* to beat the Catholikes in many places. And if *la Garde* prevailed nothing by force, his policies were of as small effect. So as he lost his time, men, and money, and did nothing of moment.

Contrariwise, the defeat of some troops at Nouaille by the harguebuziers of *La Noue*, vnder the leading of *Scipio* an Italian Ingencer, and the recovery of Marans by *La Noue*, from *Chaperon* Gouvernour of the place, after the death of the elder *Puitaille* lately deceased,

A ceased, was the cause of the winning of ten or twelue other places thereabouts, and gaue the Rochelois meanes to enlarge themselves. The spoile of Olone did enrich them, furnished them with forty good vessels, with some armes and Cannon, and a good number of prisoners, and diminished their enemies strength of about 400 fighting men. This requiring caused *Puigalliard* and *Fernagues* to make enterprises vpon Langon and Gué of Nelyure, and by the recovery of Luslon to molest Marans and Rochel againe, if that *la Noue* had not speedily taken this fort from them that came to seize on it, and slue *Sforza* a valiant Gentleman, Captaine of a company of Italians, who were come to charge him behinde in his retreat.

B The Tower of Moric, the Castle of La Graue, Talmonde, and the Castle of Chiffé, being taken againe by *Puigalliard*, recomended the losse of Luslon: and the conquests of *Puigalliard*, were at the same time crost by *Puissault* Gouvernour of Marans, by the death of Captaine *Dante*, who scoured all Poitou, by the rout of their company, and wounding in a manner, of all the members thereof, and by the ouerthrow of *Chaumont* and *Gouliere*, issued out of Angoulême with two cornets of horse: by the death also of *Guiti- nieri* Gouvernour of *S. Jean d'Angely*: the ouerthrow of young *Riniere Puitallé*, the route of his men, and the losse of two Ensignes. But the death of Captaine *Herbelote*, commanding a company of French, and two of Italians, and the defeat of his troopes by *Coignes* issued out of Angoulême, which then held for the Princes, made the mid-may famous, a season when as the second parle of peace was renewed.

Time brings many changes, now it fauours the Protestants, reuiues their courages, The Protestants fortified, fortifies their hopes, and the Catholikes are new to beginne; the King was wearied with this variable continuance of warre, it drew his subjects from his obedience, ruined his Prouinces, wasted his treasure, and consumed his forces. The Queene-mother, since the enterprize of *Ateans*, did still nourish in her breast a fire of reuenge. She was wonderfully discontented, that the Protestants in the beginning of the first troubles had so violently opposed against her desire to rule, by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other. But there was paine and perill to suppress the heads of the Protestants: many murderers, and many prisoners, offered themselves, but the most part drew backe when it came to the effect. Moreover, the Princes grew in age and iudgement, they framed themselves to affaires, they began to know the friends and enemies of the Common-weale. And on the other side, many Noblemen of either party, laboured to temper the humors, both of such as were best affected to the publike quiet, and of those that during these vniuall confusions, made a way for their ambitious designs: whilst that *Biron* and *Teligny* chief Deputies, the one for the King, the other for the Princes, labour about Peace.

Let vs see what course the Princes tooke since the battell of Montcontour vntill the peace. A small ball of snow rowled from a high mountaine, grows great in a short time, and becomes able to endure a great force. So the Councell whereby the Princes resolved to retire farre from the Conquerors armie, did much auale them: for they assured their men, fortified themselves with new troopes, and consumed their enemies, in the taking and retaking of places which they had possessed.

But still the poore people suffer for great mens follies. *Aginois* and *Queray* serues now as a good retreat for the Protestants. They finde there a fat and fruitful Country, where by the spoile of the contrarie party, they refresh their persons, and make a new bodie. There is nothing but inroads, spoiles and robbings of the enemy: but there was violent warre against Tholousa, and horrible fires in their houses which belonged to the Court of Parliament. They haue bene (said the Protestants) very violent to burne them of our Religion, beheaded Captaine *Rapin*, who caried them the Edict of Peace from the King, and to commit many other insulencies, whereof opportunitie now cries for vengeance. Doubtlesse the Iustice of God doth oftentimes send a wished encounter to be reuenged of an indignitie receiued. The Marshall of Danuile, *La Valette*, and some other Commanders of quality, made some sallies, with diuers variable euents, but not straying farre from their walls for feare of surpris.

Carmain, *Oriac*, *la Faye*, *Lesbos*, *Montefrue*, and generally all they besiege (except *Saint Felix*, from whence the Gascons were repulsd in the assault, with the losse of fifty men, and the Vicount of Montclar hurt whereof he dyed at Castres) is forced, and the garisons cut in pieces. During the armies abroad in Albigeois, the Princes, (notwithstanding the crosses

The Princes
voyage after the
battell.

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crosses of *Ecars*, *Pompadour*, *la Vanglion* and others commanding three thousand men) A being fortified with five or six hundred horse, brought from Rochel by *Beaudiné* and *Ren-ty*, send *Piles* into the county of Rouffillon, where hee did spoile and greatly annoy the Spaniard, whilest the Kings deputies conferred neere vnto Carcassonne, with *Teligny*, *Beauvais* and *la Chastetiere*, who going afterwaies to his Maiestie, concluded what wee shal see in briefe. Languedoc, Viarez & Dauphine, hauing fortified the army with about 3000 Hargubuziers, most of them mounted at the countrey-mens charge, in stead of those which *Neubrun* (through fauour of the fort which hee built vpon Rofic right against Pulin) led away to refresh themselves in their countrey, hauing surmounted the difficulties of the mountaines, and the Admirall being freed from grieuous sicknesse, which B had brought him to deaths doore, at Saint Estienne in Forest, the army comes into Bour-gongne, where being fortified with 1500 light-horse, come from la Charite and the neighbour garisons, vnder the command of *Briquemaule*, they encounter a good occasion to aduance the peace.

It seemed to the Protestants a matter of some difficulty, to obtaine a peace, vnlesse they approached neere vnto Paris: and to that end, the Admirall had suffered almost all his footmen to furnish themselves with horses, and aduanced by great iourneys into the heart of France, whilest his troopes were fresh, and lusty, and free from diseases. But hee had before him, the Marshall of Cossé, the Kings Lieutenant in the absence of the Duke of Anjou: who, to hinder the Princes approach to Paris, seeks meanes to fight with them. They incamped at René-le-Duke, a place not very strong of situation, from whence they thought to dislodge them with their Cannon, whereof the Princes were vnfurnished, and by diuers volleys of shot, to make them leaue certaine passages which they held. The Marshall *la Palette*, *Stroffs* and *la Chastre*, come with all speed, charge and recharge them, and at the first, they force them to a passage. *Briquemaule*, Marshall of the campe, *Montemery* and *Jenlis*, endure the shooke; they kill, hurt and take many: and by this firme resolution, make it knowne, that their lodgings are not to be forced. So the Marshall founds a retreat, and the Princes, to whom all stay was preiudiciall, being strengthened with new companies drawne out of Sancerre, la Charité, Antrain, Vezelai, and other places of their party, and furnished with some artillery: they turned head towards Paris. But a truce of ten dayes, stayed all exploits of warre, betwixt them, and the Marshall: while the Baron of *la Garde*, *Puigailiard* & *Riniere Puisseille*, chiefe enemies to the Protestants, laboured to become Masters in Guienne, and the neighbour countrey. To that end, after they had overcome the troopes of horse and foot, led by *la Noue*, *Soubize* and *Pruvauts*, and by a shamefull chase shut their companies into Rochel, they recover all the forts and places which had beene taken from them since the surpris of Marans. And the more to restrain the Rochelois, they build a fort at Lulon, vnder the command of Captaine *Masclaron*. They hoped this fort should bee a bait to draw the Protestants to field, but hauing built it without contradiction, *Puigailiard* tries another stratagem. Hee retires his forces into high Poictou, and giues out, that the Princes had gotten a great victory, and that he must by the Dukes commandement, lead away his troopes with all speed: that by a strong ambush and turning head suddenly, hee might charge the Protestants, and defeat them at their first approach. Notwithstanding, *La Noue* and his companions keepe themselves quiet, giuing their troops (amazed by their last fight) time to take breath, the which causeth *Masclaron* to slacke the guard of his fort.

The first of
Lulon besieged

La Noue being aduertised, that the fort was to be forced, goes out of Rochel with some cornets, eleven ensignes of French, and 300 Lanquenets, which remained: *Puigailiard* gathers together speedily what troopes he can, which now began to leaue him: and to shut vp *la Noue* betwixt Marans and Lulon, makes them to march two dayes and a night to Saint Gemme, halfe a league from Lulon, but with one light repast. Here his second policy of warre preuailes as little as the first. He faines himselfe sick, and giues out, that a burning ague detained him in his bed: then vnder colour of the deliuey of *Ronsiere* a Gentleman of Poictou, and others whom *Pruvauts* had lately taken in an encounter: he sends a trumpet to assure them of this pretended sicknesse, and to discouer the strength of the besiegers. But this spy was not cunning enough: he trips in his answers, and by his faintnesse discouers his matters practices. *Puivauts* extorts the truth by force: then shewing them, that they had to do with men that were toiled and broken with their great march,

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A march, they dislodge from S. Gemme, to ioine with *La Noue*. *Puigailiard* is aduertised that the enemy flies, and retires in disorder to Marans. Hee approacheth, enters the Bourg, and finding nothing but the nest, some runne to the victuals, others to the spoile. But they haue a contrarie aduice; That the enemy is neere and in battell. *La Noue* had lodged his men by the fauour of the ditches, hedges, and bushes, which compasse in the vines of that countrey, whereas *Puigailiards* horse could not passe but by small companies. *La Noue* commanded to the charge, Saint Estienne and *Brunciere* beginne it, against 150 masters, of the chiefe troopes of *Puigailiard*, and makes them to stagger. *Puivauts* forceth through them, kils some, and amazeth the rest. *Puigailiard* and those that were best B mounted, fly vnto Fontenay, foure leagues from thence: the footmen hemmed in on all sides, and broken by the horse, presently giue way, and remaine at their mercy, without mercy, namely, of the Lanquenets, who reuenge vpon them the blood of their countermen, shed neere to Montcontour: Sixteene Ensignes, and two cornets were taken, 500 old souldiers slain vpon the place, and thirty men at armes, with many Commanders and Officers of Regiments and Companies. Seven or eight hundred prisoners were sent away with white wands in their hands. The fort being valiantly assailed, and yielded by *Masclaron*, added foure companies to the victory, and this victory caused the conquest of Fontenay le Coete, from whence the besieged retired to Niort: *La Noue* hauing lost his left arm in the siege.

The battell of
Lulon.

C Oleron, Marenes, Soubize and Brouage, yielded to the victors, where as the death of *Riniere Puisseille*, recompensed *La Noues* hurt. So as by the recovery of all that which the King held about Rochel, the Protestants coopt vp the Catholics within the walls of Saint Iean d'Angely. The Prince Dauphin of Auvergne came into Poictou, to repaire *Puigailiards* losses, and to strengthen the forces of the Earle of Lude, for the making of some new attempt, when as a peace concluded betwixt the King and the Princes, stayed the course of their triumphs, the eleuenth of August, and caused a suspension of Armes, to renew it againe two yeares after, with a more vnworthy and horrible proceeding.

By this third Ediſt of Peace, they had foure townes of safety, Rochel, Montauban, D Cognac and La Charité, to be held two yeares in the Princes names, and the Princes, with the chiefe Commanders of the Protestants, attending the full execution thereof, retired to Rochel: the armies were dismissed, and the strangers conducted into Lorraine. Soone after, the Emperour *Maximilian* the second, gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to *Philip* King of Spaine (so the Vncle married his Neece, but the House of Austria hath oftentimes obtained such dispensations) and for *Charles* in the towne of Meziens in the end of Nouember, tooke to wife *Elizabeth* the younger Sister, a wife and vertuous Princeesse.

The third
Ediſt of Peace

King Charles
marries the
Emperours
daughter.

There was a Peace concluded, but no full obseruation of the Ediſt: whereupon the Princes sent *Briquemaule*, *Teligny*, *Beauvais la Noue* and *Cannanes* to Court. The King at their instance, sent Commissioners throughout all the Prouinces of this Realme. But there were some amongst them, who (not many yeeres before) had condemned the Admirall to be hanged. Amongst others, the Marshall of Cossé, and *Prontiere* Master of Requests, were at Rochel, to consult with the Queene of Nauarre and the Admirall, about the meanes in generall, to maintaine the Realme in Peace: and particularly to treat of a marriage betwixt *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Nauarre, and *Marguerite* of Valois the Kings Sister, and then to conferre with the Admirall touching the warre which his Maiestie seemed to pretend against the Spaniard in the Low-countries, to the protection whereof, he was greatly sollicitied. The Kings good countenance, and the gifts hee gaue to the Deputies, namely, to *Teligny*, who seemed to be greatly in his Maiesties fauour and F likewise might doe much to perswade his father-in-law to come to Court, makes them at their returne to Rochel, to extoll the Kings singular loue and affection to the Queene of Nauarre, the Princes, the Admirall, and to all the rest of their party, and to assure them by his commandement, that he will not onely maintaine the Peace, but also confirme it by the alliance of his owne Sister, and that he desires to conferre by mouth with the Admirall, touching this new expedition of the Low-countries, and therefore they should make hast to goe vnto him.

And the better to confirme them in this beliefe, the King sends *Biron* after them with
S F F the

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The Kings d. f.
family was the Prin-
ces & Admirall.

the same charge, and that hee would procure the Queene his Mother, and the Duke of Anjou his brother, to moderate their spleenes and discontents, and would worke a reconciliation betwixt the Duke of Guise and the Admirall. The apparant meanes to confirme a publicke concord did please the Admirall, beleiving this marriage should bee the ground of a most happy peace, and the Queene of Navarre feared lest delay should alter the Kings good meaning. But the accomplishment of the marriage was hindered by some less. The Pope made some difficulty to dispencc therewith, as well by reason of the consanguinitie of the parties, (the one being petty-Nephew, the other grand-child of *Francis* the first King of France) as also for the difference of their religions. The Queene of Navarre likewise made some scruple of this disparity of religion, of the ceremonies, and of the place of the solemnity. She would not have the marriage celebrated after the manner of the Catholike Church, and feared the City of Paris, as most affected to their religion, and of long time an enemy to the House of Navarre.

Pretences for
the Low-coun-
try warres.

Contrariwise, the King would have Paris to bee the Theater, where this notable act should be solemnly celebrated in view of the capitall City of his Realme, without changing any thing in forme of royall marriage. In the end, the respect of civill reason prevailed. As for the motives of this warre pretended in the Low-country: (they were goodly in shew) for besides this hereditarie hatred of the French against the Spaniard, being reuived by the outrages and warres made in France by *Charles* and *Philip* his sonne, the remembrance whereof was yet fresh, they renewed the ancient quarrels of many possessions in the Low-countries, depending vpon this Crowne. Moreover, they pretended new causes, which seemed lawfull to breake the alliance betwixt the two Kings. That his Maiestie had most certaine intelligence of poison giuen by *Philip* to his wife, the Sister of our *Charles*, vpon some discontents and filthy ialousies. These reasons had a shew of truth, and the Admirall to the end the French (who cannot liue long together in mutuall concord, and that by a long use of warre breathed nothing but warre) should not seeke some new seeds of civill diuision, held it good to direct this vehemence heat against some stranger and nation as farre off. Many necessary considerations fortified this civill council. The forces of the Prince of Orange, and his brethren, who spoiled by the Spaniard of many rich possessions both in the Low-countries, and in the country of Bourgogne, had long time sought to recouer it by armes. The credit and fauour of the Low-country men in Germany, by reason of the exceeding crueltie of the Duke of Alua, *Lodowike* of Nassau, brother to the said Prince, a man of great courage and resolution, prest it forward, and his presence was a spur to the Admirall. Moreover, to the end it should seeme this warre was managed with the Kings consent, his Maiestie did suffer the Prince of Auranges Fleet to ride about Rochel, annoying the Spaniards and Portugals, which failed vpon that coast for the trafficke of the Low-countries: and for Count *Lodowike*, to sell the booty hee had taken from the enemy freely and publickly at Rochel.

So the Admirall, a widower by reason of *Charles* of Lauall deceased in the second troubles, after he had espoused the Countesse of Antremont in Sauoy, at Rochel, and giuen his daughter *Louise* to the Lord of Teligny to wife, he comes to Court, relying vpon the Kings assurances, so often confirmed by messengers: and especially by the Marshal of Cosse whom the King had sent to accompany him, presuming the Admirall would giue more credit to the Marshals words, by reason of their familiarity.

The King receiued him with all Demonstrations of loue (those of Guise leaue him the place, not to yeeld any thing vnto him, but to returne soone after with greater authoritie) and to take from him all ialousies and distrusts which were giuen him from all parts, the King at the first doth recompence the losses which the Admirall had sustained during the former warres, by the gift of a hundred thousand frankes, and grants him for one whole year, the reuenues which his brother the Cardinal of Chastillon enjoyed (being lately deceased in England.) He giues him a place in the Priuy council. Doth oft-times conferre with him touching the warres of Flanders, and makes shew to bee governed therein by his aduice and council: hee honours him with that plausible name of father, and treats with him so familiarly, as the country tooke this familiarity for a scale of his Masters affection to the Admirall, and the people beganne now to murmure, that *Charles* not onely fauoured the Huguenots, but would shortly himselfe become

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A become a Huguenot. A cunning bait to free the Admirall from suspition by the aduertisements which had beene giuen him to the contraire. He could now tast no admonitions, his spirit was so transported with the Kings countenance and words.

Doublelesse the wisdom of man failes euen in the wisest, when it pleaseth him that giues it, to weaken the strongest spirits, and (by a iudgement incomprehensible to man) to cast a vayle before his eyes, and to make him vnable to conceiue the Iustice and horror of the iudgement which he meanes to display. For the better advancing the enterprise of the Low-countries, the Admirall thought it fit the King should make a Peace with *Elizabeth* Queene of England. They might treat it with a very honest colour, to the prejudice of the Spaniards. *Elizabeth* was not married, and *Henry* Duke of Anjou had no wife, the dignity of so high an alliance was honorable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by a Queene: hauing also in his young age purchased great glory and reputation. This charge is giuen to the Marshall of Montmorency. But the issue did shew, that besides this negotiation of Peace, their meaning was to abuse both the Admirall and all others whom it was expedient to abuse for the execution of the council of Saint Cloud, and by the same practice to send the Marshall farre from Court, left by his ordinary conuersing with the King, hauing a good iudgement, and smelling out the plots of this pitifull Tragedy, hee should discouer them to the Admirall his cousin: and by meanes of this new peace, the English in the midst of this indignitie, should be refrained from attempting of any thing in fauour of the Protestants, as it chanced. During this time the Admirall retires to Chastillon: and in the meane season they prepare a Fleet at Bourdeaux and Brouage, vnder the command of *Sirey*, *Landeran* and the Baron of la Garde. The pretext was the warre of Flanders: yet had they expresse commission to attempt vpon Rochel, and by open or secret practices to get it into their owne power.

The Admirall hauing founded the foard, vpon his assurance to the Queene of Navarre of the Kings singular affection to her and to all her house, in the end shee goes to Blois, where as the Court remained. Hereupon falls out an accident, which made the advancement of the said marriage more easie: the death of Pope *Pius* the fifth. *Gregory* the thirteenth, succeeded him: whereupon the King sent the Cardinal of Lorraine to Rome, to assist at the new election, and to procure for his successor a necessary dispencc, for the accomplishing of the solemnitie.

Some letters of the Cardinall of Pelue (sometimes a scullion in the Colledge of Montaignu, and then seruant to the Cardinall of Lorraine during this study, and afterwards growne to be a Cardinall) written vnto his Master, being intercepted by the way, containing amongst other things: *That the Court of Rome did wonder greatly at the familiarity the King vsed to the Admirall, during his abode nere his Maiestie: that it was fit to use such policy, attending the execution of the Priuy Council*, the which discouered sufficiently that which was generally spoken of throughout all France. This had beene concluded at S.

Cloud nere vnto Paris, amongst few, but it was common in many mens mouths: and *Lignerolles*, Gouverneur of Bourbonnois, one of the D. of Anious mignons (for that he had blabed out some thing which he had learned in secret of his master) did expiate the rashnes of his licentious tongue, with the price of his blood. But we shall see in our dayes a more strange effect of Gods iustice, for that the last of our Kings of the race of *Valois*, shall end his life miserably in the same chamber where the fatal council had beene held in his presence. Neither could the aduice of *Pelue*, nor any other, stay the Admirall from comming to Paris as soone as the King: being solicited by his Maiestie, by many and sundry Letters, to conclude fully of the marriage, (besides they treated the marriage of the Prince of Conde, with the Marquesse of Lisle, the yongest daughter of the House of Neuers) and F of the voyage of Flanders.

The Queene of Navarre, to whom this long delay was very troublesome, prepared all things necessary for so famous an act, but she falls sicke of a quotidian feuer, the fourth of Iune, eightene dayes after her arriual, and dyeth the fifth day after her sicknesse, growing (said the Physicians) of an extraordinary hardnes of the Lungs, with a great impostume, augmented by the great heat of the season, and her continuall trauell in the time of her health. A Princess of a notable courage, inuincible in aduersitie, of a ready wit, iudicious, absolute in her actions, capable of council, comprehending things with a great

Peace with the
English.The Queene
of Navarre
comesto
Court.Letters inter-
cepted.The death of
the Queene
of Navarre.

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viacity of spirit, and deliuering her minde with an admirable grace, either by word or A writing: of a Ionall complexion, and very pleasant in conuersation. But happy chiefly in this, that she left vs a lawfull heire for to inherit this Crowne, to redeme it out of the hands of the flanger, and to preferue it with happinesse and prosperitie.

Supposed to be poisoned.

Many are amazed at this sudden death, as an assured foretelling of some future mischiefe. The King, the Queene-mother, and all the Kings House shew a wonderfull sorrow: and to take away all suspicion of poison, Charles commands the body to be opened, and to search the causes of her death. The Physicians report, there is no shew of poyson, but her braine was not opened. Some hold opinion, that an Italian, the Kings perfumer presented her with a paire of Gloues, which presented her from beholding of that pitifull B and bloody tragedy, which shall bee shortly acted. The continuall messages sent from Charles, had likewise drawne the Princes to Court, and this death did seeme to aduance the marriage, for the gaue vnto her sonne the kingdome of Nauarre, and now he beganne to enioy the title of King, and all his mothers succession. The Popes dispensation was necessary, without the which the Cardinall of Bourbon vncle to Henry, who was appointed to marry them, refused to proceed therein. In the end it comes, and the day of the consummation is appointed to be kept the 18 of August.

Beginning of the warres in Flanders.

Such were the actions of the Court, whilst that Cont Lodowick, La Noue, Sanconrt and Ienlis, to whom the King had giuen chiefe Commissions for the Belgicke warre, had by the taking of Monts in Hainault, drawne all the Duke of Aluaes forces against them. C Flushing had slain their Gouverneur, with the most part of the Spanish garison, and repulled those the Duke had sent to recover the towne. Many other townes of the Low-Countries followed the like example. Holland and Zelant hunted after their libertie. Beginnings which seemed to draw after them a long continuance of great consequence: and the authoritie the King gaue to the aboue named to prouide for the succour of Monts, and for the continuing of other like exploits, induced the Admirall to beleeue firmly, that the King embraced this businesse without dissembling. According to this authority, Ienlis led fure hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, whereof the Duke of Alua being aduertised, he surprised him suddenly, defeated his troopes, tooke him prisoner, with many others, and slue many of his men.

Ienlis defeated.

The King seemed displeased with these newes, hee sends to Monducet his Ambassadour of the Low-countries, to procure the libertie of these prisoners: and he sends the Admirall to send such succours as hee could, to ioine with the armie of Reiftres which the Prince of Orange had leauied: hee caused money to bee made ready for the entertainment of the foot, which they esteemed foure regiments, and thirty companies of men at armes. The Ambassador of Spaine was gone out of France. The Queene-mother likewise playing her part, seemed to bee ignorant of the Kings designs, and being informed thereof, shee seemed ready to retire from Court. These reasons did still confirme the Admirall, Theligny, and the rest in that belief; that the King concurred with the Admirall in one will, to send the warres farre off into the King of Spaines countries, the which hee had before kindled in the foure corners, and in the heart of this Realme, pretending to entertaine it there, and to maintaine himselfe with the shipwracke of this Crowne, and to seize thereon in time, as the attempt of his designs in our dayes haue testified.

The Marshall of Montmorency returned from his Ambassage, bringing a mutuall league offensive and defensive, with, and against all men, not naming any one: but the marriage whereof hee had charge remained fruitlesse: which made many beleeue that it was but a meere fiction, fit for the season, where they prepared a scaffold, on the which they should soone present a horrible spectacle. The Marshall either not to bee a spectator nor counsellor, or doubting to be engaged in these publike and private furies, F retires himselfe to his house. Rochel was in the meane time beleaguered, fouldiers arised hourly, giuing terrible threats against the towne, who beganne to cry to the Admirall for succours. In other townes they heard secret murmurings, which terrified the most cleere-sighted amongst the Protestants. These aduertisements sound continually in the Admirals eares. But hee continues alwayes like vnto himselfe, constant in the middest of all motions, and grew resolute against all such as laboured to call him from Court, either by mouth or writing. As for the house of Guise (saith hee) whereas they

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A they will put me in feare, the King hath taken order, making vs to sweare before him to continue friends: and as for them of the Religion, the marriage of Madam Marguerit, whom his Majesty giues not to the King of Nauarre alone, but as it were to all those of the party, to ioine himselfe vnto them by an indissoluble union, is the finishing of their quiet and safety. To conclude, he will be no more troubled touching the Kings ill meaning, nor the Queene-mothers, the duke of Anious, the Guisens, nor any others.

And that which settles the Admirall the more in his conceit, hee finds the King, (after the death of Sigismund King of Poland) to effect the pursuite of that Crowne in fauour of his brother. Charles was cleare-sighted in affaires of State; hee was yong, yet of quicke B and ready wit, and (if bloody and furious counsels had not peruerted him) without doubt he might haue brought forth better frutes, and this Monarchy had been freed from the miseries which haue since ruined it. His brother had great credit generally in France: his mildnesse made him pleasing to his Mother, and his liberalitie, to the people. He desired rather to see him command farre off then nere. And the Admirall, who knew the D. of Aniou to be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants, supposed that the King would by his absence settle a firme peace: that Henry being confirmed in Poland, his adherents would grow more milde: that the house of Guise disappointed of this support, would feare the Kings looks, the which sometimes appeared terrible: and that Charles would soone discharge the Queene his mother from the government of affaires, and take C it wholly vnto himselfe, as already he made shewes of his intent.

Negotiation of Poland.

The Admirall seeing Iohn of Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a man of iudgement, and practised in negotiations, employed in this Ambassage, he fed himselfe with new hopes. And contrariwise, Montluc (fore-seeing the imminent storme,) was very glad to be neither a Counsellor, nor a witnesse of the miseries that were like to fall vpon the Protestants. And indeed he had before counselled many of the chiefe amongst them, not to meddle in this imaginary warre of Flanders, but to retire in time to their houses, and not to trust ouer-much in the goodly shewes of Court, considering the enuy of the great, and the ill will of the people of Paris. But thus God confounds the iudgement, and blinds the vnderstanding of such as hee refuses for an example to their posterity. Oh France, D my haire stands vpright, and I tremble, to enter into the relation of so inhumane a Tragedie! And shall wee neuer be satisfied to heare the lamentable and continuall slaughter of our country-men? what man would not be troubled? what minde would not be oppressed with heauinesse and griete, to see so much blood vnprofitably spilt in our Cities, which should be carefully preferred for the defence of our country against strangers and common enemies? yet let vs passe this dangerous passage: the course of times inuities vs to proceed.

A great number of Noblemen, both Catholikes and Protestants, repaired from all parts, to the solemnizing of this marriage. Those of Guise come, bringing with them a great traine of men of all qualities faithfull vnto them. The water which moues by little E and little, the birds which houer about it, and the ayre colder then of custome, foretell a storme to come. So the common murmurings, the stirring of the quarter-masters, and other Captaines of Paris, the Kings guards dispersed through the City, the ordinarie threats against the Protestants, were certaine testimonies, that this marriage should be seasoned more with blood then water.

The day appointed comes: the Cardinall of Bourbon maries the parties vpon a high scaffold, built before the doore of four Ladies Church at Paris. Four dayes are spent in plays, feasts, dancing and masks: the which finished, the King protests to the Admirall, that he will answer and satisfie the Protestants requests. Euery one of their Churches had their Deputies in Court, for many affaires, wherein the Admirals authority was very necessary. F They ought a great summe of money to the Germanes, due for their entertainment in former warres: for the payment whereof, the King had suffered them to tax themselves to the fifth part of their estates. The Commissioners and Receiueurs prest the collection, being desirous to make an end of that businesse, the day of payment being past. Hereon the Admirall treated with the Priny Council, on Friday the 22 of August, where the Duke of Aniou in the Kings absence was President.

The marriage solemnized.

At the rising of the Council, the Admirall hauing attended on the King, who went to play at Tennis, he retired himselfe to his lodging at dinner time, being accompanied with

S f f 3

sittence

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The Admirall
but.

fiftene or sixtene Gentlemen : and reading a petition, when as being about a hundred A
paces from the Louvre, a Harguebuze shot from the window of a lodging neere by, be-
longing to *Villemur*, sometimes Schoolemaster to the Duke of Guise, carries away the
fore-finger of his right hand, and wounds him in the left arme. They breake downe the
doore of the lodging : they finde the Harguebuze, but not him that discharged it. This
was *Mauruel* (vnder a counterfeit name of *Bollan* one of the Kings guards) a fit man for
such murders : who mounting vpon a Genet of Spaine which was prouided ready for
him, fled by Saint Anthonies gate to a place of safety.

The King played, and vpon the first report of this hurt : *Shall I neuer haue quiet* (said
he) *shall I daily see new troubles*. And casting his Racket to the ground, hee retired to the B
Louvre, and swears with an execration to the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé
(who were come vnto him to complaine of this outrage) to take such exemplary iustice
of the offender, his fauours and adherents, as the Admirall and his friends should haue
caused to be satisfied. He presently commands to pursue him that shot (but they goe flow-
ly after him) he appoints three of the Parliament to make informations against the offend-
er, *Thon, Morfan, and Viole* : hee leaves only two gates open with great guards, vnder
colour to search for such as were priuy to this outrage, putting the whole city into armes.
The Queene-mother seemes to be discontented. *They do great wrong vnto the King* (cries
she :) *if he should suffer this crime unpunished, they would in the end attempt against his owne*
house. These counterfeit speeches retaine the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Condé, C
who had desired leaue to retire themselves, but then they made no more mention of lea-
uing the Court. *Charles* himselfe, and *Katharine* his mother, come in the afternoone to
visit the Admirall. The Admirall shewes vnto him the miseries which the breach of the
Peace would bring vnto France : he beseecheth him to chafe away these mutines, and
to maintaine his promised faith : whereupon hee was come to Court, and to prouide for
the preferuacion of the Realme. But the Queene-mother knew well how to prevent him,
left hee should acquaint the King with some secrets, touching the preferuacion of his
Estate.

Treachery in a
King.

The King protests againe to bee exceeding forie : that this act toucheth his honour,
and that hee will be reuenged, so as the memory thereof shall remaine for cuer. Hee per- D
suades the Admirall to suffer himselfe to be caried to the Louvre, for the safety of his
person : that it was to bee feared, lest the multitude stirred vp by the authors of his hurt,
should fall into some greater mutinie. Hee also aduiseh the Gentlemen, Protestants, to
lodge about the Admirals lodging, lest (said he) that being disperfed through the citie,
they should receive some wrong. But to shew that hee would not forget any thing that
might concerne the Admirals safety, seeing the griefe of his wound would not suffer him
to be transported, he command *Coffins* Captaine of his guards, to giue the Admirall as
many of his guard as he pleased, and to suffer no Catholike to enter. And lest any man
should grow amazed hereat, the King writes to the Governours of the Prouinces, to the
chiefe townes, and Magistrates, *That he would take such order, as the authors of so wicked* E
an act should be knowne and punished. And to his Ambassadors with foraine Princes : *that*
they should make it knowne to all the world, that this outrage doth displease him. The Queene-
mother writes in like manner, but this was onely to keepe every bird within his nest. In
the meane time the dukes of Aniou and Guise, tooke counsell of that which they had to
doe the night following. Saturday in the morning, it is bruted throughout the citie,
that the Protestants did threaten the house of Guise. Hereupon the Dukes of Guise and
Aumale goe vnto the King, and say vnto him : that of late they haue found their seruice
to be little agreeable to his Maiestie : that if he were pleased to see them retired to their
houses, they were ready to depart. *Goe* (saith *Charles* vnto them with a frowning coun-
tenance) *where you please, I will haue you at all times, if you be found guilty of the Admirals* F
hurt. So making them to be discontented, they goe to horse, and many with them, yet
meaning to lye in Paris.

Paris was a pit-fall to intrap the chiefe of the Protestants : they being dead, the baser
sort of that party, would in all likelihood remaine quiet. The time now offered a fit
opporunitie of reuenge, the which should not be lost. The counsell was taken after din-
ner at the Tuilleries, by the King, the Queene Mother, the dukes of Aniou, Neuers, Retz
and Tauannes.

The

A The King of Nauarres life, with the Prince of Condés, were put in balance, the wars
had beene managed in their names : If they liue (said one) they will serue as an Ensigne, to
reuiue those Huguenots which shall remaine in diuers Prouinces, and shall euery day mi-
nister motiues of confusions. Contrariwise, the Admirall and the principals being taken
away, it shall be easie to restrain these young Princes, not onely not to attempt any inno-
uation, but also in time to winne the Kings good fauour by their seruices : also the indi-
gnity of the fact would purchase an inuoluptable hatred amongst strangers. God dispos-
ed the hearts of the Councell to this second aduise, so as they will embrace the Catho-
like religion, and liue vnder the obedience of his Maiesty. As for the rest (whom the fury
B of their armes should touch) they might with a goodly pretext, leaue to the ancient quar-
rell of the Guisens against the Admirall, and take for an excuse, the feare they had lest the
Huguenots should seeke a reuenge for his hurt. To lay all the hatred vpon the Guisens,
they giue the charge of this businesse to the Duke of Guise, they appoint him the meanes,
the time, and the ministers of the execution.

The night being come, the Duke calls vnto him the Captaines of the Swisses, and other
companies (whom to that end they had drawne into the Citie) and deliueis his charge
vnto them, which was, to root out the Admirall and all his partisans. He exhorts them to
blood and spoile, and disposeth his troops in some speciall places. Then hee giues aduise
vnto the Prouost of the Merchants, the Sherifis and quarter-masters : that throughout
C all France, the like should be done to the Huguenots as at Paris. That the Palace bell ring-
ing at the breake of day, shall giue the signall : and the marke of these executioners should
be a handkerchiefe tied about their arms, with a white crosse in their hats : that they should
put their men in armes, and bee at midnight in the Towne-house, to receive order what
they had to doe.

They assemble at midnight, and place many guards in the streets. Some Gentlemen
lodged neere vnto the Admirall, rise at the noise of their armes, and the light of their
lamps, and going into the streets, they enquire of the first they meet, what this assembly of
armed men meant at so vnseasonable a time. A doubtfull answer being giuen them, makes
them to repaire to the Louvre, to discouer more. Here the guards goe from words to
D blowes, and fall vpon them. The Duke of Guise parts from the Louvre, accompanied with
the Knight of Angoulesme, bastard to *Henry* the second, the Duke of Aumale, *Coffins*,
Sarlabout, *Goas*, *Attin* a Picard, *Hansfort* an Auvergnac, and *Besnes* a Germane, with
some Harguebuziers of the Kings, and all the Duke of Anious Guard. The alarme-bell
rings at Saint Germaine Auxerrois, and they publish throughout the Citie : That the Hu-
guenots had conspired against the King, the Queene mother, and all the chiefe in Court.
Coffins knocks at the Admirals gate : he enters at two of the clocke in the morning, the
fourth and twentieth day of the month, slabs him that comes to open it, forceth the doores
of the lodging, enters with feuen or eight armed. *Besnes* a household seruant to the Duke
of Guise, offers the Admirall the point of his sword. Hereupon the Admirall being risen
E vpon his feet, and covered with his night-gowne, said : *To euengman, thou shouldst haue re-
spect vnto my old age and infirmities, but thou shalt no way shorten my dayes*. Hee thrusts him
through the body, and then doubles it on his head. *Attin* shoots him through with a pi-
stoll : and when as these three wounds were not able to ouerthrow him, *Besnes* wounds
him on the legge ; every one of the rest giues his blow, and thus they cast that body mi-
serably to the ground, whom liuing and in health they durst not looke in the face. The D.
of Guise hearing the noise of their armes in the base Court, enquires if it bee done, and
commands them to cast him out at the window : who yet breathing, layes hold on the
pillar : but these butcherly murderers hurle him downe headlong, where the duke wiping
his face with a handkerchiefe, *I know him* (saith he) *it is the very same* : and so spurnes him
F with his foot : then going into the street ; Courage companions, we haue begunne happi-
ly, let vs proceed to the rest, the King commands it. An Italian of the household of the D.
of Neuers, cuts off his head, and carries it to the King and Queene mother, which causing
it to be embawled, sent it to the Pope and to the Cardinall of Lorraine, for an assurance
of the death of his most capitall enemy.

The palace clocke strikes, and the people flye to the Admirals lodging like mad men,
one cuts off his hands, another his priuy members : and for the space of three dayes, they
dragge this poore carcase with all indignity through the streets, and then they cry and
hang

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The King re-
solves to mol-
lifie the Pro-
testants.The Duke of
Guise giues
order for the
massacre.The Duke
murdered.The Admirall
murdered.The Protes-
tants massa-
cred.

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hang it by the feet at Montfaucon. His lodging is spoiled, his household seruants murdered. Those which attended on the King of Nauarre and Prince of Conde, are driven out of their chambers, (they were in the Louvre, where the King had lodged them, to the end (sayd he) that (those of Guise hauing the people at their deuotion) they should not in like manner feele the effects of their violence) and murdered in the base Court: the Noblemen and Gentlemen lodged in the Admiralls quarter, vndergoe the like fortune. The like fury oppresseth the other Protestants throughout the city and suburbs, of all ages, conditions, and sexes, men, women, and children, rich and poore. There is nothing to be heard in Paris, but a horrible noise of armes, hortes and harguebuzes: a lamentable cry of people going vnto death, a pitifull complaint of such as cried for mercy, and the pitifull shouts of murderers. The streets are strewd with carcases, the pauements, market-places, and riuers died with blood. One day alone (by the murderers laying) hath ended the quarrell, which neither pen, paper, decrees of iustice, nor open warre could see determined in twelue years. About ten thousand soules makes this Sunday famous for euer, polluted with the spoiling of goods, and the effusion of their blood that were sleepe, disarmed, and at such a season as they thought themselves most safe. And doubtlesse the horrible catastrophes happened since to our *Charles*, to his brother and successors, and to the brethren of the House of Guise, in the last acts of their liues, and generally to all this Realme, euen vnto our dayes, forceth vs to confesse; That mans blood violently spilt, when as the manner of it may not lawfully be qualified with the name of Iustice, cannot please his sight, who hath created them to his owne image and likenesse, and fels them deadly to the authors of this effusion.

The fame of this massacre had already passed from the city to the suburbs, when as the Earle of Montgomery, *John* of Ferrieres Vidame of Chartres, *Beauvais la Noelle*, *Fouencay*, and many Gentlemen, lodged in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, perceiving a number of men to crosse the river, to make them equall with their companions: they abandon their baggage, goe suddenly to horse, and saue themselves with speed, being pursued halfe a dayes journey by the Duke of Guise. But he that should haue brought the keyes of Saint Germaine gate, hauing mistaken them, gaue them some leisure to get the advantage.

The King lends for the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Conde, and giues them to vnderstand, That hauing bene crost many yeares with a continuance of warre, hee had in the end found an assured meanes to cut off all moriues of confusions to come: that by his commandement they had slain the Admirall (the pernicious author of forepassed troubles:) that now they did the like to others in the City, that were infected with the poison of heresie, and the ministers of his wickednesse: That he remembered well the discomforts he had receiued by their two meanes, making themselves the heads of a troop of desperate men: That now the cause and opportunity giues him meanes to be reuenged of such outrages: but notwithstanding he doth pardon their offence, by reason of consanguinity and their young age, beleeuing that all had bene committed, not by their fault and counsell, but by the Admirall and other wicked subjects, who now haue suffered and doe suffer a iust punishment due to their deserts, so as hereafter they reparaire their faults past, by fidelity and obedience; and renouncing the doctrine of their prophane superstition, they cleaue to the Catholike Religion, and returne into the communion of the Church: That hereafter hee will haue but one Religion within his Realme, euen that which he hath receiued from his Ancestors: That they should aduise whether they would obey him in this point, if not, let them resolute to yeeld their heads to the like punishments of their companions.

The King of Nauarre beseecheth his Maieesty to remember his promise, and the alliance lately contracted, and not to force him in the religion which hee hath learned from his infancy. The Prince of Conde answers: That the King hath giuen his faith to all of the Religion, and that he cannot perswade himselfe he will breake so solemne an oath. As for the obedience (saith hee) you require of me, I haue faithfully performed it vnto this day, neither will I hereafter stray in any thing from my duty. But as for my religion, my Liege, I am resolute to continue constant and (with the hazard of my life) maintaine it to be true: you haue granted me the exercise thereof, and God hath giuen me the knowledge, to whom I must yeeld an account, leauing my body and goods to the disposition of your will. This resolute answer puts *Charles* into choller, who full of threats,

The King ad-
dresses the
new vict.

A noble reso-
lution of a
young Prince.

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A threats, giues the Prince but three dayes liberty to aduise, whether hee would soone lose his head vpon a scaffold. In the end, both abjure the doctrine they followed, and by the intercession of the Cardinall of Bourbon their Vncle, they obtained pardon of the Pope, and were receiued into the bosome of the Church.

After the massacre, those of Guise, according to the conclusion of the Councell, should retire themselves into some one of their houses out of Paris, and *Charles* should expressly charge and command the Gouernours of Prouinces and Townes, to obserue the Edict of peace, and to punish the breach thereof severely, to the end the people of France and their neighbours, should impute all the fury of this massacre, to the ancient quarrell of those of Guise, with the house of Chastillon. But the foolishness of the fact might heape vpon them and their posterity, the hatred of all men, with whom humane society and vertue is in recommendation. For they had not spared an infinite number of learned men, of reuerend old men, honest virgins, honourable matrons, women with child, chaste maidens, young schollers, and little Infants hanging at the breasts of their mothers. Among themselves therefore with the peoples loue, they refuse to goe out of Paris, handling the matter so politically, as they cause the King to auaunch all that had beene done. So *Charles* writes other Letters to his Ambassadors and Gouernours, aduertising them, That the tumult which had happened concerned not religion, but the preuention of his Estate, his House and Person, against the practices of the Admirall, and some other seditious persons; who had joyntly conspired his death, his Mothers, and his bretherens, and therefore he would haue his Edict of pacification religiously obserued. Yet if any Huguenots (moued with these newes of Paris) should assemble in armes, they should root them out, as perturbors of the publike peace, referring the surplusage of his will, to the credit of the bearer. And the better to authorise this approbation, the fix and twentieth day of August, *Charles* with his brethren assists in Parliament, all the chambers being assembled, where sitting in his seat of Iustice, he declares openly, that those things which had chanced in Paris, were done by his owne proper motion and commandement, yet making no mention of the cause. *Christopher* of Thou, the chiefe President, commended his zeale in the name of all the companie.

The Admirall
accused of
conspiracy.

D But to what end did he write the contrary the next day to his Officers and the Magistrats of Townes; That to his great griefe the Admirall his cousin, and some others of his party, had bene slaine at Paris: commanding them to prevent all mutinies and murders, and to proclaime, that euery man should remaine quiet in his house, without taking of armes, or giuing any offence: and to giue order that his Edict of pacification bee exactly obserued: and yet the same day to publish a declaration of the former tenure, containing, that by his expresse commandement, the Admirall and other his complies had bene slaine, not for matter of Religion, but to prevent the execution of a wicked practice made by them against the Kings person, the Queene-mother, his bretheren, the King of Nauarre (this was for a colour of excuse, to such as would obiect, Why then was this Prince saued from shipwracke, and it may bee for loue of him, the Prince of Conde his cousin) and generally against their Houses, and the House of France?

Doubtlesse there was small likelihood, that a little troop of men, dispersed some in the suburbs, others within the citie in small numbers, should presume to attempt any thing against the Estate. *Charles* had both night and day his ordinary guards, French, Swisses, and Scottishmen: the most of the Princes, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Realme were in Court to honour the marriage. Those which had accompanied the King of Nauarre and the Prince of Conde, had no other armes but their swords: and for a gage of their innocency, had brought for the most part their wives, children, sisters and kinsfolkes, studying only to shew themselves at the Tilt and Tourney.

F The accusation made no mention of time, place, or adherents, neither of the meanes, or any witnesses of this conspiracy. If it had bene plotted since the Admiralls hurt, three hundred Gentlemen vnarmed, which had accompanied him, could they haue effected any thing vnder a Commander, tied by both the armes, and ready to see the one cut off by the aduice of the Physitians and Chyrurgions, in a mighty city, and against about three-score thousand men, ready to be opposed at the first alarme? Moreouer, the King of Nauarre and Prince of Conde, who had bene still present at Councels, would they haue blemished their honors and Houses with so great an infamy? And if their innocency had freed

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freed them from the common danger, the consultations of the Admiral and his followers, A had they not bene very childish at such a time, in such a place, among so many naturall French-men come with him, who had neither goods, kinsfolke, pleasure, nor content without the Realme? Besides, if the Admirall were suspected of this attempt, might they not have committed him presently to a safe prison, in forme of his practices, and take such conclusions as the crime might deserue according to the lawes? To conclude, admit the Admirall after his hurt, or else his friends had giuen forth some bad speeches, must the same punishment deuoure so many persons, who conuersed onely with their books and papers, with their trafficke, and with their worke, so many women, who dreamed of their husbandry, so many virgins and infants, whose age and condition kept them from the B conference of any counsell?

As for the attempt against the King of Nauarre, that accusation is frivolous. Had not the Admirall him in his power, for the space of three yeares? what benefit should he reap by his death? Haue they not conuersed long together with an humble and sincere respect of the Admirall towards him, and a perfect loue of the sayd King to the Admirall: but omit all other reasons that might refuse this slander: let vs onely obserue the testimony which *Montlie* giues in the seventh booke of his Commentaries, vpon this subiect. *The Queene-mother* (saith he) *did me the honour to write vnto me, that they had discovered a great conspiracy against the King and his Estate, the which was the cause of what had happened. I know what my belief was, it is not good to offend ones master. The King did neuer forget how the Admirall made him retire in haste from Meaux to Paris: wee lose our iudgements suddenly, and doe not dreame that Kings haue greater hearts then we haue, and doe sooner forget seruices then offences.* And a little aboue: *My Lord the Admirall was ill aduised, to thrust himselfe into Paris, to shew that hee gouerned all. I wonder, that so aduised and wise a man should commit so grosse an error. He payed dearly for it: it cost him his life, and many more.*

The particularities of such as during this horrible butchery haue shed their bloods for Religions sake, at Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Bourges, la Charité, Lions, Tholouza, Bourdeaux, Rouan, and other townes, in villages, and in the open fields, as they sought to saue themselves without the Realme, haue bene obserued in other workes that are extant, and the blood of these murdered persons, which amount to aboue thirty thousand, hauing dyed the earth, and made the waters red, haue cryed so loud, that the heauens haue continued their vengeance ouer great and small, for so many yeares, as there remains scarce any one of the authors of this violent fact. Britan and Picardy remained reasonably quiet: Champagne and Bourgongne shed little blood, through the policy of them of Guise, that all the blame might light vpon the King (as also they had saued many of the chiefe Protestants in the midst of the fury of this Parisien euen-song.) In Auvergne Saint Heran put more money into his coffers, then he shed blood in his government. In Dauphine there were some murders committed. In Provence, the humanity of the Earle of Tende restrained the hands and sword of the bloody-minded. E

In the end, the people (glutted with the blood, and cloyed with the spoiles of the murdered Protestants) grow quiet, and the King appoints an extraordinary Iubile with general processions, where his Maiesty assisted, with the Queene his mother, his brethren, and the Court, of purpose to giue thanks to God, for that which had so happily succeeded. There were yet some thornes stuck in Charles his feet: Rochel, Sancerre, Montauban, Nismes, Aubenas, Milliaud, Prias, Mirabel, Andure, and other small townes of Viurets and Seuennes serued as a Sanctuary for the Protestants that were escaped, to keepe them from danger. Rochel was not to be dealt withall, and it seemed that industry and secret practices should preuaile more then open force. *Stroff* and *La Garde* will relieue the inhabitants with men to keepe it, and vn furnish them of victuals, requiring a quantitie to refresh F their army. But they had men enough, a great number were fled thither, and many Protestant Souldiers whom the hope of the voyage of Flanders entertained in the kings army, slipped howeily into their towne. Their priuiledges likewise did free them from garison, and as for victuals, they had for their prouision, but could not spare any. *Stroff* and *La Garde* spent both time and money in vaine about Rochel: they therefore send *Biron* vnto them for their Gouvernor, with expresse commandement to receiue a garison. They answer, That they cannot beleuee that that charge comes from the King, who commanded the striid

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A strict obseruation of the Edict, and grants them the vse of their ancient priuiledges vnder his obedience. And for a testimony they produce the Kings Letters of the 22 and 24 of August, whereby his Maiesty layes the motives of the sedition vpon them of Guise, saying, That he had much adoe to preserve himselfe in the midst of his guards in his Castle of Loure. As for the reasons which made them to auoid all the surprisles and baits of such as *Biron* sent to treat with them, they vsed the meanes which politicke wisdom doth usually furnish in such accidents: offering notwithstanding to accept *Biron*, so as the troops may be retired from thence; the exercise of their Religion to remaine free, and that hee bring no forces into the towne.

B *Biron* summons them by vertue of his authoritie, and vpon refusal proclaimes warre against them: and euen then, vnder colour to giue the army at Sea meanes to disperse it selfe, he labours by all meanes to cut of their victuals and prouisions, and to weaken them of their men. The King by his Letters patents of the 8 of October, calls home all that were fled out of diuers townes, saying, That as a good father of a family he had pitie of his poor subiects, being out of their houses: and for not coming did seize and declare their goods forfeit. Yet the excuses which the King made vnto the Pope, to the Duke of Alua, and to the Ambassador of Spaine, that the brutes of the Belgicke warre, and all the former counsels had tended to no other end, but to the ruine of the Huguenots: that his intent was to liue in peace and good correspondency with the Catholike king: and the Commissions he had sent to the Gouvernors of Prouinces to degrade all Protestants from their Offices and publicke charges, although they were ready to renounce their Religion, except such as advanced to meane offices, were continued by the King, abiding according to a forme set downe by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and to search for all Protestants, that during the troubles had had the command of armes, or townes of warre, made this repeale of Charles to be wonderfully suspected.

Hereafter they vse all acts of hostilitie against the Rochelois: such as they know to be of the towne are kept prisoners, and put to their ranfome: ships that failed towards the port were stayed: all merchandize belonging to the Rochelois seized & confiscated. They therefore hasten the succours which the Count *Montgomery*, the Vidame of Chartres and D others prepared for them in England. The 25 of October they set saile; but not able to approach, they returned backe. Those of Sancerre hauing refused to receiue a Gouvernor and Garison from the hands of *La Castre* Gouvernor of Berry, were beleagured in the beginning of October: *Cadaillet* Groome of the Chamber, and the Kings Huntsman, very well knowne in the towne, as an ancient seruant to the Earle of Sancerre, was sent to conferre with them: he brought the inhabitants to that point, as some desiring and others refusing the Lord of Fontaines being a Catholike, his brother perswaded the Castle by the means of some inhabitants, who shut themselves into it with him: but the resolution, and the greater number of the Protestants displaced them within foure and twenty houres, as *Fontaines* came to their succours. So as *La Castre* prepares now for open force, wherof wee E shall see the progresse in the beginning of the following yeare.

This vnworthy and strange proceeding against the Protestants, had made the French name hateful to strangers, especially in Poland, and did much trouble the negotiation, in fauour of the Duke of Aniou. Moreover, the Protestants both within and without the Realme, layd plots which in short time might produce dangerous effects. To make the Bishops negotiation more easie, and to croise the proiects of others, they obserue hereafter some forme of iustice against any that were found after the fury of the massacre. *Brigue-mant* a Gentleman of threescore and ten yeares old, and *Cauaignes* Master of Requests vnto the King, (both inward friends vnto the Admirall, and of great reputation) were of the number. They threaten them with an extraordinary torture, if they set not downe vnder their hands to haue conspired with the Admirall, the death of the King, his brethren, the Queene mother, and of the King of Nauarre, promising them pardon, if they demand it, in aduowing that wherewith they are charged. *Wee will neuer* (saide they) *accuse innocents, nor our selues for so execrable a crime.* The Commissioners not able to extort from them any such confession, they were both by sentence of the Court, as guilty of high treason, vnworthily hanged the 27 of October, in the presence of the King, Queene mother, her two other sonnes, and the King of Nauarre. To the same execution was added the like decree against the Admirall. His body had bene taken from Mountfaucou and ferrely

creely

cretely buried, the which the greatest search of his enemies could neuer discover. They therefore make the forme of a man, dragge it through the citie, and then cause it to be hanged. Moreover, the King commands by his Letters Patents, That those of the pretended Religion should be maintained in safety in their houses, bodies, goods, and liberty of consciences. And to excuse what was past, they cast abroad many libels, defaming the memory of the Admirall and his followers. They giue new charges to the Ambassadors being in Germany, Poland, England, Suifferland, and other foraine countries, to iustifie the actions of the King and Catholikes, to the confusion and dishonor of the Admirall and his partie. But all these proceedings were meane to discover the iniquitie of their pernicious counsels.

For the intent of this Declaration in fauour of the Protestants was presently discouraged by the tenor of the Letters which the Duke of Guise did write vnto his wife, the day that *Briquemaults* was executed: *The King* (said he) *hath decreed in Councell utterly to root out this sed. tissue vermine.* But few would be taken, and the practices against the Prince of Averages and others being discovered by this Letter, vanished into smoke.

In the meane time, they continued their attempts against *Rochel*: and *Esflars* being chosen chiefe of the war for the Rochelois, having taken one of the Baron of *la Garde* galleys, who had approached too neare vnder colour of bringing a Letter to the whole body of the towne, caused *Biron* to publish the Kings Letters patents, giuen the sixth day of the month, and to make open warre to the Rochelois. But *Charles* was not willingly drawne to armes: he sees well that he had kindled a fire which hee should not quench when hee would. Henow tries the last stratagem. *La Nune* sent home by the Duke of Alua, after the taking of *Monts in Hainault*, had great credit among the Protestants, as one of the chiefe Captaines which remained. The King solicites him to be a meane to bring the Rochelois to composition. *The impossibility of the thing,* (answers he) *and my conscience, will not suffer me to aduise the Rochelois to offer their throats to them that will cut them.* Yet the Kings authority makes him to accept of this charge: but rather with an intent to serue the Rochelois, and to retire himselfe from Court, then to hurt them of his religion. After he had giuen an account of his Ambassage to *Biron*, who was then at *Saint Jean d'Angely*, he returns to *Rochel*, where he performed his duty fo well and carefully, that he acknowledged him for one of the chiefe instruments of the preservation thereof during the siege.

A Comet.

Then appeared there a new starre in heauen, hauing the forme of a Lozenge of foure points, and continued (beginning the ninth of Nouember) the space of nine months, immoueable (by the saying of the Astronomers) the first three weekes resembling that which serued as a guide to the Wifemen that came out of the East to worship Iesus Christ in Bethlem. The nineteenth of the said month, the King by another Edict, called home all his subjects to their houses, vpon paine of losse of their goods, and solicited the Protestant Sinists, to chafe away such as were fled to them for succour. But the Ambassadors instance was of no force, and the taking of *Sommiers* by the Marshall of d'Anville from the Protestants, the perswasions of *Gondes* to draw into the bosome of the Catholike Church *Montbrun*, *Mirabel*, and *Les Digneieres* (who euen then made shew of a most valiant, most wife, and most happy Captaine for their party, and shall hereafter haue a good share in our History) the assurance he gaue them, That the King was resolu'd to suffer but one Religion within his Realme, with all the preparations for the destruction of them in diuers Prouinces, tooke from them all desire to returne.

Seeing then that no Edicts can draw them home to their houses, and that *Rochel*, *Sancerre*, and other places (being threatned) prepare for defence, they must at the least take from the Protestants such refuges as they haue within the Realme. To shut vp *Rochel*, *Biron* enters into the Country of *Onis*, in the beginning of December, with seven cornets of horse, and eightene Ensignes of foot. Those of *Sancerre* runne yet at liberty: but the opinion of their chiefe Commanders, that they would attempt some other thing, and the vaine presumption they had of the situation of their hilly place, made them the more negligent, both to furnish it with victuals, and to reparaire the necessary fortifications to endure a siege, against the which they should haue foreseene the small hope of succours and the constant resolution of the assailants. Let vs consider of these circumstances, and prepare our selues to see the greatest resolution of men, led by Captaines to whom the necessity

Another spectacle of the banished Protestants.

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A necessity of the time, gaue more credit, then their beginning gaue them authority. *Martignon*, *Pilard*, *Marinac*, *La Fleur*, *Chaillos*, *Montauban*, *Buiffon*, *Paquelon*, *La Minee*, and *Dorsial* commanded there ouer 650 men, and for Collonell they had *Andrew Iouneau* Bayliffe of the towne. An hundred and fifty strong labourers in the Vines, wrought great effects with their slings (which were called the Pistols of *Sancerre*) for the seruices vpon the wall in assaults, scaling's, and sallies.

In Ianuary *La Chastre* Lieutenant for the King, in the gouernment of *Berry*, and General of his army, came before it with about 500 horse, and 5000 foot, sixtene Ensignes of Pioners, and a great number of peasants gathered together: at the first hee offers a reasonable composition to the besieged, if they will accept it. As the beginning of this General was courteous, so was the proceeding of the besieged inciuill, disdainfull, and contrarie to the law of the Nations. They retaine the Drum, and make no answer. To make his approaches, *La Chastre* builds a fort about foure hundred paces off the towne towards *Fontenay*, another vpon the way of *S. Thibault*, a palisado in the field of *S. Ladre*: intrenched the approaches and wayes about the towne, planted ten pieces of artillery in the field of *S. Ladre*: and fixe others at *Orme au Loup*: (it is a high mountaine vpon the South side of *Sancerre*, which commands the towne) he floors against the walls and houses at random; and spends in two monthes about six thousand Cannon shot (and yet the besieged lost not about fife and twenty men) giues an assault, but with the losse of many that were

Siege of Sancerre.

C flaine, and a great number hurt.

The 15 of March, *La Chastre*, by a second battery in three diuers places, beats down the defences both of towers and wal, makes a breach of about three hundred paces, giues a general assault, presents a scalado on another side, mynes and saps on the third, that the *Sancerrois* (wearing with so many difficulties) might shrinke vnder their burthen. But well assailed, and well defended, the besieged with the losse of seuteene souldiers, not only repulse the enemy, but also make them leaue about threecore of their most resolute men flaine in the ditches, about 200 wounded to the death, and as many maimed for cure; this cooled their heat, causing them to change this hasty fury of Cannons and assaults, into a longer, but more violent warre. They make many forts nearer vnto the Towne, and

D notwithstanding the sallies and ordinarie skirmishes of the *Sancerrois*, they furnish them with artillerie and men, sufficient to cut off all reliefe; so as being shut vp on all sides, they begin to want ordinarie victuals in the beginning of April: they eate their Asses and Moyles, then fall they to horses, Dogs, Cats, Mice, Moles, and Leather, and in the end to Parchment, Hornes, trappings of Horses, Girdles, and wild roots. And in the end of Iune, three parts of them had no bread to eate; some make it of flax-seed, others of all kinds of herbs mixt with bran, beaten and ground in Mortars, and others of straw, of Nut-shells, and of Slates: greafe and tallow serued for pottage, and frying; yea, some (a strange thing and neuer heard of) laboured to encounter the cruelty of their hunger, by the excrements of horses and men. But a horrible thing to see, the 19 of Iune, a labourer in the Vines

Sancerre in great extremity for victuals.

E and his wife satisfied their hunger with the head and intralles of their yong daughter: about three yeares old, being dead in languishing, giuing no other graue to the members of this poore carcase, but their bellies. But the Magistrate aduertised of this inhumanity, did for examples sake shorten their dayes, finding them guilty of other crimes: neither were they forced hereunto by any extremitie, seeing the same day they had bene relieved with pottage made of herbs and wine, whereof there was store in the towne. To conclude, fourecore men dyed by the sword at *Sancerre* (saith the History) but of hunger both within and without about fife hundred. And euen now the King began to fee his threats to take effect: *I will make them* (said he) *eat one another.* They were hopelesse of all humane helpe: such as they sent out for succours, either fell into their enemies hands, or

F died by the sword, or returned no more, or could not re-enter. So as they could not hope for any helpe, but in despairing of helpe, when as the prouidence of God brings them a strange and farre-bred Nation, to giue them the libertie of the fields, and the vlt of bread.

The Estates of Poland had chosen *Henry* Duke of Aniou brother to our *Charles* for their King (as we shall see in the end of the siege of *Rochel*) but with a promise and oath taken by the Bishop of Valence, and *Lansac* in the name of the King, their Master: That all the townes and persons in France molested for the cause of Religion should be set at libertie.

An admirable meane for the deliuerie of Sancerre.

T t t

bertie.

1573

Sancerre yielded by composition.

Siege of Rochel

bertie. At the request thereof, the Ambassadors of Poland, this poore people languishing for hunger (yet resolute to die one after another, rather then to fall into their enemies hands, who threatened them with a generall massacre) the 19 of August they obtained of La Chastre in the Kings name: *To depart with their Armes and baggage: impunitie for such as would remaine still, permission to dispose of their goods, promise to preserve the honour of women and maidens, and to pay la Chastre 40000 frankes by the Inhabitants that were absent.* So La Chastre entering the last of the said month, dismantled Sancerre, beat down some houses, tooke away the Clocke, Bels, and other markes of a towne: but the other points of the capitulation, were reasonably well observed: the Bayliffe *Jonneau* was massacred the 12 of September nere vnto La Chastres lodging.

Now follows one of the most memorable sieges that hath been in many ages. A siege where many of the Commanders, and most part of those, which were noted to haue forced the Admirals lodging, began the butchery, and committed so many murders at Paris and else-where, came to seeke their graues. The Kings army was held to bee 50000 men by land and sea, and threecore pieces of artillerie. The besieged had a good number of Gentlemen and horsemen, eight companies of Inhabitants, nine of strangers, one of the Mayor, one of voluntaries, consisting of twenty Musquetiers, five and twenty armed with corslets of prooffe, and thirty Harguebuziers: the two thirds thereof, were Gentlemen, and such as had charge in the former warres. Yet the mildest way is the best. And therefore *Biron* in the beginning seeks some meanes of an accord: but the Rochelois discouering every day some new practice, beleueed that their preservation consisted in distrust. And a gentleman being in Rochel, reuealed the intelligences which *Biron* had with him for the surprizing of the towne, hauing already drawne into the towne some souldiers of *Puigalliards* and *S. Martins* companies, and was ready to draw in the most resolute Captains, if the Mayor and Councell had not held it more fit by a small exemplary execution, to break off a great and dangerous enterprise.

To encounter the enemy, *La Nue* is choise chiefe of the forces within the town, without any diminution of the Maiors rights and authoritie in other things. *Montgomerys* succours could not passe: *La Nue* sends new Deputies into England to the same end, but the league confirmed of late yeares betwixt our *Charles* and *Q. Elizabeth*, now againe renewed by the baptism of the Kings daughter (whereof *Elizabeth* was God-mother with the Empreffe) seemed to withdraw the affection which was wont to come from beyond the seas for the reliefe of the Protestants, whilest the sallies and dayly skirmishes at Rochel, inflame both the one and the other: where by the reason of the nearnesse of the retreat, they doe greatly wast the number of the assailants.

The D of Aniou comes to campe

The eleuenth of February the Duke of Aniou comes to his armie, accompanied with his brother the D. of Alançon, the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Dauphin of Auvergne, the Dukes of Longueuille, Bouillon, Neuers, Aumale and Guise, the yong Earle of Roch-fou-cault, the Grand Prior, and many other Noblemen, bringing with them a great traine of men, who for the most part would haue beene grieved, they should haue taken this Sanctuary and succour from the Protestants. This siege was great, and seemed to be of long continuance. Euery man runnes thither, euery one will haue his share. They prepare things necessary for the battery, and in the meane time make many skirmishes: before they come to their greatest force, the Duke sollicit the Gentlemen and inhabitants by Letters, containing both promises and threats. They humbly shew vnto him the necessitie of their defence, knowing no fitter meanes to preserve their liues against the enemies of the Peace, then to oppose force against violence, & to retire themselves into well fortified places, vntill it should please the King to provide for a lawfull assembly of the Estates, & a free council. The King on the other side, protesting of his sinceritie in matters lately passed, and laying the fault of the outrage hapned vpon the pretended conspiracie of the Admirall and his partisans, hee summons the Rochelois to open their gates to *Biron*, or to any other hauing charge to enter into the towne, as they ought to maintaine his Royall authoritie, and so to order it as the place may be no more at the disposition of mutines. Which doing, he grants them exercise of their Religion, with the like liberty as he had granted by his Edict of pacification, and withall he takes from them all hope of succours from England.

Biron, Streff, Villequier, and the Abbot of Gadaigne, carie the Kings promise to the Rochelois.

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A Rochelois: which now neglected, hee would neuer bee perswaded by any intreaties or requests, considering how much the King abased himselfe vnto his subiects. They shewing the equity of their defence, and the tyrannous iniustice of the Baron of La Garde and others, accept the Articles offered by the King: but they request that the Edict may not only be maintaine d for their priuate respect, but also generally for all of their religion in France. But these were words without effect on either side. The Rochelois are aduertised, how the enemy approacheth with two and thirty pieces of battery, and that after dinner they should keepe them in skirmish. They preuent them, they fall forth at noone, kill and hurt in one skirmish of six houres, an hundred and fifty men, amongst the which were many Captaines. *La Nue* had two horses slaine vnder him, three Captaines, five souldiers, and twenty hurt. Thus their courages are set on fire, and the battery begins: the one prepares to assaile, and the other to defend. The chance fell vpon *Claude* of Lorraine D. of Aumale, vnto the Duke of Guise, slaine behind a gabion, with a picce planted vpon the bulwarke of the Euangile: and the Town-men issuing forth at the end of the battery, kill many, and coole the enemies heat.

The Duke of Aumale slain.

In the beginning of March they try againe, whether they may winne the Rochelois without combat. They offer them the exercise of their Religion within their towne, but abolished in all other places of the Realme. Those of the party might haue held them for double-dealers. One day of parle was more hurtfull vnto them then many weekes of warre. They resolute therefore to prefer a iust warre before a dishonorable and doubtful peace.

The battery is renewed: about 13000 Cannon shot spent in that moneth, shakes both the fortifications and wals: many skirmishes are made: euery one studies to surprize his enemy, and *La Nue* (seeing his presence of no import to the besieged, where hee must yeeld all, or in a manner all, to the popular government) comes to the Dukes army, where he effected more in fauour of the Rochelois being absent then present, as they afterwards confessed. The ordinarie sallies of the besieged wasted the Dukes troopes dayly, losing in few weekes about twenty good Captaines. The battery continues in April, and with such violence, as a long wall from the old fontaine vnto the end of the bulwarke of Euangile, was beat downe to the ground, the bulwarke vnarmed, and the Tower of Cognes beaten downe. In the cuning the enemy casts a bridge of wood into the trench, aduancing euen vnto the bulwarke, they come to the assault, and win two casemats. But they dislodge them from the one with the Cannon; from the other with a furious charge: some of them remaine for a gage, the rest save themselves by flight. Two hundred rondaches and Corslets passe by their bridge of wood, and the Cannon playing without intermission, seemed to keepe the besieged from their defence. But the women and maids, running with an incredible resolution to cast wildfire and stones, inflamed the courage of the souldiers. They kill and wound, and in the end force them to abandon the trench, but they lose about threecore men, and some Captaines.

The Rochelois endure nine assaults.

E Hereafter there is nothing but thundring of the Cannon both by land and sea, furious assaults, showers of shot, planting of ladders, ruines of bulwarkes, faps and fynes, most fatal to their authors: and vntill the end of May, all the attempts that might be deuised in a mighty and obdurate siege. On the other side, men, women, and children, without feare, endure the rough charges of the enemy, fill vp their breaches, ouerthrow the first that mount, beat back their enemies into their trenches, follow after them, and fight with variable successe: but most commonly to the aduantage of the town-men, hauing endured nine assaults no lesse courageously, then valiantly giuen.

Vicuals began to grow short in the towne, the Cannon continued the battery dayly, the number of the souldiers decayed, they had no meanes to refresh them, and many refiring themselves, bred an amazement in the towne. Some of the chiefe win many men to their wils, and already there were three hundred men, who weary of the warre, will haue a peace of what price soeuer. Others deuise to seize vpon a gate to depart when they please. These murmuring and diuisions cause new parleys, the D. of Aniou being desirous to retire with honour. But before the Ambassadors of Poland arrive, they must try their last force. The 12 of Iune the assailants giue a fierce escalado, at the little breach nere to the old fontaine. About an hundred or sixscore Gentlemen mount with targets and courtclaus; some get to the top of the mount, and view the trench and the counter-earpe

The last charge giuen to Rochel

T t t

gabioned

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gabioned within the trench. A volley of shot overthrowes fiftene or twenty vpon the place, and makes the rest retire. The Duke himselfe is in danger, but the providence of God reserved him for a more exemplarie end.

Peace of Ro-
chel.

As he beheld the breach made at the old fountaine, a souldier shootes at him from the towne: but *De Vin* the Master of his horse, seeing the fire in the cocke, steps before him, and with the willing losse of his life saues his masters. In the end the Ambassadors of Poland come the 17 of Iune, to carie away their new chosen King. God vseth this meanes to deliuer Rochel, being vnsumished of victuals, of munition for the warre, and of many hundreds of their men. The King by his Articles of Peace made in forme of an Edict, grants to them of Rochel, Montauban, Nismes, and other townes which had main-
tained themselves, free exercise of their Religion, and to others permission to lue in their houses without search, to solemnize Christnings and Mariages after their manner, without any greater assembly then ten persons besides the parents: but the said exercise was forbidden in Court, and ten leagues round about. Another meanes did greatly ease the besieged, the diuision in the Dukes campe, and the aduertisements they received from their friends following the armie. So the end of this siege, being of exceeding charge, and the graue of about twenty thousand men slaine in skirmishes, encounters, surprizes, assaults, and dead of hurts, hunger and diseases, caused the King to make great designs for the repairing of many errors, into the which the priuate ambition of some, abusing the youth and the violent passions of this Prince had drawne him: but too late
for him, for hee sees his Realme inflamed with the same fire, which they perswaded him should haue bene wholly quenched with the blood that was shed at *S. Bartholomewes*, and the warres of ciuill diuision vtterly extinct. So the feeling hee had in himselfe of these actions wherinto they had drawne him, shall soon lodge him in the graue of his Predecessors.

The other exploits of warre done elsewhere in diuers Prouinces of the Realme, require some place in our History. The Baron of Serignac, a wise man, virtuous, and louing martiall discipline, with some others of Quercy, Foix, and the neighbour Prouinces, hauing caused Montauban to resolute to armes, goe to field with their troopes, put a garison into Terride, wherof *Serignac* named himselfe Baron, tooke Buzet vpon Tar, three leagues
from Toloufa, by scalado, assure themselves of Villemur, seize vpon many other places, fortifie those they had held during all the former troubles, assure the passages; then at an assembly held at Realmont in Albigeois, they made a diuision of their charges & governments. The Vicount of Gourdon had a part of Quercy towards Cadenac; and *Serignac* the other towards Montauban and Gascony; the Vicount of Paulin, *Lauragais*; the Vicount of Panas and his brother, *Rouergue*; the Vicount of Caumont, the County of Foix, and the mountaine country.

They were equall in their commands: but to auoid iaculouse, they decreed that one of them wanting succour, the other Commanders should succour him with all their forces, and be commanded by him. So they all retire to their governments, euery one giues order
for the preferuation of their estates. *Serignac* occupies some neighbour places, then hee campt with two thousand shot, and some horse before Monticou, makes a breach, giues three assaults and one scalado, and is repulsed with losse. *Viole* and *Reaillie* make him recue the like disgrace, and kill many of his men. But he is reuenged to the benefit of one of his Captaines, besieged in a Village with fourescore men, hee slue about two hundred men, and put the rest to flight.

The Earle of Villars, Admirall of France and Lieutenant for the King against the Protestants in Quercy, and the Countries thereabouts, gathers together his troopes, dispersed into garisons, besiegeth and taketh *Saint Geniez* in high Quercy, caries away the Lord of the place, notwithstanding the composition made to depart with their liues and goods; who was now prisoner to Cahors. It is better to hunt asfarre off, then neare at home. The pursuit of many, against whom hee had made cruell warre, brought him to a scaffold, as a spectacle and triumph to his enemies. *Brisemel* in high Rouergue had a capitulation better obserued: but the Admirall lost in counter-change, in the moneth of May, *Soreze*, *Montequiou*, two leagues from Toloufa, *Lodeue* a Bishopricke, and rich in the mountaines of Languedoc, and *Mas Saintes Puelles*, neare to Castelnadaury. The
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A ten thousand foot, with foureteene pieces of battery, pretending to besiege Nismes, and then Vzez, but the surprize of Sommieres, neere to Beziers and Montpellier, called him from his enterprize. He besiegeth it, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, which were defended to the losse of the besiegers. The Earle of Candale, brother-in-law to the Marshall, ariues with an hundred horse, and twelve companies of Gascons, who desire to haue the fore-ward at the first assault: but with the losse of three hundred of the most resolute. This checke amazeth the Earle. *What fools are we* (saith he to the Marshall his brother-in-law) *to cause our selues to be beaten, murdered and slaine, for their pleasure, who haue murdered our kinsmen, friends, and allies, and will one day pay vs with the same money?*

He had reason, and the issue will teach vs soone the effect of this true diuination. And if the Marshall of Montmorency had been present this fatall 24 day of August, the same fury had interred him with all his house vnder this common ruine, as many others, yea Catholikes suffered the like violence by the practices of their priuate enemies, to whom the time and force gaue meanes to reuenge their priuate quarrels vnder another pretext. There were foure moneths already spent at this siege, about 5000 Cannon shot had beaten the wals of Sommieres to powder, victuals failed, and the besieged demanded nothing but composition. But the Marshall would haue it by force. He exhorts his brother-in-law to reuenge the death of his Captaines and Souldiers, who suffers himselfe to be
C perswaded, but as he goes resolutely to the breach, performing the duty of a braue Commander, and of a resolute souldier, he sees the place couered with a great number of his men, and himselfe in the end overthrowne dead vpon the carcases.

This hant-roult might haue been the sepulchre of many more, but *Gremian* (to whom the honour of the taking and keeping of Sommieres is chiefly due) after they had performed the duties of valiant men, accepted the composition was offered by the Marshall: To depart, their Drums sounding, ensignes displayed, their matches light in the cocks, with seuen dayes liberty to carie away their baggage, and to retire where they pleased. So the Marshall seeing the resolution of them of Nismes, and hauing lost two thousand, five hundred of his best men, dismissed his troopes, & proceeded afterwards against the Protestants, by seizures and sale of their goods within his government. The Admirals armie had another successe. Terride, Flaignac, and generally all which the Protestants held beyond the riuer of Garonne, recompensed the losses hee had received. But Causse stayed the course of his victories, and made him vnable to doe and thing worthy of fame. *La Motte Paillois* kept the towne with six hundred Harguebuziers, and the repulse the Admirall received after a great losse of his forces, caused in the end the ruine of his armie, the which the Vicount of Gourdon shortned of a company at the passage of Dordonne, chasing the rest which marched to the siege of Rochel. The King of Nauarre had lately inuited his subiects of Berne to returne into the bosome of the Catholike Church. They answered their Prince with excuses, thinking it proceeded from some other motion then
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These new broyles thrust their neighbors into like results: and the King who thought by the abolition of the Edict of the year 1570, at the least by the departure of his brother into Poland, and a Peace granted before Rochel, to enioy an assured rest; finds himselfe
F incumbered with new and generall combustions. Those of Quercy, Languedoc, and their neighbours, planting an order and rule for the warre, and the administration of Iustice, protest against this Edict, rearming it capitious, and a fore-runner of new massacres. Our capitall enemies (saie they) the authors of fore-past disorders, remaine the onely counsellors and gouernours of the King and his estate: all the Churches of France, are deprived of the publike exercise of Religion solemnly granted: and now by this Edict abolished: all the contents of this last pacification, and whatsoever else is promised vs, are but words without effects: it is a generall abolition of what is past, the murderers are absolued,

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Sommiere.

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Protestations
against the
Peace of
Rochel.

1573

The Protestants
order in Lan-
guedoc.

ned, and no mention made of any justice to be done against them: All Ecclesiasticall discipline being forbidden vs, they will plunge vs into Atheisme. This reary is but coloured by some private persons without any generall aduow; whose approbation cannot preiudice the vniuersall body, neither ought they to yeeld to any thing without the common consent of our Churches. These complaints and protestations cause them to assemble at Millaud, and afterwards at Montauban, and there diuiding Languedoc into two gouernments, they make Montauban chiefe of the one, and the Vicount of Paulin Gouernour in that part, and Nismes of the other, for the nearnesse of Seuennes and Viarez, vnder the command of S. Remaine: but both subiect to the authoritie of the Estates of the Country, who giue them counsell, and furnished them with money, being chosen in either gouernment of the worthiest men of the country, yet in such sort, as the particular estates of euery Diocesse, did in matters of importance, confer by their Deputies with the Estates of the whole gouernment; and according to their conclusions, the gouernour shall cary himselfe, and receiue money from their hands. To fortifie this order, they decree: That the souldiers should be content with their entertainment, without spoiling of the country: that the townes and villages of the contrarie party, should be taxed and forced to contribute for the entertainment of garisons, to the end their labour and reaping of their fruits might be free. The reuenues of Benefices was appointed to make a stocke of money, to be employed in their greatest affaires, the which they had leifure to effect: for the election of the King of Poland busied the Court and Councell in feasts, dancing, C and pleasures. So they man many places, from whence they might at need draw forth almost 20000 men, and by seizing on the Clergy lands, and the contribution which came from all parts, they weaken their enemies. Many Catholikes otherwise discontented, growing familiar with them, and beginning to ioyne their forces together, lay great designs, which shall soone breake out in all parts.

Their persons
as I amoni-
ous to UOLING

Matters thus handled, giue a beginning to the first troubles in France: but before it brake forth, the Protestants of Languedoc sent their Deputies to the King. They humbly thanke him for the affection he had seemed to haue to the maintenance of Peace within his Realme, and necessary means to restore an estate threatened with imminent ruine: they protest of their obedience, but they beleeue his Maiestie not to finde it strange, if they assemble to preuent the pernicious attempts of wicked Councillors, who by their fraudulent and violent practices, had induced him to declare himselfe, both by his mouth, and his Letters Patents, to the great blemish of his reputation among strangers, the Author of the massacre committed at Paris, the which he had few dayes before disauowed. That they cannot beleeue he should willingly condiscend to so bloody effects: and the feare they had to fall into the like, forced them to seeke all means they could to warrant the misdeeds, with the losse of their companions blood to vniustly shed.

They request therefore: That for the effect of the Peace, those of the religion should in those Townes they held, and in two others of euery Prouince, chosen by four Deputies, haue Garisons entreated at the Kings charge, the exercise of their religion free and publike, to all such as would demand it, the obseruation of their Ecclesiasticall discipline, the buriall of their dead, without distinction of times, and of Churchyard: the exemption of contributions for the Cerenomies of the Romish Church: reception of their children into Colledges, vnder Tutors of their owne religion: Legitimation for such as should be borne of the marriage of Priests conuerced to their doctrine. Erection of a new Court of Iustice in euery Prouince, composed of Iudges of the same Religion. The Tithes which they paid to Priests, to be referred for the maintenance of their Ministers. Punishment of the authors, counsellors, and executioners of massacres, as theues and disturbers of the publike quiet. Morcouer, they demand, that the Admirall, with all those that had bene murdered, and that were then liuing, should be reputed to F haue bene, and to be faithfull seruants and subiects to the King and his Estate, innocent of rebellion, and guiltlesse of conspiracy. A nullity of all acts made against them as calumnious. Restitution of goods, honours, and offices, to the heires of them that were murdered. Abolition of all infamous monuments, and generall processions instituted in memory of so execrable a day.

These were the principall points of their propositions, amongst other Articles concerning the gouernment. But they treated partly, as humble seruants, partly, as armed sub- jects,

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The apprehen-
sion of Charles.

A iects, like vnto such as begge for almes with their swords in their hands. And as a new alteration flies easily and suddenly from one Prouince to another, so those of Prouence, Diuelphine, Lionnois, and others, ioyne with the first: and by the mouth of a Deputy, present their Petition and admonitions to the King. The King sends him to certain Commisioners, to conferre thereof: and promisseth, that after hee had conducted his brother out of the Realme, he would doe all things necessarie for the contentment of his subiects.

This hardy resolution taken in Languedoc and the neighbour countries, made our Charles to change both his countenance and his speech. He sees well, the more he hasted, the more impatiently they did beare his brothers departure: namely, the Queen mother, B the Duke of Guise, and the Clergy. Henry himselfe desired rather to beare the title of Duke of Aniou in France, then King of Poland: neither was he greatly pleased, to make so long and so crosse a pilgrimage. His most confident seruants would willingly haue discontented the Polonois in their answer, either to haue sent them away ill satisfied, or to winne time vntill the Spring. But there was no remedy: Charles could no more containe himselfe amidst the complaints which came from so many parts of his Realme, but sometimes giues out threats against them which had abused him, making him beleeue, that after the execution of the foure and twentieth of August last past, hee should raigne free from confusions. Strangers reproach him openly with the irreparable wrongs hee had done to himselfe and to his subiects: and accuse him, that in stead of a father, he had C bene a butcher, and a hang-man of his people: or at the least taxed his honour with this title, by the induction of the principall authors of this horrible disorder. The delays of his brother displeased him. Henry by his first affabilitie won the peoples hearts. The affection which Charles noted of long time in the mother, to his aduancement as her best sonne, the credit which the house of Guise had in him, or at the least seemed to haue, and the hope which the Clergy grounded vpon his authority (they had already recomended these agreeable seruices which he had done them, with a present of three hundred thousand Crownes, and had much augmented it, if Rochell had been taken) made him to bee suspected and fearefull to the King his brother, who euen then would willingly haue found the means to chastise such, as vnder the shadow of his name, had opened the way D to so great iniustice, and such enraged furies. But during these garboyles and confusions of affaires, he found not any one of his Councillors of State, that did teach him to dissemble, and to containe himselfe, vntill that opportunity should giue him means of reuenge. So his complaints and threats were carefully obserued, and bitterly digested by such as it concerned. The Queene-mother, not able any longer to deferre the departure of her sonne Henry. Goe (saith she) my sonne, you shall not continue long there. And as Charles goes before vnto the frontier, pressing his brother to follow him, he is suddenly staid by a great sicknesse, at Vitry in Champagne, giuing occasion to his most confident seruants to thinke: that about two attended the issue of his infirmite: and to speake disgracefully of the Queene-mother, the new King, and their trustiest seruants, E whereof some retired from Court, and went to shroud themselves in Brittain, seeing that the vigour of the Kings youth, had expelled the venome of his discale, by his head, necke, and visage. The King of Poland building vpon his mothers promises, departed in the end of October, being assured of the loue hee bare him about the other two. She feared the humors and threats of Charles: and Francis D. of Alancou did not greatly affect the House of Guise, neither had hee approved the massacre. The male-contents, who with a lesse odious name called themselves Politicks, find credit with him, thinke him fit to reduce the affairs to a better course, and make him to repine at the final account is held of him: they let him vnderstand how small a proportion was allotted him for his maintenance: the distrust they haue of his faith, the opposition of the Queene-mother, F to keep him from the Lieutenantcy of the Realme (who gaue the King to vnderstand, that by means of his male-contents, he might stir vp some factious mutinie hauing the forces at his command) the search was made of him, and the means which were offered vnto him to restore the Realme. Katherine was well acquainted with these practices, but she cunningly makes her profit of them all, during the Kings sicknesse, to auoid the danger when hee pleased, and to ruine one by another: at need, as hereafter we shall see, they will do their best. During these alterations, those of Languedoc fortified themselves. To keepe them at a stay, vnder hope of some content, they appoint a generall Parliament at

King Charles
is dangerous-
ly sick.New practices
in Court.

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at Compeigne : the Prouinces prepare the remembrances, some Deputies were on the way with instructions and Commissions, to speake boldly, namely, against the authors and counsellors of murders. The Queene-mother and her followers fearing the touch, obtaine a reuocation of the States; and labouring at the first to pacifie these deputies by promises and words, in the end they change their countenances, they vse threats, and doe so terrifie them, as they returne home onely with a vaine hope, to receiue satisfaction shortly to their demands, and permission (especially to them of Languedoc) to assembl againe for the drawing of new Articles, concerning the preferuation of themselves and their associates: the which they did afterwards at Millaud in Rouergue, and those of Rochel entred into association with them, forced vnto it by the practices and deuices of *Puigillard, Landereau*, the Baron of La Garde, and others, attending to surprize them: but ended with the yeare, and the liues of some that vnderooke it, being publicquely executed.

The fourth troubles, begun with the massacres, had some respite by the peace of Rochel : but now this last conspiracy discovered, and the practices to surprize them of Languedoc, with the secret leauies of men, to assaile them suddenly, giues an entrance to the fifth. The Protestants alledge for the ground of their arming, the infinit outrages which haue beene done them within few months, and send aduertisements and admonitions to the Princes, Nobility, the Parliaments, and the Estates. The Male-contents, and such as were most inward with the D. of Alangon, fore-seeing the shortnesse of the Kings life, yet not daring to complaine of it, but in shaking of the shoulders, and holding downe the head, sollicite him to get the Lieutenantenay generally to represent the Kings person; or if they will imploy him against them of Languedoc, that he should seeke to saue the Realme from the violence of such as by the death of *Charles*, and the absence of *Henry* would seeke to seize thereon. He makes request vnto the King, being at S. Germaine in Lay, and the King doth acquaint the Queen Mother, and the Marshall of Montmorency with the dukes desire. To deny the Duke his request (saith the Marshall) were to doe him wrong, and to call his sufficiency into question; seeing the same place had been giuen to the D. of Anjou without demanding it. But the Queene-mother, and those of Guise, desired it rather for the D. of Lorraine, whom soone after she called to Court: and in the meane time seemes to beleue, that they be practices of the Marshalls of Montmorency and Cossé, at the persuasions of the King of Nauarre, and the Prince of Conde, to the end the Kings furie might ruine both one and the other.

She therefore takes counsell to assure her selfe, and to ruine such as would follow any other party but her own: and euen then did the trouble the Kings head with an exceeding feare and distrust of his household seruants. The Duke of Guise would gladly haue vnder-taken the House of Montmorency: but it was to no purpose, if all the foure brethren were not taken in one net. The Marshall of Anuille was in Languedoc, and determined to ioyne with the Protestants: yet the death of the eldest might make the rest easie. So the Duke of Guise one day picks a quarrell in the base Court of Saint Germaine with *Ventabran* his household seruant, and for a slight cause, being resolved to kill him, hee drawes his sword. *Ventabran* flies directly to the Marshall of Montmorencies chamber, which hee finding shut, he mounts higher to that of the Constables Lady and widow: where finding *Thore*, hee slayes, and there receiues some blowes, but it was slayings with his sword. This tragick act (turned to a iest) sent the Marshall out of Court: but he shall soone returne to receiue a great disgrace. The Duke of Alangon resolves likewise to leaue it, and to leade the King of Nauarre with him: but the execution was of great difficulty. To aske leaue would breed too many scruples and ialousies in the Kings head: to goe without leaue, was to accuse himselfe of some plot, and to be pursued as a fugitiue. Hee therefore stirs not, but lets passe a troope of two or three hundred horse, assembled in Normandy, to saunoe (as the common brute was) the Duke of Alangons retreat, or as others would haue it; (but without any likelihood) to murder the King, his Mother, and his Councell. This leaue terrified the Court, and brought it to Paris: They presently charge the Duke of Alangon, and the King of Nauarre. To purge themselves, they publish a Declaration the 24 of March, touching the fact of S. Germaine: they protest of their good affection to the King, and they offer their seruices against all Rebels.

Hereupon the Marshall of Montmorency is perswaded to come to Court. Hee is no sooner arriued, but they appoint him the Bastile for his lodging, and for companions in prison

Beginning of
the first troubles

The Marshall
Montmorency
put in the
Bastile.

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A prison the Marshall of Cossé, *La Mole*, *Cocornas*, and *Tourtay*, seruants to the Duke of Alangon, whereof the three last lost their heads at Paris, culpable onely to haue beene acquainted with some of their masters Councels to abandon the Court.

During these broyles in Court, the Protestants and their associates make their profit in *Vioarez*, *Dauphine*, *Languedoc*, and *Poitou*. And the Marshall *d'Anuille*, hauing by Letters surprisid, discovered the practice against him, conferred now with *Saint romaine* Gouernour of Nismes, but seizing on *Montpellier*, *Beaucaire*, *Lunel* and *Pezenas*, hee giues the Protestants some cause to suspect his defences. The Politicks of Poitou hauing ioynd with *La Nue*, seize vpon *Saint Maixant*, *Melle*, *Fontenay*, *Lusignan* and other places. The B checke vpon the Normans: *Montgomery*, *Lorges*, and *Galardon* his children. *Columbiers*, *Sey*, and others with troopes of horse and foot, had secretly taken *Saint Lo*, *Carentan*, and *Valongues*: but *Matignon* and *Fernaques* ioynd with the forces of the Count *Thorigni*, (who already camped before *Saint Lo*) shut him into Danfrone, a weake place, and ill furnished, with threescore horse, and fourescore *Harguebuziers*. They batter the Castle, make a breach of fise and forty paces, and hauing been vigorously repulsid from a sharpe assault, the Earle abandoned by his people, (whereof the most part were gone to his enemies, and the rest watering, being vnfurnished of munition, water and succours, perswaded by the Lord of *Vassy* (for he held it farre more honourable to dye vpon the breach, with a pike in his hand, then to fall into the Queene-mothers power, to end his dayes ignominiously on a scaffold:) he did but capitulate (but not without a grievous apprehension of *Columbiers*, desiring rather to dye vpon the breach, then to serue as a spectacle at the Greue at Paris,) to depart with their liues, and to carie away some furniture with their swords and daggers: vpon condition notwithstanding, to remaine some time in the hands of *Matignon*, and *Vassy*, kinsman to the Earle, with surety of his life. A capricious and fraudulent composition: the obseruation whereof must needs be broken. The Earle goes forth, and was led away by *Matignon* and *Fernaques* at midnight: but his company remaine at the enemies deuotion, who force the Castle, kill some, spoile the rest, & put them al to ransom. Then *Vassy* appointed by the two Commanders, led the Earle to Paris: where since we did see him goe a mournfull scaffold, and expiate D by his death (to the Queenes content) that of King *Henry* her husband. In the meane time the Duke of Montpensier made warre in Poitou, but slowly: and except the Castle of Talmont which hee tooke from the Protestants by composition, hee did not any thing worthy of memory.

The taking hereof was encountered with two great disgraces, the one neere to *Saincte Hermine*, in the defeat of his company by *Saincte Effienne*, Captaine of Fontenay, (who slue many Gentlemen: led away fiftene or sixtene prisoners, got great store of baggage, and the Dukes plate:) the other at the siege of Fontenay. Some thinking to reuenge a disgrace, doe oftentimes increase it. Hee got nothing but blowes, with the losse of the most resolute of his troopes: and then an honest colour, the Kings sicknesse, called him from this siege, to attend new Commissions and forces. At that time the Prince of Conde did recreate himselfe in Picardy, wearied with the turmoyles of the Court. Being aduertised of diuers practices layed to seize vpon his person, hee flies into Germany, with *Thore*, ill beloued by reason of the Marshalls of Montmorency, and *d'Anuille*, his brethren, and the counsels giuen to the duke of Alangon. Being at *Strasbourg*, hee exhorts the Protestant Churches, to rely vpon his loue and zeale for their reliefe, and *Thore* perswades his brother *d'Anuille*, to open his eyes, and to embrace the occasion that was offered. This Marshall held the Wolfe by the eares: for on the one side, the Protestants of Languedoc might greatly crosse him, if hee had banded his forces directly against them: and on the other side, he feared the King, and the Queene his mother, who to keepe him in awe, caused his eldest brother to bee safely guarded, as a sure pledge for his yongers adions. Hee must therefore assure himselfe on all sides, and according to the course of the market, entertaine both the one, and the other, expecting a Catastrophe of this strange and horrible tragedy, which was acted in Court.

The King declined in the meane time, and decayed visibly in the prime of his age: and since the King of Polands departure, hee seemed more changed in minde, then in body, being incensed especially against the authors and counsellors of the massacre (as hee made knowne by his speeches, to some of his Court, being enemies to iniustice, and by Letters

Count M^{rs}.
Guisey taken.

The Prince of
Condes retreat
into Germany.

written

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written out of the Realme) for whom he prepared a strange potion. if the providence of A God had not referred them as scourges and ministers of that punishment he meant to inflict upon this Realme, to the end that seeing him afterwards to cast these rods into the fire, we should confesse: that it is not now alone that hee sheweth himselfe the garden and Protector of this Monarchy. At that time Charles lay taken both hand and foot, his chiefe servants were dead, disgraced, and absent. The motives of new troubles did much disquiet him. He did foresee infallible seeds of combustion in the coloured captivitie of his brother, and brother-in-law: in the imprisonment of the two Marshals: in the exile of the Prince of Conde, in whose favour the Germans began to arme. He sees his subiects cruelly armed one against another, and the fire of diuision ready to waste the Realme. B His infirmities had some intermission during winter, but in the end, after hee had languished the moneths of February, March and Aprill, tormented with many pangs, hee kept his bed: and the thirtieth day of May, he slept his last sleepe, in the Castle of Bois de Vincennes, after great effusion of blood, which issued out by all the passages of his body, the last two weekes of his sickness, during the which he endured all the violent assaults and combats which the vigour of youth might suffer in the extreamest pangs of death. His successor could not come so loone from Poland. *Katherine* therefore to assure his authoritie during his absence, had obtained on the nine and twentieth day, letters of Regency from the King, directed to the Governours of Prouinces: and the better to fortifie this nomination, to restrain the Princes of the blood, and to maintaine her selfe in the midst of confusion, she causeth Letters Patents to be sealed by the Chancellor of Birague, her servant, and by this meanes doth abolish the fundamentall lawes, the order of the Realme, the priuiledges of Princes, the authoritie of the generall Estates, and the prerogatiue of the Parliaments.

his disposition.

Charles was born the 27 of Iune 1550, and began to raigne the 5 of December 1560. A Prince of a very active disposition, inconstant in his thoughts, violent in his enterprises, impatient, ready of conceit, the which he did expresse in good termes, a diligent observer of other mens natures, cholerick, secret, a dissembler, cruell and a blasphemur. But let vs impute these vices and others, not to his naturall inclination, but to his gouernours and schoolmasters, amongst the which the History doth especially note *Mariques* and *Laffes*, D who with the consent of the mother corrupted this yong Prince, and made him take the habit of *Vices* and infections, wherein they dayly plunged him. They might haue pruned this yong plant better, to haue brought forth better fruits. At the beginning he was open, courteous, studious, sober, and little giuen to women. His speech was pleasing: hee loued musike and poetry: we reade yet good Verses compiled by him in French. But the pleasure of hunting transported him wonderfully, and the blood of wilde beasts, which hee flue with singular delight, made him with long continuance, as it were greedy of mans blood.

But let vs tremble in this death, vnder the Iustice of Gods iudgements, who suffered (after so horrible a butchery committed and commanded during his raigne) him to bee surprized with a great debility in his latter dayes, to wallow in his owne blood, vomiting it out pitifully by all the conduits of his body, as a iust iudgement for him that barbarously shed it, throughout all the Prouinces of the Realme. Doubtlesse God loues not the Prince that thirsts after his subiects blood, for the subiects blood is the very blood of their Prince.

HENRY

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HENRY the THIRD,

The 62 French King.



T is a great comfort unto mee (saide Charles some few houres before his death) that I leane no heires males lawfully begotten, for leaning him yong, hee must endure many crosses, and France hath need of a man. But alas! we shall now see one advanced to the Crowne, whereunto the fundamentall law of State and Honour doth call him, installed with a confused beginning, and afterwards by an Edict of pacification, to reduce and retaine his subiects happily in their obedience, vnder a raigne as lasciuious and voluptuous as the other had bene cruell and bloody: vntill that the House of Guise (seeing the King barren, and his successor confined in shew beyond the riuier of Loire) shall discouer their ambition,

and cause (but in the end with losse of the liues of two of the chiefe motives of confusion) the people to breake out into a blind, vaine, and treacherous rebellion, being too ready to second the ambitious designs of great men, and to runne at random vnder the libertie of a turbulent raigne, and for the last scene of this Tragedy, they stirre vp a monstrous Monke, traiterously to murder him, and by his death to extinguish the name of *Valois*, and vnwittingly to set the Crowne of France vpon the head of *Henry*, the first of the branch of *Bourbons*, whom wee shall see happily called from beyond the riuier of Loire, miraculously to take the helme of this Estate, and valiantly to encounter the dangerous attempts of his enemies, who had already proclaimed a triumph before the victory; wisely to quench the fires of diuision kindled in his Realme, and to raigne most happily, and by the admirable fauour and blessing of heauen, to gouerne his people in concord, D peace and loue. This is the man whom France had need of, to pacifie the diuisions both of great and small; to restore their generall and priuate ruines; and vnder fo gentle and milde a command, to preserue them from the proud Empery of Strangers. Doubtlesse France cannot be gouerned but by a Frenchman, as we shall see, hauing observed the beginning, progresse, and pittifull end of this Prince, vpon whom depended the estate of this great and mighty Monarchy.

Posts fly with speed to carie newes to the King of Poland, of the death of his elder brother, whilst the Queene-mother (attending his comming) made a truce with them of Poitou, to the end shee might with lesse opposition supply the warres of Normandy: and to stay them of Languedoc and other neighbour Prouinces, the perswaded the Duke E of Alancou and the King of Nauarre, to aduertise them of the death of *Charles*, and sollicit the gouernours to write vnto the new King, touching their zeale to his seruice, and desire (vnder her regency) to obserue the like fidelity to him, as they had done to his Predecessors. *Maignan* laboured in the meane time to take Saint Lo, and Carentan from certaine Gentlemen Protestants, whom the breach of faith to the Earle of Montgomery, had made resolute in the defence of such places as they held.

Colombiers hauing escaped from Danfron, puts himselfe into Saint Lo with a small troope of men, where hauing endured three assaults, and slaine nine or ten of their enemies Capitaines, with three hundred of their men, in the end hee is stricken dead with a shot: the which daunted his souldiers, who (vnfurnished of a Commander, F that might encourage them with the like authoritie, toyled with long fighting) leaue the breach, and in their retreat abandon both the place and the liues of two hundred men, to the mercy of *Maignons* souldiers, to make satisfaction for the death of their companions. Carentan might likewise haue interred many Catholics vnder the ruines of her walls: but *Guiri* and the chiefe of his company, seeing themselves alone in Normandie without any hope of succours, went out by composition on horsebacke, with their swords, and the souldiers vpon condition to serue the King where he should employ them.

Here.

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Confirmation
of the Queens
regent y.

Hereupon Letters Patents come from *Henry*, entitling himselfe King of France and of Poland, dated the 25 of Iune, bearing confirmation and amplification of the Queene-mothers Regency and government of the Realme. Having therefore taken the oath of all the Gouernours, and published the Kings Letters Patents, to make the way for her sonnes returne out of Poland, she calls for the Nobilitie, assembles the foot, makes leaues of Reistres and Suisses: sends to the Prince Dauphin sonne to the Duke of Montpensier, and to *Gordes* (who made warre in Dauphiné:) That they should doe their best endeouours to ruine the country which the Huguenots held: and chargeth the duke of Vzcz, and the Lord of Ioyezuc, to be watchfull ouer the Marshall *D'Anville*, with whom shee had small credit in Languedoc. The imprisoning of his elder brother, the exile of the two younger *Atern* and *Thori*, and the Regents letters being intercepted, had incensed him: yet did he swim betwixt two streames, and maintaining himself betwixt both, he did nothing trust the Catholikes; and not louing the Protestants, hee applied himselfe vnto them as he had need of their helpe. These proceedings bred some ieaousie in them: of Tholouza: but especially the truce he made with the Protestants, the assignation he gaue for the assembly of the Estates of the Prouince at Montpellier the 2 of Iuly, and the ordinary reference he made in that towne. So this Parliament by two Decrees of the 19 of Iune, disallows the truce, forbidding all persons within their iurisdiction, to goe or send to these pretended Estates, appointed without the Kings permission, vpon paine to be declared rebels, and breakers of the lawes.

D'Anville's
dislike
with the
regent.Warre in
Dauphiné.

Moreover, the Protestants (perswaded by this truce, which gaue them some hope of peace) began to allow of their Gouernours actions: and (notwithstanding the aduice of some who condemned this association, as threatening the ruine of their party by this conjunction) they vnite their forces with the Politikes, offensive and defensive againt all that would assaile them. These enioyed some rest, whilst that *Montbrun* cuts in pieces a regiment of the Prince Dauphins forward, and couers the bridge of Royans with foure hundred of the bravest of his armie, slaine vpon the place. For a reuenge, hee besiegeth Alais a small towne, batters it, makes a breach, giues an assault, and is repulsed: but the besieged being vnable to maintaine it, retire into the Castle: the Prince surpriseth them, casts some downe headlong, and burnes the rest that were within it. Ote was the second of his triumphs: but *Luzan* stayed his course. The successfull sallies of the Townes-men, and the ordinary courses of *Montbrun*, who descending from Loriot, did still keepe the Prince in alarm, makes him to raise his siege, and to put his men into safety.

In Viunraiz.

In Poictou.

The Protestants being freed on this side, they were fortified on the other, by the taking of Vieux, a small towne in Viunraiz by *Bocheude*. *Perigourde* takes Chalengon, and S. Romaine Nonnay for their part. *La Noue* (not to approue *Katherine's* regency, but rather to lecond the Prince of Condes forces which were prepared in Germany) was at truce with the Regent, for the monthes of Iuly and August, in the Prouinces of Angoulmois, Poictou, and Xaintonge. But the Regent hoped to subdue the Protestants of the said Prouinces, before her sonne should ariue. For the effecting whereof, shee assembles men from all parts, to surprize them suddenly: that being rooted out, the King should haue nothing to doe with them of Dauphiné and Languedoc. So the D. of Montpensier, Chaugny, Puigallard, Richelieu, *Buffy* of Amboise, and other Commanders, meet at Saumur with ten thousand men, and eightene pieces of attillery. The Protestants fly speedily to armes: those of Lusignan in the beginning of Iuly ouerthrow the Gentlemen of Poictou: and those of Fontenay nere vnto Nantes, ouerthrow 500 Harguebuziers, almost all younger brothers of the Gentlemen of Britany.

Fontenay
surprised.

These two checks thrust the D. to the siege of Fontenay le Conte. Saint *Estienne*, commanded there, with about twenty Gentlemen, and foure hundred souldiers, who after some fauourable sallies, hauing valiantly maintained two sharpe assaults, and one scalded, the sixteenth of September, after fiftene dayes siege, beginning to treat of the composition before in question: behold Capaine *Masseuasse*, either through feare, or desire to prouide for himselfe, or being too confident, for that they were vpon termes of capitulation, giues entrance to some of his acquaintance: the rest runne thither by heapes, they see the breach being ill guarded, and become masters of the towne: they kill some souldiers, ranfome others, strip the rest, and chase them away with a white wand in their hands:

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A hands: but they vse the towne with lesse rigour then a place taken by assault. The Baron of Serigne, otherwise called *Terride*, recomenced this losse at the same time by the surpris of Castres in Albigeois, and the slaughter of two hundred Italians being in garison: and *Langoyran* Gouernor of Perigueux for the Protestants, by the absolute defeat of two hundred Harguebuziers, whereof sixe onely escaped, to cary newes to the rest of their partie.

Then *Henry* escaping secretly out of Poland, approached the Realme, where his new crowne attended him, deuising a farre off to ruine the Huguenots and to plant the only Religion of his Fathers throughout the whole Realme. There is no sin so great (saide the Emperor *Maximilian* vnto him) as to force mens consciences: and such as thinke to command men, supposing to winne heauen, doe often lose that which they possesse on earth. The like admonitions were giuen him in all places, in Austria, Venice and Piedmont: they exhort him in all places to pacifie the troubles of his Realm. But comming to Lions, they cause him to commit a great error, in making war in stead of peace.

The Queen mother, the Dukes of Guise and Neuers, the Marshall of Retz, the Chancellor *Birague*, and some other new-bred Frenchmen, disposed of the affaires at their pleasure in the secret Councils of the Cabinet. The King did willingly giue them authority (and what might be expected of men who gladly would people France with new Colonies of Italians, Lorraines and Piedmontois) carying onely to Court Ladies, from the C which he had beene sequestred almost a yeare, with this nation which is lesse lasciuious then ours. These pernicious Councillors cause him to protest by sundry proclamations of his loue to the good of his subiects, and to abolish what was past, so as they lay aside armes, deliuer him all his townes, and liue quietly in their houses, without any search, constraint or molestation for matter of conscience. A policy practised by them, to entertaine the fire of ciuill dissention, to rule in this confusion, and to fortifie a third party, which in the end we shall see will oppresse the King, & bring the Realme to a very miserable estate. The Protestants stood then the more vpon their guards: they are full of ieaousie, distrust, doubtr, and feare. All those Proclamations made no mention of liberty of their Religion, neither of a Parliament, for the politike government, nor of a nationall Council, for matters of conscience. And what was it to grant vnto the Rochelois liberty of conscience, and to forbid the exercise of their Religion for a certaine season, but to keepe their party at a gaze, whilst by their great preparations which were made in all parts, they should be able to put a mighty army to field, to ruine them without hope of rising?

So they arme on all sides, especially in Poictou. The Baron of Fontenay (afterwards Lord of Rohan in Britany) being followed by three score gentlemen and six hundred good souldiers, puts himselfe into Lusignan, which the Duke *Montpensier* threatned, and according to the leasure he gaue him, he provided for the fortifications and all things necessary to maintaine a memorable siege, which might by the means of some succours consume an army before the Castle. About the beginning of October, the Duke encampes before it, and with a battery of about 2300 cannon-shot, thinks to draw the besieged to a composition. They importune them; but they answer, they will attend a general peace for all them of their religion. He spends 1250 cannon-shot more, makes a breach, giues an assault, and is beaten back with great losse. Five daies after, the besieged sally forth, and to reuenge the blood of 7 young gentlemen, 16 souldiers, & 20 that were hurt at this first assault, they cloy 5 cannons, fire their powder, kill 9 captaines, and many souldiers, bring away many enignes, and retume laden with spoiles, armes, and prisoners. This disgrace caused him to rest all Nouember. In December, the duke fortified with 1200 Reistres, and 600 French foot, presteth Lusignan againe, & batters down a mill which did furnish them with meale. So (their hand-mills not able to suffice) they began to want bread. To ease them of some superfluous moutthes, they craue a passport for some Gentlewomen and other persons vsite for the war, to returne to their houses, or other places of safety. But the hatred this Prince did beare to the Protestants, had more force in him then the ordinary courtesie which Frenchmen beare vnto Ladies. He supposed the wiues and children should bee an vrgent sting to draw their husbands and fathers to yeeld speedily. Now their horses serued them for food, the souldiers (almost starued) took away the bread violently as they caried it from the ouen: they break into many houses in the night, to seek for victuals, they had no wood but moueables and the ruines of houses, ill clothed, ill lodged, and no cleane linen, toyled

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toyled with continuall trauell, to defend themselves both above and vnder ground, to frustrate the mynes which the Duke caused to be made, two of the which in their ruines buried many of the assailants, and gaue the besieged courage to continue firme in their resolution.

The 23 of the moneth they begin to thunder with eigheteen cannons and foure culuerins, and the next day they continue the same fury with fife and twenty peeces. After dinner they come to the assault: the showers of musket-shot comming from sundry flanks, makes the enemy retire, and to leaue the breach full of dead bodies. The greatest force was against the ravelin of La Vachery, which being won by the assailants, makes them retire to the Castle that had it in guard. At the first port of the Castle every man did shew his resolution: all fight in the midst of the thunder, fire and smoake, and fife houres together dispute it with a doubtfull and bloody fight. In the end, both the one and the other (being tired with so furious an assault) take breath, the besieged remaining masters both of the towne and Castle, being reduced to fourescore cuirasses, and foure hundred and fiftie harguebuziers, resolute to lye and dye both in the defence of the place, and of their quarrell, hoping that *La Noue* would find means to send them some reliefe.

Lusignan
yesidels.

Not courage, but force failed them. So as *Fontenay*, the fife and twentieth of January, accepted the Articles of composition which the Duke offered vnto him by Colonnell *Sarricieu*: himselfe and his gentlemen to depart with their armes, horses and baggage, the captaynes and other Commanders, every one with a curtall, if they had any, their armes and baggage: the souldiers with their Harguebuzes, their matches out, and their Ensignes wrapt vp: the gentlewomen, and all others that would depart, to bee conducted in safety to their houses, or else to Rochel. Thus it was concluded. This siege caused about twelue hundred men to be slaine, a great number to be maimed, and ruined a mighty army. They endured about ten thousand Cannon shot, with many assaults, and lost fife and twentie Gentlemen, and about two hundred souldiers. And the Duke for a memory of his losses, caused the castle of Lusignan to be razed, being in former times one of the goodliest fortresses in Europe. Such conquests were of more difficulty in Daulphine: the Protestants had more places, and more Captaynes at their deuotion. *Poussin*, *Liuron*, *Primas*, and others did greatly hinder the traffike of Marceilles and Lions: and some running into Piedmont had charged the Kings baggage returning from Poland. To reuenge these insolencies, the King sends the Prince Daulphin to besiege *Poussin*: eigheteen thousand men besiege it on either side of the riuer of Rhone, in the beginning of October: foureene great Cannons batter it, and make a breach: *Rochegade* and *Pierrevegnarde*, defend it with a wonderfull slaughter of the enemy, and so terrified the rest of the army, as all were ready to trusse vp their baggage: but suddenly the wall shaken with the artillery, and overcharged with earth cast vp for the trenches within the towne, falls downe to the ground. So the towne lying open, and the ruines not to be repaired during the siege, the place being too strait, *Saint Romane*, after many inroades and sharpe skirmishes, enters into it, and iudging that in the end it would be forced, he drew out of it, men, women, and children, and putting them into *Primas* in safety, hee abandoned and left *Poussin* to the besiegers mercy, who entering by heapes, spoyle, sacke, burne, and make the place desolate: and by the taking thereof, they recouer a part of *Vivaraiz*; *Grane*, *Loziol* and *Roinac* (being vnable to endure the Cannon) made easie the approaches of *Liuron*. But let vs view the estate of Languedoc.

Poussin besieged

Estate of Lan-
guedoc.

The Queene mother, and those of Guise, desired infinitely to dispossesse the Marshall *D'Anville* of his government, for he crossed their aduancement with all his power, and stayed them from proceeding (as gladly they would) against his elder brother being a prisoner. But yet if he had not fortified his estate with the Protestants party, who were then strong in Languedoc, hardly could hee subsist amongst so many and so mighty enemies. He therefore in open assembly of the Estates at Montpellier, ioynes himselfe with them, and according to the declarations lately published by the Prince of Conde, and the people of Languedoc, he sets downe the causes of this his new and forced taking of armes. The Vicont of *Turenne* his sisters sonne, doth likewise publish his, of the same substance. *Thorié* and *Mera* brethren, and the Earle of *Vendadour* (brother in law to the said Marshall) ioine with him. The Duke of *Alençon* seems to fauour it: but the euent will shew, whether it were fraudulent, or with a sincere intent.

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A This reuolt amazed the Court, and to stop the course thereof, the Queene-mother doth presently, by gracious letters, inuite the Marshall to some agreement. But giuing the Protestants but a simple liberty of conscience, she debars them of the publicke exercise of their religion. The Marshall protests of his affection to the common good of this Realme, and assures the like desire to be in his associates: but withall he shewes, that the Councellers, who by that horrible and infamous massacre the foure and twentieth of August, had caused the deceased King to breake the last Edict of pacification, gouerning at this day the helme of the affaires; it was very difficult to settle a firme peace, the which cannot subsist, vnlesse the exercise of both religions may be indifferently allowed within

B the Realme.

So this treaty of peace remaining fruitlesse, the Queene-mother changeth her countenance, and labours by diuers practises (but in vaine, the alliance being yet too fresh) to sow diuision betwixt the Marshall and his associates, and yet by sundry messages continues this pretended parlee of a generall peace in France. But it could not bee concluded with such conditions as the King required: that all his townes should first be yielded vnto him without exception; and then would he grant his subjects peace. The Prince Daulphin, having left the command of the Kings army to the Marshall of Bellegarde, he comes in the middist of December to campe before *Liuron*. *Rosiers* a gentleman of Daulphine commanded there, with about foure hundred men, but full of resolution and great valour, in

C a shilly place, strong of situation, but then of no fame amongst the other townes of Daulphine. Foureene companies of the Kings guards; eleven Ensignes of Suisses, twelue Ensignes of Harguebuziers, Prouencals and Daulphinois, nine Ensignes of Piedmont, three hundred men of the old bands, foure companies of men at armes, and eight cornets of Reiffres besiege it on all parts. Two and twenty great peeces of battery, planted in three parts, doe batter it, and after eleuen hundred Cannon shot, make a breach of six hundred paces. The Marshall was not satisfied with this ruine: he will haue all battered downe, and with a generall ruine fill vp the trench. They make a greater breach with a new battery of foureene hundred cannon shot. He recouers the trench, and makes defences for his men. All this doth nothing amaze the besieged: but contrariwise, to shew that they haue

Liuron battered
red with a second siege.

D force to defend themselves, and that they must haue great dexterity and resolution to take them: they tie to the end of a pike, a horse-shoe, a paire of mittens, and a cat; they lift vp the pike, as if they would say; *Marshall, this Cat is not taken without mittens*. Such was the estate of *Liuron*, when as the King iourning at Auignon, being distrest for money to supply his excessive charge and prodigality, *Charles* Cardinall of Lorraine (labouring the marriage of *Henry* with *Lewis* of Lorraine, daughter to the Earle of *Vaudemont* his kinswoman, and to furnish this excessive and stately pompe, aduising the King to sell for an hundred thousand crownes in benefices) was surprised with a fever, and falling from a fever into a frensie, he died the 23 of December, in the midst of a cruell tempest, and violent whirlwind, which vncovered the houfes, and loosened the barres of iron in the Carthusiens Couent, in the suburbs of Auignon.

Cardinall of
Lorraine dies.

E Some impute this death to the smell of a certaine precious purfe which was giuen him full of rare peeces of gold, with the Queene mothers priuety: whom the foresaid treatie of marriage, which the Cardinall did practise, made remember the crosses she had suffered after the marriage of *Francis* the second, her eldest sonne, foreseeing that this new alliance tended but to restore the House of Guise to the same authority they had enioyed vnder the reigne of the said *Francis*. Others did attribute it to the blowes the Cardinall had giuen himselfe vnder colour of deuotion, in the company of them that beat themselves in the sharpest time of winter. Others applied it to the iust iudgement of God vpon this Prelate, who drawing all his greatness, and all his meanes from the Clergy of France, would yet perswade the King to so pernicious an alienation of goods appointed for the vse of the Church, whatsoever it were. Notwithstanding the strict familiarity which the Queene mother had with the Cardinall, yet did she giue this testimony of him after his death; that the three and twentieth of December a most wicked man was dead. And the people both far and neere said, that this extraordinary storme in the ayre, noted that this man, hauing by cursed practises filled his house with exceeding wealth, sackt and torne France in peeces with intestine warres, did then feelee the iust reward of his actions. Doubtlesse such as the life is, such is the end.

V v v

Whilst

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Lan-
and
Alpaine.

Whilest the King becomes a new brother of these tormentors of themselves, otherwise called Penitents, and the Court busied sometime in the processions and ceremonies of this new brotherhood, the Estates of Languedoc, fallen from all hope of peace, battered Saint Giles neere to Aignion, and became masters thereof, the Courtiers making no shew to succour it. *Montbrun* on the other side keeping the field with his horse-men, did still catch vp some that were farthest from the campe. But Liuron was a Churchyard for the most hardy of the assailants: every man defends his goods and his life: men, women, and children, all labour in the fortifications, to repulse their enemies, and vnder the command of *La Hay* (a young Gentleman about three and twenty years of age, valiant and pleasing to the souldiers of *Rosiers*, hauing bene slaine at the breach with *Francis* and *Bon- B* *nier* Captaines) strew the ruines of the walls with carcasses, cast many into the trenches, dead, wounded, and languishing: and finally, (after many assaults, and infinite Cannonnadoes, fortified with two and fifty Souldiers) they force the enemy to found a retreat, and to couer themselves from the shot, pikes, swords, stones, and such armes as necessity could yeeld to the besieged. Thus those of Liuron withstood the fierce assaults of their enemies: the armie diminished, and a certaine disease hauing wasted most part of the Piemontois, crept in amongst the other Nations: when as the King iudging of the rest by this small towne, found that he must seek out some other meanes to reduce his subiects to obedience: who were so resolute to arms, as a simple offer of liberty of conscience might soon make them fall away. Many conquests cause but sleight triumphes. A more stately crowne attended him his coronation called him, and the taking of Aiguefmortes, a sea towne and of great importance for the Protestants, inuited him to stay the course of their prosperity by some negotiation of peace.

Henry therefore packing vp his baggage, the thirteenth of Ianuary, and approaching neere to Liuron, stayed some houres in the campe. Here the souldiers cries and exclamations against him, and especially against his mother, gaue him to vnderstand, that the horrible disorders and vnworthy government of the latter yeares, had withdrawn that loue and reuerence to their Kings, for the which the French Nation had bene so much commended: and so altered the minds of the greatest part, as their iust griefe transported them beyond the bounds of reason and modesty. *Ab murderers!* (cried they with open throat) *D* *you shall not stab vs in our beds, as you haue done the Admirall and the rest. Bring vs those Mignons with their rustes and perfumes: let them come to looke on our wounds, they shall teach them whether it be a praye easy to carry away.* A lesson for a Sovereigne Prince, that if any diuerty of religion diuide his subiects, yet is he a common father to them all. As no reason doth allow of the sonnes ingratitude to the father; so all lawes doe abhorre the inhumanity and impiety of a father to his children.

The Campe being dislodged, the rest of the Piemontois repasse the mountaines. The Dauphinois afhamed of the disgrace they had receiued at Liuron, disperse themselves here and there: some cornets of Reistres follow the Marshall of *Rez* into Prouence, the rest with the Suisses are giuen to the Duke of *Vzez*, to make warre in Languedoc: a government wherewith the King had lately honoured him. Strange alterations. The duke of *Vzez* is now armed against them, for whose protection hee had often fought during the former wars, and the Marshall *D'Anville* lately their capitall enemy, now supports them. *E* These great men play with Religion, fitting themselves to that party which they thinke may most auail them whatsoever it be: and the people is still the anville, whereon all sorts of hammers strike. But the Marshall did little remember the obseruation of the Articles sworne in the association. And dissolutions creeping in amongst the Protestants, could not but preface a speedy ruine of one of the parties, or of both together. Yet he entreated himselfe with them. So likewise did the Duke of *Vzez*, and protesting that he would make no warre but against the Marshalls faction, hee promised to reconcile all the Protestants to the King, if they would sequester themselves from the Politikes their associates. But he would haue bene glad, that in ruining the one party, they should haue ruined themselves. During these contentions betwixt the Marshall and the Duke, the King was crowned at Rheims, the fifteenth of February: and soone after hee sent home *Elizabeth* of Austria (widow to *Charles* the ninth) to the Emperour *Maximilian* her father, but with a lesser traine then her quality required. Then hee married *Louise* the daughter to *Nicholas* Earle of *Vaudemont* in *Lorraine*, who they supposed should haue been the wife *of*

The siege of
Liuron raised.

War betwixt
the Marshall
D'Anville and
the D. of Vzez.

The Kings co-
ronation.

A of *Thore* the Constables youngest sonne. Practices of the Queene-mother, to maintaine the authority she had gotten in France, about a Daughter in law of meaner quality then her selfe: and to fortifie her selfe with them of Guise, against the Houses of Bourbon and Montmorency.

This marriage should haue caused as chaste and as vertuous a bed on the Kings behalfe, as the was chaste and vertuous whom he had now espoused. And it seemed the dissolutions and excesses of Court were come to their height in the reigne of *Charles* the ninth. But hereafter both King and Court (for the subiects doe frame themselves to the Princes humour) plunge themselves into more horrible dissolutions, then the best Schoole-master *B* of corruption and filthinesse could inuent.

The Court is drowned in delights and excesses: but they are at blowes in Languedoc, *Viuraiz*, *Daulphiné*, *Perigieux*, *Auvergne*, *Xaintonge*, and elsewhere. *D'Anville* hath an enterprize vpon *Beziers*: but hauing failed, he employed his forces against fourefcore and ten villages thereabouts. He takes *Alais*, a towne and castle: and the Duke of *Vzez*, *Saint Ferreol*, a small towne neere vnto *Vzez*, to annoy his subiects, and to force them to acknowledge their Lord. The forces on either side encounter often, fight, and by their common defeats weaken one another, whilest the Protestants keepe the stakes and view the sport. Those of *Viuraiz* surpris the towne of *Beys* and the Castle of *Poussin*, and kill the Captain and his garison. *Montbrun* runs through *Daulphine*, and becomes master of *C* many places. The Vicont of *Turenne* adds to the victories of his party, *Perigieux*, *Brioude*, *La Gaillarde*, *Vzerche*, and some other places.

The *Xaintongois* and those that lay neere vnto *Rochel*, began to hold vp their heads, and to goe to armes. The Prince of *Conde* filled all his party with great and speedy hopes. All rife, all dreame of new forces. They must therefore deuide by force practice to quench this great flame which was like to set the whole Realme on fire. *Katherine* amazed with this prosperous successe, hastens the Deputies of the Prince of *Conde*, of *Xaintonge*, of *Daulphine* and *Languedoc*: they come to Paris the tenth of April, they present Letters to the King from the Prince and Marshall, and demand free exercise of their religion throughout all France: new Chambers in the Parliaments for the administration of Iustice, punishment of the murderers, ease of imposts, a free assembly of the general Estates, and an assurance for the entertainment of the pretended peace. Fifteen dayes are spent in disputes, words, and discourses.

The King promiseth to content them all: but he will haue them referre these demands to his will. Finally, he grants vnto the Protestants, to remaine where they pleased within the Realme: safety for their persons without any search for matters of conscience, liuing in peace and modestly vnder the obedience of his Edicts: exercise of their Religion in those places they held, except at *Montpellier*, *Castres*, *Aiguefmortes*, and *Beaucaire*. The like priuiledges for Lords of fee, for themselves, their household seruants, and all other in their houses. And as for other Gentlemen that haue no such fees, exercise for them and *E* their families, but without townes and suburbs, ten leagues from Paris, and two leagues from Court. Too weak articles to content them who saw their affaires so successfull, or to stay such as seeking innovations were transported with future hopes. The Councell feared it: neither were they other then words without effects. And vpon refusal made, to giue vnto the Deputies a copy of the Kings answer to the Petition and Articles presented by them, to the end they might shew them to the Assembly of the Confederates, the treatie vanished into smoake, and serued onely to bring forth motiues of new confusions. *Rochegade* begins in *Viuraiz*. Those of *Lions* had recovered *Andance*, a small towne vpon the Rhine, and fearing lest *Nonnay* would likewise be lost, he marcheth to supply it with men. Vpon the way he encountreth the enemy, chargeth them, and puts them in *F* rout, but he gets a great and a deadly wound.

This death, and the approach of the Duke of *Vzez* to the siege of *Beys*, troubles them of *Viuraiz* more then before. *Pierregerard* succours them, and with the ayde of an hundred and fifty men giues meanes to the Gouvernor of *Beys* to defend the towne against the Duke that besieged it, vntill the beginning of May. The Duke hauing left it, they within the towne issue forth: they kill about three hundred, and nothing stayes them but the resistance made by the Suisses, from carrying away or cloying of his Artillery. If the Dukes forces and threats preuailed little against these men, his money *Y v v 3* and

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His marriage.

Negotiation
of peace.

and promisses did lesse. Hee shippes his Artillery vpon the riuer of Rhone, raiseth his campe, and by the houles which hee burnt to ashes, hee gets the ill will and curse of the people both farre and neere, for that he grew so bitter against them, whom lately hee defended so courageously.

Confidant at
Marsailles.

These parties thus diuided, bred new seditions. At Marsailles the people being risen against the Customers and Toll-gatherers, runne to the Custome-houle, take their books of accompts, registers, waights, and measures, and cast them into the sea. Some other townes of Prouence followed this example. Some, called the shauen, (being a troop of malecontents, shauen after a certaine manner to be knowne) arme against treasurers and receiues. The Baron of Alemagne, Orezon, Establon, and other heads of the Protestants, held Lourmarin, Riez, Seine, and some other small townes in the Prouince. To conclude, there are so many factions, so many parties, as one destroyes another. The Lord of Vins goes to field, and reduceth to the Kings obedience all these last conquests, except Seine, and some other places thereabouts. *Montbrun*, on the other side, made his forces fearefull in Dauphine, but his too great lenity to his souldiers, made him to purchase much ill will and many enemies. Chastillon, a village, neere vnto Die, strong by reason of the Castle, did annoy it. *Francis* of Bonne, Lord of Des Diguieres, (who commanded in those parts,) resolves to pull this thorne out of their foot. *Gordes* Gouverneur of Dauphine for the King, makes haste to crosse his attempt. *Montbrun* possts thither, through the mountains, and descending into the plaine, hee chargeth *Gordes* thrice. The night comes and ends the conflict, *Montbrun* hauing lost eight men, and *Gordes* six and twenty.

Des Diguieres approacheth in haste, but the next day, the thirteenth of Iune, *Montbrun* not satisfied with this advantage, forceth his enemies to fight, and puts them to rout: *Gordes* saves himselfe within Die. Two and twenty Ensignes of Suisses which hee had drawne from the Duke of Vcey after the siege of Boys, performe wondrous feats of armes: they make it good, and rather die then giue backe; but they are encountred by a generous resolution, who no lesse courteous of glory, then they were enemies of a shamefull flight, strewes the place with nine hundred carcasses, carry away eightene Ensignes, and by the death of *Frenlich* their Colonell, and of sixteene braue Capitaines, *Montbrun* wins an absolute and famous victory. *Du Bar* and *Gouernier* his Lieutenants, second him by the defeat of the whole company of the Earle of Beine. Such is the daily change of humane things, which makes him by a pitifull catastrophe to fall suddenly, who lately seemed to be raised vnto the highest degree of honour. *Gordes* being preft within Die, calls for all the forces of the country. *Montbrun* charged the first that shewed themselves, in a straight: whereof part being slaine, and part flying, they giue the alarme to the whole armie. But whilst the Argolctiers of *Montbrun* are busie at the spoile, a huge troop of horse entuiron him, where (vertue yielding to the multitude) after a long conflict, they force through his troops. His men being disperfed, flie, some here, some there. Himselfe thinking to leape a ditch, his horse falls and breakes his thigh. So being forced to yeeld, *Rache* fort his cousin, and *Prebe*, who commanded the troops, sware to saue his life, and cause him to be caried to Crest. Hee lost in this hot skirmish two and twenty men: *Du Bar* amongst the rest, a braue and gallant young gentleman: the others lost two hundred, whereof some of them by their great valour, left a wonderfull griefe to them that suruiued. Two and thirty prisoners were taken with *Montbrun*, the which were fired for their ransomes: but hee being araigned by the Parliament of Grenoble, (after a double charge from the King and Queene-mother) not according to the law of armes, but as one guilty of high treason, ended the remainder of his life vpon a scaffold, whom already the griefe of his hurt had halfe mortified. The History commends this Gentleman to haue beene valiant, modest and iust, not courteous, no exactor, but (as we haue noted) too milde to his souldiers, who for an vndiscreet reuenge of his death, did afterwards commit wonderfull spoiles about Grenoble.

Des Diguieres
chere in Dauphine.

The wisdomme, valour, age, and happinesse of the Lord of Des Diguieres, hath since giuen good testimony, that they had reason to choose him to succed *Montbrun*, and to be Lieutenant to the Prince of Conde. For the first fruits of his government, hee restored martiall discipline, as much as the time would suffer him, provided for the Garisons, and by composition, surpises, and force, brought many new conquests to the party.

Xaintonge was likewise disinembred by the enterprises and ordinary courtes of two parties.

A parties. Among others, *Landerneau* had gotten the Isle of Ré: but losing it the same day, he gaue the Rochelois meanes to enlarge their limits. Such were the confusions which diuided both the Prouinces and the affections of this Realme.

But the time now calls vs to a strange consideration, happened either by policie and of purpose, or else accidentally, as it chanceth often in worldly affaires, whereof the wife of this world can make their prouident commodity, to draw forth all such fruits as mans wisdomme giues them hope to produce at all euents. But he that sounds the bottom of mans heart, laughs from aboue, and when he pleaseth (euen when as man dreames not of it) hee confounds the wisdomme of the wife, the fooles in their folly, and the malicious in B their owne malice.

The Duke of Alancou seemed to liue in great familiarity with the King, since his returne from Poland into France. *Katherine* laid, that this reconciliation of the two brethren was the meanes to maintaine the Realme in peace. But the counsels, practices, and negotiations, tooke another course then was expected. The Prince of Condes affaires prospered on the other side the Rhyne. Those of Languedoc preferred the defence of their liberties with the hazard of their liues, before the yoke of a doubtfull and dissolayl peace.

Wherefore to ruine at once the generall forces of the Protestants, which threatened most dangerous effects to come: the Court (a good Schoole-mistresse of dissimulations) C must take another accustomed habit. Doubtlesse *Katherine* gaue many of these instructions to her children: and the issue will shew vs, that there were many of her deuices in the managing of the following affaires. Suddenly the Duke of Alancou seems discontented. He cannot (saith he) haue iustice of the outrages which were done him in keeping him prisoner: they disdain him; those of Guise are preferred by reason of the Queene their cousin the Kings wife; his presence seems offensive to the King, who can endure no companion, nor any great man neere him. Thus it is bruted in all parts, that the Duke of Alancou is in very bad termes with the King. These horse-leeches of the Court, who by publicke troubles advanced their priuate affairs, buzzed in his eares: hee beleues them, and many of the Nobles ioyne with him: the King and Queene mother, and the Council seeme to be amazed therat: In the end hee leaues the Court, the sixteenth of September, and meeting many Gentlemen halfe a league from Paris, hee retires to Dreux: thither repaired daily vnto him new troops of the Nobility of both Religions, and amongst many, some inward seruants to the Queene mother, namely, *Buffy* of Amboise, a bloody, wicked, and a furious man.

This departure causeth new broiles and murmuring in Court. Every man thinks, every man speakes according to his owne imagination or desire. Some beleue verily the two brethren are at discord: that the Duke not able to endure the brauadoes of them of Guise (whom hee abhorres and loues not, as the authors of publicke confusions) goes to ioyne with the Protestants and Politikes, to augment his portion, and by their common E forces to plant a peace in France. Most of the Protestants were filled with pleasing hopes, promising themselves a golden world vnder this pretended Reformer. But the clearesighted remember what was past, and by the present estate iudge of the future. They know well the strong and variable humour of the Mother: and say that shee vseth the dissimbling of her children as a Last for all fact: that hauing preuailed little with the Lyons skinned, she will now put on the Foxes: that shee finds the Duke fit to intrap them, seeing that both Protestants and Politikes seeke him jointly, to vnderake their quarrels, and to make him their head: that being young and of small iudgement, neither greatly careful of Religion, or the reformation of the State, there was no likelihood hee should runne this course without their instruction, who had kept him so long in their power.

F Thus men discouered: but wee commonly beleue that for certaine, which we most desire: all other aduice is reiected. They hope from the Duke of Alancou both the safety and the protection of the Realme. He to maintaine so commendable a reputation, giues an account of his actions by a publicke declaration, protests to employ his forces, meanes and life, to banish the troublers of the publicke quiet, to pursue iustice for all robberies, thefts, murders and massacres, to restore Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, being prisoners or wrongfully banished, to their goods, offices, and honours, to abolish all taxes, imposts, and extraordinary subsidies, to maintaine the ancient lawes of the Realme, to defend

The Duke of
Alancou dis-
contented.

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defend the Nobility and Clergy, in their priviledges, freedoms, and liberties, and by a general Assembly of the three Estates, to confirme a good, firme, and sure peace in France: he takes all naturall Frenchmen of both religions into his protection, and (vntill that a holy Councell may decide the controuersies which diuided their soules) he exhorts them to liue in brotherly loue, and to suffer euery man to enioy the exercise thereof. This declaration is followed by Letters to the Prince of Conde, the Marshall *D'Anuille*, to the Earle of Ventadour, Vicont of Turenne, and to the chiefe amongst the Protestants: the most part of them receiue leaues of paper for an vndoubted oracle. Whereof some said, they should shortly haue all things at their will: but it was without effect and contrary to promises.

Germane succours: omitted to the Prince of Conde.

The Prince of Conde laboured then for great succours in Germany. This publication comes happily to dispose *Frederic* Elector and Cont Palatine, to make a league with him: That they should not lay aside armes vntill the King had giuen the government of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, to duke *Iohn Casimir* his son, the places and reuennues depending on the said Bishopricks for the entertainment of necessary garisons vnder the Kings authority, and free exercise of the reformed Religion: That the King should giue him an honourable entertainment, and to the Protestants of Languedoc an annuall pension of six thousand crownes: and a mutual protection both by the heads of Germany and France, to do their best endeavor for the good of France. All this must needs feed the people with hope to preuent all future troubles. But the Prince had some horse-leeches about him, who employing their companions purses, filled their owne coffers with golden Crownes: and the Protestants employed many persons in the affaires of their Religion, who had neither faith, piety nor religion.

The Court was wonderfully disquieted. The King sends many postes to the gouernors of Prouinces, comiures them to keepe their faith, accufeth the Protestants and Politikes, to haue withdrawn his brother from him, forbids his subiects to giue any ayde, fauour, or support to the Duke of Alangon: calls the Gentlemen together, and besides his bands of Ordinary, he makes new cornets of horses, and for their entertainment hee imposts new taxes. And to moue the people, and retaine them in obedience vnder the shew of deuotion and piety, he ordaines processions, fasts and prayers, and makes vowes and pilgrimages. D but being returned to the Loure, the Ladies, and his little dogges (which hee kept very daintily) made him to forget the care of affaires, and to leaue the managing thereof to his Mother and some Councellors.

The Queene-mother goes to the Duke of Alangon.

She makes a journey to the Duke her sonne, to reconcile him (said she) vnto the King. But the suspicious held, that her going was to furnish him with new instructions: that being declared Generall of these troops, both foraine and French, and of diuers Religions, and hauing ratified (as he did soone after) an accord made with *Casimir*, she might agree at her pleasure with him, and so disappoint the great designs of the army. After this parle the Duke marcheth into Poictou, the Earle of Ventadour comes vnto him with three hundred horse, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers: many great Noblemen and Gentlemen E repaire vnto him.

The protests of the House of Guise for a third party.

During these confusions, the Duke of Guise and his House deuise to lay the foundations of a third party, the which we shall soone see breake forth. For the present, hee assembles twelue hundred masters in Champagne, vnder the Kings authority, and *Stroff* twelue thousand foot: the Duke of Vzez sends vnto them the rest of his horse, and the Duke of Montpensier sends his troops of Poictou.

The Marshall *D'Anuille* had required some cornets of Reistres from the Prince of Conde, to fortifie him in Languedoc: but seeing these last designs had called away the Kings forces, to keepe the Germane army from entering: the Councell decreed, that attending *Casimir* comming, these Reistres appointed for Languedoc, should goe to the Duke of Alangon, being already chosen to be their chiefe and Generall. This did weaken their party, and the first check brought the most part of his Councellors into a bad reputation, and confirmed the Protestants in the ialousies they had conceived of the Duke of Alangon. There led these troops, being about fiftene hundred: some French Gentlemen ioyned with him, with six hundred shot. The Dukes of Guise and Mayenne, *Biron*, *Ferragues*, and others, compasse them in. Some retire and cry for money: some fight, imitating the French; but the greater number preuaile. Haffing the Colonell, with his

A his Lieutenant and some Reistres, and French, are slaine vpon the place: the rest flye.

Clement and many others being taken, with some cornets, serued as a triumph for the Duke of Guise: five hundred Reistres ioyned with his troops, he himselfe (following them that fled) receiued a shot with a pistoll in the cheeke, and by his fall gaue meanes to many to escape the fury of his victorious armes. There led the remainder of this shipwracke to the Duke of Alangon, being taxed as a bad man of warre, and not capable of counsell. This wound is a ladder for the Duke of Guise to climbe to wonderfull credit with the Catholics: the Kings actions both publicke and priuate beginne to displease him. The King (say they) takes his ease, and drownes himselfe in delights and pleasures: his brother troubles all France, and the House of Guise beames the burthen of the affaires of the whole common-wealth. And vpon these fauourable repinings, the Duke hereafter grounds most terrible designs.

His forces were not able to encounter the power of *Casimir*. The King therefore calls for *Mansfield*, *Schomberg*, *Bassompierre*, and other Colonels, who promise to bring him eight thousand Reistres within sixe weekes, giuing them three hundred thousand frankes downe, and fourteene hundred thousand when they were entered. The King was wonderfull needy: all was spent in vnprofitable sumptuousnesse, and vnworthy dissolutenesse: and part of this money could no where be so easily found as in the Parisiens purses. To induce them therunto, they iobaine Bulls from Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth, and foure Churches appointed within Paris to obtaine pardons for many yeares, vpon condition to ayde the King, to root out heresies. And to draw the Parisiens by others example, they giue it out, that *Piennes* sold his inheritance to lend the King foure hundred thousand frankes: and that the Italians of Paris did furnish the like summe: and the Duke of Neuers, the Cardinall of Ferrara, Gondj, and Birague, nine thousand frankes. Neither the first nor the second bait, could make the Parisiens to bite. They say, that within fiftene yeares their Citie had contributed twelue millions of gold, not comprehending the loanes and extraordinary imposts leauied at Paris, and throughout the Realme: that these ciuill distractions waste both their men and money: they beleeue him, that (according to the notable aduertisements of Saint *Lewis*, to his sonne and successor) hee would maintaine his subiects in peace and concord, by the bonds of piety and iustice. Hee must haue money, and not words: and that by force, seeing loue cannot preuaile. Paris therefore is suddenly inuaded with garisons: the King of Nauarre at Saint Cloud, the Duke of Guise at S. Denis, the Duke of Neuers in the suburbs of Saint Germane, *Biron* at Montmartre, the Marshall of Rez at Pont Charenton, and Bois de Vincennes. Thus the Parisiens are restrained of their victuals, and force extorts from them the money, which kindeesse could not win. In the meane time the pretended Reistres were farre off, and Duke *Casimir* marched with the Prince of Conde.

To diuide the Duke of Alangon from these two heads, and frustrate the designs of the Prince of Conde, the Queene-mother comes againe to the Duke: she treats a suspension of armes for six moneths: and during the same, she giues him for hostages, the townes of Angoulême, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, and la Charrie: and for the Prince, Mezières. The King doth ratifie this truce: but the Gouernors of these places, for the most part refuse to yield them: neither will the Prince allow of it, for already there marched tenne thousand horse, six thousand Suisses, two thousand Lanquenets, three thousand French Harguebuziers, with foure great pieces of battery, and sixteene leffe, the which threatened to make their passage easie. This army made chiefe account of the money which Languedoc should furnish, and the Marshall *D'Anuille* had promised the Prince to meet them with good troops, & to bring the pay vnto the army: but no man appears, neither is there any newes of money. An affront which then had made them yeeld to any passible conditions of peace, if they had bene offered it in the beginning of these first confusions, and might haue transported the men of warre beyond the bounds of modesty and reason, if by a good and commendable discipline the Prince had not restrained the fouldiers insoulenes.

At their entry, those of Langres (seeking to crosse their passage through their territories) did presently see the Reistres to spoile all, to load their carts, and to burne the neighbour villages to ashes. Those of Dijon made some sallies, but they were fatal to some: others were content to salute them with their cannon, shot into the ayre. Cisteaux-Gilly,

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Murmuring against the king.

The Queene-mother sends voyages to the Duke.

A Germane army for the Prince of Conde.

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Gilly, a Castle depending on the said Abbey, and Nuis a small towne in Bourgongne, A were the first conquests of the Reistres, the Prince, and Lanquenets : where they learned by the slaughter and spoile which was made at Nuis, how troublesome a thing it is for a Prince (enemy to blood and spoile) to bee mastered by the greater number, being strangers in his armie.

The Reistres
begin to
march.

At Loudron the Reistres threaten the Prince to take another party, if he give them not ready money. Having contented them with hopes and good words, the armie passeth Loire, marcheth directly to the River of Allier, and takes Vichy by composition, a small towne vpon the passage. Thus these strangers did forage, whilst the King by a propo- B sition, gaue hope of a future peace, and to prevent surprisles, he studied to fortifie the places about Paris, whither the whole army threatned to come : for the effecting whereof he finds his ordinary lett, which was the want of money. The Parisiens remem- bered with what violence the King had lately forced them to yeeld to his demands : they now promise for their contribution fourteene hundred thousand frankes.

The Queen mother pursues this suspension of armes, she furnissheth the Duke of Al- ançon with very exquisite meats, sends him his great horses, and cauterh them to be proclai- med traitors, that would not yeeld to the Duke her sonne : amongst others, the inhabitants of Bourges and la Charite, offering Tours and Blois in exchange of the said towne. Those of Guise have their designe apart. He speaks boldly, that France hath no need of a truce : that they will fight with their foraine foe, and vpon this hope published, they build the pro- C ceeds which we shall see them shortly to vndertake. Amidst these common diuisions, a new confusion troubles the Court.

The King of
Navarre escapes
from Court.

The King of Nauarre, vnder colour of hunting, escapes from Paris with a small traine : and writes to the King from la Fere in Picardy (a towne belonging vnto him) That the apprehension of a new captivity, and the ordinary slanders of his enemies, are the causes of his retreat. The King excuseth himselfe, and would haue him returne : but hee had the fields at liberty. And seeing this proiect will not preuaile, he must trie another. Some bad Councillors, which gouerned the Prince of Conde, aduised him to passe the River of Al- lier, and speedily to ioyne with the Duke of Alancçon, leaving Duke Casimir on the other side the river, who should follow his ordinary march.

In the meane time the Duke of Mayenne attends them at the passage with the Kings army. This trick left the Reistres to the slaughter : but Casimir an aduised and courageous Captaine, lodgeth his men with aduantage, and attends the enemy. The Prince discou- ring their designe, turns towards them, and makes the Kings troopes retire to their lod- ging. The Auvergnacs fearing lest this army should passe the rest of the winter vpon their marches, make them to take the way of Bourbonnois, giuing them an hundred and fiftie thousand frankes. Here began the first parle of peace : and to this effect Letters and instru- tions were sent into Guienne, Languedoc, and Daulphine. Charoux a little towne in Bourbonnois, besides money lent, payed the charges of some dayes that the army stayed there, whilst they made question to yeeld.

The Duke of
Alancçon is
of the
army.

The eleuenth of March, the duke of Alancçon comes to the plaine of Soze, where in a general muster they numbred thirty cornets of Germane horse, ten of French, seuenteen ensignes of Suisses, seuen of Lanquenets, eight of French, and the Prince of Conde, de- liuering the white cornet into the Dukes hands, according to the articles of their Capitu- lation, he was solemnly proclaimed Generall of this mighty army. The King in the meane time, with the Queene mother, and their Councillors, omitted no practices to corrupt Duke Casimir, and to breake the treaty betwixt the Prince and the Duke. On the other side, the French, Reistres, Suisses, and Lanquenets, demanded nothing but battell, or to march towards Paris : but the duke of Alancçon was already assured of the best part of his demands : and the armies without any memorable exploits of warre, did onely spoile and D destroy France.

At length the Queen mother seeing matters almost brought to a desired end, she comes to the army the seuen and twentieth of April, where after diuers ambassages and contesta- tions, she granted in the end to duke Casimir a company entertained of an hundred men at armes, forty thousand frankes yearly pension, and two thousand crownes for the en- tertainment of a certaine number of horses. In consideration whereof, he did renounce the Article concerning Metz, Thoul, and Verdun. That of cleuen million of Frankes that

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A that were due vnto him, he should receiue two millions within six weekes, and a sufficient pawne of Jewels for the rest, and the reuenues of *Chasteau Thierry*. The Duke of Alancçon should haue for his part, Aniou, Touraine, and Berry, for an encrease of his portion.

The Prince of Conde should haue the gouernment of Picardy, the towne of Peronne for his abode, and two hundred souldiers in garison, free exercise of the pretended refor- med religion throughout the Realme, attending a free and generall Councell : Chambers in the Parliaments of both religions, for the administration of iustice : and at Montpellier for Languedoc, leaving them eight townes in guard, for the assurance of these articles, and of their persons : Aiguemortes and Beaucaire in Languedoc, Perigueux and le Mas of Verdun in Guienne, Nyons and Serres in Daulphine, Issoire in Auvergne, Seine, with the great Tower, in Prouence. Restitution to the King of Nauarre, Prince of Conde, Marshall D'Anville, and diuers others, of their goods, offices, and honors, which they en- joyed before the foure and twentieth of August 1572. Moreover, the King did auow by a solemne declaration, That the Massacres of the said yeere had bene committed against all right and law of armes. He ordained, That the children of such gentlemen as had been murdered, should be freed from all charges of warre : and such as were no Gentlemen, should be eased of subsidies for six yeares. He disannulled all iudgements giuen since the deace of Henry the second, in hatred of Religion : and lately against the Politiques. Hee freed the Admirall, and all others murdered, from infamy : restoring their children to all C their goods. He restored *La Mole*, *Cocornas*, and others, executed or condemned for contempt, to their honours. He aduowed the taking of armes by the duke of Alancçon and his associates, as taken for his seruice, giuing him the towne of La Charite for two yeares. He appointed a Conuocation of the Estates at Blois, in November following. He cleared the Marshalls of Montmorency and Colse of all accusations, held them for innocents, restored them to their former liberty, and acknowledged them for faithfull seruants to the King and officers of the Crowne. The Edict contained many other articles depend- ing vpon the former, and was allowed by the Parliament of Paris, the 14 of May.

So the Queene mother granted much to many, to giue nothing to any, but to the duke her sonne, who alone got more then all the rest together. Also Duke Casimir had no sooner turned his backe from France, but they began to find this peace to be counterfeite, be- ing made onely to disarme them, and to diuide the Commanders. The Prince of Conde did first feele the breach of these promises. They deny him his gouernment of Picardy : some seize vpon Peronne, and put in practice a strange piece of worke. Diuers enterpri- ses vpon the Princes person, make him to leaue the Duke of Alancçon, and to retire into Guienne to the King of Nauarre, whom those of Rochel receiued into their towne, with much honour and great triumph, the eight and twenty of Iune. All such of his traine as they suspected, were executed.

Vpon deniall of Peronne, the King granted to the Prince the towne of Saint Iean d'An- gely : but the inhabitants had a watch-word, and a mutuall oath (after the example of a private league made by threecore Gentlemen of Poitou, who would haue no exercise but E of the Catholike religion) to maintaine one other, and not to giue access to any one, of what Religion soeuer, to the end their quiet might no way be disturbed or molested. The Prince seeing himselfe to haue this repulse, hee caused some Capitaines to enter secretly, and then assured himselfe of the place. It was then found very weak for the assurance of his person against so many enemies as sought his death. He therefore discouers a certaine practice against him, but fatal to the author alone.

In the end of October he takes Brouage, a strong place neere vnto Rochel. The Ca- tholikes murmure against him, and accuse him as a disturber and breake of the peace. Con- trariwise, he demanded iustice against them that had seized on Peronne, as troublers of the F publicke quiet, and guilty of treason. The Protestants likewise complained vnto the King, That in diuers places they are disquieted in the exercise of their religion granted by the Edict : That many Preachers moue the people to sedition : That the Chambers of both Religions are not erected : That iustice is denied them : That both great and small ban- die against them. And they produce ample and certaine proofes of these complaints and grieues.

Then those of the House of Guise studied to discouer those terrible proiects which they had long hatched. The cloake of Religion was a plausible and fauourable pretext to ad- uance

Preparations of
a new troubles.

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Practices of the
House of Guise.

uance the designs of their pretensions. They had of many yeares (especially vnder *Francis* the second) disputed of their beginning, and of the rights which falsely they pretended to haue vnto this Crowne. *Charles* and *Henry* were become odious: the first by his violences, the last by his dissolutions. *Francis* Duke of Aniou, (for hereafter he shall carie that title) had lately troubled France, and was taken for a turbulent Prince: a title vnto the people. The diuision for matters of conscience, seemed sufficient to keepe backe the chiefe Princes of the blood: the rest were weake both of age and power. Those of Guise in the meane time, had neither forgotten bounty, courtesie, nor shew of zeale in piety, to winne the Catholikes hearts. The Queene Mother vied them for a purpose, that by the mutuall ruine of the one and the other, shee might maintaine her authority.

But their fauours within the Realme were not available. The Protestants crossed them infinitely: they must seeke a foraine support. They find it sitly at Rome, and in Spaine. The Pope gouernes Catholikes consciences, and great men doe still find in Religion a wel coloured pretext to trouble the State. The King of Spaine feared, lest the peace of this Realme should breed him warres. The Prince of Auranges, and many townes in the Low-Countries cast themselves already into the Kings protection, against the Spanish tyranny. They sollicite the Duke of Aniou instantly, and propound conditions vnto him, which make him to open both eares and mouth: and already many Gentlemen and Captaines armed for this quarrell. So both the Consistory at Rome, and the King of Spaine might well countenance these designs, grounded especially vpon the defence of the Catholike religion: the one for the zeale he caries to the rooting out of heresie: the other for the profit he reapes by our common diuisions.

And therefore those of Guise send their Agents to Rome, with instructions, and shew, That by the negligence of Kings issued from the House of Valois, descending from the line of *Hugh Capet* (in the which there appeared none but were dull, or heretikes) the Catholike religion decayed in this Realme: whilst that the Race of *Charlemagne* honored with the blessing of the Romane feate, which subsists not but by that Race (from the which they will make the world beleue, that they are descended in the direct masculine and lawfull line) remains despised, although it be ready to serue the Church faithfully, and that there liue at this day Princes of that Race, commendable for their vertues, ready to spend their blood and meanes, to augment the dignitie of the Church, and for the destruction of heretikes. And therefore they beseech the Consistory to approve and fauour their designs. Their chiefe designs were to ouerthrow the succession brought in by *Hugh Capet*, in the full assembly of the Estates, and to make the naming of a successor subject vnto the said Estates: to cause the Princes of the blood, that should oppose against the decrees of the Estates, to be declared incapable to succeed vnto the Crowne. And the residue, of what quality soeuer, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, degraded of their dignities: the money growing of their confiscations, to bee employed for the warre, and their bodies to be executed. A reward to be appointed for them that should root out such as could not be apprehended. To make the Estates protest to liue and die in the faith, set downe by the Councell of Trent. To cause it to be signed in the open Parliament. To reuoke and disannull all publike Edicts in fauour of the Protestants and their associates, and to pursue them to the death that should hinder the extirpation of heresies. To cause the King to reuoke the promises made vnto the Protestants, and to prescribe a certaine time vnto their associates, in the which they should present themselves before the Ecclesiasticall Iudges to be absolved, and then to be sent vnto the King, to purchase pardon of the crimes committed against his Maiestie. To cause the King to name a Lieutenant general, a Prince capable, of experience, and fit to encounter the rebellion of Princes, that should seeke to hinder the effect of the precedent articles, and who neuer had had part, society, nor communication with Heretikes, to whom both he and his ancestors had euer bene professed enemies: and to require his Maiesty to honour the Duke of Guise with that charge, being inued with all the perfections requisite in a great Captaine, and worthy of that Commission. To cause Iudges to be appointed to examine the crime committed by the Duke of Alençon, declaring himselfe chiefe of the Heretikes, authorizing the exercise of heresie: and forcing his Lord and brother to augment his portion. To cause the said Duke to come to the Court, with the King of Navarre and Prince of Conde: and by ordinary

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A ordinary and extraordinary forces, to seize vpon the Duke, King, Prince, and all others that had accompanied them, and followed them in their enterprises. To cause such Capitaines as the parishers should giue to the Duke of Guise, to put all Protestants, their adherents and complices, to the sword, both in the country and in walled townes. To subdue by force or intelligence the revolted Prouinces: to be masters of the field, to blocke vp the townes that were opposite, and to put all to fire and sword that would make head against them: and after this goodly and infallible victorie, hauing wonne the loue of the Clergy, Nobility, and People, to take exemplary punishment of the Duke of Aniou and his complices, then by the Popes consent and permission, to put the King and Queene into a Monastery, as *Pepin* his Ancestor did in former time to *Childeric*: and for an acknowledgement, and in fauour of the Romane Sea to abolish the liberties and priuiledges of the French Church.

These high and great proiects were hearkned vnto, receiued and fauoured in the Court of Rome, and from that time those of Guise did not cease to drame of the meanes to aduance the effects. But this was to reckon without their host. They haue compassed some of their conclusions, but the end proued quite contrary to their intents: wherein wee admire a most singular prouidence of the King of Kings, whereby he hath vnto this day miraculously balanced, and in the end by his singular grace fetled the Estate of this Realme. The Articles of this association were first drawne at Peronne in Picardy: but disguised with goodly shewes, to blind them: that would examine them more exactly: which were to maintain the Law of God, to restore the holy seruice thereof: To preserve the King and his Successors in the Estate, dignity, seruice, and obedience due vnto him by his subjects: To restore vnto the Estates of the Realme, their rights, preeminences, and ancient liberties.

And for the execution of these articles, a certaine forme of oath was propounded, insinuating paines of eternall damnation to the Associates, that for any pretext whatsoever should withdraw themselves from this League, and a bond for such as should be enrolled, to employ their goods, persons, and liues, to punish, and by all meanes to ruine the enemies and perturbers thereof, and to punish them that should faile, or make any delayes, by the authority of the head, as he should thinke good.

This done, there were nothing but Postes carrying the first newes of their designs. They cast many libels throughout the streets, in many good townes: they murmur that they are too much supported by the Edict: they practise some to serue as fire-brands to kindle a new warre: and vnder this plausible and commendable title of the name of the Church and diuine Service, the people (a fit matter to nourish ciuill diuisions) giue care to such as seeke to thrust them into mutiny. The King was daily aduertised of new complots. He found that this match did kindle a fire of perpetuall combustions: within his Realme. On the other side, he hated the Protestants, and would ruine them by degrees, but not by such instruments as wrought without his authority. His mother likewise hated them to the death, and greatly desired the ruine of the heads, being well content that these confusions should still diuide the French, so as holding the staffe in her hand, she might terrifie her children, and maintaine her authority, make warre, and giue peace whensoever she pleased. Thus the cause of the Duke of Alençon to come to Court, and the King to entertaine his subjects of both Religions, in hope of better concord, by meanes of this reconciliation: and to cut off all new factions, he deferred the generall Assembly of the Estates vnto the 15 of December following. He presumed likewise, that all his subjects, abhorring the ruine of townes, the desolation of Countreies, and the spoile of strangers, would gladly prefer the entertainment of a peace solemnly sworn, before the continuance of war: and by this meane, he should prevent all turbulent persons, and bridle the Protestants, whom he meant to consume otherwise then by open warre: whereby neither his predecessor, nor he himselfe had gotten any honourable triumphs.

The day (appointed for the Estates) comes, the King himselfe begins it. Hee laments the calamities of his Realme, whereof the tender age in the which his brother and himselfe were in the beginning of the se ciuill warres, may well iustifie them, that they were not the authors and mortuaries. He protests to haue no designe nor desire, but for the safety and quiet of his people, whose miseries he would redeem with the yce of his life. He conuokes the assembly to assist him in his holy resolution. To devise some meane to redeme the

X x x

The first league
at Peronne.The Duke of
Alençon recounted
to the
King.The beginning
of the Parlia-
ment.

1577

the lands of the Crowne, engaged for above an hundred millions of gold : to vnite themselves firmly together, to root out al seeds of partialities, to reform abuses, establish iustice, and to restore the Realme to the ancient dignity. *Birague* the Chancellor addes the rest : but the two maine points of his speech were to iustifie the Queen-mothers government, and to demand money. *Peter d'Espinae* Archbishop of Lions, and the Baron of Senecy are Speakers, the one for the Clergy, the other for the Nobility : and both conclude a public exercise of one onely religion in France. *Peter Perforis*, Aduocate in the Court of Parliament at Paris, Orator for the third Estate, insists especially for the vnion of all the Kings subiects in one religion, but by mild meanes, and without warre : he beseecheth the King to maintaine his people in peace, to reconcile his Princes, and exactly to examine the bad government of his treasure.

The King seemed to encline only to alter some articles in the last Edict of pacification, and not to abolish it quite : but he was needy, and feared that wherewith they threatened him : That no man would assist him, but vpon condition to make warre against the Huguenots. Thus the perswasions and promises of the Clergy and Nobility, prevailed more then those that preferred peaceable proceedings before violent ; making him resolute to armes, to root out all other exercise of religion but the Catholike, to banish all Ministers, Deacons, and Overseers of the pretended reformed Religion : and yet to take all his other subiects of the said religion into his protection, attending, that by better instructions they might be reclaimed to the bosome of the Church. But the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Conde, the Marshall of Montmorency, *d'Anville*, and other Noblemen both of the one and the other Religion, had well foreseen these conclusions, and refusing to assist at this pretended Parliament, concluded a nullity of all that should be decreed to prejudice the Edict of pacification, protesting that they were resolute to maintaine themselves in the rights, liberties and freedoms which the last Edict had granted them : That the troublers of the public quiet, and the sworn enemies of France, should find them in a iust defence, and they should answer before God and Men for all the miseries that should ensue thereby. For answer, it is ordained, that men should be sent to winne some to the Catholike Church, and all to the obedience of the Kings new Edict, tending to maintaine the Roman Religion, to root out all other exercise, to defend the King, and to preferre his people. The King thought by this opposition to stay this new faction which fortified it selfe daily. It was a great indiscretion to countenance an association and league, which vnder the ashes of the last warre, being yet hot, covered the coales of a generall flame. The King of Nauarre beseecheth the Estates, by the Duke of Montpensier (who was sent vnto him) not to infringe the Edict of peace, and to suffer then of the Religion to enjoy that which had bene so solemnly granted. He offers to submit himselfe, if they will shew him how he erres : But hee intreats them, that in a matter of so great importance, they will giue him time to thinke seriously thereon, and to attend the opinion of an Assembly of those of his Religion, and of the Catholikes associates, which shortly shall bee made at Montauban.

The Prince of Conde answers more sharply : That he doth not acknowledge them that are assembled at Blois, for the Estates of the Realm, but a conuenticle of persons corrupted by the sworn enemies of the Crowne, who haue solicited the abolition of the Edict, to the ruine and subuersion of the Realme : That if they had bene lawfully called, he would haue assisted for the sincere affection he beares to the Kings service, and the quiet of his Country : That he will neuer giue his consent to the counsels of the aurohrs of so many confusions which he foresees, whereunto he hath already knowne the Kings disposition to be repugnant, and a friend to vnion ; being the sure and principal meanes to preferre his Crowne : That he hath alwayes honoured the Clergy and Nobility, and will maintaine them with all his power : but he pities the people, whom these pretended Estates of Blois seeke to ruine.

The chiefe of the Politikes protest, That they do not cleaue to any other Religion then that of their fathers : but as touching a generall peace, they cannot allow of his resolution : To take from the Protestants the public exercise which had bene so solemnly granted them. The Duke of Montpensier (being returned) perswaded to haue the Edict confirmed. The third Estate presented a new petition vnto the King, beseeching him to vnite all his subiects in one religion, but without violence. Doubtlesse a king may wel ruine every priuate

The third Estate more in different and moderate.

The King of Nauarres requisites the Estates.

The Prince of Condes answer.

The declaration of the Politikes.

A priuate man, but not all mankind in generall. One succeeds another, and the children, (whose age and innocency doth naturally free them from the rigor and violence of armes) doe inherit the humours, passions and quarrels of their fathers.

The Protestants jointly beseech the King, not to suffer this assembly (which they cannot allow for a generall Parliament) to consult vpon the point of Religion due vnto a free Councell. The Estates (said the King) should neither be free, nor generall, if I should make this prohibition. And as they may demand what they please, so may you doe the like, and I promise you in the word of a King, and of an honest man, that whatsoever I ordaine, shall be for the contentment of all my subiects, and the quiet and peace of my Realme. In the meane time they consult how to leaue money for the warre. The King giues notice to his Gouvernors, and publisheth by his Letters patents ; That he is resolute to grant the Estates their requests, touching the exercise of one onely religion. And *Villegier* is sent to the Princes of the Empire, to diuert some from their affections to the Prince of Conde and his adherents : and to obtaine from others a leaue of Reistres. Thus the warre begins in Guienne.

The King of Nauarre attempts vpon Marmande, a town of his government, but without effect. The Duke of Mayenne comes for the King : and whilst he is the strongest in field, he batters, takes, and sacks, Thone-Carante, Marans, and other places thereabouts. During the Parliament, the Deputies of the Low Countries came to demand succours of the King, and the Duke of Anjou for protector of their liberties and priuiledges, against the tyrannous government of the Spaniards. He is now declared the Kings Lieutenant general. They giue him a mighty army, with the which (contrary to the oath taken by him in the obseruation of the accord and promise past with the Prince of Conde and the Duke *Casimir*) he besiegeth and takes La Charite by composition, and Ysire in Auargne by force, where the blood of the inhabitants, shed without pity by the Duke of Anjou, confirmed the Protestants in the bad opinion they had conceived of him.

Rochel crossed the practices of the contrary partie : whose happy exploits caused the Duke of Mayenne to lend forth a Navy to sea, vnder the command of *Lausac* : which presenting it selfe before the Isle of Re, retired, seeing the Islanders resolute to fight if they approached. The Rochelois, to encounter them, arme seuen ships, those of the Islands sue, and entreat the Estates of Holland and Zeland, vpon good assurance to ayde them with some great vessels, to withstand the force of this Fleet. The Nobility, by their example, inuite all others, and of all qualities, to charge themselves willingly for the maintenance of this army. The Duke of Mayennes first conquests make him proceed. And to make his enterprises vpon Rochel more easie, he comes before Brouage the 22 of Iune. It is a small square towne built in a marsh recovered out of the Sea, fortified during the third peace, & at that time ill furnished with men, victuals and munition : and besides, ill beloued of the Islanders about it. Those of Rochel, whom it doth greatly import for the preservation of their Estate, did greatly endamage the assailants, and cut off about 600 of their men in E short time. But a dissension happened, and was cunningly maintained betwixt the Nobility and the Rochelois : the Prince of Conde hauing vnder the conduct of *Clement* Admirall for the Rochelois) lost some vessels, being runne on ground, the rest being dispersed, and thereby the Isle of Oleron lost ; the Kings approach to Poitiers, the supply of Suisses in the campe ; *Lausac* comming into the Rode of Chef-de-By near vnto Rochel (where he burnt one of their principall ships, and tooke another, but without the losse of a man,) the death of *Sore* chiefe of the besieged, slaine with tenne or twelue others in a fall by night ; the number of sicke and hurt which they had to feed, the ruine of their forts, the enemies approach, the want of victuals, and the threats of the Duke of Anious comming, who would intreat them as he had done the inhabitants of Iffoire : all these considerations made them enter into capitulation, by the which they departed on the 28 of August with their armes and baggage, leaving the place at the victors deuotion.

This happy successe should haue made the Duke of Mayenne aduance with his armie : but the progresse was dangerous for the Kings Estate : who to maintaine himselfe must proceed after another fort. His manner of life was contrary to the violence of armes : hee was of a soft and delicate nature, impatient of labor, a friend to rest, feasts, dancing, & other pleasures, which peace brings to them that are giuen to delights. So the peace which had bene plotted during the siege of Brouage, was concluded at Poitiers, and was received

X x x

The Protestants supplication.

The first shall waite.

By the Duke of Anjou, and

Of Mayenne.

The siege of Brouage.

The peace of Poitiers.

in

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in the end of September, with so great ioy of either party, as the Prince of Conde caused A it to be proclaimed by Torch-light in Rochel the same night it came: although it was not so beneficiall for his party at the first. This last Edict cut off some articles of the former: made no mention of strangers: left their consciences free, yet without exercise, but in townes and places whereas then it was publicly vsed in Gentlemens houses that had high Iustice and Sees, in what assemblies they pleased: for others of meane qualitie, a certaine number, and in euery Bailywicke a fit and commodious place for the publike exercise of the pretended reformed Religion. So the proud designs of the Duke of Guise were made frustrate for this time, and stayed for some yeares, vntill that by the death of the Duke of Aniou, we shall see them reuiued, but in the end to the authors confusion. B

Articles of said execution.

The partialities and leagues made within the Realme, in the which many, both great and small, had farre engaged their goods and reputations, were the cause of great difficulties, in the execution of the Edict. Those of Languedoc especially (from whom the Marshall d'Anille had estranged himselfe) did ioyntly, with the other Prouinces, sollicite the King of Nauarre, to obtaine an explanation of many ambiguous and doubtfull articles. So a whole yeare was spent in instances, pursuits, and declarations.

The conference at Nerac betwixt the Queene mother and the King of Nauarre, decided many difficulties: but their spleenes could not be so easily tamped, and sometimes in one Prouince, sometimes in another, the Edict was diuerfly and many wayes broken. The most factious were very loath to lay asides armes: The Politikes did daily diuide themselves from the Protestants: the Protestants fought to keepe themselves from surprisles, and full of distrust, maintained themselves quietly in the midst of many stormes which threatened them. C

The Kings behaviour during the peace.

As for the King, experience hath now taught him, that the power of man cannot force mens consciences: that spirituall diseases must haue spirituall cures: that faith is not planted in the heart by violence: that we must attend from heauen the conuersion of them that are strayed, and that the Prince is a patterne whereto his subjects willingly conform themselves. He therefore shewes himselfe in publike, for a mirror of reformation and pietie, and as a testimony that his greatest desire is to conforme the diuisions in his Realme, he builds many Monasteries, Chappels, and Oratories: vndertakes many pilgrimages on foot: confirms the Brotherhood of Penitents, erects the Order of Hieronimites, is daily conuersant with the Capuchins and Feuillants, called Iesuits; and by their instructions & directions erects many Companies, he carries a Crucifix and Beads in procession, with a whip at his girdle: he causeth many bookes of deuotion to be printed. And to conclude, he leads a life more besetting a Cloyster then a Royall Court: and following the example of Lewis the eleuenth his Predecessor, hee institutes the Order of the Knights of the Holy-Ghost, binding the to conditions which carie a strict bond to the Church of Rome. D

The Order of the Holy Ghost created.

He pretended to giue diuers blows with one stone: to vnite great men by an inuolable concord and amitie, for the good of themselves, the State, and their country: To please the Clergy-men, and to lead all the Clergy in a leash: to winne the peoples hearts who are fed with shewes: to suppress the grudging and the ill will which the intolerable oppression of his subjects bred, to remedy the extraordinary expences of his Court in vnuall excesses, and for the entertainment of a number of minions and horse-leeches, to whom they must rather weigh then tell money: but chiefly to pull downe the Protestants, to vndermine them, and by this lure of worldly greatnesse, to withdraw the chiefe heads, who could not attaine to this high and stately degree of Knighthood, but in renouncing of their Religion.

Henry (for trumpets of his deuotion) had the Fathers of the Capuchins, Feuillants, and Iesuites. Don Bernard Feuillant, and Edmond Anger a Iesuit, gaue him publicly in their Sermons, and primarily in confessions and companies, the testimonies of the most religious Prince, the most courteous, and the most careful to vnite his subjects, first in their obedience to God, and then to him, that euery France hath knowne in many ages. But wee shall see in the end most of their tongues sold for money: and others, who making profession to come into the Pulpit to instruct the people, shall basely contradict and controule these goodly Oratours, and by a contrary language, suborne the peoples affections, subuert their senses, and as it were with little linkes of gold, draw them after them, tyed by the nose, tongue, and eares.

The

1580

Mortue of the
hellion against
the burg.

A The feasts, masks, stately mariages, sumptuous pastimes, and the new impositions to maintain them, led the first dance of rebellion. The Queene mother, and those of Guise, seeing the King drowned in these delights of Court, did willingly entertaine him in that humour, that either busying himselfe to number his beads, or to tread the measures of a dance, they might hold the reins of government, and dispose of affaires without controule. But he knew well the ambition of these men. He was ialous of his royall authority, and in the midst of his delights and pleasures, their preference was suspect vnto him. He was more pleased with the familiarity of meane men, whom hee had aduanced to exceeding greatnesse: and still he set some minion in sentinell, to watch if they should attempt any thing against his royall dignity. Those of Guise are not idle, they watch for occasions, they receiue such as are male-content, they practise men of their owne humours and dispositions, and fit for their designs: and can cunningly promise cure and help for those vicers and sores which the people of France doe generally complaine of.

These first discontents of subjects, oppressed with insupportable charges, and the impatience of the Clergy, who see their enemies to enioy a firme and solid peace, which did newly strengthen and close vp that old wound which had lately imbrued all France, made them easily to reuiue the league of Peronne, and vnder two goodly pretences (religion, and the ease of the people) to discouer the designs which they had long before conceiued. All encounters made the way easie both within and without: within, their hearts disposed to reuolt: without, the Spaniards greatnesse, who had now invaded the Realme of Portugal, and by this vlsipation had a firme meanes to disperse his Indian gold in France. And the Duke of Aniou made war for the Estates of Flanders and other vnited Prouinces, which had called him to free them from the tyranny and domination of the Spaniards. But these discourses belong to the Spanish, Portugall, and Flemish Historiours, and may not enter into this Volume, which inuies vs to an end.

The last Edict (as the former) accorded some townes vnto the Protestants, for hostages and sureties of his word, during the terme of six yeares. Now the King summons them to deliuer them, seeing the time prefixed was almost expired. But the peace had bene so often broken, as so short a time could not quench the fire-brands of warre, nor giue a full execution to the Edict. To content them, the King grants a prolongation for the retaining of these townes for some yeares. This grant serues the Princes of the league for a new motiue of troubles and disobedience. They giue it out generally, That the King fauours Heretikes, and that he will bring in heresie. They consider not, that he could not but by force (the cunct whereof was doubtfull) recover the said places, being strong and peopled with numbers of Protestants. The King of Nauarre sees asafare off, that the heauens are ouer-cast, and foresees that this storme doth threaten his Estate with a horrible tempest: they sollicite him to ioyne with this party: they make him goodly offers in shew, but all was but to lull him asleep, or to cast vpon him all the causes of the future miseries, and to make him more odious and detestable. He giues the King intelligence thereof, and puts him in mind of the aduertisements hee gaue him in the year 1576, vpon the treaties of the league in Spaine and at Rome. He sees this myne is ready to breake, and that it is now time to think on his affaires. He assures himselfe of the amities and friendships of England, Denmarke, and Germany.

But suddenly there falls a new accident, which breakes vp all the bankes that restrained the ouer-flowing of the League. The Duke of Aniou, whether his riot in the Low-countries, or grieue to see his designs ouerthrowne, or the wicked practices of Saleado (drawn in peeces since by foure horses) or some other secret attempt against his life, had shorned his dayes: he dies at Chasteau-Thierry. Whatsoeuer it were, such as were employed to free this man tortured, and to discouer the secret intentions of his master, were afterward vnworthily entreated, and ransomed by the chiefe of the league.

The Duke of
Aniou dies.

This death aduanced the King of Nauarre one degree. The King suffers the Court of Parliament to receiue the Roles in May, that were presented vnto him, (according to the custome of the Princes and Peeres of France) in quality of the first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France. Most part of the Realme cast their eyes vpon him, as the Sun-rising.

This on the one side doth amaze the authors of the league, and on the other side, it presseth them to trie their fortunes now, whilst the King remains alone of his Line,
X x x without

1584

without hope of issue, and the King of Nauarre farre off, as it were exiled, and in shew excluded from euer passing the Loire.

They assemble the heads of their Houfe at S. Denis, and presently make the seeds of their counsells to appeare in Picardy, Champagne, and Bourgogne. They make the towns to abhorre the Huguenots yoke, which (say they) the King of Nauarre prepares for them. They talke not of the King but with contempt: they cast forth Libels and shamelesse Pasquils: they disgrace him in companies as a *Sardanapalus*, and idle *Chilperic*, drunk with prodigalities and dissoluteness, and for a third crowne (his deuice shewing that hee attended the last in heaven) they were ready to shauie his crowne, like vnto a Monke in a cloister. The people being corrupted and drawne from their obedience, by the disorders of the Court, suffer audacious mutinies to creepe into their hearts. But let vs in few words see the conception, the deliury, and the growing of this league in Paris, which shall cast forth store of branches into all the quarters of the Realme. *Roche-blond* a Citizen of Paris, a turbulent and factious man, the first Tribune of this League, encouraged by some great men, and supported by the chiefe ministers thereof, ioynes with *Preuost* the Curate of S. Seuerin, *Bucher* Curat of Saint Benoist, and *Lannoy* a Chanon of Soissons, sometimes a Minister, but fled from Sedan for adultery. These foure Arch-leaguers hauing banded all their wits to ruine the Houfe of Bourbon, and to aduance that of Guise, sow a pernicious seed of rebellion throughout the City and frame a petty Councell of the chiefe Citizens, who take the charge of the sixteene quarters of the city and suburbs, to practise all they could, and to entertaine them with discourses grounded vpon the malice of the time, full of schisme, heresie, and tyranny. This petty Councell, compounded of *Roche-blond*, *Compans* a Merchant, *Cruce* a Proctor, *La Chapelle*, *Luchart* a Commissary, and *Bussy le Clerc* a Proctor, brought their deliberations and proiects to the grand Councell, which consisted of Doctors, Curats, Preachers, and other men of marke.

In short time they make a great brotherhood, and finding themselves strong, they aduertise the Duke of Guise, of the affection of good Catholikes of Paris (that is the name which the Leaguers challenged to themselves) and their zeale to the preservation of Religion, and the rooting out of the contrary, and the ruine of tyranny. Hee confers with his brethren, and sends both to giue and to take an oath in an Assembly held in Rheims place, at Paris. Then the most factious are sent to the townes and Prouinces of the Realm, with good instructions, to ioine new confederates to their body, vnder a pretext to fight against heresie and tyranny. Then might we haue seene the chiefe pillars ouerthrowne that support a Prince, loue and authority: and hatred and contempt to supply their places. The Preachers publicly in all places did tearme the King a tyrant, and fauourer of heretikes. The people did applaud them: and from this deadly hatred which they had conceiued against the King, his Councell and fauourites, sprung that fury which was soone after dispersed ouer all the body of France.

The better to countenance this league, they present it to Pope Gregory the 13, that hee might bless it, and declare himselfe the Godfather, as made for the ornament and support of the Catholike and Apostolike Romane Church. Gregory was well pleased they should attempt any thing against the Huguenots: but he did not approue those popular rebellions which were made against a most Christian and Catholike King, neither would he be the firebrand of a war which he could not quench. And so hee sent the Deputies backe without any answer. The League impatient to attend the resolution of Rome, layes open his designs, and makes them plausible, causing one of the chiefe Princes of the blood to be an actor, and to cary the bable. They publish, that the King (dying without children) hath no heire nor successor but the Cardinal of Bourbon, a Prince broken in years, without hope of issue, or to suruiue the King, who was found, lusty and young. But they secretly seale on the simple peoples minds, with that vnjust usurpation of the *Capets*, vpon the heyres of *Charlemagne*: they print books, cast forth diuers libels, yea some Preachers make it the text of their Sermons. Two principall fire-brands inflame the League. The Assembly made by the King of Nauarre and the Deputies of that party at Montauban, to resolute the means to maintaine themselves, if the League (abusing the Kings name and authority) should seek to offend them. And the voyage of the Duke of Espernon to the King of Nauarre, to confer priuately with him in the Kings name.

The chiefe of the League presume, that the King meanes to arme, and to employ the

Trumpets of rebellion.

The League presented to the Pope.

But not approved.

Assented at Montauban.

D'Espernon voyage into Germany.

1585

A King of Nauarres forces against them. They seek to preuent him, and to that intent they send forth many Commissions: but lest any should controule them, they cloak them with the Kings name, wherewith they maintaine themselves to be well allowed, as a thing done for his Maiesties seruice. The King in the end of March disauowes them, and forbids all leauies of men of warre. To iustifie themselves and their rising, they publish the moouies of the Cardinal of Bourbon (who notwithstanding seru'd them but as a cypher) with the Princes, Noblemen, Townes and Catholike Commonalties, to oppose themselves against heretikes. That they had contemned the resolution of the Estates, to make warre against heretikes, and to disannull all Edicts made in their fauour. That the succession of B the King of Nauarre (whereof he hath conceiued a great hope since the death of the D. of Anjou) would cause great confusions within this Realme. That preparations were already made both within and without. That by an accord made at Madebourg the fiftenth of December last past, the troops of the King of Nauarre, the Prince of Conde, the Queen of England, the King of Scots, the Count Palatin, the Dukes of Saxony, Pomerania, and Wirtemberg, of the Landgrau of Hessen, the Swisses and other Protestants should jointly enter into France, before the fiftenth of April next following. That the Huguenots would not yeeld vp the townes which they held for the assurance of the last Edict of peace. That there is great abuse in the prouision of offices, in the leauies of money, and in the inuention of exorbitant imposts.

C Then they complain of the minions in Court, who abusing the Kings name and bounty, keepe the Princes and Noblemen that were truly Catholike, from all access to his Maiesty, perswading him that it is necessary for the preservation of his Estate, to diminish their authority: they braue the Nobility, dispose of governments in fauour of their followers, waste the treasure, oppress the people, restrain the liberty of Iustice, ruine the Clergy with tenths and extraordinary charges. And then they declare, That these iust moouies, and the suddennesse of the mischief had thrust them into armes: the small credit they had with the King, hauing no other means to let him vnderstand their complaints: and in the end they protest, that their taking arms was only to restore the Church of God to her true and ancient dignity, vnder the exercise of one Religion throughout the D Realme and Commonwealth: To restore the Nobility to their honour and freedome: to ease the people of extraordinary charges inuented since the reigne of Charles the ninth, and not to employ the money leauied thereby but for the Kings seruice: to require the King to provide for his succession against the publike and priuate calamities, which the pretensions and contentions for the same might cause: and to chafe from Court such as abused his fauour and authority. In the end, they protest and vow, not to lay downe arms vntill their proposition be fully executed: and that his Maiesty had prevented the danger, the feare whereof hath made them to take armes. These false impressions had wonderfully incensed the people: but when as they talke to them of a Synode held at Montauban, and of a Diet in Germany, where they comploted to inuade France, and to chase away both E Masse and Priests: they take the words of these passionate men for Oracles of truth. They presse to enter into the League, such as demanded nothing but change, bankrupts, men indebted, malefactors, wicked and notorious persons.

To conclude, such as had need of ciuill war to liue vpon the Common, follow the Guisens Ensignes: the double pistolets of Spaine begin to shine, the Captaines arme and goe to field. But the Huguenots are at Rochel, in Languedoc, Guienne and Dauphine: and they goe to seek to them in Picardy, Champagne, Bourgogne and Prouence. Marfeilles is surpris'd the ninth of April, by the practices of *Daries* the second Confull: but suddenly recovered, and *Daries* hanged. *Mandelot* seized on the Citadell of Lions the second of May. Orleans shuts her gates against the Duke of Montpensier, sent by the King, to assure himselfe of the towne. The other townes rise: the factious worke, and the army of the League marcheth towards Paris: euery day they are fortified with some new troope, and euery day some towne declare it selfe enemy.

The King in the mean time made no warre but by writing, thinking by mild and gentle means, to pacifie them that spake too proudly. Hee shewes by his declaration, the zeale he hath alwayes borne to the Catholike Religion, and the necessity that forced him to a peace, finding all the Estates of his Realme tired with the calamities past: that peace was the onely means to vnite his subiects in one religion, to establish iustice, to reforme abuses and

The Kings declaration.

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and manners, to ease the Clergy, honour the Nobility, and to free the people from oppression: that he giues no benefices but to Prelates indued with learning and piety. The Nobility should be reconciled, leaving their spleene and distrusts. The people freed from denouncing warre, should eate their bread in peace: and yet many both impudent and rash, more hypocrites then religious, gather by this peace, that he secretly fauours heretikes: the which neuer entered into his thoughts. That he neuer fauored the succession of a King, who may prejudice the Catholike religion. But to vnder take a quarrell for the royall succession, whilest he is yet aliue, and in hope to haue issue: that were to distrust of Gods bounty, and (as it were) degrade him from the estate whereunto God hath called him. That hee hath honoured (with the greatest and worthiest offices of the Crowne) those Princes that B complaine to bee debarred his fauour. (And indeed the Duke of Guise was Lord Steuard of France, Gouvernor of Brie and Champagne, and euery one of the same House advanced to a government.) Then hauing promised to restore the Church to her beauty, to giue content to the Nobility, and to ease the people, he entreats, coniuers, exhorts, and commands all Clergy-men, Gentlemen, Parliaments, and Townes corporate, to separate themselves from that which may hinder his intention, to abandon all leagues and affiliations, and to write themselves vnder his obedience.

Moreover, the King writes to the King of Nauarre, That he should containe himselfe with patience, to the end the people may know whom to blame, as the motives of these new combustions: assuring him of his loue, and that hee will neuer forget his interest no more then his owne: against them who (vnder goodly shewes, attempt against his person and Crowne, to make them great with his losse, and the whole ruine of his Estate. C The King of Nauarre obeyes, and letting passe all occasions to arme, he protests notwithstanding, That (seeing the sword ready to strike his Lord and Brother) he will prevent the danger.

And whereas he is accused of heresie, he answers; That he was borne vnder the toleration of two religions in France: that hee will eaue that wherein he was bred, when by a lawfull Council they shall shew him another truth then that which he beleues: and therefore he is no heretike, nor yet relapse, seeing he was not fallen from his first opinion. That he is no enemy to the Catholikes, for that when the Edicts had granted liberty of conscience, he presently laid downe armes: that in all places hee maintaines his subjects in the same liberty as he found them after the decease of his mother: that at the pretended accord of Magdebourg, which the Preachers of the league publish in their pulpits, as an imaginary assembly, and fit to be spoken by a Montebank, the deceit appears plainly in that they name (in the extract published by them) the Ambassadors of the Elector Palatine, and of the Prince of Anranches, when of the Elector was deceased about a year before the terme they specified, and the Prince slaine at Delfe foure moneths before: that hee hath requested of the King a prolongation of the townes which hee holds for assurance of the last Edict, and will deliuer them before the time, so as the League lay aside armes, and yeeld vnto the King the places they had seized: that whereas they declare him incapable of the Crowne, it toucheth him very neare; yet doth he thinke least of it, hoping that God by his bounty will long preserve the King, for the good of his Realme, and will giue him issue, to the griefe of all his enemies. That those which by their declaration terme him detrac- D tion of the Kings death, a troubler of the State, and an enemy to the Catholikes, haue falsely and wickedly liyed, beseeching the King to giue him leaue to end this quarrell with the Duke of Guise, one to one, two to two, or ten to ten: without further troubling himselfe or afflicting any of his people: but no man vnder takes this lye, no man accepts of this challenge. Against this first insolvency of the league hee should oppose other armes then a pen; another Cuirasse then a Penitents weeds, another countenance then doubtfull and trembling. The authority of an assured brow, the constancy of a manly courage, a resolution fit for a royall Maiesty, should haue dispersed this warre of Gyants, and suppressed these mutinous Legions. But the Queene mother (accustomed to fish in a troubled stream) winkt at the Duke of Guise. She was well pleased with these broyles: she was contented the Duke should terrifie the King, to make him abandon the Protestants, and to force him to banish his new minions from Court, who had brought her in disgrace with the King her sonne: (he had now sequestered her from a great part of the affaires, he held her, as it were confined in her houses without the Loure) to the end she might be fought vnto, to auoid

The King of
Nauarres de-
claration.

A great error
of State.

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A auoid the blowes of him that was ready to strike. Her ambition moued her thereunto, rather then any desire she had to aduance the Duke: to crosse both the King and Duke, and to bring disorder and confusion into the State; and to stand alone in the midst of these furious tempests.

The League might easily haue beene ouerthrowne. In the beginning they had but a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot in field, and the greatest part knowing that these troubles concerne the King and his Estate, retired themselves in time. Most of the townes wauered betwixt obedience and rebellion: some remained in their fidelity, the rest might haue been assured with small force. But Katherine terrifies him most of all. You haue (saith she) to doe with the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Sauoy, with B some Princes of Germany, with the Catholike Cantons of the Suisses, who renounce your alliance, and with all the House of Lorraine. They number five and twenty Prouinces, and great Commanders in this party: your best townes are engaged, all are resolute to hazard goods, persons, and liues, to saue religion from shipwracke. Thus this poore Prince is terrified: he thinks the Duke of Guise is at his heeles, and holds the Capuchins Cloister to be more safe for him then his Loure. He is not the same man that vanquished his enemies at Iarnac and Montcontour, he wants courage, he desires nothing more then to purchase the Dukes fauour: and promiseth, that for a peace hee will giue them a good part of his kingdom. The Duke of Guise, a Prince of great experience, discrete, valiant, C and worthy to be numbred amongst the bravest Captains, knows the King is full of feare, and sees that the lustre of his armes shines out all. His courage swells through the Kings childish feare: he continues his course, and begins to hope for more then hee had pretended. He therefore demands much, and his request ioynes his owne private interest with the publike: he beseecheth the King to make an irrevocable Edict, for the extirpation of heresies, to take away the townes held by the Huguenots by force, to renounce the protection of Geneva, to allow of their armes, and to ioine his vnto theirs. Which was as much to say, of a King to make himselfe a partisan.

The Duke of
Guise fortified
by a peace

The King makes a counterfeit peace with them, and by his Edict of the 18 of Iuly, reuokes all other made in fauour of the Protestants: he commands their Ministers to depart D the Realme, and to all his subjects within 6 moneths, to make profession of the Catholike Religion, or to auoid the Country. Hee approves the Leaguers armes, as leaued for his seruice, allows of their pretexts, and by secret articles concluded at Nemours, contents them in all matters; onely with this condition, To leaue the League, and instantly to lay downe armes: a trap whereby they should in the end be taken. As for their security, they left it to the Kings good pleasure; yet would they haue in their powers, the towne of Chalons, Thoul, Verdun, S. Disier, Reims, Soissons, the castle of Dion, Beaune, Rue in Picardy, Dinan and Concq in Britany: they caused to be payd to the King 20,000 crowns, and two third parts for the strangers which they had leaued: they had a discharge for a hundred six thousand three hundred and forty crownes, eight solz, and three deniers, which they E had taken vpon the generall receipts. They obtained an hundred thousand crownes to build a Citadell at Verdun: and entertainment for guards on horsebacke for all the Princes of the League.

To conclude, the extorsions, robberies, burnings, profanations, and other insolencies which such armes draw after them, deuoured more flesh in three moneths than this warre continued, wasted more far, and sucked more blood from the poore people (for whose ease they had so often protested to haue taken armes) then the ordinary charges could haue consumed in many yeares. This outrage was the cause of seuen and twenty Edicts, to discharge those millions of gold which this fury had wasted, to the peruerting of Iustice, policy, and the treasure.

F A rash enterprise ruines it selfe when it finds resistance, but if the attempters find that they are feared, their impunity grows confident. This peace had made a great breach in the King authority: but they had extorted it by force, not three dayes before hee had proclaimed them rebels and guilty of treason: they might then easily iudge, that he would hatch an egge whereof should spring some notable reuenge. Doubtlesse Henry determined it: but the three brethren, who were the chiefe Architects of this conspiracy, kept themselves apart, and could not be caught in one net: and to maintaine themselves, they had no better expedient then by armes. They make the King resolute to war against

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against the Protestants: they shew him the facility thereof, three mornings (say they) will end it: We have the assistance of all Christian Princes, the Germane forces will march no more for the King of Navarre, a poore Prince, without money and without credit. The Queen of England shall have worke enough to resist the Spaniards attempts (the Spaniard prepared then that great army against England, which wee shall fee dispersed with small resistance, like a puffe of winde) and their strongest places will parlee at our first approaches.

Warre against
the Protestants

Let vs make warre (saith the King) against them in Gods name. I will entertaine three armies: one in Guienne, another about mine own person, and the third vpon the frontier, against the Huguenots whom the Huguenots expect out of Germany, there wants nothing but money: the charge amounts to foure hundred thousand crownes a month. I have by your aduice broken the peace (saith he to the best of the Clergy, of the Parliament, and of the Citizens of Paris, being assembled at the Louure) assure me now of means to make warre. And afterwards he said to the Cardinall of Guise: The heads of the Clergy are they which haue most importuned me to warre: it is no reason I alone should beare the charge of that which redounds to the publicke. I assure my selfe you will not faile to assist me. And to the first President (notwithstanding the Parliament had lately verified the Letters patents, whereby the King condemned the authors of this rebellion as traytors) I haue found so much zeale and affection in you, to cause mee to reuoke the last Edict of peace, as I assure my selfe you will find reasons sufficient to perswade them of your faculty to forbear their entertainments, so long as the warres shall continue. And then to the Prouost of Merchants he said: The city hath shewed it selfe most affectionate to the breach of the Edict: they must be as willing to contribute to the charges of the warre. Goe presently, and assemble the body of your city, and make mee an imposition of two hundred thousand crownes.

Without doubt euery one of these was very willing to haue warre, but loath to feele the discommodities it brought. They begin to find that the most preiudiciall peace is better then the most triumphant and victorious warre. Yet the League will haue war: and euen they, whose forefathers were wont to cary it beyond the seas into Asia, Africa, and to the end of the world, doe now nourish it in their owne country. But the authors thereof could not stand but in the midst of a general confusion.

The King of Navarre seeing this cloud ready to breake vpon his party, complains that the King without consideration of the priuate interest he hath in this last reuolt, hath made a peace with his enemies, and hath armed them with his own forces and authority, against his Estate, his blood, and himselfe. He layes open by a publicke declaration, the causes which moued the League to take armes, the vanity of their pretexts, the fruits which all France may expect by the treaty of Nemours: & then with the Prince of Conde his cousin, the Marshall D'Anuille (hereafter Duke of Montmorency, by the death of his eldest brother, and in the following reigne Constable of France) and other Noblemen, Gentlemen, Prouinces, Townes and Commonalties of both Religions, he protests, by a lawfull and necessary defence, to maintaine the fundamentall lawes of Families, and the Estate and liberty of the King and the Queene his mother. Was it not sufficient for these Princes to haue the King and League against them, but they must bee charged with a new assault from beyond the mountaines? Sixtus the fifth, a more violent man then his Predecessor, casts out his lightning against these two Henries, King of Navarre, and Prince of Conde: he excommunicates them, degrades them and their successors from all dignities, namely their pretensions to the Crowne of France, exposeth their Countries and persons in prey to the first that should seize on them.

Sixtus the fifth
excommunicates
the King
of Navarre and
Prince of
Conde.

The Popes Bull
declared null
and of no effect.

The Court of Parliament finds this act to be rash, insolent, strange, and farre from the modesty of former Popes, and sayes vnto the King, that therein they find nothing like to the Apostles successor. The Registers of the Court, nor yet antiquity did not teach them, that the Princes of France were euer to seeke iustice at Rome, or that subjects did euer take knowledge of their Princes religion. Seeing then the new Pope, in stead of instruction, studies nothing but destruction, and that he changeth his sheepe-hooke into a fearful fire-brand, to ruine those wretches whom he should winne vnto the Church, the Court could not admit of this Bull, so pernicious for all Christendome, and derogating from the Sovereignty of the Crowne of France. The Princes likewise protest against the said Bull, and

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A and appeale from it, as abusive and scandalous, vnto the next free and lawfull Councell: they will proue (sayd they) that Sixtus the fifth, calling himselfe Pope, terming them hereticks, hath falsely and wickedly lyed. This opposition was set vp in Rome the sixth of Nouember. Thus the Parliament grew resolute against this Bull: but it yielded easily in other matters which did but impair the affaires. For the fifteenth of October they allowed of the Kings Declaration, which imposed confiscation of body and goods, against such as without the warrant of the Catholike Princes had opposed their forces against the League: and reuoked the terme of six moneths granted by the Edict of Iuly, to fifteene dayes after the said Declaration.

B To crosse this Edict, the King of Navarre, by a Declaration of the last of Nouember, doth feize, and gives commissions to sell all the fruits, rents, reuenues, mouebables, debts, and all other profits whatsoever, of the inhabitants of townes, where the Edict of Iuly, touching the six moneths, and of October, touching the abbreviation to fifteene dayes, had bene receiued, published and executed: and likewise of Gentlemen and others carying armes with the Leaguers and their adherents: as also of the Clergy resident in the said townes, or contributing for their party, and to let out their lands to them that would giue moft. His words and deeds were all one: for presently his people lay their hands to worke. Saint Mesmes keepe the Marshall Matignon in breath. Laul chargeth him in Xaintonge, and raiseth the seize of Taillebourg, where the Ladies of Tremouille (the mother and the

Open warre.

C daughter) were besieged. The Vicont of Turrenne ouer-runes Limosin, and for a gage of his inroades takes the Bishopricks of Thules. The Duke of Mercœur, on the other side, thinke with two thousand men to doe wonders in Poitou: but there must be a proportion betwix him that forceth, and him that he means to force. The Prince of Conde makes head against him, and not onely driues him from Fontenay, but also makes him, for his better safety, retire farre into Britany with losse and disgrace. Being freed from this incumbrance, he besiegeth Brouage, and had already brought it to that necessity, as the most resolute were ready to yeeld when as newes came vnto him, that three Captaines, du Halot seruant to the King, Le Fresne enemy to the Earle of Brisack, Gouernor of Angers, and Rochemorte, partisan to the King of Navarre, had seized on the Castle of Angers, one of the strongest places of the Realme, guarded by a Captaine and twelue souldiers. The enterprife was well made, well executed, but not so well continued: for Du Halot came too soone into the towne, protesting that he had taken the Castle for the Kings seruice. They detain him prisoner, and besiege the castle, whither the whole country comes.

The voyage of
Angers.

At night they demand to parle with Fresne. He as ill aduised as the first, comes forth vpon a little bridge. A Harguebuzier makes an offer to shoot at him: Whereupon hee seeks to returne: but Rochemorte with his company, fearing to bee forced by the multitude that came running, drawes vp the bridge. Le Fresne hangs by the chaines to pull it downe: but the townsmen cut off his hands, and he falls into the ditch, where he was slain by a Saggie they kept there. Du Halot was presently executed within the Towne. E These two being dead, they demand of Rochemorte for whom hee holds? For the King of Navarre, said he. Hereupon they cast vp a trench against the Castle, attending the Duke of Joyeuse the Kings brother in law. During these broyles and troubles Rochemorte (slumbering one day in one of the windowes of the Castle) was there slaine with a Harguebuzier shot.

The Prince aduertised of the surprise of the Castle, and of Rochemorts answer: but not of that which happened since, leaues Brouage: and to oppose sufficient forces against the League, he marcheth with about eight hundred masters, and twelue hundred Harguebuziers on horse-backe, passeth Loire at Roiffers, betwixt Saumur and Angers, chargeth home to the suburbs, forceth some barricadoes, and spends a whole day in skirmishes: but he heares no newes from the Castle, neither for the alarme in the towne, nor the noise of his troops. No man appears: no answer, no signe is made: the actors were buried in their enterprife, and sixtene souldiers remaining, had already capitulated. Doubtlesse too much courage, and too little consideration (a dangerous oversight in any great Commander) had engaged the Prince on this side the Riuer of Loire, amongst many armies of enemies, hauing no bridge at his deuotion, without boats to repasse, or any hope of succour. Then that cheerfull hope which had brought that little army, turns into confusion and disorder: for the Duke of Mayenne had passed the Loire at Orleans, with fifteene hundred

The castle of
Angers yielded.

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died horse; Reistres and French, to cut off the Princes way, if he repassed the water. The Duke of Epiernon and the Marshall *Biron* kept Beaulieu towards Bonneau, to meet with him. *La Chastre* had drawe up the mills and boats, and kept the passages of Loire. The D. of Ioyeuse marched at his backe. *Entragues* Gouverneur of Orleans came to crosse him, and all the commons did rise.

The Prince of
Conde in rout.

On the other side, the Princes troopes were tyred. Hee failes of two or three passages vpon the river, whereof he made account, betwixt Blois and Amboise. The amazement encreaseth, and his number decreaseth: such as had friends in Beaulieu, Dunois, Perche, Vendosmois, or Mayenne, scale away. The Lord of Rohan (advising him not to thrust himselfe into an apparent ruine) had turned head towards Britany. All the foresaid enemies forces would within few dayes charge him. Being nere to Vendosme, he leaues the chiefe charge of the retreat to *Clermont*, and *Saint Gelas*, ordereth the companies; provides for his household seruants, and at eleven of the clocke at night, he parts, accompanied with the Lords of Tremouille, Auentign, and few others. Finally, after infinite toyle and dangers past, he recovered the Isle of Greneze, lying in the English Seas, and so London, being receiued by the Queene with all honour and fauour he could desire: and then by her commandment accompanied with a good number of the Nobility, and men of warre, in ships well appointed, he repassed the Seas, obtaining a sufficient conquest to haue faced himselfe, and a rich spoile to haue returned with his head to Rochel, rather then to the Greue or the Hales at Paris.

Saint Gelas, *Bois-Dury*, *Antigny*, *La Tiffardiere*, and some others, are commended to haue wisely preferred these broken troops nere to the forest of Marchenoir, diuided into small companies, of twelue, and fiftene, whereof (notwithstanding the townes of Orleans, Blois, Amboise, Tours, and others thereabouts, were straitly guarded) many repassed the Loire, *Saint Gelas* and others, taking the high way to Paris, crossed many companies dispersed in Beaulieu, and hauing wandered long in the forest of Orleans: in the end they passed the River nere to Gyen, and at last recovered Rochel, where the Prince, the chiefe of the army, and the most part of the troops were already in safety.

Another com-
plainte of
the king of Nauarre.

The lightnings of *Sixtus*, and the second Edict of October had wonderfully moued the King of Nauarre. Now he complains to the Clergy, to the Nobility, to the third Estate, and to the Parliament of Paris, of the breach of the last Edict of peace, and that they had caused the question of succession to a King yet liuing, to be decided at Rome; that they would make a Prince of the blood of France subiect to the Pope; that they suffer the Consistory to giue that which belongs not vnto it; and that the Pope disposeth of Realmes and Principalities at his pleasure. Then he sheweth the miseries which these vniuall warres will breed: he exhorts them, not to serue as instruments to the Leaguers, to ruine the King and his Realme. And finally, seeing they are so ill aduised, hee protests as before: That both he and his, will vsf all lawfull means, to resist the violence of their enemies, and cast all the miseries that shall ensue vpon the authors thereof.

Intercession of
foreign
Princes.

Strangers deale earnestly in the cause. The Princes of Germany make intercession to the King, at the King of Nauarre instance, that he would be perswaded, at the humble petitions of his neighbours, and that opening his eyes at the teares, and his cares at the complaints of his subiects, he would maintaine his owne good, quiet, honour, and faith, his Crowne and reputation, and preserve a body wounded vnto death. But those of Guise kept him in awe.

He speaks not but by the mouth of the League. *I make and change* (said hee vnto the Ambassadors) *my Ordinances as necessity doth require, for the good and quiet of my subiects: and leaue the care to all soueraigne Princes, to gouerne their people as they shall thinke fit. I haue the feare of God liuely graven in my heart: neither will I doe any thing against the honour of my conscience, and the fatherly care I haue of my people.*

The Duke of
Mayennes
army.

This pleased the League: they are now on horsebacke. The Duke of Mayenne marcheth with about two thousand horse, French and Reistres, twelue regiments of foot, and fix thousand Swisses. He must bring the Princes of the blood prisoners to Paris in triumph, their Captaines chained, and couer the fields of Xaintonge, Poitou, and Guienne with their slaughtered souldiers, retourne victorious, and bring to the King the conquest of all the places that made resistance. But what exploits? what triumphs? The wrath of God ruines his men in those Countreies. Hee besiegeth, batters, and takes some filly places,

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A places, which are scarce noted in the French Mappe, as Montignac, Beaulieu, Gaignac, Castels, and Saint Bazille vpon Garonne: Montégur, Castillon, Puynormand in Perigueux, and the most part by composition, (but badly ordered) leauing behind him Egeac, Cadillac, Cajor, the Houses of the Vicont of Gourdon, Montfort, Bergeac, and Saint Foy, places of importance, all held by the Protestants. The difficulty of passages, the ouer-flowing of Riuer, the vehemence cold, the continuall raine, want of money, munition, victuals, and supplies of men, with-draw him from this warre, to goe and winter at Bourdeaux, there (in the middelt of his losses) to make some enterprise vpon the castles, to the preiudice of the Marshall of Matignan. So the most of his souldiers (detained long without either honour or profit) disband of themselves, and the Duke brings from this voyage a more famous spoile, the heyre of *Caumont*, being but twelue yeares old, to giue her to one of his sonnes. He had before time done better in Dauphine, where keeping his faith inuolable, he had happily preferred his reputation and credit. Indeed hee then liued onely vnder the Kings lawes and obedience, and now he spends much time, labour, and money to effect little in Guienne. In the meane time the Prince of Conde renued the warre, assisted notably by the Earle of Laual, and *Saint Gelas*, who commanded about foure hundred and fifty men, and by the new conquests of *Dompierre* (a castleneere vnto Saint Iean, belonging to the Marshall of Rez, where the booty repaired the losses late suffered by the souldiers) of Royen, a strong place nere vnto Brouage; of Soubize, Mor-nac in Allouert, Mondeuis, and others, defaced the griefe of the former conflicts. In the middelt of these prosperities he tooke to his second wife, in Taillebourg, the sixteenth of March, *Charlotte-Katherine* of Tremouille, sister to *Claude* of Tremouille Duke of Thours, &c. by whom hee had *Henry* of Bourbon Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the blood at this present, and first Peere of France.

The Prince of
Conde's
condemning.

Within few dayes after, *Tiercelin* with his regiment of about six hundred and fifty men, returned from an enterprise which *Saint Luc* the Governor of Brouage had made (but in vaine) against the Isle of Oleron. The Prince aduertised of his passage, follows him, with *La Tremouille* his brother in law, *La Boulay*, *Antigny*, and some thirty others: hee chargeth them in the rere, nere vnto the suburbs of Xaintes, and kils thirty or forty of his men: the rest put themselves in battell through the fauour of the hedges and the high way. The Earle of Laual comes gallopping, with about five and thirty horse of his company, which had bene lodged a little from thence: and seeing the Prince and therest of his company engaged in the combat, he goes directly to the Colonels Ensigne, couered with a battalion of pikes: he breakes them, fights with him that caried it, puls it from him, puts him to flight, kils three-score souldiers vpon the place, and chafeth the whole Regiment. *Tiercelin* saued himselfe, carying to Xaintes a hurt in the arme, and many others being maimed. *Tremouille* had a horse slaine vnder him: and some were hurt, but the Earle lost *Saills* and *Rieux* his brethren. *Tanlay* was lately deceased of sickness at Saint Iean: and himselfe surprised of a feuer, and wonderfully grieved for the losse of his three brethren, followed them to the grave within a few dayes after, and all foure were interred within the Castle of Taillebourg.

Tiercelin Regi-
ment defeated.

The death of
four brethren
of Laual.

But what did the King of Nauarre in the meane time? He hath vntill now maintained himselfe vnder the obedience of the Kings commandments: hitherto there hath bin nothing but mutual writings, Edicts, Declarations, commandements, directions to the officers of the Crowne, for the execution thereof. Hereafter hee displays other armes then paper and inke.

The Marshall of Matignan had besieged Castles in February: the King flies thither with about three hundred Masters, and eighthe hundred Harguebuziers on horse backe: he raiseth the siege, disposeth of his affaires in Berne, comes to Nerac, and assures the town: F passeth the Garonne at Saint Bazille (notwithstanding the Duke of Mayenne, who lay within two leagues of his passage) crosseth Perigord and Angoulmois, and so comes into Poitou, where the Marshall *Biron*, with about twelue hundred horse, and foure thousand foot, molested and troubled the Country nere vnto Rochel, and besieged Marans. The arrival of the said King, and the resolution of the besieged, commanded by *La Iarrie*, made the Marshall to passe the riuer of Charente, and to leaue Marans to the free exercise of both Religions. The King of Nauarre went to Rochel to visit the army at Sea, and by a palisado, to keepe in them of Brouage.

Yyy

The

1586

The Cardinall of Lenoncourt, and the President *Brulart*, were sent the yeare before A from the King, to assure the King of Nauarre of his Maisties loue : and to exhort him againe to vnite himselfe to the Catholike Church, as well for the good of his confidence, as also to make his way to the succession of the Crowne more easie: to shew vnto him the causes that had moued him to breake the peace, and to intreat him to yeeld the townes of surety. The time would not suffer these propositions to take effect: but contrariwise, after the example of the league (said the King of Nauarre) we should demand better townes. So the Ambassadors ended their charge, beseeching the said King, to enter into some tratie, wherein the Queene mother should deale to his content, so as he would stay the leaue of Reistres, Lansquenets and Suisses, which *Cleruant*, *Segur*, and *Guitri*, had procured. B He accepted of this conference, the which breeds a truce in the end of the yeare, but with protestation, not to stay the good will of such as in so important an occasion, and extreme necessity, had gone to field: that (raising the Kings authority troden vnder foot, by the breach of his Edict) they might preferre him from the foraine invasion of the League. He was better affected to a good peace, then to a bad truce. But the Queene mother telling him that the King would make no peace nor truce with him, vnlesse he would become a Catholike, she made this conference altogether fruitlesse. She lets him vnderstand, that this conference would bring him in grace with the King, leauing to court a Maior of Rochel, whom he did not command absolutely. But this Prince had his cares too much beaten with this proposition, and could not yeeld thereunto, but by due forme, which was by a holy and lawfull Councell. And the Duke of Neuers, thinking to add some more periuallous reasons then the rest of the Assembly: *You cannot* (saith he) *leauy any impo- post there*. (A Prince doth what he will, when as he wils nothing but what he ought.) You have reason (answered this Prince, being free and of a quicke conceit) *for we haue no illians among vs*.

This conference bred a ielousie among the Parisiens. They were more inclined to a reuolt then euer. The Duke of Mayenne aduertised that the Queene mother advanced towards the King of Nauarre, to incite an accord, he makes haste to Paris to reproch the King, that this negotiation was contrary to his Edict: that such a peace could not be good, breeding effects in Religion contrary to the tranquillity of Catholike confidences. Being arriued there, the six Arch-leaguers impart vnto him their secret articles: to suppress herefie, reforme the Court, and the insolency of Mignons; and for a fatal wound to the Estate, to seize vpon the Kings person. He allows of these Councels, and founds their designs, but finds the execution difficult. So the Rats in the Fable found this expedient to be very good, to be aduertised of the Cats approach, and to save themselves, to hang a bell at his care: but none durst undertake to doe it. The Queene mother aduertised of this desperate humour, took her way to Court. Her arriuall, with the irresolution of the Commanders, left the Parisiens waivering, in the midst of so dangerous an enterprise. The Queenes departure kindled the warre in Poitou. The King of Nauarre goes to field, takes Chisay by composition, sayes by assault: forceth Saint Maixant to yeeld: reduceth Fontenay to his obedience: besiegeth Mauleon, and during the battery takes it by escalade.

They of Dauphine seeing all Guienne in armes, would not be the last to make it known that they had interest in this cause. *Des Digueires* perswades himselfe that he shall reduce this Prouinceto the King of Nauarres deuotion: with this designe he caused *Iohn Baptista Gentil* (issued from the noble Family of the *Gentils* in Genoua) to come from Fleuerac in Gueaudan to *Serres*, a man prompt in warlike conceptions, hardy in enterprises, and happy in executions: and commands him, if it might be, to deslowe the Virgin of Dauphine. This Virgin was the Towne and Archbishopricke of Ambrun, for during F the ciuill warres all the townes of Dauphine had bene held by the Protestants, except that, being built on the toppes of a Mountaine, and fortified with a Citadell by the Duke of Mayenne. *Gentil* views it by night, and reports that there is meanes to take it. They march with three hundred horse and nine hundred Harguebuziers during the longest nights of winter, when arriuing by foure of the clocke in the morning, they find the town in armes, and the inhabitants ready to entertaine them, for one of the townsmen had slipped from the troops, resting that night at Chorges, & giuing aduertisement to *Gessen* gouernor of

The Queene mothers conference with the King of Nauarre.

The King of Nauarres exploit.

Des Digueires in Dauphine.

1589

A of the place. Notwithstanding all this, *Gentil* advanced with *Corbierre*, *la Riviere*, *Masse*, *Bagard*, and other Captaines. *Des Digueires* follows him with Saint Ian his cousin, fifty men armed, and fifty Harguebuziers, *Morge* commanding the rest, and *Parbault* the shot. The S. tenell hearing the noyle of their armes, cries, Who is there? *Iu* (sayd *Gentil*) Monsieur *Des Digueires* that comes to petard you. The Petards worke their effect. And the third blow they enter into the base Court of the Citadell, pell-mell with them that are assailed, they force them to quit the place, and to flye vnto a plat-forme towards their cannon. They chase them, kill some, and force the rest to cast themselves desperately from the wals into the towne. They of the dungeon defend themselves courageously. B *Gentil* threatens to blow them vp with his Petard, the which hee planted at the doore of the store-house where their powder lay, wherat they grew amazed, and yeelded to haue their liues saued. *Gessen* intrencheth himselfe to stop their descent into the towne, but day being come, it was forced, and he being retired into a tower of the Archbishops palace, made his composition to haue his life saued. Thus the Virgin in Dauphine was deslowed.

The taking of Ambrun opened the passage of the mountaines of high Dauphine, and the towne of Guillestre gaue entry into Piedmont. *Gentil* views it, and undertakes it in the hottest of the inhabitants alarme, hauing made many fires in their ditches and rauelins, to discouer such as should approach. Foure Petards force three gates, and break down a draw-bridge: the townsmen fight valiantly to hinder their entry, they kill and hurt many; *Pranieres* Lieutenant to *Des Digueires* had a dangerous blow on the head with a stone, yet they were forced to receiue a law from the stronger.

Saint Iulian a good place in high Viarez was also surprised by *Gentil* at the instance of the Seigneur of Chambauld. Montfaulcon in Vellay was more painful, for their guide hauing lost his way by reason of the darknesse of the night, they could not arriue before the breake of day, but there happily fell a great mist to couer their approaches. The Sentinels were euen then gone downe to assist at the opening of the gate: when as behold an unexpected thunder of Petards taught the townsmen, that a place enuied is in great danger when as the guards leaue their wals at the breake of day.

D These happy exploits did winne Captaine *Gentil* much reputation. From henceforth they attempt not any thing but they desire to haue him a principall actor. The Earle of Chastillon desired to reuiue that which hee had vpon the towne of Puy in Auvergne, wherof he had failed by the bad conduct of Captaine *Saint Martin* (otherwise called *Villars* of Gueaudan) who through indiscretion or otherwise, had lost some wax in the tiller-holes of his Petards, so as they could not take fire at need, yet had hee happily set them to without any discouery, so as the Earle being discontented, returned with all speed with nine hundred foot, and foure hundred horse. Whilst he treated with *Gentil* touching this attempt, he had some lett which stayed him in Language: during the which *Gentil* had leisure to goe and view Lions, the capricious inhabitants hauing newly demanded E that Citadell: which hauing found pregnable, *Chastillon*, *Des Digueires*, and *Chambauld*, ioyne their troops together vpon a pretext to besiege Nonnay in Viarez, perswading themselves to carry it vpon the assurance which *Gentil* gaue them, if the King of Nauarre had not commanded Cont *Chastillon* to goe and ioyne with the army of Reistres, who made preparation to muster vpon the plaine of Strasbourg, and *Gentil* to accompany him, to open such passages as should be needfull.

Whilst the King of Nauarres armes prosper in Poitou, and the Duke of Mayenne treats with the leaguers at Paris, and the mouth of his mutinous Preachers, disgrace the Kings authority with the people: the Duke of Guise continues to make war against them of Iametz, the which he had begun against the Duke of Bouillon, from the first beginning of the league. *Sedan* and all that principality serued as a retreat for the neighbour Protestants, and as a port for strangers to enter into France. These are the pretexs wherewith he couers his designs, but he had another principall motiue: from *Sedan* the King had intelligence of all that was practised in Champagne and Lorraine, in the yeare 1585. When he sees himselfe master of Douzy, Rocroy, and Raucourt, he passeth the Meuze, and enters into the Soueraignty of Sedan, afflicts the Countmen with all the cruelties that war could imagine, whilst the famine presseth them within the towne. To diuert this storme which threatened Sedan, the Duke of Bouillon causeth *Schelandre* Gouernor of Iametz,

Ambrun taken.

Guillestre taken.

Duke of Bouillon chiefest German enemy.

1587

to set vpon Verdun, a towne on the frontiers of Champagne, which had tumultuously run into the league: the Duke of Guise runnes to succour it, and by his absence giues the duke of Bouillon meanes to succour Sedan. Thereupon the Queene-mother, at the request of the D. of Montpensier, vncle by the mothers side to the Lord of Sedan, procures a truce for fifteene dayes, betwixt the two Dukes, during the which the enterprise vpon the castles of Lametz, for the Duke of Guise, prouing fatall for the vndertakers, disposed their wills to a second truce of a month.

This fell out happily: for the Germane army, whereof he was named Lieutenant General vnder the Duke *Iohn Casimir* (who substituted in his place the Baron *De Onaw*, the minority of the Elector Palatin nephew and pupil) to the said Duke, hindring him from marching in person) prepared to make their musters in the plaine of Strasbourg. So the Duke of Bouillon goeth into Alsatia with foure hundred horse, and eight hundred Harguebuziers to make them aduance: and the Duke of Guise comesto the King to Meaux, to receiue (said he) his Maiesties commandements, in so great and so important a cause: but in effect, to complaine, that since the reuocation of the Edict of peace, he had followed the warre against heretikes with small fauour, as the King had suffered them in their houses to enioy their goods and estates peaceably: That in stead of selling and employing them to their ruine, he caused the reuenues of the Cardinall of Pellevé to bee seized on (a man borne in France, but Espaniolized at Rome) for that in open Consistory hee had vertuously maintained the iust motives of the taking of armes by the Catholike Princes against the Huguenots: That this warre had more aduanced the Mignons than ruined the Heretikes, and that the money raised by the subvention of the Clergy, serued to entertaine the said Mignons, that neither the Kings Councill, the Parliament of Paris, the inferior Iudges, nor the Prouost of Paris had sworn this last Edict. That the towns which had demanded the extirpation of heresie, and the reuocation of the last Edict of peace, were treated like enemies. That he had caused the Citadels of Lions and Mafcon to bee beaten downe, surprised that of Valence, disgraced *Brissac*, *Crusilles*, *Gessan*, *Entragues*, and others, and peruered the assignations, which he had giuen him, to bee repaid the money the which he had disbursed in this last leauy of men of warre.

But the King knew well how to counter-balance these complaints of the League, with their owne breach of the Articles of Nemours. He had well obserued, that their insolent passions aspired to some greater designs then the articles made mention of. Those of Guise had demanded towne of assurance against the Protestants in those Prouinces where they were not at all to be feared. The Duke of Anjou had newly surprised Dourlans and Pontdormy, but he had failed of Boullen through the fidelity of *S. Maria*. They had lodged in their Citadell of Vitri *Le Franco* an Italian at their deuotion, and tooke an oath of many Governours to hold their places for the Duke of Guise.

But the Kings meaning was to lue and reigne: yea though he did buy a good peace to the contentment of both parties. But the contrary designs of the King of Nauarre, and the Duke of Guise, could not bee reconciled: and hee had no meanes to subist betwixt both, but must leane to the one or the other side, nor oppress the one without raising of the other. To conclude, not daring to shew himselfe a King, he suffers all the chiefe of the league to become counterfeit Kings. He exhorts the Duke of Guise, not to expose the Estate in prei, to procure the contentment of his King, the liberty of the Clergy, the dignity of the Nobility, and the peoples ease, by other meanes then that which destroys the honour of the Soueraigne, spoiles the Churches, suckes the Gentlemans blood, and driues the people into despaire: and inuities him vnto peace, by promises of aduancement for his House and party. But a warlike mind will haue nothing but war. The Duke could neither endure the search nor the cure thereof. Thus peace is banished. The Duke seeks all meanes to ruine the Huguenots: and beleeueth the King to stop the army of strangers, which were euen now vpon the frontier, that they might not returne into Germany, with a victory ouer France, and a triumph ouer the Catholike Church.

Still must this venerable pretext of Religion serue to colour the wicked passions of men. Hee procures many Commissions, especially for his brother the Duke of Mayen in Dauphine, for the Duke of Ioyeuze in Poitou, and for himselfe against the Protestants army.

If the King had not shewed the like care on his part, the people would haue said, that as long

The Duke of Guise complains of the King.

The King complains of the Duke.

The King desires peace.

The Duke will haue warre.

1587

A long rest doth dull the courage of a horse, so since the Duke of Ioyeuze marriage, the pleasures and delights of Court, and the solitarinesse of Vicennes, had much decayed his accustomed generosity. He therefore diuides his forces into three armies. The first at Chaumont in Bassigni, consisting of five and twenty companies of men at armes, twelve ensignes of foot in the Regiment of *Esfclaux*, six of *launnes*, six of *Gie*, with many other blanks signed for other commissions, at the will of the Duke of Guise, who encreased this army with foure hundred Lances, and two thousand Italian foot, sent by the D. of Parma, and the Duke of Lorraine, (suffering himselfe as the eldest of the House, to be caried away with the vaine hopes that were giuen him, of a good portion in the pretended succession of *Charlemagne*) held also goodly and great forces vpon the frontier, at the D. of Guises deuotion. The duke of Montpensier commanded the second, at S. Florentin, neere vnto Troyes: the King with his presence honoured the third at Gyen, stretching along the Riuer of Loire, to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with his strangers on this side the Riuer. The duke of Ioyeuze presuming of an assured victory, lead another army into Guienne against the King of Nauarre, and the other heads of the league, armed euery one of them by himselfe.

The army that came for the Protestants, consisted of five thousand Reistres, five thousand Lansquenets, twelve thousand five hundred Suisses in three Regiments, eleven companies of French, ten companies of Harguebuziers on horse-backe, the which in all were about thirty thousand men. The King of Nauarre assembled his forces in Gafcony. The Prince of Conde, the Cont *Saiffons*, the Vicont of Turenne, the Cont of Rochefoucault, the Lord of Tremouille, and others, made great preparations. The Lord of Chastillon gathered an army in Languedoc: *Des Dignes* held himselfe ready to passe at need.

Thus this poore and miserable Realme, is ready to serue as a prey to people differing in tongue and manners. Without doubt men iudge of the offence by the punishment. The witchcraft and diuination (whereof some make open profession) blasphemy vnpunished, lust, dissolation, prodigality, ambition, discord, and cruelties: but about all, impiety, licentiousnesse, atheisme, superstition and iniustice, the root of miseries which are crept into France, haue filled vp the measures of her iniquities: and now she is ready to drinke euen vnto the lees.

In former ages the Court was a Schoole of vertue for the French Nobility, now it abounds in dissolutenesse, disorder and excessse. The most modest grow insolent, the excessse of great men breed it in the meaneft. And doe wee wonder if the same scourges, whereby the fearfull wrath of God iustly kindled, haue ruined more flourishing Estates then this, doe now waste our fields?

The army of strangers euen now enters into Lorraine, whose errors at their entry will cost them deare that commit them. The Duke of Bouillon is young, little respected, and ill obeyed. *Cleruant*, *Guitri*, *Beauvais La Noelle*, *Digoin*, *Montlouet*, *Vezines*, and others assist him, but most of them are more fit to cary an ambassage, then to vndertake a charge. The chiefe of Germany is but a meane Gentleman, valiant out of doubt, but too weak for so great a charge, hauing no reputation but what he hath gotten vnder Duke *Casimirs* authority.

In the beginning of August, discord (a dangerous plague) bred a great confusion in their proceedings: the Duke of Bouillon would haue employed this army to victual the places of his Soueraignty: the Generall of the Germanes desired to haue a Prince of the blood to march before him: the Reistres and Suisses lose a goodly occasion at Pont Saint Vincent, to fight with the league, who made a shew to ioyne with them: the Lansquenets are commended to haue resolutely cast themselves into the water, to passe and come to battell. Some would spoile Lorraine, others would cary their reuenge into the heart of France. The Germanes choose the way along the Riuer of Seine, and so to passe into Picardy. The French had more reason: that they must ayme at a passage ouer Loire, and fauour the King of Nauarres approach. In the end, the way of Loire was refused. They fire some villages in Lorraine: the Countries lying vpon the passage are wasted, the army findes neither mills, nor ouens standing, which bred a generall discontent amongst the Reistres and Suisses. As the army passed through the country of Barre, and Giniuillos, newes comes that the Lord of Chastillon is beset in Greffille in Lorraine, with

Yyy 3

four

The Kings forces.

The Protestants forces.

Errors of this army.

1587

The Earle of
La Marche dies.

four hundred horse, and fifteene hundred Harguebuziers : the Duke of Bouillon makes haft to vngage him. The Earle of La Marke his brother so toyles himselfe in this action, that hee falls sicke, and dying, leaues the conduct of the fore-war to the Lord of Chastillon : the army is tumultuoyed with continuall raine, they want victuals, and the grapes and other fruit being not ripe, breed many fluxes : yet did they surmount all these difficulties, and having passed the rivers of Marne, Aube, Seine, La Cure, and Yonne, they approached neere vnto Loire.

The army approaching to ioyne with the Prince of Conde, the garison of Perreufe being abroad, caried away some Reistres : the Earle of Chastillon sent to demand them by captain *Gentil*, and vpon refusal, threatens the Towne with the rigours of warre.

The Admirall (said they) was more dangerous then his son, yet passing neere vnto vs with great armies, he neuer had the heart to besiege vs. Poore soules, who trust in the strength of their armes, and the bounty of their walls ; and yet haue no meanes to resist the violence of an Engine that is portatue. *Chastillon* calleth the Regiments of Languedoc to march. The Lords of Mouy, Montlout, Esternay, Lieramont, Rully, Langres, Brofles, and others, doe accompany him. They plant about one thousand eight hundred Harguebuziers at the defences of the ports, to shoot as soone as the Petard had plaied. *Gentil* prepares his rousing bridges and makes fast his Petards through the fauour of the night : they beat downe the ports and draw-bridges, and at the sixth blow they become masters of the townes ; where they retire their Reistres, and suppress their insolency that spake so proudly, teaching the Inhabitants that the law of armes doth bind them to answer for their actions whom they bring for in their guard.

Two Strangers
second com-
plaints.

Here the Reistres and the Suisses make a second complaint : the King of Nauarre appears not, the water is low, but the Kings forces are lodged vpon the riuers side, and threaten to fight with the first that shall approach : the ruine of the strangers army was to keepe the King of Nauarre from ioyning with them : and therefore, the duke of Ioyeuse staid the said King with an army, strong with men, munition, artillery, and other meanes. For their first exploits, the King of Nauarre had defeated some companies which had advanced too farr into the country. And *Charbonieres* and *Bori* remaining with their regiments, at La Mothe Saint Eloy (being beaten by the fauour of the captain of the castle, who lent some peeces, to breake their barricadoes : against the oath which he had giuen, not to commit any act of Hostility) were defeated by Ioyeuses troopes.

D

The taking of Saint Maixant, was the second of his triumphs : *Thonne-Charente* the third : both, by composition. But the defeat of the companies of *Pucelles*, (where some being taken after the fury of the fight, others yeclding vpon their enemies faith, were in a manner all insolently slaine in cold blood) together with the foule warre at Saint Eloy, shall bee dearly sold vnto the victors, who hauing added the Abbey of Maillezay to his first conquests, he left *Laurdin* to command the army, and returns to court, to demand a triumph of his victories, and a supply of greater forces, the plague hauing much wasted his army.

The captain
of the Duke of
Ioyeuse in
Poitou.

In his absence the King of Nauarre defeated three of his companies of men at armes, took their cornets, and many gentlemen prisoners : pursued *Laurdin* vnto *La Hye* in Touraine : chased the Duke *Mercœur*, and by the conduct of the Vicont of Turenne, tooke all his rich baggage : then at his returne he receiued the troopes which the Cont *Saiffons* brought, and those of Normandy led by *Colombieres*.

This respite gaue the said King meanes (as we haue noted before) to gather together his forces in Galcony, and so to ioyne with his army in Xaintonge. On the other side, the Duke of Ioyeuse, supplied with horse and foot, repasseth the Loire, and with twelue thousand fighting men, comes to encounter the King of Nauarre. The King of Nauarre had two riuers to passe, to come to Xaintonge, Drougne, and L'Isle.

The Duke of Ioyeuse, drunke with prosperity of a hasty aduancement, who of a priuate Gentleman was made a Duke, and of a Duke, brother in law to the French King, and charged (but not so much by the King, as by the League, whereof hee was a partisan, hauing married the Queenes sister) to giue battell at all euents, would cut off these passages, presuming that hee which passed first, should haue an advantage ouer his enemy.

The

A The King of Nauarre knew it well : yet, did he not lose any time in curling his haire.

The nineteenth of October, accompanied with the Prince of Conde, the Cont *Saiffons* his brother, the Vicont of Turenne, & other good Commanders, he takes his lodging at Coutras, to passe the riuier of Drougne at a ford. The Duke supposing to haue him at his deuotion betwix two riuers, giues the Rendez-uous to all his forces the next day, betwix Roche-Chalais and Coutras, and there made choise of his place of battell to his best advantage, halfe a league from Coutras. Being lodged there, the King of Nauarre commands the Duke of Tremouille to passe the riuier and to lodge at Chaudredon two little leagues from Coutras. He doth it, and then sends the Baron of Saint Surin one of his Captaines of light-horse with his company, to learne certaine newes of the enimie.

The Battle of
Coutras.

Soone after, he brings him word that he marched directly to his quarter. About midnight, the Duke takes the field which hee had viewed at his going to lodge, whither hee was no sooner come, but *Bellegarde* Gouvernour of Xaintonge (who led the Duke of Ioyeuses fore-war) comes vpon him with sue of six hundred horse and 400 shot on horse-backe. He aduertised the King of Nauarre that the whole army aduanced, and by the aduice of *Vinans* Master of the campe to the said horsemen, hee retires slowly, turning still head towards the enemy, and skirmishing with them in many places. This hee did of purpose ; for by this stratagem he kept the enemy occupied vntill eight of the clocke in the morning, and gaue the K. of Nauarre meanes to passe the Riuier with his troopes and

C Cannon, and to make choise of his place of battaille. The King of Nauarre and his fouldiers had sweet more in skirmishes, then in Tennis-courts, and did take more pleasure in the dust of their enemies chafe, then in feasts. The inequality of the number doth not amaze them. He marcheth before : resolues his men to fight, makes them to fall on their knees and pray to God, puts his horsemen into four squadrons, his owne, that of the Prince, the Earles, and Viconts. The fouldiers inflame their courages by mutuall skirmishes, and reprochfull speeches : from words they goe to blowes. The King of Nauarres artillerie thunders first, at eight of the clock, and at the first volley sweepes away seuen Captaines of the regiment of Picardy. The Dukes answers him, but without effect. The ignorance or malice of canoniers hauing planted it so low, as it fell vpon a little hill betwix both armies. The Dukes horsemen led by *Laurdin*, Saint *Luc* and Captain *Mercœur*, discharge their first fury vpon the Duke of Tremouille as the first object of their armes, and being double in number, they passe through them at the first charge, and ouerthrow *Vinans* Master of the camp (who was fore hurt) with some others, like vnto a querellic which ouerturnes all that it encounters.

And whilst that the Duke of Tremouille (hauing rallied his men together) went and planted himselfe before the King of Nauarres troope, who marche to the combat, they encounter the Vicont of Turenne, who aduanced to second the light-horse-men. They kill his horse with their Lances, and put his troope in disorder. But hee is remounted before the enemy could doe him any more harme, being loth to quit his part of the cake for so light a checke.

The Duke presuming by this first good hap, to obtaine a totall victory ouer three chiefe heads of the House of Bourbon, aduanceth resolutely, flanked with two hedges of armed men to charge with the Lance. The four Commanders and the Colonell of the light-horse march euery one in the head of his troope, first easily they pace, then they trot, and after in their full carriere. They charge and breake them. This conflict (which consisted for the most part of leaguers) was almost as soone dissolued, as it was resolved on : it beganne at nine of the clocke, and at ten not any of the Dukes men had any offensive armes : some are ouerthrowne, some taken, and some seeke their safety in flight. The victors pursue them three leagues, and strew the fields with men, horses, and armes.

F Duke of Ioyeuse retired towards his footmen and artillery, his horse being hurt in the thigh with a shot, hauing not any one with him but *Breze* who caried the white Corner, wandering thus in the midst of the field where the battell was fought, a Gentleman followed him, with whom another ioynes : They take him and demand his name ; the which hee tels at the first summons. Five or six other men at armes arise as they were leading him to the King of Nauarre, and seeke to take this goodly prize from them. In this contestation one of them foreseeing, that if the prisoner were once in the Kings hands, hee should bee in safety, and they frustrate of their pretensions ; or (as some say) reproaching

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reproaching him with his breach of faith at Saint Eloy, and at Croix-Chappeau, against the company of *Penibbes*, he shoots him b. hind with a Pistoll through the head, whereof he fell dead to the ground, losing both life and meanes, to try with the rest with what moderation and clemency the King of Nauarre could vse his victories. It is a pittifull thing for great men to fall into the hands of petty companions, who neither can nor will respect their qualities.

H. is brother *S. Sauveur, Brezé* who carried the white corner, *Roussy* the younger brother of *Pierres* guidon to the Duke, the Earles of *Suze, Gaurvel, d'Antoux*, the Lords of *Fumel, Neufui* the elder brother of *Perigord, yong Rochefort, Craieste, Gurat, S. Fori*, guidon to *Saint Luc, du Bordes* his ensigne, *de Vaux* Lieutenant to *Bellegarde*, gouverneur of *Xaintonge*, *Montignis* Ensigne, *Tiercelin* master of the campe, *Pluviant, La Brangery, Campels* the younger, *La Vallade, Bacullard*, with many other Capitaines, and a great number of men of account and qualitie, with about halfe of the army, made the battell of *Coutras* famous by their death, as the most memorable of all that have beene giuen for religious cause in France. Many rich prisoners, and a very rich spoile. All his cornets taken, his Cannon carried away, and his baggage seized on. At their returne from the pursue, thanks were giuen to God vpon the place of battell died with blood, and conered with carcases. But that which honoured the King most: in the midst of this fo commendable moderation of this victory, hee shewed himselfe no lesse milde and courteous to the prisoners and the wounded, then wife and valiant in heate of the fight. Hee caused the dead to be buried, cured the wounded: sent home almost all the prisoners without ransom, gratified most of the Commanders, caused the Ensignes to be deliuered to *Montigny* aboute the rest, commended him to haue behaved himselfe valiantly in the battell: where-by he began to purchase fauour with the King of Nauarre, and afterwards got great reputation with him for his valour and fidelitie, when as hee vained both crownes into one.

The Prince of Conde, at the first charge had a blow with a Lance on the side, and being engaged vnder his horse, it did so preiudice his health, as the griefe thereof did soon hasten him to his end. This is the greatestt losse of the Protestants army in this comate, in the which there was a very small number slain, and not one of account. The K. of Nauarre is now freed from the snares that were laid for him: now he aduanceth towards the head of the riuier of Loire, and giues aduice of his designe to the army of strangers, which then was in Hurepois about the lands of the Lord of Chastillon.

The King camped vpon Loire betwixt *Cosne* and *Neufui*, and by aduice of the Duke of Neuers hee cloyes the passages with trees, stones and other hindrances where the horses should passe. The second cause (next to God) of the ruine of this armie, to whom they thought the King at this enuie would haue presented a blanke to prescribe what they pleased. The Duke of Guise followed them at the heeles, and the Duke of Mayenne on the one side: and yet both of them could not keepe them from surpriuing of some small towne to refresh their armie. But when as they see themselves frustrate of all hope to ioyne with the King of Nauarre, or to passe the riuier of Loire, that they must either retire, or march forward to meet with the King of Nauarre, or engage themselves farther within the Realme, to seeke bread for themselves, and forage for their horses, or else march on the left hand and wander into vnkowne countries, they grow amazed, they mutine, they faint.

Some Frenchmen attempt *La Charité*: but their enterprize succeeds not. In the end they lead the army in *Beniffé*, where they should find meat both for man and horse. The seuen and twen ieth of October they lodged at *Vimorri*, and places thereabouts, neere to *Montargis*. To take from them this lodging, the Dukes of Guise and Mayenne (taking advantage of the passages of the riuier of Loing) come at supper time with fifteene hundred horse, and nine thousand foot, and charge the Baron *Donneau*, being lodged in *Vimorri* with seuen or eight cornets of Reistres: but they had almost verified the saying of the King of the Epirots who vanquished the Romane army; *We are vaine if we get such another victory*, for three hundred horses of baggage, the Barons two Camels, and the death of fifty souldiers with an hundred seruaits, was not sufficient to recompence the blood of forty braue and gallant Gentlemen, and two hundred good souldiers slaine vpon the place by the Reistres, who speedily repaired to their cornets, whilst the

Dukes

A Dukes men were busie at the spoile. The Duke of Mayenne receiued two pistoll shot on his caske by the Baron, and in exchange, the duke gaue the Baron a wipe on the fore-head, with his Courtlas, but with small hurt.

The Duke of Guise hauing failed to surprize the Reistres lodging at *Vimorri* by the Lions force, he now employes the Foxes subtilty, and the malice of a treacherous man who heretofore had vowed fo great affection and fidelitie to the King of Nauarre; who iudging another by himselfe, and not able to imagine that so treacherous and detestable a thought should euer harbour in the heart of a French Gentleman, whose quality should be free from all treason: had sent instructions to the Duke of Bouillon General of this armie, touching the seruices which he expected from this Champenois. As the D. attended newes hourly, behold he comes to the armie, he addresseth himselfe to the Earle of Chastillon, intreats him to giue him access vnto the Duke of Bouillon, and presenting vnto him a piece of a crowne which had been broken for his credit, he grieues that vntill that time he had not meanes to produce any effects in fauour of the King of Nauarre, for whose seruice hee would alway be ready to employ both his wit and blood; that hauing now meanes vpon the frontier, for that the Duke of Guise would neuer suffer him, nor his company to abandon him; he had now good opportunity to deliuer the towne & castle of *Montargis* into his hands. If he thought it fit to aduance the cause, & the Duke of Guise hauing lodged him with his company in the Castle, and left two companies in the towne to fortifie the Inhabitants. If this (said hee) will not serue, I am not resolu'd to returne any more, but to retire my armes, my equipage, and some souldiers of my intelligence, and then come vnto this army and so vnto the King of Nauarre. The D. of Guise hauing not thought it fit that *Pau* should play his part vpon the frontier, and hauing failed in his enterprize against the Baron of *Onay* at *Vimorri*, heooke the way to *Estampes* in shew to defend the way to *Paris*. But hee had purposely plotted this stratagem of *Montargis*, foreseeing that this place lying conuenient for the Earle of Chastillon being neere vnto his house, he should be principally employed therein: And that as he had ruined the father at the *Parisen Mattens*, the 24 of August 1572, he would also make the sonne companion of the same fortune.

D The Duke of Bouillon, the Generall of the Germanes, the Earle of Chastillon, and the chiefe of the councill holding it not conuenient to neglect this encounter, they commit the execution to Chastillon. Hee returns *Pau*, and giues him *Saint Laurent* his Steward to goe into the towne and castle to discouer the truth. But the Traytor had giuen order the souldiers should lie close, if happily they should send any one to visit. *Saint Laurent* reports, that they saw no cause of suspition, beleeuing that *Pau* meant sincerely: and *Pau* for a gage of his fidelitie, promising to remaine in the hands of such as Chastillon should please, vntill the place were wholly at his deuotion, they thought he could not giue any greater assurance. But to constitute himselfe voluntarily an hostage and caution for a disloyal and treacherous designe, was it not wilfully to ruine both his life and honour vpon hope of an vncertaine recompence? Thus great men play with the liues of men, as with tennis balls, not caring how to hazard them, so as they will become instruments and ministers of their passions.

The D. of Guise had instructed him to make all these offers, and to submit himselfe to more if it were required, promising him that he would take so many prisoners and men of quality, as they should be glad to exchange him. *Pau* returns about two of the clocke after midnight with one confident souldier to bring in them that should be sent to seize vpon the Castle. Chastillon giues him in guard to some of his Capitaines, and commands Capitaine *Tessier* of *Nisines* to goe with 150 souldiers to enter the Castle, and to seize vpon the ports, as well of that which wastowards the fields, as of the other which entred into the towne. The souldier guides them, and at their first entry they finde many bottles of good wine, and meats fit to procure thirst. He leaves twenty Harguebuziers vpon the Draw-bridge, assures the Castle, and then he sends his Colonell word that hee may come safely. Capitaine *Genill* (a man suspicious and very distrustfull in such stratagems) had growne iealous of his conduct by a simple souldier: and being much practised in those policies of warre, the which we must beleue sparingly, hee entreates the Earle not to aduance before he had been within the Castle. I feare (said he) some double practice; at my returne I will tell you if it be safe. Hee goes thither alone, and calls for Capitaine *Tessier*, adding,

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adding, that the Earle of Chastillon approached. But at his entry he observes the ground A had bin newly remoured: he heaves the noise of armes in the Church & chambers of the castle, which were lockt vp, and some armed men which he saw going from a hall into a chamber increase his iacobus. But the impatience of a soldier, complaining that *Chastillon* stayed too long, confirmed his belief. He suddenly returns, & passing the bridge, he aduises *Tessier* to save himselfe with his men. *Tessier* had not leisure but with three, all the rest being spoiled by the deuices which they had prepared at the entry of the castle. And when as they heard *Gentil* cry vnto the Earle of Chastillon that he should returne, they presently shoot at him afare off, hauing left all hope to annoy him nearer. *Pau* seeing his practice not so successefull as he expected, is wonderfully danted. He thinks he is now at the pits brink which he had prepared for another. They lead him to the D. of Bouillon, who resolves to teare him in pieces with horses. The Baron of Onaw holds opinion, that it were better to leade him to the K. of Nauarre: and fearing lest the French either through compassion or corruption should yeeld vnto the prisoners perswasions, will himselfe haue the guard of him, and doth so clog him with chains, as euery member shrinkes vnder his burthen. Yet within few dayes after he freed himselfe and escaped, verifying, that men vnable to resist the force of wine, are vnfit to guard prisoners or towne.

This losse of horses and baggage, makes the Reistres to mutine againe, growing impatient, neither seeing their pay, nor the K. of Nauarre: for a bait, they force Chateau-landon, and spoile it. The Prince of Conti's arriuall nere vnto Chartres, (where the Duke of Bouillon resigned him the charge and the white cornet) pacified this mutinie. Then the Suisses treated with the King, by the D. of Nevers meane: his Maiestie hauing now conuincd them by their alliance with this Crowne, to serue him, or to retire themselves: some of the Captaines follow the Kings party, others receiving 400000 crownes returne to their country: but some of them at their arriuall lost their heads. By this defection, the army is halfe decreed: the toyles of the warr tyre them: the commodities proue at length insupportable: many of the troopes disband: they foresee an apparant danger, if they giue battell. They take Councell the 24 of Nouember, to turne head, and to draw this languishing army vp to the head of Loire. But the Duke of Guise had well obserued from the beginning, that striking the shepherd, he shall disperse the flocke. The Baron lodged at Anneau nere to Chartres, with seven Cornets of Reistres: but hee trusted too indiscreetly to a promise made by the garison of the said Castle, not to commit any act of hostility, and to furnish him with victuals for his money. The Duke manned it by night with good store of Harguebuziers: and at the first sound of the trumpet, to horse, he enters the towne with all his forces, euen as their Carts stopt vp the streets and gates in the morning. Being thus surprized, and hauing no meane to recover the fields, they are forced to returne into their lodgings, and to remaine at the Conquerors mercy, either slaine or taken. The spoile was great, 300 Wagons, great store of armes, jewels, and chains of gold. Two thousand horse of combat and of cariage. So as in one night, all the Dukes footmen were in a manner hoised, rich in spoils, and rich in prisoners. The Baron, with some few others, leaped ouer the walls and sued themselves, through the fauour of the night, and in a marish. He makes a stand halfe a league from Anneau, and rallies them together that escape. The Suisses that remained came vnto him: all determine to breake. The Prince of Conty, Duke of Bouillon, *Chastillon*, *Clermont*, and the rest, become answerable for what is due, so as they will march on. They might easily haue forced through the Duke of Guises army, but they were surprized with feare, a passion which doth easily vanquish the quicknesse of mans iudgement.

The army hath now but one wing to fly withall: it is a body without armes or legs: yet the hope of paine makes them continue their course vp against the river. But the disorder was great: feare accompanies them, many Gentlemen slip away dayly to their houses: and most of them which remained could not easily resolve to fight. They must make long marches to auoid the enemy: they had no guides, no Smiths for their horses, who were spoiled for want of shooes, no bread for the souldiers, no forrage for their horses, their troopes wasted, most of the in were without powder, without bullets, and without meane to recover any: the Lanqueters are reduced to 2000, and most vnarmed, and the Suisses haue changed party. The Reistres thinke of nothing but of their returne into Germany: the French slip away hourly. The Duke of Elperton coasts them with the Kings army,

The Prince of
Conty strikes
at the army.

Reistres defeated
at Anneau.

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A army, and wisheth they would accept of a capitulation, to disappoint the Duke of Guise of an absolute victory which he did expect. The D. of Guise pursues them, yet is it not fit for the Kings estate, he should wholly vanquish these maimed troopes: the seruant would then presently attempt against the master. Moreover, this army still holding the field, the Realme should be much impouerished: and ioyned with the King of Nauarre, they might effect great matters.

The King offers them a safe conduct to returne, vpon condition that the French should deliuer vp their colours: the Reistres trusse vp their Cornets, and that all swear, not to beare armes in France without the Kings expresse command. The 8 of December they B accept of this capitulation at Lency in Mafconois, and do disband. The Lord of Chastillon protests neuer to deliuer vp his Ensignes but to the K. of Nauarre. Hee vnderstands the Reistres threaten to cary him away as a pledge: but he frees himselfe from their mutiny like a gallant Gentleman: And being loth to trust this safe conduct, or to fall into the hand of the duke of Guise his capitall enemy, he resolves to passe through Auvergne with ten or twelve men well mounted, and marching by night only to recouer Geuandun, and from thence into Languedoc. Capitaine *Gentil* dissuades him, and makes him resolve to take the way of Viarez with the remainders of the shipwrack, assuring him to lodge him within few dayes by the Petard in the towne of Pont S. Rambert. Hee had onely remaining forty Cuirasses, thirty Harguebuziers on horsebacke, and 400 foot, with the which C he had come to the Reistres. Some Noblemen and Gentlemen desire to runne the same fortune. Many (being so sicke that he could scarce sit on horsebacke) *Lierament*, *Rebours*, *Saint Auban*, *Ouinville*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereng*, *Baudans* and others. *Gentil* marcheth in the head of the footmen, and couereth them with some ranks of horse, and *Chastillon* is in the reere to make head against them that should pursue them. But as they thought to take Pont Saint Rambert, they were in danger to be taken themselves.

Mandelot, Gouernor of Lyonnois, had newly lodged 400 men there by the commandment of the D. of Guise, to cut off the bridges, and to fight with the Reistres which they thought would passe that way. *Mandelot*, *Cheuieries*, the Earle of Tournon, *Pelloux* (who commanded a great garison in Nonnay) and all that had any authority come to take from them all meane to passe but by force. There is nothing, before, behind, nor of either side, but opposite to his retreat, his sword makes his way: he passeth through all that he encountereth like lightning, and forceth his enemies to fight, or to fly, hee giueth occasion to the children of the countrey to call it *The battell of turne-tayles*. This passage failing them, *Gentil* takes his way vpon the left hand, and at midnight takes a great village between Lyons and Pont Percier. As they refresh themselves, the neighing of horses which they heare giue them notice that the enemy approaches. *Mandelot* followed them with six or seven hundred horse, and, without a thicke cloud which did then miraculously couer them, they had been exposed to his mercy. The cloud and the rough way vnefit for horses, kept the enemy from approaching any nearer, besides hee feared some ambush. They passe the bridge at Percier, and who so had charged them in a great plaine beyond the bridge, they themselves confesse, that the place, with watchings, and the toyles of the way, had made them altogether vnable to resist.

The cloud vanishest at the breake of day, and *Mandelot* scouts seeing them advanced in the Plaine, they gallop after to ingage them in the fight. *Chastillon* would haue charged them, but *Gentil* discouers the whole troope, who had come time enough if they had fallen to blowes. They passe the Plaine, and plant their footmen by a riuers side, where through the fauour of some Willows, they might second their horsemen being in fight. His first enemies appeare: *Chastillon* chargeth them so resolutely, as there remained about thirty vpon the place: The whole troope arries and repulseth him so furiously, as hee is F put to rout, and loseth some of his men at armes, who were caried prisoners to Lyons. *Gentil*, *Ouinville*, *Legualda*, *Rouffelle*, *Fereng*, *Baudans*, and some other horsemen second the footmen, whom the enemy preest, causing them to march on, and to turne head at euery freight and commodious place they came vnto. Night being come, *Mandelot*, who had followed them thirty houres together, went to refresh himselfe, giuing leisure to this tyred troope to lament and bewaile the mischance of their Commander, whom they supposed to be vtterly lost.

He was in the like paine for his footmen, who he thought had been defeated: when as approaching

Capitulation
giuen to the
Reistres.

Chastillon
rescued.

Retreat of the
Earle of Chas-
tillon.

Mandelot and
others pursue
Chastillon.

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Death of the
D. of Bouillon.Assembly of the
League at
Nancy.The disposition
of the D. of
Guise.

approaching neare vnto the mountaines of high Viarez, the Lord of Chastillon, S. *Antoine*, Lieutenant of his Company of lighthorse, Capitaine *Escallier* Lieutenant of the Colonels Company of his Regiment, Capitaine *Gache* and some others, comming to ioyne with them, to saue these poore men from a generall ruine, and by their presence reuiue the vigour of these footmen to endure with their accustomed courage three assaults from diuers garisons to the shame of them that charged them, before they could reueyler Rountour in high Viarez. *Manduel* went to Court, to giue an account of his diligence, but he receiued reproach both of the King and the Duke of Guise: for that hee had not charged *Chastillon* in that great village, or past the bridge at *Percier* before him, to haue defeated him in the Plaine. The which did alio bring him in disgrace with them of *Lions* who neuer after loved him. The strangers thought to refresh themelues at *Geneua*, but the most part were not able to get thither: and many of the Commanders, either with languishing and griefe, or as the common saying was, with the sweet Wines they drunke with the Duke of *Espernon*, gaue vp the ghost. The D. of *Bouillon* dyed the 11 of *Ianuarie*, in the five and twentieth year of his age, leaving *Charlotte* his sister for his heire, married since to the Vicount of *Turenne*, now Dof *Bouillon*, and Marshall of France.

Another troope of Reistres marched towards the French Conit: the Marquis of *Pont*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Duke of *Guise*, pursuing them (against the publike faith) vnto the mountaines of *Saint Claude*, enter the citricities of *Montbelliard* and *Hericourt*, where by a lamentable ruerge vpon a poore innocent people, by the burning of 200 Villages, by the forcing of many wiues and maids, and by the murder of a great number of all ages, all sexes, and all qualities, they leaue the marks of the inhumanity, and the brutish fury of the League, and carie the spoiles of their triumph into *Lorraine*.

All the chiefe of the League assemble at *Nancy*, where they resolute to make the last trial of their ambition. The season inuities them, mens humors are well affected. The Catholike consciences, freed from the fury of strangers, confesse themselues wonderfully bound to the Duke of *Guise*: the people extoll the victory of *Anneau*, and the dispersing of this great armie: the Nobilitie of the league looks bigger, the Clergy reioyceth, the Preachers tongues are firebrands of sedition, they speake in derision of the King in their Pulpits, (before time the Pulpits of truth are now become the Chaires of Iuglers:) they make the King a *Saul*, and the Duke of *Guise* a *Dauid*; *Saul* slew his thousand, but *Dauid* his ten thousand.

They publish generally in their Sermons, that the King had leauied the Reistres, to oppose them against the Dukes holy enterprises, and to expose *Paris* as a prey: burby the Dukes valour and constancy, religion had now triumphed ouer heresie. The Pope sends vnto the Duke a Sword grauen with flames. The King of *Spain*, and the D. of *Sauoy*, conceiue great hopes. The D. of *Parma* salutes him, and amongst all the Princes of *Europe* (saith he) *Henry of Lorraine alone deserves to command in warre*. They make bone-fires in all places, and sing the wondrous woikes of the Duke of *Guise*, to the Kings disgrace. The people of *Paris* especially (possessed with the praises of the House of *Guise*, and the disorders of the King, the dissolucence, lecherie and hypocricie of the Court, vnder a shew of penance) leane to the party which they hold almost certaine: they disdain the present estate, apprehend what is to come, and thinke to lose nothing by the change.

Henry of Lorraine discourages all this, and thinke to make his profit of so goodly an opportunity. He knowes moreover, that *Iambert* and *Atiron* haue giuen their opinion of the Kings disability to haue children. Hee makes himselfe more pleasing to the people, who feare the succession of a Huguenot Prince: hee entertaines them with great familiaritie, but with an humour aspiring vnto tyrannie. Hee sees the maiestie of his Soueraigne disgraced, his enemies retired to *Rochel*. England ready to be inuaded by a proud army from *Spain*: he giues eare to the counsell of the Arch-leaguers, increased to the number of sixteene, by reason of the sixteene quarters of *Paris*. Hee is crafty, aduised, foreseeing, generous and valiant: but variable, corrupt, a dissembler, secret and patient. Hee will by no means vse his owne name in any thing, yet will hee effect that by another which hee attempts or takes in hand. Hee aduertiseth the Cardinall of *Bourbon* (who goes but as hee is led) that this goodly opportunitye must not be lost. But the secrets of his heart were contrary to his outward shewes.

This

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A This assembly at *Nancy* tended onely to force the King to make his Will, and to allow the regency vnto them: It was therefore concluded: That the King should be urged to ioyne his forces effectually with the League. To displace such from their Offices as should bee named. To bring in the Inquisition of *Spain*, and to publish the Council of *Trent*, but with a moderation of such things as derogate from the priuiledges of the French Church. To consent to the restitution of the goods sold by the Clergie for the Charges of the warre. To giue the townes to be manned and fortified as the time and necessitie required. To forsake the Huguenots bodies and goods, and to entertaine an armie vpon the frontiers of *Lorraine*, against the Germanes, who threatened reuenge for the insolencies committed in the Conuention of *Montbelliard*.

But to subiect the Kings authoritie to the designs and practices of the League, what was it, but by this means to aspire to the Crowne? To haue him ruine them hee loved, and that were allied vnto him in blood: what was it, but to make a bush of a Forest, and a desert of a goodly Kingdom? And this word of Inquisition, is it not hatefull vnto all men? It was necessary for the Spaniards, who had no better means to plant and maintaine Christianity. But the tediousnesse and manner of their proceeding is horrible, the malice and calumination of their spies and informers abominable; their prisons vnder ground fearful: their racks and tortures intolerable, the yellow gowne without sleeves painted all ouer with Diuels, the Mytre, and Corde: and for the last act of this pitifull Tragedy, the fire had made it detestable to the Flemings, and execrable to the French. As for the reception of the Council of *Trent*, the soueraigne Courts of this Realme haue neuer so aduised our Kings, for the prejudice they should doe vnto the Crowne, and the priuiledges of the French Church. To require redemption of the Clergie goods, and to haue the King force them that were benedicted to redeeme them, was it not to haue him make warre for the Church, and the Clergy should giue the alarme, and shadow themselues vnder the temporality, whilest that the Nobility should goe to fight, and the people languish? The League had obtained some townes of assurance, and the Parliaments laboured to put downe the Huguenots. To conclude, the King had not refused the chiefe of the League any demand that he might lawfully grant, and had yielded them many things which hee D might by this authority refuse.

Besides the motions of the Kings apprehensions, the first beginning of his misery is, that almost all his Councillors of State are corrupted, they conceal the truth, they fit themselues to his humors, they are fearfull, weak, and inconstant. Without doubt that Prince is miserable (saide an Emperor) from whom they conceal the truth. They persuade him, the D. of *Guise* party is strong, that the Townes and Prouinces looke onely after him: if he enters not into it, he must be subiect both to League and Huguenot. Yet hee means to be master ouer both, but he takes not the safest course. He becomes the head of the Guisards party, and talking of nothing but of the voyage of *Poitou*, thinke to winne the peoples loue, and to stop the murmuring of the League.

E The Prince of *Condes* death made the enterprise easie. A great debility of the stomacke, a difficulty of breathing, a great collicuense, a continuall vomiting, with an alteration and extreme paine, surprised him the third of May, halfe an houre after supper, and the second day of his sicknesse, a suffocation of all his vital spirits, sent him from the bed vnto the graue. He was a Prince indued with all the qualities fit for a great Capitaine, vnder whose magnanimity the Protestants conceiued great hopes. The body was opened, and the iudgement of Physicians was diuers. The botome of his belly was pale & burnt: his bowels ouerflowed with a reddish water: the stomacke about the orifice pierced through with a round hole, and the vitall parts being viceried, made some suspect poison, others held that it was the remainder of the potion hee swallowed in the yeare 1552, which making an impression in the bowels, had by little and little weakened the stomack, of the paine whereof, as also of his side, by reason of the blow hee receiued at the battell of *Contres* with a Lance, he had complained many weekes before his death. The Colledge at *Montpellier* did subscribe to this last opinion.

In the meantime the King doth not greatly affect this enterprife against the Huguenots: he desires to diuert the warre which the League would make immortal. But the Commander vnder whom hee assembles his forces, makes him fall from a feuer to a frigiditie. They had long before made the Duke of *Espernon* aduancement odious to the people.

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The

The Kings
Council corrupted.Death of the
Prince of
Conde.

The League made him the only Author of all disorder: but the succession of the office of Admirall, and the government of Normandie, wherein the King had installed him since the death of the Duke of Joyeuz, and their disdaine for that hee had crossed the Duke of Aumale in his enterprises vpon Boulogne, and other places in Picardy, shall some discover the violence of an ambitious spirit, who thinks that the very heauens should giue him place.

The Duke of Guise finds, that the warre which hee made against the Princeesse of Sedan, by *Roshe* his Lieutenant, did but blemish his new trophies. Shee had already chased him from Douzy: she had by the Lord of Neuil slaine fiftene score of the most resolute of his troopes, almost as many hurt and drowned in flying, and 2000 prisoners to Sedan. B. The consideration of an innocent pupill, makes this warre execrable; and makes them odious that attempt to take from another without any iust cause. The Parisiens faint, if he come not to confirme them. They call him: and he leauing Sedan and Iametz, thinks it is now high time that the King either yeeld or breake, and that now they must shew the effect of the conclusion of Nancy.

Hee comes to Soissons. The King is very ialous of his approach: and knowing the Parisiens humour and deuotion to the Duke, he sends him word by the Lord of Belleure (a man of great and found iudgement, who for his great employments, both within and without the Realme, was then one of the chiefe of the Kings Councell, and lately the most worthy Chancelor of France) that hee should doe him a pleasure, not to come to Paris in a time so full of troubles and factions. If hee come against his will, hee will lay vpon him the cause of all the miseries, which his presence shall breed. But to lose all, there is but one hazard: *Pompey* thinks, that striking the ground with his foot he shall raise vp an hundred Legions. He comes to Paris at noone the ninth of May, followed onely with eight Gentlemen, not to amaze the King. He lights at the Queene-mothers lodging, and goes with her to doe his dutie vnto the King. The people follow him by troopes with great ioy: euery one blesteth his coming, euery one makes new wishes. The Parisiens had long forgotten that ancient and chearefull salutation of, *God saue the King*. When they see him passe, they change it into *God saue the Guise*, *God saue the pillar of the Church*. A doting Gentlewoman sitting vpon a stall, puls downe her maske. D. *Good Prince* (saith shee) *seeing thou art come, wee are all saued*. Hee makes his reuerence vnto the King, but not so assured as hee was accustomed: he layes open the causes of his coming, and iustifies his actions as well as hee could. Then seeing the King ready to dine, hee retires to his lodging, and not one Courtier accompanied him as before.

At dinner he growes more resolute. They meet both after dinner at the Queene-mothers lodging. The King full of ialousie and feare: The Duke with a braue and resolute countenance. The people attend the issue of this conference. The next day the Archbishop of Lyons (the chiefe pillar of the League) arises: the Dukes friends and seruants enter: the sixtene Tribunes of the Rebels and Conspirators bring and cary away sundry intelligences. To conclude, all now prepare to execute that whereof they failed the last yeare. A E. notable error of State: for destroying the principall, the necessary perill of himselfe. The King had sufficient forces to suppress these first insolencies. He had the names & surnames of his enemies: most of them were danted with feare, with these long palces and goings from one to another: others did hide themselves: and some dreamed of nothing but of flight. The multitude is apt for tumults. A chearefull and resolute countenance of the King might easily haue dispersed this tempest. But in stead of confirming him, they make him more irresolute: they talke of nothing to him, but of the Dukes practices with the Parisiens, and that by his long delay he will be prevented. He means to anticipate the hour, and drinks it sufficient to terrifie them: for the effecting whereof, he commands the Marshall of Biron, to draw his guards of Suisses and French out of the Suburbs into the Citie, and lodgeth them in diuers quarters, to feare the people, if they stirre. *Le Gass* with his company, held the little bridge neare to our Ladies Church. *Grillon*, *Saint Michaels* bridge: the Marshall d'Amont mans our Ladies bridge with Harguebuziers: the Suisses are diuided into diuers places, before the Towne-house, in the new market-place, and at Saint *Innocents* Church. But either through want of iudgement, or for want of men, they had forgotten the place Maubert. The people grow amazed: the chiefe of League terrifie them with the apprehension of a spoile: they shut vp their shoppes.

Their

A. Their trafficke, tooles, pens and paper, are conuerted into Halberts, Pertuisans, Harguebuzes and Swords. The schollers come from the Vniuersitie, and ioyning with some multitudes of the people, they seize vpon place Maubert: the neighbours arme, all the City is in combustion: some cry out for Barricado's, there is nothing but stopping of the wayes: they flanke them, and man them, they make them from thirty paces to thirtie, euen to the Centinels of the Loure, they draw the chaines: no man passeth without the word, or a Passcport from the Colonels or quarter Masters. The Earle of Brissac, *Bois Dauphin*, *Chamois*, and other heads of the League, charge the Suisses, and kill some: the rest being terrified with this vnexpected fury of the people, without Commanders, without conduct, and without assurance of the Kings intention, choose rather to yeeld their pikes, than to charge them in this violent occasion. Without doubt a more manly courage and constant resolution had forced the Parisiens to fortifie themselves in the bottome of their Cellars. Cities begin a mutine boldly, but they execute it faintly, if they see any resistance, vsing still more words then deeds. The consideration of wife, children, and shop, doe easily quail their first heat. *S. Paul*, (a simple Gentleman, but a chiefe man in this party) causeth the Kings Guards, to retire with their hats in their hands, and their armes downe. They cry out generally against the Tyrant, against the *Huguenot*, against the Politicks. It fares with them in a manner as it did in former times with the English and Bourguignons.

C. The Queene-Mother had alwayes made her profit of the variety of Factions: shee is now deceined, the D. of Guise will not employ her in that he hath designed: she takes her Coach, and comes amazed to intreat the Duke to pacifie this tumult. *Belleure* follows to the same end. But the Duke answered, *These are wild bales broke loose, whom I cannot stay*. So great a designe was not attempted to faint in the midst thereof. It was no longer time now to dissemble: the maske vncouered, and the fard founded, they must goe on, and seize vpon his person, without whose ruine their victory would be imperfect, for the effecting whereof ten or twelue thousand men were ready to enter by night at the new gate, to beset the Loure, and to shut vp all the passages. Foure Gentlemen, familiar with the Duke, aduertise the King hereof: yet can he hardly beleue it, but that the people will always willingly yeeld to the Kings clemency. Yet his Councell desired to be out of Paris. They lay before his Maiesty the generall reuolt, in the which *Philip* the faire was forced to saue himselfe among the Templers: the party-coloured hood of red & sky colour, wherewith *Charles* Duke of Normandy, and afterwards King of France, the first of that name, and surnamed the wife, was hooded, to saue himselfe from the peoples insolvency, during the Captiuitie of King *Iohn* his father in England: the reuolt of the Malitours: the mutine of the Caboches: the crosses of Saint *Andrew*: the deposition of *Salcedo*: the aduertisements of the King of Nauarre, and the conspiracies of the last yeare, which now hath broken the bankes, and ouerflowed all.

His feare increaseth, yet hee settles his countenance. *It is reason* (saith hee) *to provide for these disorders, to assemble the Councell, and to giue all men contentment*. And the better to disguise his intent, he sends backe the Queene-Mother vnto the Duke, to perswade him to come vnto the Loure, and to assure him, that hee shall returne with such satisfaction as hee can desire. Shee intreats him in this vrgent necessity, to make knowne vnto the King, that hee hath more will to preferre, then to ruine his Crowne, & to settle the Estate which this mutiny hath wonderfully shaken. To intreat an enemy, is to shew that hee feares him. The D. seems cold: he layes the motives of these tumults vpon the people, to whose assistance hee is drawne, more by the violence of necessity, then by his own desire. It were a great indiscretion (saith he) for mee, to cast my selfe naked into a suspected place, at the mercy of my enemies. The King vnderstanding by his Mother, the Dukes obstinacie in his designe, resolues for the safety of his person. F. He goes from the Loure with a small traine, with a shew to walke in the Tuilleries, and from thence hee goes to lodge at Trapes. I giue thee my curse (saith he, turning at Chalot towards Paris) disloyall and ingratefull Citie: a Citie which I haue alwayes honoured with my continuall aboad: a Citie which I haue more enriched then any of my Predecessors. I will neuer enter within the compasse of thy walls, but by the ruine of a great and memorable breach. Cursed likewise be you all, for whose content I haue purchased the hatred of so many.

The D. of Guise
leaves the war
of Sedan.

He comes to
Paris.

Antonicus
Statue.

Barricades
at Paris.

The K. retires
from Paris.

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O Duke ! thou hast drawne thy sword against thy Soueraigne : but God hath stayed thine arme from striking. It is a folly onely to terrifie him, who may finde meanes of reuenge. Many of his Faction blame him to haue erred in the mayne point, wherein consisted the perfection of his victory, by this attempt hee hath blemished his reputation with all Princes. All Kings are Brethren, one Royall blood summons another, they haue an interest in this cause, they affect troublers of anothers Estate, but they cannot endure them in their owne. Hee therefore thought it good to send the Earle of Brisac vnto Sir Edward Stafford being then Ambassadour for England, to informe him of the subiect of the Barricadoes, who came accompanied with certaine Gentlemen to visit the Ambassadour in his Lodging, to offer him (amidst these popular insulencies) a saueguard, intreating him not to be amazed, nor to retire himselfe, vpon the assurance and protection of the Duke of Guise. The Ambassadour answered, that if hee had beene a priuate person in Paris, hee would haue cast himselfe at the Duke of Guises feet, to thanke him most humbly for his courteous and kinde offer, but being neere vnto the King for the seruice of the Queene his Mistris (who had a League of amity and friendship with the King) he neither could nor would receiue any saueguard but from the King.

The Earle of Brisac told him, that the Duke of Guise was not come to Paris to attempt any thing against the King or his seruice : that hee was onely forced to defend himselfe, that there was a great conspiracy against him and the City of Paris: that the Town-houfe and other places were full of gibbets, whereon the King had resolved to cause many of the city and others to be hanged. Wherefore the D. of Guise intreated him to aduertise the Queene his Mistris of all these things, to the end the whole world might be informed. The Ambassadour answered that hee would easily beleue that hee had spoken this vnto him. That great and bold enterprises remaine many times incommunicable in the bosomes of the undertakers, who (when they please) discover them with what colour they thinke fittest for themselves. But hee would tell him freely, that what had past at Paris would be found strange, & of dangerous consequence by all the Princes of Christendom, who haue interest therein. That no cloake, how goodly soeuer, could make it allowable, being the duty of the subiect to continue constant in his due obedience to his Soueraigne. That if there were gibbets prepared, men would easily beleue it, if the Duke of Guise will shew them: and admit it were so, it were an odious and intolerable thing for a subiect to seeke to hinder by force the iustice which his Soueraigne would doe by armes. That hee promised him willingly that he would aduertise the Queene his Mistris of all that hee had said vnto him. But to be an interpreter of the D. of Guise his conceptions, and of his parties, it did not belong vnto his charge, the Queene his Mistris being wiser then hee, to beleue what he pleased. Then the Earle asked him if he had any armes: to whom the Ambassadour answered, if you question with me as one that hath been sometimes a friend and familiar with *Monseigneur de Cossé* your Vncle, it may be I would tell you; but being as I am you must pardon me. Your house will be presently searched, said hee, for they thinke you are armed, and it is to be feared ye will be forced. I haue two doores in my lodging replied the Ambassadour, the which I will cause to be shut and defend them as long as I may, to the end the world may know how vnjustly the Law of Armes is violated in my person. After which the Earle of Brisac said, I pray you tell me as a friend, haue you any armes? to whom the Ambassadour answered, seeing you aske me as a friend, I will tell you: if I were a priuate person here I would be armed; but being an Ambassadour, I haue not any but the publique faith. I pray you bid the Earle of Brisac, cause your gates to be shut. I will not doe it said the Ambassadour, an Ambassadors house must be open to all commers, and goers: moreover, I am not in France to remaine still at Paris, but neere vnto the King where soeuer he is. This discourse passed betwixt the Earle and the Ambassadour of England, which I haue thought good to insert at large.

Without doubt the prouidence of God had prepared a strange Catastrophe for the Duke, for the King, and for his Realme: who at this time, by his singular loue to this Crowne, did diuert the successe which they expected of this shamefull and reproachfull mutiny. O Paris! King Charles the 8 had in former times made the twelfth day of May famous, by the absolute conquest of the Realme of Naples: and now thou desicst to haue this twelfth day noted with red letters, and hereafter to be celebrated, for that in the

same

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A same day thou hast presented vpon the Theater of thy rebellions, a King dispossessed of the capitall City of his Realme. Nay rather, what coale can sufficiently note to our posteritie this mournfull and vnfortunate day? What law of forgetfulness, may wipe out the remembrance of thy shame, ingratitude and treachery? what lotion can wash away the spots of thy pollution, filthinesse, and villanies? what fire shall euer consume the memory of the rebellions, tyrannies, and seditions, of this fatal and abominable League? O Barricadoes, you are the spring of those floods, which shall for a time drowne this Estate: and the instrument wherewith that inscrutable wisdom would chastise, both the King and the Realme.

B Fatal and cursed day of the Barricadoes, the birth day of our miseries, and the funeral day of our happinesse, which hath broken the bounds to those streames of blood which haue drowned our fields, which hath made liberty captiue; truth criminall; rapine iust; and tyranny and inuasion lawfull: which hath puld a crowne from a Kings head, and the Lawes out of the heart of the Realme: which hath armed a President to mutine the people of his quarter: which hath made cowards courageous to set vpon the Kings guard: which hath made the most wicked insolent, and caused them of the League to triumph through the streets of Paris, as a perfect image of all villany: which hath made the sixtene Tribunes to publish that wretched rebellion, and to qualifie it with the title of a iust defence against the King; aduertising all the townes of their confederacy, that God had preferred that holy and religious City from a great massacre, and from a fearfull sack; that the Duke of Guise had prevented the counsell of the politics, and especially of the D. of Epiponon, who had fo posselt the Kings heart, as he had caused him to resolute to ruine the chiefe and most Catholike families of Paris, to suppress their liberties, and to deprive them of their religion, thinking there was no better meanes to force obedience in a people, then to keepe them vnder, and to deprive them of their wealth, the which made them insolent, mutinous and rebellious.

The Duke of Guise at the beginning of this bold and insolent attempt, writes presently to his most trusty friends, to repaire speedily vnto him with armes and horses: but no baggage. *I haue overthrowne the Sniffes (said he) to Entragues Gouverneur d'Orleans* a cut in pieces some part of the Kings guards, and hold the Loures so straitly beset, as I will give a good account of what is within it. This victory is so great, as it will be remembered for euer. But oh Duke! is it presumption that bandies thee against the rules of reason, or weakness which abates thy courage and resolution; in suffering him to scape, who within few moneths shall heape this thy victory vpon thy head, and by thy vter confusion shall make it memorable for euer? Both the one and the other brings a sudden repentance vnto man, and makes him wise too late. Thou seemest, oh Duke! to touch the heauens with thy forehead, and hell with thy foot: but learne, that our Histories are full of the violent deaths of those proud spirits, who seeke their glory and profit with the ruine of their Country, the pretiudice of States, and the subuersion of common peace. That great God which reuengeth the iniuries of Kings and people, layes publike ruines vpon them that doe them. The slaughter at Vassy kindled the fire of the civill warres. So thy father dyed, soone after the new troubles which followed. Euen so, the like storme threatens thy ruine in the midst of thy violent passions.

Entragues had assembled the Nobility of the League at Baugency: but the 14 of the moneth, he writes vnto them: *Our great, could not execute his designe, the King having caused himselfe within Chartres: I wish you to retire to your houses, as quietly as you may, making no shew to haue scene any thing.* And in the end: *I am so amazed, as I know not what to doe.* I beleue him. Kings haue long hands, they catch afaire off, and their blowes are dangerous. So hereafter the King shall free himselfe from the Leaguers party, but hee shall be little the better. The Duke is no lesse troubled in minde, seeing the Sunne of the Royall Maiestie eclipsed: hee seemes grieved, rebukes the people, causeth outrages to cease, deliueres the French companies their armes, and puts them out of the Citie; but Saint *Anthony* gave, quite contrarie to the way which their Master tooke. In such minities, no mind, (be it neuer so resolute) continues still constant in one Estate. The D. of Guise sees now, that the greatest of the Clergy approue not these new insolencies: their callings haue more grace vnder the beauty of a King, then in the confusion of a Democracy. The French Nobility (at the least of ten parts, nine) cannot see themselves

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to the humours of the Princes of the league; their proper and essential forme is to oppose themselves against the subversion of this Estate. The Gentlemen hold their honours, dignities, charges, fees, and jurisdictions by homage of the King: and therefore, that a royalty cannot be suppressed, but the Nobility must likewise perish: there is like reason (but without proportion) of the obedience, and fee due vnto a King, as of a rent due vnto the Lord of a Mannor, he that hath withdrawne himselfe from the first, will likewise free himselfe from the last. Hee sees that the learned and men of honour abhorre this disgrace, lately done vnto the King. The Court of Parliament resolves to abandon Paris. All France is offended with the Kings departure: and without the Kings person, the Tragedy of *Chilperic* cannot well be acted, nor the instructions of the Aduocate *David* perfectly effected. It is therefore better to play the dutifull seruant, and making vnto the King some shew of respect, seruice and obedience, to labour to returne into Grace, and at the first opportunity to effect their purpose.

The Duke
seeking
to
reconcile
into
harbour.

So the D. of Guise, not able to support himselfe in these high attempts, falls flat down. He protests of his innocency to the King, and of his endeavours to checke the peoples furie: he offers to prostrate himselfe at the Kings feet, to iustifie his honour, the which hee sayes is strangely wounded by his enemies, that are about his Maiestie. But on the other side, the glosse doth ill agree with the text: he chooseth a Prouoft of Merchants, and Sherifffes at his deuotion, receiues the Arcenall, the Bastille, and other places of strength: deposeh many quarter-masters and Captaines, takes an oath from such as hee instals: seizeth vpon the Kings treasure, as he had done at Chaalons, Reimes, Soissons: and through all the townes of his obedience. *And if this mischief continues* (said hee) *I protest to preferre both the Religion and the Catholikes.*

The Queene
Mother im-
ployed for a
peace.

Then by the other Letters written to *Bassompierre a Lorraine*. The King leauies forces and so doe we. He is at Chartres, and we at Paris. Espernon is chased out of Normandy: the Kings seruants are imprisoned in many great townes: the lesser send to submit themselves to Paris and vs. Whilst the Duke prepares a false for the force which he had made, and the Parisiens perswade their associates, to maintaine themselves ioyntly against the King of Navarre, with whom (they said) the King had made himselfe a partisan, to the preiudice of Religion, and the Catholike Church, his Maiestie exhorts his Lieutenants and Gouernours of his Prouinces, to retaine the Nobilitie, and people, within those limits of duty and respect, which tye them to their Soueraigne; and the chiefe cities, not to frame their affections after the modell of Paris. But he speaks no more like a King: his style is the style of a man that flies, that feares, that intreats. And to repaire this disorder, hee employes the Queene-mother. But how could this turbulent spirit cure the infirmities of the Estate, being irreconcilable in her hatred to the Princes of the blood, and transported in her affection to the children of her daughter, the Duchesse of Lorraine? Shee aduiceth the King, to passe ouer quietly the infolencies of the league: but there is no likelihood, shee should more regard the profit of her sonne, then the aduancement of the Marquis of Pont her grand-child. She brings to this new common-weale (for the Royalty seemed now to be changed into a Democracy) complaints, and teares against the brauiings and force of a courageous Prince, and a furious multitude. And promising effects of greater zeale to Religion, more respect in the distribution of offices, and more moderation in the exaction of Subsidies, shee presumed to give contentment to those who made shew to employ themselves for a generall reformation, and to reduce the most violent to their obedience.

Seven demands
of the League.

But this seruice but to breed a second treaty like to that of Nemours. Paris without the King, is a body without forme: the most iudicious finde it, and lament his departure. The late orders of religious men haue great credit with him. They send the Capuchins in procession vnto Chartres, to mitigate the heat of his choler, & then the chiefe of the city went to excuse the motives which had forced the people to defend themselves, and to beseech him to returne to Paris, where he should be receiued with as great ioy, as his subiects were grieved, to vnderstand of his departure: that hee should finde better seruants, then those which had counselled him to ruine, and then to leaue them: and that it would please his Maiestie to grant them seven principal points of their petition: the extirpation of heresie, by the forces of his Maiesty, and the holy vniou: the banishment of the D. of Espernon, and of his brother *la Valette*: Warre in Guicenne, by the King in person, and by the duke of

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A of Mayenne in Daulphine: Abolition of the tumults of Paris: Confirmation of officers chosen for the managing of ciuill causes since the Barriadoes: A restoring of the goodly and ancient ordinances of the Realme: And an abolition of parties, gifts and abults brought in by *Espernon*, and *la Valette*.

The Queene-mother presents these Deputies, and the King vrged by the League to grant their request, lets the Cardinall of Bourbon, and the other Princes vnderstand: that the peace and warre, the battels wherein he hath so willing exposed his person, and the last ouerthrow of the Protestant Reistres, haue alwayes bene sufficient testimonies of his zeale to the maintenance of the onely Catholike religion within his Realme: to the extirpation of heresie, and false doctrine: but ielousies and distrust had prevented him from reaping the fruits of the aduantage which he had ouer the said heretikes. That for a present reformation of affaires, and to prevent the feare the Catholikes had to fall vnder the command of Heretikes, he would call an assembly of the three Estates of France: and resolves presently to reuoke many impositions which oppresse the people. As for the private complaints against the D. of Espernon, and his brother: I will (saith he) waite make it knowne in all occasions, that I am a iust Prince, and will preferre the common profit of my Realme, before any other consideration.

The D. of E.
Guicennes in-
dication.

But the two brethren, *Espernon*, and *la Valette*, say: to what end should they make an enterprise at Paris, to take the Duke of Espernon, who was then in Normandy? and why made they Barriadoes, euen to the gates of the Louure, armed the people, and seized vpon all the chiefe places of the citie, to chase *la Valette* from *Valence*, and other parts of Daulphine where hee remained? and if the confusions of former ages haue kept other Kings from acknowledging our fathers seruices; and hee hath rewarded his meritis in his children; what be those ielous and malicious heads, that enuy our fauours with his Maiestie? what censure? what rigour? what law may keepe a King of France, from aduancing to authority some fauorites, who reuiue in them the vertues of their ancestors? Moreover, the League makes mention, in what places our fauour hath been employed: the treaties of the D. of Espernon in Guicenne: his being acquainted with *Cleruants* negotiation for the Huguenots of Metz: the enterprises he hath made vpon Cambray: his late fauour to the D. Reistres in their returne: his secret conference with *Chastillon*, the consultations of that tumult, which hath lately hapned in Paris: the taking of *Valence*, *Tallard*, *Guildestre*, and other places, from the Catholikes of Daulphine, and his practices to stay the yeelding of *Aussone*. But we say, would to God we had in the like sort taken, *Chaalons*, *Dion*, *Montreuil*, *Cambray*, and al that are subiect vnto his Maiesty within the heart of France. They terme vs fauorers of Heretiks: And yet we haue in six moneths taken from them by the sword, all their conquests in Prouence (the King, since the death of *Henry* the bastard, and Grand Prior of France, had giuen this government to the D. of Espernon) which former Gouernours could not doe in twenty yeares. The taking of *Sorgues* in Daulphine by vs two, during the frozen time of winter: and the ouerthrow of the Huguenots *Suisses*, by *E la Valette*: but especially the last diuision of the *Suisses* from the Reistres, which made the way for the D. of Guise, to defeat them at *Auneau*, and the discontent, wherein the Duke of Espernon left the K. of Navarre at his departure out of Guicenne: are not these sufficient testimonies, that their accusations are as frivolous and malicious, as the sale of offices wherewith folke charge them? for iustificatiou whereof the Duke of Espernon offers to present his head at his Maiesties feet, if it be proued that he had euer any such thought in his soule. Contrariwise, who hath during the reignes of *Henry* the second, and *Francis* the second, managed the treasure without controll but the House of Guise? whereof the latter follow the steps of their Predecessors? Who haue forced the King to exact vpon his subiects but the warre which they haue kindled and drawne his Maiesty into? what should doe euer from so small a beginning grow to so fearfull a greatness? To conclude: no man shall blame vs for being Pensioners to the King of Spaine, to haue hindered our King from the recovery of the Seigneries of the Low Countries, nor to haue stolne away the reuenues of his generall receipts. We will no wayes hinder this goodly reformation: we are not in Court, nor in the Kings presence.

Let vs see the first fruits of this so commendable a government. Haue you left Paris? haue you yeilded it to the King your Lord, and natural Prince? Nothing lesse: you haue reuolted *Corbeil*, *Melun*, and *Pontoise*: you haue (with false perswasions) withdrawne the

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Deputies of
the Parliament
wait on the King.The King's
answer.

the best Cities of the Realme. But we will (in protesting to bee ready to deliuer into his Maiesties hands, with our liues and honour: all the offices, charges, governments and places which it hath pleased him to commit vnto vs) inuite our accusers to doe the like. And if they will pretend inequality of persons: let them vnderstand, that whatsoever either party holds, it appertaines vnto the King, neither can they keepe it, but at his pleasure. Thus the two brethren iustified themselves, whilst the Court of Parliament makes knowne vnto the King by their Deputies, their griefe for this insolvency, which had forced him to abandon Paris. They appeale vnto his clemency and bounty. They present for an humble excuse of his officers, the weaknesse and feare which had forced them to yeeld to so violent a reuolt: beseeching him to returne into his Citie, and to giue rest and content to his Maiesty, order to his affaires, grace to their purple robes, and authority to their offices: and by his presence, to disperse the mutinies which diuisions had bred.

For answer, I doubt not (said the King) but you would willingly haue reformed this disorder, if it had been in your power: neither of your persisting in the same affection and fidelity which you haue testified to my forefathers. I am not the first that hath bintouch with such afflictions; neither will I leaue to be a good father to such as shall be good children. I will alwayes intreat the Parisiens with the quality of a father, as children that haue strayed from their duty, not as seruants to haue conspired against their master. Continue in your offices, and receiue from the Queene my Mother the commandements and intentions of my will.

This answer was soft and cold: but after dinner, hee addes a sharper conclusion, and calling backe the Deputies, I know (saith hee) wherefore garisons are set, either to ruine a towne, or for distrust of the Inhabitants. But what cause had the Parisiens to presume, that I would ruine a towne, whereunto I haue brought so many commodities by my presence, as ten or twelve townes would thinke themselves greatly benefited thereby? and what distrust could I haue of a people whom I loued? of a people in whom I trusted? Haue they lost a loafe, or any thing whatsoever by means of these pretended garisons? I sought the preservation of my good Citie of Paris, and the safety of my subiects, meaning by a strict search, to put out a great number of strangers, whom I knew to be secretly crept in. They haue offended me, yet am I not irreconcilable; neither haue I any humour to ruine them.

But I will haue them confesse their faults, and know that I am their King and master. If not, I will make the markes of their offence remaine for euer. I will reuoke my Court of Parliament: my Chamber of Accounts, Aides, and other Courts of Iustice. I will take from them the Vniuersitie, their Honours, Freedomes, and Priuiledges. I will omit no meanes to be reuenged. Not that I am reuengefull, or accustomed to vse seueritie: but I will haue them know, that I haue as much resolution and courage, as any of my Predecessors. I am no Vsurper, but a lawfull King by succession, and of a race that hath alwayes commanded mildly. Let them not take religion any more for a pretext. There liues not a more Catholike Prince, nor that desires more the extirpation of heresies, then my selfe. I would willingly lose an arme, that the last Heretic were painted in this Chamber. Returne to your charges, and be of good cheere, I will be for you: and let them vnderstand what I haue said vnto you.

Now the most desperate Leaguers found, that the absence of the Court made their fare but simple, made their shops without Chapmen, and their traffick cold: the flame to be without a King, made the most audacious mutines to hang downe their heads: the violence of rebellion quailed: many found the dealing of Paris too audacious. And now Paris studied to returne to the Kings obedience: when as the Duke of Guise fearing the losse of many of his friends and seruants, resolves to make his peace. Hee now speaks of nothing but the Kings seruice, the obedience of his Maiesty, the preservation of the Estate, the reformation of disorders, and the subiects case, and (by the intercession of the Queene-Mother) seeks his fauour which hee had lost. The Queene-Mother terrifies the King. Those of his Councell, (who for the most part are seruants to the Leaguer) keeps him in this humour: and propounds vnto him a generall reuolt of his subiects, with the intelligence, and fauour the League had within Chartres, the which causeth him, for his greater safety to goe to Roan. Finally, they cry out against the Huguenots. My Liege (say they) will you lose the name of most Christian, in winking at these heresies which vnder-

The Duke seeks
to make his
peace.

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Edict of
union.

A mine the truth? will you alone among threescore and one Kings, your Predecessors, suffer so detestable a medley of truth and falshood?

This Councell carries him away against them in whom hee should most trust, who lamenting the decay of his authoritie, and the weakening of his forces, see that his intentions inclined to his owne ruine. Hee seemes to be in choller with the King of Nauarres party, to haue the League on his side, (but hee telleth no man, that he pretends to vse their forces against themselves) and drawes certaine Articles of the reunion of Iuly, whereby hee frames his Edict, not so much against the King of Nauarres religion, as to exclude him, in fauour of the League, from that, which none but God could take from him.

B But whilst they finish these accords, hee suddenly surpriseth the Isles of Charon and of Marans.

The King by this Edict admits no Religion, but the Catholike: hee promiseth neuer to make a peace nor truce with the Heretikes, nor any Edict in their fauour. He will haue all his subiects to ioyne with him, that by their common forces they might root out the said heretikes. He binds his subiects to sweare, neuer to yeeld obedience after him, to any Prince that shall be an Heretike, or a fauourer of Heresie, degrades from all publike charges, either in peace, or warre, those of the reformed religion: promiseth all fauour to the Catholikes, so as they shew themselves obedient and faithfull, and depart from all vnions, practices, intelligences, associations and Leagues, contrary to the vnion which hee made by this Edict: hee declares them guilty of treason, that shall refuse to signe to this new vnion, or shall afterwards depart from it: and finally, hee abolisheth all that was done and past. But (signing this forced Edict) he wept.

The Leaguers are now wonderfully putt vp with hope: yet this reuerence of the royall Maiesty is so naturally grauen in the hearts of men, as the onely remembrance of the twelfth of May makes their hearts to tremble. They feare the scorpions taylor, and that the King by his great facilitie, should determine against them some mounsefull Catastrophe in the last act of the Tragedie. And thereupon two things amaze them suddenly: newes comes, that the fearefull and huge Spanish armie, wherein were a hundred and thirty great Ships, and twenty thousand fighting men, vnder the command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had by fortune of sea, after their departure from the Grongne in Galicia, lost three Gallies of Portugall, many were scattered, and many bruiſed and made v. profitable for the voyage, and were afterwards so encountered by the Admirall, and Drake the Vice-admirall, thwart of Portland, vpon the English coast, as they forced them to turne head, and to retire in disorder towards the towne of Calais, (hoping there to ioyne with the Prince of Parma) with the losse of one gallion, which carried some part of of their treasure, and also the instructions for the order which the Generall should follow, having conquered England.

A bad beginning, for so braue and proud an ostentation, where they promised themselves an absolute victorie. But the progresse and end was yet more fatal. The English Fleet presteth them to neere, as they force them to leaue the Rendezuons in confusion: their General Gallies pestered with other ships, was cast by the current vpon the sands, neere to the Port of Calais, and remained with the artillerie in the gouernours power: The rest were scattered by the English artillerie. The Spanish army lost twelue ships, and aboute fise thousand men, who had no other sepulchres, but the vast Ocean, and the bellicies of sea Monsters: Finally, taking their course to the North, bending towards Scotland, and Ireland, those seas were no lesse fatal to the Spaniards, for seuentene of their great Ships were sunke, and many others cast vpon the sands and rocks, and the rest of this Armie was so miserably shaken, as of a hundred and thirty ships, hardly thirtie arriued in Spaine. Where the Duke of Medina had no other excuse vnto his Master, but the ignorance and treacherie of his Mariners, with the small experience they had of those Northern seas: the want of succours from the Prince of Parma, the tempests shipwracks; finally ill fortune, but not one word of the iudgement of God vpon this gyant-like attempt, to bring all England slaues to the mountaines of Grenada, or to the mynes of Peru.

The second terrour for the Leaguers is, that the King will not returne to Paris, howsoever they importune him. I will prepare my selfe (saith hee) for the warre against the heretikes: and for the Parliament which I intend to call, and to giue all Princes that are vni-

Two things
to trouble the
Leaguer.The defeat of
the Spanish
army at sea.The excuse of
the Duke of
Medina.The King refuseth
to goe to Paris.

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New resolu-
ons of the
League.

ted, contentment and satisfaction. They doubt the Barricadoes haue left much spleene in A the Kings heart: and to preuent all contrary euents, they thinke it not yett time to satisfie the oath which they had made, to renounce all intelligences and Leagues which they had made both within and without the Realme.

They take new Councils and resolutions at Paris, to maintaine this authority and credit gotten with so many crosses and disgraces vnto the King, and so to presse him, and to subiect his will vnto theirs, as he shall not fee, speake, nor moue, but by the eyes, tongue, and sinewes of the League: to haue the Deputies of the Parliament-House of their faction, with instructions drawne out of the Articles of Peronne, Nancy, Nemours and Giniulle. B

To vige the King against the Huguenots, and to sollicit him to ease the people by the discharge of taxes, thereby to make him odious, if he refuseth the first fruits of their vni- C on: To make them strong at the Parliament, and to that end to send for all the Nobility of their owne faction, and their adherents, to assist with their armes. To hold good correspondence with the Duke of Parma: and to aduertise the King of Spaine, that this accord made with the King, tended only to effect their common designs. To retaine Piffer Colonell of the Suisses, and Balagny Gouvernor of Cambray, with the priuate conuentions passed betwixt them. To preuent lest the Duke of Nevers, whom the King re- solved to send into Picardy to suppress the violences of the League, should winnaway their most trusty friends. To binde the Citie of Paris vnto the Lord of Villars, gouernour C of New-hauen, for the summe of 30000 crownes yearly, to haue him fauourable to their party.

These new Councils bred new teares. The King cannot containe them in subscribing of these new Articles: but his misfortune forceth him to hazard his estate, to preserue his person. Hee knowes well, that these are but imaginations: that his Edict of reuinion will bee observed by none, but by himselfe: or so farre as it toucheth the subuersion of his Crowne. And yet too much bounty, or too great apprehension makes him scrupulous to preuent it. The Protestants offer to try this great quarrell at their owne perils, so as hee will remaine a Neuter, and suffer them to oppose against the mutinies of the League. He reit & this aduice. *For there is lesse danger (saith hee) to remaine with those which per- D sist in the unity of our Religion, then with those which are diuided, and become heads of new opinions.*

So whether it were of a good meaning or of purpose, hee returnes to Chartres. Hee fees, imbraceth and maketh much of the Duke of Guise, and there all his fauours and bounties are liberally bestowed on the chiefe Pillars of the League. Hee giues the Duke of Guise the generall command ouer all the men of warre within the Realme. This was not the name and title, but in effect the office and charge of Constable. Hee makes the Cardinal of Guise Legate of Auignon, the which he promisseth to obtaine for him of his Holinesse. To the Duke of Mayenne, a goodly army for the warre of Dauphine. To the Duke of Nemours, the gouernment of Lyons, as his father had enjoyed it: and hee E determined to giue the Seale to Peter of Espinac Archbishop of Lion, to winne him vnto him by this great bounty, promising to procure him a Cardinals Hat of Pope Sixtus, by the meanes of the Cardinal of Gondy, whom he had sent to Rome. Without doubt he had receiued more honour by being Chancellor of France, then in being Chancellor of the vniou. (The Chancellor Hurault Earle of Chyuerny, and the Lord of Bellieure, and Villeroi, had then leaue to attend the Kings pleasure at their houses.) Hee declares the Cardinal of Bourbon the first Prince of the blood, deciding (by a doubtfull speech,) that great question of prerogatiue, betwixt the Vncle and the Nephew, wherein there hath been so much written, and so much disputed: perverting the ancient order of succession, and making the Cardinal to scue the passions of the League. F

They present vnto the King (being but six and thirty yeares of age) a successor, who had euen then passed a Climatierall yeare of threescore and three. Was it not the Leagues meaning, vnder the Cardinal of Bourbons image, to raise vp a stranger, and violently to aduance his tyranny, to vsurpe the royalty? To conclude, the King con- tinues, renues and amplifies his fauours to all such as haue any credit with the League: he doth nothing without them; he opens the very secrets of his heart vnto them, and (for their sakes) causeth euery one of their partisans to taste some portion of his bounty, and makes

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The Kings
Council has
dismissed the
Court.

Troubles a-
gainst the D.
of Eprouen in
Angoulême.

A makes show to beleeeue whatsoeuer they say vnto him. His Councell blinds his eyes, so as hee cannot discern what is the duty of a good King: they disguise the truth from him, and study only to satisfie their ambition and couerousnesse. So as to please them, euen in this, hee himselfe pulis out those eyes, whereby hee did see most cleare, and giues them leaue to retire to their houses, there to shrowd themselves from these confusions of State.

The Duke of Epernon was out of Court: but hee had authoritie from the King, to command in the Prouinces of Aniou, Tourain, Poitou, Angoulmois, & Xantonge. Being at Loches, hee is aduertised that the League pressed with some inhabitants to deliuer B them Angoulême. He posts thither, and the people receiue him with great honour as the Kings Lieutenant. Hee publisheth the Edict of reuinion, his words and deeds testifie nothing but a courage resolved to preserue the Catholike Religion. But behold suddenly a strange Catastrophe. Some Leaguers had perswaded the people, that hee meant to draw the Huguenots troopes into the Castle, and so subdue the towne. The Maior (being the head of the Conspiracy) enters into the Castle on S. Lawrence day, vnder colour to present vnto the Duke certaine Posts that were come from Court: hee mounts vp to his Chamber, at his entry hee dischargeth two Pistols, and seeks to force the house. The Duke was then in a Cabinet, attending the houre of Masse: where hee read the History of Pierre Ganes- C ton, in old time dearly fauoured by Edward the second King of England preferred be- fore all others in Court, enriched with the Kings treasure, and the peoples wealth, but after banished the Realme, and in the end beheaded at the suite of the Estates.

This slanderous Libell being printed at Paris, not so much against the Dukes honour as the Kings, compared the Duke with Guescler, and concluded, that vnder Henry the third, he should end his dayes by the like tragedy. Vpon the first tumult, the Dukes Gen- tlemen flye to armes, and repulse this armed multitude: the Maior being hurt with the shot of a Pistoll through a doore, dyed within feuen houres after. The alarm flies into the towne. The people arme, storme, and make barricadoes. But the Duke kept the Castle: the Citadell was at his deuotion, and might by either of them draw in necessary succours to vngage him.

D The Seigneur of Tagens, the Dukes cousin, advanced with succours: Bordes Captaine of the Citadell being prisoner among the conspirators, loued the liberty of his place, more then his owne life: Merc, Messeliere, Macquerole, and Bouchaux, summoning the besieged, found nothing in them but a constant resolution to dye rather then to yeeld: and the people were willing to capitulate, when as Tagens by his arriuall pacified the sedition: Armes were laid aside, and the prisoners of both parts deliuered. The Duke of Guise hauing made his peace with the King, and disappointed his most faithfull Coun- cellors: yet one thorne troubled his foot, the Huguenots Estate. Hee therefore ceaseth not, vntill hee sees them assailed in Poitou and Dauphine: and whilest the Duke of Ne- uers prepared his armie for Poitou, hee sends the regiment of Saint Paul to the Duke E of Mercuar, to annoy the Protestants, and not to suffer them to reape any commoditie in the country.

The Duke Mercuar goes into base Poitou, besegeth Montagu, repaired by Colum- biers, whom they of Nants had hourly at their gates. But at the first brute that the King of Nauarre was come out of Rochel to succour Montagu, hee retires straight to Nants, and left the regiment of Gersy, to make the retreat, the which was ouertaken, beaten, Gensy defeated and defeated two leagues from the suburbs of Nantes. On the other side, the Duke of Mayenne marched towards Dauphine, but hee planted the limits of his voyage in Lions. Now are two mighty armies in field, the one vnder the Kings authoritie, the other all of Leaguers: But this is not enough. The King by a solemne oath in the Cathedral Church F at Rouan, had sworn the execution of the Edict of vnioune hath sent vnto the Bishops, and commands them to presse the Huguenots in their Diocesse, to make profession of their faith, and to abjure their errors in open Parliaments, royall iurisdiccions and com- munalities.

This Edict must be confirmed as a fundamentall Law of State, and the King prest, to assemble the three Estates of the Realme, as he had promised by the Articles of the Peace. Henry grants a Conuocation, the 1 day of September at Blois: there (in the presence of the notablest persons of euery Prouince, Seneschallic and Bayliwick,) to propound freely the

Corporation of
the Estates.

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the complaints and griefes of euery man, but not meddling with any practices, or fauouring the priuate passions of any.

But amidst these Commissions from the King, the League wanted no policy to fend secretly (to them that were most affectionate to the aduancement of their desires, and to the most passionate Leaguers of the Realme.) Articles and remembrances which they should put into their instructions, and labour to bee chosen of the Parliament. So as in a manner all the Deputies caried the badge of the League, and their instructions were conformable to those which had been sent vnto them. The King comes first vnto Blois: hee giues order for the place, and for the Deputies lodgings. The D. of Guise follows: but it was a great indiscretion for the Duke to goe to Blois, seeing the King would not come to Paris. The Deputies come one after another: but the King finding not the number sufficient to begin so solemne an act, he defers it vntill October.

In the meane time, the King studies, by the credit which authoritie giues him ouer the three Estates of his Realme, to bring the Duke of Guise into open view, and to receiue punishment for all his offences past. And the Duke assures himselfe, that the most part of the Deputies would countenance his cause, and would serue him as instruments to controll the Kings power. So euery one labours to aduance his designe, and to deceiue one another: but hee which shall be deceived, will verifie, that there is danger in delay. The 16 of October all the Deputies were ready, for the Clergy a hundred thirty and foure Deputies; amongst others foure Archbishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of orders: for the Nobility a hundred and fourescore Gentlemen: for the third estate, a hundred fourescore and eleven Deputies, all Lawyers, or Merchants.

The 17 day, being the first fitting of the prime wits of all France, rauished euery man with hope to heare rare propositions, and resolutions of great affaires for the reformation of the state. The Kings oration being full of fluently affection, true magnanimity, and pertinent reasons, deliuered with an admirable eloquence and grace without any stay, will testifie for euer, that hee exceeded all the Princes of his age in speaking well, and that hee could grauely, pertinently, and very suddenly make answer to the most important occasions that were offered.

Mantelon, Keeper of the Scale, continued his Proposition, commended the zeale and integrity of his Maisties intentions, promised the Estates, that vnder his happy command, they should reape in this Conuocation, the same effects which had bene tried in diuers reignes: he exhorteth the Clergy to restore the beauty and dignity of the Church: The Nobility, to frame themselves after the mould of pietie, bounty, iustice, and other vertues of the French Nation, so much honoured in all histories: The people to reuerence Iustice, and to obserue good orders, to fly wrangling suits, swearing, blasphemies, play, lust, vniust getting, corrupt trading, and other vices, which be the seeds of troubles, and seditions, and the ruine of flourishing Estates. Hee layes open the Kings great debts, his charge and care to root out heresies, his religion, piety, and deuotion, ending his speech with a commendation, vnder the Kings obedience, of the vnion and concord, necessary for the maintenance of religion.

Renauld of Beaulne Archbishop of Bourges, Patriarke and Primat of Aquitania, thanked the King for his loue to his subjects, and God, to haue insatled on the throne of this Crowne, a King endued from his youth, with the spirit of wisdome, to gouerne his people, who had cast the lightening of the high God, euen vpon the face of the enemies of his diuine Maistie, hauing by diuers and dangerous voyages, through diuers Nations gotten the knowledge of affaires, who by his onely wisdome and vertue, had largely dispersed a great and mighty armie of strangers, and giuen vs hope, that vnder so good and great a King, wee shall see heresie suppressed, peace confirmed, the seruice of God established, Churches and Temples restored, iustice and peace embraced, charitie abound among men, and by vniue of Religion begin here on earth to reigne with Christ, the Idea and patterne of that heauenly kingdome, whereunto wee aspire. The Baron of Senefei testified the Nobilities affection to the Kings seruice, confessing, that to him alone belongs to worke those good effects, for the establishment of the honour of God, the Catholike religion, things profitable for the Estate, and necessary for his people, offering in the name of them of his order, the zeale, faith, and duty, which the Gentlemen of France haue alwayes borne vnto their Kings, their armes, meanes, liues, and persons,

to

The Kings Speech.

Mantelon
Keeper of the
Scale.

The Clergy.

The Nobility.

A to maintain the obedience, honor, feare and respect, whereunto the lawes both of God and man tie the subjects to their Soueraigne.

Michel Mayreau Prouost of the Merchants at Paris, President for the third estate, first thanked God, who had cast his eyes of pity vpon this Realme, in the extremity of their afflictions: then the King, to haue yielded to the humble petitions of his subjects, heard their griefes and complaints, shewed a great desire to restore his people to their former estate, Religion to her former dignity, to rule and settle all orders in their ancient forme, being diuided by this iniury of times, protesting that in so doing their most humble and faithfull seruice should not faile vnto the last breath. And so the first sitting ended.

B In the second, the Tuesday following the King at the instance of the Archbishop of Ambrun, the Earle of Briillac, and the Aduocate Bernard, speakers for the three Estates, to content the importunity of the League, did againe sweare the oath of the Vnion, lately made at Rouan, and making his Edict of Iuly last, a fundamentall law of the Realme, to binde him, them, and all their posterity (yet not derogating from the liberties and priuiledges of the Nobility) he caused it to be publicly read by Raue Siegneur of Beaulieu his chiefe Secretary of State.

C And to make the memory of so solemne an oath more autentike to posterity, he commanded the said Secretary to make an act, that all the orders of the Realme had sworn in the body of the State, all with one voyce, the Clergy laying their hands vpon their breasts, and the rest lifting them vp to heauen. An oath performed with great ioy, and generall reuiuing of that happy acclamation of, *God save the King*, so many yeares forgotten among the French nation: and followed with a singular testimony of the Kings clemency, remitting the Parisiens offence, for the common good of the Catholikes of France, and the ease of his people, whose miseries made him treade vnder foot his iust displeasure. Hold (saith he to the Prouost of Merchants of Paris) this word assured, as from the mouth of your King, and take heed that Paris fall not into a relapse, which will be fatal and not recoverable.

But there was a brute spread ouer all France, that vnder colour of this assembly, they practised an exemplary reuenge against the chiefe of the Estates. Advertisements came D from all parts: this teare went from chamber to chamber: the most apprehenſive desired to be satisfied. The Archbishop of Ambrun makes report vnto the King. I know (said the King) the liberties and prerogative of the Parliament: they ought to trust in my word: It is a sinne to grow in iealousie of your King: and these reports come not but from such as haue no loue to their King, but seek to make him odious to his people. There shall neuer any cause grow from me to disturbe this Assembly. In the end, the familiarity and shewes of loue from the King to the Duke and Cardinall of Guise, and (for their sakes) to the chiefe of the League, made them lay aside all suspiſion of a bloody act, whereof they were advertised from all parts. And without doubt, if the League had not stirred vp the coales of force-paſſed indignities, the fire of his wrath had not perchance deuoured them. This blast past ouer, there are other attempts no lesse dangerous. The League fets them on worke that beares their badge, to hit the marke whereat they ayemed. To put the King in disgrace, and to intall the duke of Guise in his throne, (for the King of Nauarre is now by this new fundamentall law, excluded from the royall succession.) But what meane they to doe? The Collosse they seeke to build, shall be their ruine: the fire they kinde shall burne them: the knife they forge, shall be heached in their owne bowels; and finally, shall leaue of this League a shamefull and reproachfull memory. To hit this pretended marke, they must make the Kings actions odious to all the world, reproach to him his vnreasonable prodigality, his dissembling, the oppression of his people, the erecting of new Offices, thereby to bandy against him the most apparent families of the third Estate, wronged in the suppression of them: or else (neglecting to redresse it) they should declare him an enemy to the people, and a Tyrant ouer his Realme, and so the people should presently resolute to confine him into a Monastery.

E They will lay before him the wonderfull coldnesse of the greatest part of the Catholikes to his loue and obedience, seeing themselves forced to liue amongst them that had burnt their Churches, prophaned their Altars, massacred the Priests, and spoiled their goods. They beseech him to defend the Church, and to prefer the iniuries done to religion, before the violences committed against the State. They propound vnto him, the excessive

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ex: effuse impositions and subsidies, which had already withdrawne most part of his subjects: and the filthy avarice of Strangers, who by continual inuentions did cruelly impoverish France. They represent vnto him the abuses of the government, in bestowing benefices to all men indifferently, either married, or soldiers: the lust, dissoluteness, and ignorance of Prelates: the sale of Offices and places of iudgment. They exhort him not to deale in spirituall causes, or at the least to proceed holily, as it belongs to holy things. To degrade a great number, as well of Prelates, as of ciuill Magistrates in toueraigne Courts and interiour iurisdiccions, and to punish with death those ministers which by corruption haue crept into the Church, Justice and government, else he cannot preferre the Estate. In the end, they presse him to reforme the excesses and disorders of his Court, the which are odious to so many Noble spirits, fraught with holiness, magnanimity and courage, to so many great and rich minds as be among the Nobility, which being employed, would in few moneths repaire the ruines of this Estate.

Such as finde themselves interested in the cutting off the superfluous number of Officers, and in the buying of their places, dissuade the King from this resolution, but to maintain them in the honours which they enjoy vnder the countenance of his Maiesty. The third estate exhibit their complaints, of the excesses of taxes and subsidies, wherewith they are oppressed, of the customes, foraigne impositions, rents vpon sale, entries, loane, gifts, increase and decrease of the prices of mony, with many other exactions and surcharges, wherof the King receiued not any benefit, but what was dipt in the blood of his poore people. The Nobility complaines of seruices done without recompence, and indifferet distribution of the Kings liberality. The Clergy exclaime that mony which hath bene drawne from them, had nothing auanced the cause of religion.

From complaints of the languishing people, grew the suppression of Officers of the new creation and an intent to ease their subsidies. But oh politicke stratagem! The King yeelding to haue them reduced to the yeare one thousand five hundred scutney six, sees himselfe depriued of all meanes to leauy his armies, and to entertaine the greatnesse of his Maiesties estate. If he refuse this, an occasion is giuen to mutine the Estates, to chafe away such as are neere his person, and to greeue him a gouernour.

The D. of Guise on the one side, dissuades the King to subiect his authority so much, but on the other side, he pricketh them forward to be vehement in their pursuits. In the end, the King passeth this grant of reduction: but hee hopes to make it knowne vnto the Estates, that with so small meanes he cannot maintaine his royall dignity, nor the warre against the heretikes, which they had so solemnly sworne. They deuide of meanes to make vp the stocke, and demand an account of such as had gouerned the treasure, and abused the Kings bounty. But whilst they turned ouer their papers at the Estates, let vs see the progresse of the two armies which wee had left in field. That of *Neuers* consisted of French, Swisses, and Italians, with many voluntary Gentlemen. *Sagonne* was Marshall of the light horse, *la Chastre* Marshall of the field, *Chastaigneray*, *Laucardin*, and many others commanded the troopes. *Mauleon* was the first obiekt of their armes. It is a rashnesse to be obstatine in the defence of a place which is not to bee held: but it is a treachery to ill treat them whom wee haue receiued to composition. So this first victory was bathed with their bloods, who trusting in the force of their courages, neglected the weaknesse of their walls. *Montagu* was defended some dayes by *Colembiers*, who at the first saluting the Duke with a furious skirmish, puts him to some losse. But the Cannon hauing both shaken their walls and their constancies, they entred into capitulation, the which was honorably granted the last day of Nouember.

La Ganache, situated vpon the marches of Britany and Poidou, annoyed both the one and the other Prouince. Let vs leaue the army there, to see how the Duke of Mayenne spends his time at Lions. The designs too lightly grounded vpon a peoples mutinie are alwaies ruinous. The Duke of Mayenne knowes it well: and moreover, there is nothing but blowes to be gotten in Dauphine. Hee desires rather to attend the issue of the Estates in a pleasing and delightfull abode: but this stay is a great scourge to *Mandelo*. He feares to be dispossest of his government. It is giuen to the Duke of Nemours, and therefore hee wonderously suspects the Duke of Mayennes presence. Finally, hee grew so ielous, as surprized with apprehension, with the cholicke, a feuer, the gout, and the fluxe, hee carried (the foure and twentieth of Nouember) this testimony into

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A the other world, by the mouth of father *Edmond Auger*, a Iesuite, in his funerall sermon. That he had neuer signed the league, & that he died firm in his religion, & the Kings seruice.

Whilst the King laboured at the Parliament, to cut off all difficulties which prolonged the war, and the Duke of Mayenne being at Lions, suffered the heat of his passage into Dauphiné to grow cold, *Charles Duke of Sauoy* foreseeing the disposition of this Estate, he thought, that as a sonne and husband of two daughters, issued from the blood of France, he should be the first which should set his hand to the diuision. The Marquise of Saluces is in the midst of his territories, he thinks, that for such a prize he may well break friendship and alliance with the King his neere kinsman, who of meeke courtiers he newly deliuered vnto him *Sauiagnan* and *Pignerol*.

With this designe (seeing the Kings thoughts otherwise engaged then beyond the Alpes) he makes a leauy of men, threatens Geneua, makes a shew to besiege Montferrat, causeth the Marquis of *S. Carlin* to goe to horse, and on All-Saints night surpriseth the Towne of *Carmagnole*, and then the Citadell, being vnfortified of victuals, which *S. Siluie*, successor to *la Caste* had drawne forth, with hope (said he) to refresh them: so as in lesse then three weeks he possessed all the Marquise, leauing a reproachfull suspicion against the Captains of the Citadell, to haue treacherously exchanged the double Canons of that ancient arcanal of the warres of France, beyond the Alpes, with the double pistolets of Spaine. This conquest made the Duke proud, and already in conceit hee had deuoured both Prouence and Dauphiné. For a colour he writes both to the Pope and King: That the generall respect of the Church had made him leize vpon these places, lest *Des Dignities* should make it a retreat and refuge for Huguenots: and the priuate interest of his Estates, which he desires to maintaine in the purity of the ancient religion, vnder the obedience of the holy Sea: and by his Ambassadors he disguiseth this wrong with the goodliest colours that may be. He makes a shew not to hold these places, but vnder the Kings authority: but in time hee vlurps all acts of Soueraignty: he displaceth his Maiesties officers, beates downe the Armes of France, sets vp the Croisse of Sauoy; and in a brauery hee causeth peeces of siluer to bee coyned with a Centaure treading a Crowne ouerwhelmed vnder his foot, and carrying this device; *Opportunity*. The King thus moued with this vsurpation, applies this branch to the body of the conspiracies of the League, he resolves now to pacifie the ciuill wars, to attend after foraigne: and euen then he determines to giue the Protestants a peace, and to vse their assistance against such as make a benefit of the discords of the realme. Such as respected truly the glory of the French, gaue him to vnderstand that he must appease both Huguenot and Liguier, and seeke reuenge of this new indignity: and hunt the Wolfe which breakes into the fold, whilst the Shepheards are at variance. Shall a petty Prince take from a King of France, the pawne which remains to recover Naples and Milan? foure hundred peeces of Cannon, which might beat the proudest Forts of the Spaniards to powder? that ancient see of Dauphiné, comprehended in the gifts which Prince *Hubert* made to the Crowne of France wherof our Kings haue so often receiued homage & fealtie of the Marquises, and haue often seized thereon for forfeiture and treachery?

All the Kings seruants, all the Courts of Parliament, all the assembly of Estates, iudge that these be the effects of the League, and that this inuasion is not without the intelligence of the Duke of Guise: euen those which fauour his part cannot digest it. But to auoid this common hatred which was ready to fall vpon him, he beseecheth his Maiesty, onely to assure his people, and make them to tast the fruits of contentment; which hee had promised in the oath of the holy vnion, that he would quench the fire which the Huguenots did nourish in this realme, and giue him this Commission against the Stranger, he will be the first that shall passe the Alpes, to make the Sauoyard cast vp his gorge. But could they hope for any remedy from him, who by his continual practices with strangers, had giuen life and motion to the mischief? So the King, considering that neither his Edict of reuision, nor the oath to depart from all associations, produced the effects were promised: and that the League (consenting to the pernicious designs of the stranger) had made the way for the breach of the said vnion, he thinks himselfe no more bound to the oath of this vnion, and euen then deuisech to be reuenged of all the offences past. In the meane time hee diffembles his discontent.

As these newes troubled the assembly at Blois, the King of Nauarre (seeing the practi-

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The D. of Mayennes stay at Lions surpriseth the Mandelo.

The Marquise of Saluces surpriseth by the Duke Sauoy.

The Kings device vpon this surpris.

Duke of Guise his dissembling.

Enriched of the Duke of Neuers army.

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Assembly and
petition of the
Protestants.

ces of the League had excluded him, whereas he should hold the first place) held another in the Towne-houſe at Rochelle, and by their aduice he ſent (in the name of the French exiled for religion) a common petition to the Eſtates, beſeeching the King. To reſtore them the liberty of the firſt Ediſt, which they call of Ianuary; To appoint a Nationall Councell, where controuerſies of religion may be mildly diſputed, and holily reſolued; To grant them reſtitution, and free enioying of their goods; To ſuffer their Petition to be enrolled, and the contents thereof granted by his clemency, to the end that nothing may be done to their preiudice.

Nothing leſſe. This petition was directly againſt the principal intentions of the Eſtates, effected to aduance the League. And therefore not ſatisfied with the oath which the King had made vnto them by the Ediſt of Vnion, they wreſt from the Kings owne mouth a more particular declaration, touching the perpetuall inſufficiency of the King of Nauarre, and other Princes of the blood his couſins, adherents (ſay they) and fauours of Heretikes, to the ſucceſſion of this Crowne.

The conſequence of this Parliament ſhould haue beene for the good quiet of the Common-weale. And doubtleſſe ſome ſmall number (whole wills were not tyed to the paſſions of the Leaguers) wiſhed that remedie which had beene praſticed in former times againſt moſt pernicious hereties: which was a free and lawfull Councell, vniuerſall or nationall; but the greater part ouer-ruled both the King and the Eſtates. The League, to ruine the State, will overthrow the pillars, which be the Princes of the blood, and if the branches of *Valois* and *Bourbon*, that is to ſay, if all the race of *Saint Lewis* be not degraded, they cannot paſſe ouer the Crowne to the family of *Lorraine*. The King by his Ediſt promiſeth to diſpoſe of the ſucceſſion: but he and the Queene hiſ wife are yet in the vigor of their age, they hope, that God will bleſſe them with heires males. Hee takes no pleaſure they ſhould harpe vpon this ſtring: it is a blemiſh to his authority, and diſrobes him before he is ready to ſleepe: when as a Prince hath named his ſucceſſor, his teſtament is made.

Yet he is content to ſatiſſie the violent appetites of the League. He ſuffers them to diſpute of the ſucceſſion, and (in the aſſembly of all his ſubiects) to exclude the lawfull ſucceſſor: he is content they ſhould propound that which moſt part of the Deputies had already reſolued. The Clergie had the fourth of Nouember condemned the King of Nauarre for an Hereticke, the chiefe of them reſapce, excommunicate, deprived of the gouernment of Guienne, and of all his dignities, vnworthy of all ſucceſſions, Crownes, and Realmes. The Archbiſhop of Ambrun, the Biſhop of Bazas, the Abbot of Ciſteaux, and other Clergy men impart it to the Deputies of the Nobility and third Eſtate: all conſent to the firſt conſequence, and appoint twelue of euery chamber to acquaint the King with their reſolutions.

But the King of Nauarre had often giuen them to vnderſtand, that he was borne during the permiſſion of both religions, inſtructed and bred vp in one from the which hee cannot in conſcience depart without better inſtruction: neither hope nor deſpaire of a Crowne can draw him to ſo violent and raſh a change: hee ſhould thereby incurre the blame of inconfſtancy, infidelity, and hypocriſie: hee is, and alwaies will bee ready to receiue inſtruction from a free and lawfull Councell. Theſe ſubmiſſions are full of iuſtice and conſideration: he defends nothing obſtinately, it is the honour and zeale of his conſcience that binds him. There is no reaſon then (ſaid the King) to condemne him without hearing. Let vs conſider with iudgement and fore-ſight, whether it be expedient to ſummon him againe to ſwear the Ediſt of Vnion, & to declare himſelfe a Catholike.

The Parliament is not of this aduice. The Cardinall of Bourbon his Vnckle (ſay the Deputies) hath once obtained abſolution for him: the Queene mother hath laboured to win him: the King hath ſent Doctours to reclaim him: he is bred vp from his Cradle in this new opinion, condemned by the Councell of Trent, and many others. The Conſistory hath receiued him into grace, he is fallen into the error which he had abjured: he is therefore an Heretike: he is reſapce, and vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of reſpect, and vnworthy to be prayed for. The holy Sea of Rome hath declared him a Schiſmaticke, excommunicate, incapable of the ſucceſſion of the Crowne: the Eſtates therefore muſt ratifie this ſentence. To conclude, an Heretike cannot raigne in France, it is an incompatible thing with the Coronation and oath which he ought to take, hurtfull to the honor

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A of God, and preiudiciall to the good of this Realme. Soft and faire; Nature and the common conſent of Nations will, that the accuſed ſhould be heard. God himſelfe, who hath no need to be ſatiſfied by humane witneſſes, and is not bound to any iuriſdiction, would not condemne our firſt father before he called him into iudgment; examined him, checked and reprimed him, and heard his excuſes. Heare then the King of Nauarre, he may ſay vnto you, that the Pope by ſurpriſe hath noted him of herſie: he knoweth not yet any other truth then that wherein the Queene of Nauarre hath bred him. If hee hath at any time yeelded vnto the force and violence of the time, he had not then his will free, and as ſoone as opportunity gaue him meanes to retire from Court into his Country of Bearn, he framed his beleeſe to the modell of that which had beene preſcribed him: but proteſting alwaies to the Eſtates and Parliaments of France, that he hath no greater deſire in his ſoule, then to ſee the ſeruiſe of God vnitied vnder one religion, by the meanes of a free and lawfull aſſembly of the vniuerſall Church, or a nationall Councell of the French Churches. The Deputies notwithstanding (eſpecially the Clergie) will allow of no reaſon. They are for the moſt part tranſported with paſſion, and apprehend nothing but what may aduance the league. If the King reſuſeth this article, the Duke of Guiſe will diſſolve the Eſtates, and lay all the blame vpon his Maieſtie. Hee hath ſo well provided for his affaires, as he holds himſelfe maſter of the Caſtle of Blois, and of the Kings perſon. There is neither gate, hall, chamber, nor cabinet, but the keyes are at his pleaſure. He hath great forces ready. He checks them that ſpeake not to his liking: their voyces and conſents are forced in the Parliament houſe: he puts in, and puts out, & doth what he pleaſeth. Thoſe whom the King and Parliaments hold inſupportable, finde acceſſe and ſupport with him. To conclude, ſee the firſt Prince of the blood, the firſt of the moſt ancient and moſt famous houſe that doth at this day weare a Crowne, the firſt of that royall branch of Bourbon, which onely remains after ſo many ſifters and couſins of Aniou, Angoulême, Berry, Bourgonne, Angoulême, and Orleans, and which onely ſucceeded that of Valois, deprived of the right which nature hath giuen him, without calling him, or hearing his iuſtifications. The clergie ſaies, hee ought to be no more cited, his herſie, his incapacity to the Crowne is apparant. The Biſhop of Chalons in Champagne deliuerſ this conſequence to the Nobility. The Biſhop of Cominge, to the third Eſtate: and the Archbiſhop of Ambrun to the King, to make a law thereof: and then followed the laſt and lamentable act of the Tragedy of a diſpoſſeſſed King.

But oh men! the Eternall lookes on you, and laughs at your counſels: he now comes vpon the ſtage to act his part, and to bring forth effects far from his thoughts. The King is aduerted from all parts of a great conſpiracy againſt his Maieſty. The Duke of Eſpernon aſſures him by letters. The Duke of Mayenne (zealous it may be of his brothers greatness) aduerteth his Maieſty from Lions, by a Knight of honour: and the Duke of Aumale, from Blois it ſelte by his owne wife, that the Duke of Guiſe had very pernicious deſignes: that the houre of the execution did approach: that they reſolued to ſeiſe on him and to lead him to Paris.

Theſe aduertements kindle a new courage in the King, he means to prevent him, and diſcouers his minde to ſoure, whom he knows as faithfull to his Maieſty, as enemies to the damnable projects of the League. He muſt ſuppreſſe this new ſtar in the Eaſt, whom the people worſhipped already. The preſent neceſſity will not ſuffer him to bring him forth in view: the Popes reſpect retaines him: his oath to protect the Eſtates makes him irrelolute: the troubles which this execution will cauſe in people diſpoſed to the league, makes him doubtfull: yet he muſt die. He hath no quality in France but of a ſimple ſubiect: and yet without the Kings authority, conſent or ſufferance, hee hath built a league, had intelligence with the ſtranger, leauied men of war, attempted vpon townes, and broken the publike peace.

He continues his praſtices, againſt the oath of the Ediſt of Vnion, with the Cardinall Morſine, Legate to the Pope, and Don Inigo of Mendoza, Ambaſſadour of Spaine. Hee confirms his priuate confederations with the Gouernours of reuolued townes. He publiſheth by his declarations, that he hath not taken armes, but for Gods and the Kings ſeruiſe: and yet by the ſurpriſe of ſo many townes, hee hath hindered the aduancement of the Kings army in Guienne againſt the Huguenots. The obiect of his armes is the ſafety and religion of the Catholikes, and to deprive the King of Nauarre of all hope of ſucceſſion

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Offences
against the Duke
of Guise.

to the Crowne: and in the meane time it appeares, that hee hath fought the loue of the A King of Nauarre: he hath promised to giue him his sonne in hostage, and to meet him with seuentene Princes of his house at the riuer of Loire, to serue him, and make him King of France. Many letters intercepted discover, that after his Maiesties pardon of many capital crimes, he renues his designs against the King and his estate. The surprize of the Marquitate of Salusses is by his intelligence. Hee disgraceth the Kings actions, hee blames him to haue vnwillingly made war against the Huguenots: to haue sold the said Marquitate, that vnder colour of recouering it, he might diuert the war against the Heretikes. In stead of reducing the townes held by the Huguenots, he keeps his Captaines and men of war at Blois, vpon assurance of a profitable change. He hath caused bookes B to bee printed in fauor of the lawfull succession of the house of Lorraine to the Crowne.

At the Barricades this voice was heard; *It is no longer time to dally, let vs lead my Lord to Rheims.* He hath suffered himselfe to be saluted by the people, with cries and acclamations which belong onely to the Soueraigne Prince. He hath vaunted that he was able to take the King prisoner, or to do worse although he entred but with eight horses into Paris, being assured of the force and wills of the Citizens: he hath seized on the places of strength within Paris, made Governours, Magistrates and Officers at his pleasure: he hath corrupted the Estates, as the Deputies speake not but by his mouth: they produce nothing but what hath bene first examined in his Councell. Many cry out that hee staies C too long before he strikes. Hee speakes no more but in termes of a Soueraigne, with pride, dildaine, and threats: he hath refused to subscribe the Edict which the King would publish in cases of treason: he doth already seale Letters-patents with his great Seale: he forbids the Commons to give victuals or munition to such Companies as the King had sent vnto them. There remains no more but to confirme in his person that ancient greatness sometimes vnrped by the Maiors of the Palace: and to deale with the King as Charles Martel had done with Chilperic. In the end they represent vnto the King the pro- cesse of Salado, a party in his confpiracie, the counsellors of Nancy, and of Paris in Lent last, whereof the chiefe point was: To seize vpon the King: the instructions of the Ad- uocate David: the letters of the Queene Dowager of Denmarke to the D. of Lorraine D her sonne: the attempt of the Barricados, and (to heape vp the measure) the practices, corruptions, and violences done by the Duke of Guise to the Estates. The like and lesse crimes haue in former ages brought more famous heads then the Duke of Guises to the blocke. The leagues and practices of an Earle of Harcourt, of a Constable of S. Paul, of a Duke of Nemours, haue brought them to shamefull ends.

Pope Sixtus, now liuing, hath of late put to death the Earle of Pepoli of the noblest families of Italy, onely for that he had concealed some banished men in his house. The D. of Guise himselfe did of late pursue with all violence the disobedience of the D. of Anjou. His Holinesse hath beleueed, that religion was the onely motiue of the Duke of Guises his ariues. The Barricados, with the vrsurpation of the Bastile, and Bois de Vin- cences haue made him to change his beleefe. Hee himselfe hath said vnto the Bishop of Paris, that the fact was too bold, that the Estate is interestted, and that the offence is irreconcilable. Hee hath written vnto the King, aduising him to assure himselfe of the Estates, at what price soeuer: that in such imminent dangers, hee must seeke out all extra- ordinary remedies: and vpon this consideration he granted the King a Confessor to ab- solve him of all, reseruing the matter to the holy Sea.

Objection.

Yea, but the Estates are vnder the Kings oath and protection. Without doubt an oath was neuer broken without repentance. But how is the Soueraigne bound to his subiect, who by rebellion hath violated his oath to his Prince? Necessity forceth the law: great punishments of Rebels haue bene often done in great assemblies. The Kings of England F and Poland do practise it well, and our Charles hath died his Sisters nuptials with more blood then wine. Moreover, the D. of Guise hath great credit with the people of France. It is true; but his party hath no credit but with the multitude, the which is a very moue- able and an inconsistent foundation. Men of account, Townes, Governours, and the Kings Officers mutine not, but by means of the multitude, and seeing him fallen that gaue mo- tion to their rebellion, they will containe themselves. My Liege, (say they who feare lest this violent counsell which they gaue him in so vrgent necessity should bee discovered)

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A the Duke of Guise will surprize you. They haue already published in Paris, that this is your Climatrical year: they shew forth the razor that shall shauo you: they de- mand how long they shall suffer you to lue in a Cloyster. The lightning goes before the thunder: the guilt of treason is extraordinary in the head: so the punishment goes before the instructions and formes of Iustice. One must punish the offender, and then informe of the offence. The mildest Common-weales, most politike, and greatest enemies to rigor, held alwaies, *That whereas the estate is in danger, they may begin with the execution.* In the end, the King is satisfied, having remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of his re- uenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition. By the Kings countenance, or some B words let slip by some one of the foure, they find it dangerous to continue long at the Estates. But the more the Duke of Guise enters into discourse, the more the Kings good countenance disswades him. And the Archbishop of Lion attending a Cardinals hat within a few dayes from Rome: retyring your selfe from the Estates (said hee vnto him) you shall beare the blame to haue abandoned France in so important an occasion, and your enemies making their profit of your absence, will soone ouerthrow all that which you haue with so much paine effected for the assurance of Religion.

Man doth often lose his iudgement vpon the point of his fall. Advertisements were come to him from all parts, both within and without the Realme, from Rome, Spaine, Lorraine and Sauoy, that a bloody Catastrophe would dissolve the Assembly. The Alma- C nacks had well obscured it: it was generally bruied in the Estates, that the execution should be on S. Thomas day. The eue before his death, the Duke himselfe sitting downe to dinner, found a seroule vnder his napkin, aduersing him of this secret ambush. But (as ambition blinds those whom shee had raised vp to the Pies nest, and the fury of Gods iudgements confounds such as trust in their authority) he writ vnderneath with his owne hand, *They dare not:* and threw it vnder the table.

The Duke of Guise following the counsell of the Cardinall Morsin, had the one and twentieth of December incensed the King anew, by some bold & presumptuous speeches. My Leige (said he) seeing I find that the affaires decline from bad to worse, and that those things which seemed curable, are growne desperate: I beseech your Maiesty to receiue D againe the charge you haue committed vnto me, and giue me leaue to retire my selfe. He spake this, to the end that by this discontent hee might take an occasion to dissolve the Estates, and bringing the King into an extreame hapred with his subiects, he might play the last act of his long fore-plotted Tragedy. The King had the 22 day following, prepared seuen of his five and forty (they were Gentlemen whom he had appointed to be neere his person, besides the ordinary Archers of his guard) to execute his will, and by many dis- patches had assured those townes which he held to be most munitious. The 23 he assem- bles his Councell somewhat more early in the morning then was vsual, hauing a deuotion, to goe after dinner, and to spend the holy dayes at our Lady of Clercy. The Cardi- nals of Vendosme, Guise, and Gondy, the Archbishop of Lion, the Marshalls of Aumont, E and Retz, the Lords of d'O, Rambouillet, Maintenon, Marcell and Petremolle Superin- tendants of the Treasor, were assembled: The Duke of Guise comes, and attending the beginning of the Councell, sends for an handkercher: (the grooms of his chamber had forgotten to put one into his pocket.) Pericart, his Secretary not daring to commit this new aduertisement to any mans report, tyes a note to one of the corners thereof, saying: Come forth and save your selfe, else you are but a dead man. But they stay the page that ca- ried it. Larchant Captaine of the Kings guard catcheth another to bee giuen vnto him with all speed by S. Prix the chiefe Grooms of the Kings chamber. The Caffe gates are shut, and the Councell sits about eight of the clocke.

The spirit of man doth often prophesse of the mischiefe that doth pursue him. So whilest F they dispute of a matter propounded by Petremolle, the Duke feels strange alterations, and extraordinary disemperatures, and amidst his distrust, a great fainting of his heart. S. Prix presents vnto him some prunes of Brignolles, and raisins of the Sun. He eates, and thereupon the king calls him into his cabinet by Renee one of the Secretaries of his Estate; as it were to confer with him about some secret of importance. The duke leaves the coun- cill to passe vnto the Cabinet: and as he did lift vp the tapestry with one hand to enter, they charge him with their swords, daggers and pertuisans, yet notwithstanding violence; but hee shewed the murderers the last endeauours of an invincible valor and courage.

The Duke of
Guise slaine.

Thus

1588

Thus liued, and thus died Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise: a Prince worthy to be in A the first rankes of Princes, goodly, great, tall of proportion, amiable of countenance, great of courage, ready in the execution of his enterprizes, popular, dissembling, but couering the secrets of his mind with his outward behauiour, embracing all times and occasions, politicke in stratagems, making much of his souldiers, and honoring his Captaines. But a Prince who hath blemished the greatest beauty of his praises by extreame ambition, fastidious, a great bragger, vaine in beleueing of Sooth sayers, who assured him of his greatness, and of the change of his family into a Royalty: proud, not able to submit his hopes, euen to those from whom he should hope for his aduancement, giuing men to vnderstand by his inclination, that he was not born to obey, but to command, and with this designe B he framed the minds of the French, by his first actions, to beleue that he had parts fit to make a strange alteration in a Realme, But let vs apply that great diuine Oracle, and tremble at the apprehension of the horror of Gods iudgements: *For this cause will I destroy thee in the end: he will put thee out of thy tabernacle, and thy root out of the land of the lining. The just shall see it and feare, and shall laugh at him, saying: Behold the man that hath not taken God for his ayde and succor, but hath trusted to the multitude of his riches, and hath fortified himselfe in vanity.*

At the noise hereof, the Cardinall of Guise (being amazed) recouers the doore to goe away. Larchant stays him with the Archbishop of Lion, and lodgeth them in a little chamber about the Kings, lately built for Capuchins and Feuillants. The Cardinall in the heat of this tumult calls forth some words, which hee would neuer haue deliuered being well aduised. They report it vnto the King. The Kings commands *La Bassife and Valency*, being both of the five & forty, to kill him. The first excuseth himselfe, the other accepts the charge, and accompanied with fixe others, goesto the Cardinals chamber, to make him a companion of his brothers death: but being ready to doe the execution, I know not what cold apprehension quenched this heat, which had moued him to bathe his hands in the blood of so great a Prelate without respect of his Order.

The Cardinall of Bourbon, the Duchesse of Nemours (mother to the Duke of Guise) the Duke of Nemours her sonne by the second marriage, the Prince *Ginville* now Duke of Guise, and the D. of Elbeuf had at the same instant guards appointed them, to be assured of their persons. *Pericard* being kept prisoner, discovered all the practices of the League, and by the instructions he had in his keeping, he informed the King at large of all his masters designes. The Earle of Brisac, *Bou. Dauphin* and some other Gentlemen (faithfull to the Duke of Guise) the President *Newly*, and Prouost of Merchants at Paris, *Compan* and *Custeblanche*, Sherifffes of the said towne, and *Le Roy* Lieutenant of Amiens, were put in prison: the rest stayed neither for boots nor spurs to dislodge.

Rostene Secretary to the Duke of Mayenne, and son-in-law to *Armonuill*, Maior of Orleans, had already by speciall posts, aduertised his master of what had past: and so practiseth them of Orleans, as *Entragues* coming from Blois to bee assured of the towne, found a generall revolt. Doubtlesse the Inhabitants were inclined to the Kings obedience, if before he would haue granted them, at their humble sute, another Gouernor at his Maiesties choice then him, who at the first had engaged them, and afterwards by his wilfulness suffered them to runne into the Labyrinth of Rebellion. It is good to yeeld something to a murinuous multitude, and not to thrust them into despair. The execution done, the King carries newes thereof to the Queene-mother. *Madame* (saith he) *I will hereafter reigne alone, I haue no more companions.* She answered him, *God grant my sonne is fall out well for you: but haue you giuen order to assure the towne where the name and memorie of the Duke of Guise hath credit and authority.* This vnexpected speech did wonderfully moue the Queene-mother, but that of the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue her a deadly wound. *Ah Madame!* (saith he, the comming to visit him being a prisoner and sicke) *you haue brought vs to slaughter.* She excusing her selfe that she had neither consented nor giuen counsell in this action, left the Cardinall doubling his complaints, and transported with griefe, he died the first of Ianuary following. At night they draw the Cardinall and the Archbishop from their Chamber, to lodge them in a straighter and more obscure place, and there to passe the night, whilst that the King (with-held by the considerations of the quality of a Prelate, a Peere of France, Archbishop of Reims, Cardinall at Rome, and President of this Order at the Estates) consulted either of his execution, or freedom.

Death of late
Queene-mother.

1588

A dome from prison. But Iustice hath no respect of persons: and treason is a worse president in a Cardinall then in a simple Priest. Moreover, the Cardinall might succeed in his brothers credit, and his threats seemed dangerous if hee liued longer. So the King giues Captaine *Gast* commission to kill him. He craves pardon: but 400 Crownes doe easily find four ministers for the execution. The Archbishop had his life saved, at the humble sute of the Baron of Lux his vnle. The King loued this Gentleman, and pretended to draw from the Prelate all the Quintessence of the league. The punishment of these two, freed the King of Nauarre from being the cause of the misery of these ciuill warres, seeing the King had thereby noted the first author of these troubles. But this Prince B was neuer seene without a singular constancy in his greatest crosses, nor an admirable modesty in his highest prosperities. He vnderstands of the death of two of his mightiest enemies, and would gladly haue seene the Kings wrath and forces turned against the house of Lorraine, whereby he might make his profit in France by the fall thereof, and apply it to his aduantage. But Noble minds neuer looke on their enemies head, but with a heavy and mournfull countenance. He lamented not so much the death but the misery of them of Guise: and yet continues his enterprise which he had vpon Niort, and the 24 of December, vnder the conduct of S. *Gelas*, *Parabel*, *Harambure*, *Ranques*, *Preau*, *Valieres*, and others, he forced & scaled the towne being amazed, and spoiled it, without any slaughter but of five and twenty, or thirty men, no raising of women, not injury to the Clergy. The same day he receiued the Cattle by composition from *Malisore*, furnished with five great Cannons, and two very long Culuerins; with the which the Lieutenant of the towne, a wicked and a turbulent man, vaned (when they were cast) to salute the King when he approached the walles of Niort. But the great fury of the victors armes, hauing slaine him in the beginning of the fight, was the cause he made not an exemplary compensation for the out-rages and the vnworthy speeches hee had vied against the said King and the Princes of the blood.

Niort taken by
the King of
Nauarre.

The Duke of Nevers, on the other side, battered Ganache, and the fourth of February (hauing spent 800 cannon-shot) he made two breaches, and gave an assault, with the losse of about 300 men, and growing resolute in this conquest, where his honor was engaged, D he lets *Plessigette*, Captaine of the place, vnderstand that he had won reputation enough in the defence of so weak a place, that his obstinacy did preiudice the King of Nauarres affaires: that the King by the execution done at Blois, had sufficiently declared war against the league, and that he meant to imploy the said Kings forces against them. *Plessie* aduertiseth the King his master: he marcheth to succor him, but his violent trauell on foot to get him heat in an extreame cold season, made him stay so dangerously sicke of a fever at S. *Perre*, as the newes of his death was caried to Court. So *Plessie* yeelded vp the towne, his armes and baggage saved. But this royall army came to nothing: the Duke went to refresh himselfe at his house, waucring some monthes doubtfull of his party: and the king of Nauarre (whom God would vie in so confused a time, to bring him vpon the Theater, E not as a disinherited child, according to the intent of the Estates, but to teach men that their struing is in vaine against the decrees of his diuine providence) hauing recovered his perfect health, assured himselfe of the places neere vnto Niort, S. *Maixant*, *Malleyaye*, *Chastelleraut*, *London*, *Lisle*, *Bouchar*, *Mirebeau*, *Yionne* and others, pretending to doe the King some great and notable seruice.

Genachie yeelded to the duke of Nevers.

The King by this blow had amazed, but not suppressed the league. He had begun well for the warranty of his Estate, but he must not doe things by halues. In stead of going to horse, making his armes to glister, shewing himselfe betwixt Orleans and Paris, calling backe his army out of Poitou, to oppose it against the attempts of the duke of Mayenne, and (being armed, and the towne amazed at this great effect) to diuert the mischief F which oppressed him within fewe months, hee returns to his first remedies, being soft and fearefull, against a mad multitude, hee is content to send words to retaine his subjects already entred into sedition: he releaseth some prisoners whom he held least dangerous, continues the Estates, renues the Edict of Union, and by a generall forgetting of what was past, thinks they will lay downe their armes against him, to imploy them against the King of Nauarre. But a multitude grows mad with misdeeds, and is reuined by severity. The King finds, that in lesse then six weekes, Tours and Baugency are the frontiers of those Provinces that were vnder his obedience. And whereas he thought to begin the new

Error in State.

cealeth

ceaseth to raigne. So God, who laughed at the vaine attempts of the one, will likewise A
heape vpon the other, remedies no lesse violent then those he had practised.

Now many awaked from their amazement, began to stir: the people studied of new
munities and new armies. Orleans shut vp their gates: the towne made barricades a-
gainst the Cittadel: Paris shewed the fury of their mutiny against the Louvre, they beat
downe the Kings armes, imprison his seruants, and aswell by their ranfomes and spoile as
by a voluntary contribution, they leauy a great sum of money for the war. *Marteau, Cas-
schlanche, Compan, Roland* and others (deliuered vpon promises to reclaime the Parisiens)
had contrariwise seduced the people. The sixtene Tribunes (let vs know them by their
names, euen as they are set downe in an oration made by the Bourgeses of Paris to the
Cardinall *Caetan*) *la Bruyere, Crucé, Buffy le Clerc*, the Commissary *Louchard, Morlier*,
Sensault, the Commissary *de Bart, Drouart* an Aduocate, *Aluquin, Emonnot, Iablier, Mas-
sier, Passart, Oudeman, Teller*, and *Morin* a Proctor of the Chastelet (euerie one of which
had many Agents and followers) like sixtene furies, coming out of hell, sharpened their
weapons, and kindled the coales of murder and dissolutenesse, first at Paris, and then in a
manner in all the good townes of the Realme, being seasoned with the leuaine of these
furious Tribunes. The Preachers (sire-brands of these furies) came not into the pulpit,
but to powre forth reproaches, and iniuries against the King, and by an blinde of curse
to kindle the peoples minds to rebellion. The people came neuer from their sermons,
but hauing fire in their heads, readinesse in their feet to runne, and disposition in their
hands, to fall tumultuously vpon such as were not branded with the marke of the league.
He was neither a good nor a zealous Catholike that had not a bed-rowle of out-rages
to detest and abhorre that execution of Blois.

The porters at the Palace babled nothing, but a cursing of the Kings life: an Elegy to la-
ment the calamity of these two brethren; an Oration in memory of the commendable ex-
ploits of the Duke of Guise in Hungary against the Turke, at Iarnac against the Prote-
stants, at Poitiers, at Montcontour against the Restles of *Thoré*, at Vimory & at Aumau.
They cried aloud at Paris: that France was now sicke, and could not be cured but by gi-
uing her a drinke with the blood of France. And because they haue not the body at their
devotion, those things hee possessest must suffer for it: his furniture at the Louvre, his pic-
tures are broken, his armes beate downe, his Images dragged vp and downe, his great
seale defaced: they call him impious, vniuelt, villaine, prophane, tyrant, damned. The Col-
ledge of Sorbonne concludes by a publicke act of the seuenth of Ianuary, *That the people
of France are freed from the oath of obedience and fealty which they ought to Henry of Valois:
and that lawfully, and with a good conscience they may arme against him; rescine his renen-
ues, and imploy it to make warre against him.*

On the other side, *Charles of Lorraine* Duke of Mayenne, dreaming on his brothers
death, provided for the assurance of his owne life, & consulted with the Archbishops Of-
ficiall, the Lord of Bothen Senehall of Lionnois, and some others of the chiefe, whe-
ther there were any safety for him within their towne. We are (said they) bound vnto the
King before all others. Make no triall (we pray you) of your seruants, in that which shall
be contrary to the Kings will. Arme not your selfe against him: without doubt hee will
seeke your seruice, when you shall submit the passion of reuenge vnto reason, and will
aduance your house to the good of all France, the which trembles with apprehension of
of the calamities which this warre shall cause. If the people call you, to set them at liber-
ty, you shall abandon them to the spoile: and to defend the Monarchy against the King,
you shall make your selfe the head of a confused and monstrous Anarchy. God did neuer
forget the protection of Kings against their mutinous subiects. They bee the Images of
God, the children of heauen: and whosoever armes against them, armes against heauen.
Moreover, the winde of the peoples fauor, may for a time fill your giles, and carie you
designes violently to sea, but they are inconstant, light, and disloyall. And if they haue sha-
ken off the yoke of duttfull obedience and loue to their King, what shall they doe to a
Prince, to whom they shall not be bound, but as to the Protector of their mutinies?

They spake truly, for after the triall of all sorts of government, France must in the end
returne to a royalty: and the Duke (by a commendable resolution) might haue vnted the
miades which his brother had diuided. But when as others represent vnto him the aduan-
tage he should haue to succeed in the fauour, credit, and authority of his brother; and by
conse-

Parisiens in-
fencies.

The Duke of
Mayennes
cousin.

A consequence his owne hopes: hee reiects the integrity of the first councill: conspires all
the friends of his house to reuenge, parts from Lions on Christmas day: in his passage he
assures himselfe of Malcon, Chaalon and Dijon. The Court of Parliament there, refused
to consent to this rebellion, and therefore the chiefe were driuen away, and some impris-
oned: others (apprehending the losse of their commodities) did easily submit their neckes
to the yoke of a new Democracy. At Dijon he receiued letters from the King, promising
to surcease the punishment of forepassed faults, with the death of his bretheren, whom
(said he) I haue caused to die, to saue my life from the danger whereof you did aduertise
me. The Duke (attributing the Kings clemency to some weak and abiect affection, pro-
ceeding from feare, either to haue him his enemy, or to lose his friendship) grows obsti-
nate in his resolution, reiects the Kings Officers, giues commission to *Rojne, Saint Paul*,
and others, to command in Champagne and Bric, and to seize vpon the best places: hee
comes to Troyes, where the towne (long before corrupted by the infected humors of the
league) receiued him with as great honor as they could haue done their King: and in all
places where he passed, they were easily drawne into rebellion, all townes framing them-
selves after the modell of Paris and Orleans.

Three thousand men sent from Paris, to succor the Cheualier d' Aumale (besieged in
Orleans by the Marshall of Aumont, with the Nobility of the Court, some troopes of
foot and horse, and the Kings guards) had beene defeated neere vnto Estampes, by *Fargis*
C and *Montigni*: but the Marshall vnderstanding of the Duke of Mayennes approach,
raiseth the siege, and retires to Boigency. In the meane time, the King himselfe in person
did view and examine the conclusions of the Estates: but this sudden enterprise of the
Dukes, made him to leaue the worke imperfect, and to provide for the safety of his per-
son: and for a conclusion, the fifteenth and sixteenth of Ianuary, he heard the Deputies
griefe and complaints vpon the disorders which afflicted France.

The Archbishop of Bourges, President for the Clergy after the Cardinals death, im-
puted the cause of our miseries to contempt of Religion, which breaking the bonds that
ties vnto God, had in like sort diuided the hearts and wils of families and commonalities.
He greatly commended the Kings zeale to Religion: insisted long vpon the abuses of
D the Church, which the corruption of the time had bred: the vnworthy promotion of
Prelats: the nomination (to Abbies, and other spiritual dignities) of all sorts of persons,
soldiers, ignorant men, suborned men, guardians, symoniaks, women, and children;
touching the alienation of the Clergy lands, plurality of benefices, vsurpation of the re-
uenues of Hospitals, depauration of that goodly ancient order, whereby none might
come vnto Commanderies of the order of the Knights of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, vnlesse
he were a Gentleman of three descents: disorders of Vniuersities and Monasteries, in
former times the nurceries of holy Fathers. Then he turned his discourse to the disorders
noted in the Nobility of France, who were in former ages the terrour of all nations, and
from whom neighbour nations confesse to haue learned the exercise and profession of
E Cheualry: vpon the excesse of men of war: vpon the wasting of the treasure, and other
disorders which spring from these first heads: finally, he beseeched the King, to make a
good reformation, whereby his people should multiply, Iustice should daily flourish, and
peace should be set in the Realme.

Charles of Cossé Earle of Brissac, chiefe Panler and chiefe Fawconer of France, newly
restored to fauour, and President for the Nobility, shewes that they be not the hands of
Fortune, which enuironed his Maiesties fore-head with this double Diadem. It is God,
who hath established him our King, who had before chosen him King of a more remote
nation, for the piety, faith, clemency, and magnanimity wherewith he hath bene indued
from his tender age. That heresie, schisme, and discord, which are crept into the peo-
ples hearts, haue not taken their beginning vnder his raigne, whom God hath raised vp
amidst the furies and afflictions of France, to be reuenged by him, and aduanced aboue
all the nations of Christendome, who draw their firmest support from the stability of his
Crowne. That the wished victories in France ouer heresie, shall be vnto the King but a
continuance of the rout and defeat of that fearefull army of Restles, Lansquenets, Suisses
and French Huguenots, which (like so many trumpets) proclaime in all places the honors,
praises, and victories of his Maiesty. That now those vowes, fastings, teares, and toyles
of the ancient French, are heard, who seemed to demand vengeance against the fire, fury,
and

Letters from
the King to the
Duke of Mayenne.

The Estates
dissolved.
The Archbi-
shop of Bour-
ges speeche.

The Earle of
Brissac.

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and rage of those, who after so many religious ages) have violated the sepulchers of their A fathers and ours, and would take from amongst vs that only religion which the holy fathers have planted in old time throughout the world.

Then having represented the zeale and affection of the Nobility to assist the King, to restore Religion, and the State to their former beauty, following the example and the hereditary virtue of their Ancestors, who had chased and vanquished the Gothes, Vandales, Arriens, Albigeois, Lombards, Sarazins, Turkes and Pagans: and continuing the defence of the faith, and the victories of the French Kings, have left no other limits to the reputation of their valor, then those which the Sunne takes in making of his course about the earth. He beseecheth his Maieity, to fauour the ancient priuiledges of the Nobility, B to recompence in them the seruices to their Predecessors: to confirme the military discipline of Kings his fore-runners: not to suffer any by fauour or purchase, to challenge the title of Gentlemen: to maintain the priuiledges of the Knights of S. Iohn of Ierusalem, to cut off the superfluities in Iustice: to moderate the subsidies: order the treasure, establish the Magistrature, plant discipline among souldiers, reforme the Church, and to punish the enemies thereof. Finally, he wished a thousand happinesse to the King, and peace to his people. But this braue and commendable humor shall not hold him long, but he shall returne to his first party, by a new defection.

The Advocate
seignid.

Bernard Advocate of the Parliament of Dijon, began his oration with a solemne thanks for the Kings promise, fully to execute the Edict of the Vnion: he exhorted all the townes C and subiects of the Realme, to vnit themselves not only in religion, but also in good correspondency for the Kings seruice, continuation of his dignity, and defence of the estate. He discovered all the other infirmities of this polittike body, the which (besides the vicer of partialities) have strangely corrupted it: as Blasphemies, Adulteries, Witchcraft, Simony, outrage in souldiers, inuotors of subsidies, and new Edicts, executors of extraordinary Commissions, Brokers, and buyers of Offices, who waste the treasure, and bring the people to beggery. An inuective against so many Edicts registred with this Apostil: By commandment many times reiterated: seeing that in good and iust Edicts, the Soueraign Princes command is not necessary: against the treasure ill employed, and the strange oppressions of France. Then requiring a conclusion of the Estates, he beseeched his Maieity D to open the eyes of his wisdom, for the ease of his poore people: not to change his godly resolutions: and to dismiss the Deputies, considering the mutinies that were in their Prouinces: to see and make proofe (said he) of the effects of their good wills. But these wills were for the most part subiect vnto those that (vnder a goodly shew of waire for religion and the publike good) studied of nothing but rebellion, cruelty, treacherie, trouble, and confusion. Thus the Estates ended, and the King fore-seeing the extreme oppression of his subiects, in so great a leauy of armes, abates the fourth part of their subsidies, and sent to all the Prouinces, to assure them of his good intent. But his subiects were too much affected to mutinies, too capable of disobedience, too ready to spoile the wife and the rich. The mourning of the Duchesses of Guise, Nemours, and Montpensier, being set at liberty by the King, to bind them to bee intercessors to his mutinous people: E the furious cries of Boucher, Guarin, Cneill, Rozé, Pelletier, Guinefre, Hamilton, Christin, Lucain, Maclerc, Comuollet, Feuarden, and other such Preachers (very fire-brands of sedition) the perswasions of the Prouost of Merchants, of the Sheriffes of Paris, and other Magistrates of townes, freely released by the King: had too wickedly seduced them. But the Duke of Mayennes arrival at Paris, confirmed the Inhabitants more in the execution of the fore said decree of Sorbonne.

The Centre of
Parliament at
Paris unpri-
soned.

This decree (quite contrary to those by the which this College hath so often commendably withstood the vndue and violent proceedings of the Court of Rome, against the Estate of this Realme) could not take effect, whilest that Maiesticall and reuerent Parliament, the true guardian of this Crowne, had either force or authority. So one of the fixteene, Buffe le Clerc a poore petty fogger (late much honoured, being admitted to present himselfe bare-headed vpon his knee before this reuerent assembly) followed by some of his acquaintance and companions, and a band of armed rascals, enters the fixteenth of January, armed with a Cuirasse, and a Pistoll in his hand, into the great Chamber, with an intent to cary away the first President De Harby, and the other Presidents and Councel- F lers, who persisting in the fidelity of their charge, might crosse the mad and satall designs of

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A of the league. The whole body ashamed to see themselves dismembred by this insolent and presumptuous attempt, followed their head. Buffe then leads them away all, in triumph, two and two, prisoners to the Bastile and Loure. Such as were Royalists were kept there, the rest (which leaned to this popular fury) preferred their houses from the spoile which this Tribune had pretended, and were sent home. Some aduertised of this new Commission, sued their persons, but not the confiscation of their goods and reuenues. That man was happy that found a friend where to hide himselfe, or that could get away disguised in his seruants weeds, and so march many daies on foot to recouer Tours, or some other place of the Kings obedience. All diuine and humane Lawes were subuerted, B respect of equity abolished, and the reuerence of publike authority defaced. The Officers of the Parliament being enlarged, gine the place of the first President to Barnabé Brisson: then they make a declaration in manner of an oath, for the entertainment of the vnion. The Princes of Loraine and many gentlemen sweare vnto it, the fixteene subscribe it, one amongst them prick himselfe in the arme, to signe it with his owne blood: but remaining lame thereby, he was mockt by his companions.

The people made a generall councill of the vnion, consisting of forty choise men of the three Estates, the which was confirmed by the Parliament, to dispose of the publike affaires, and to confer with the Prouinces & townes of the League. For the Church, Brezé Bishop of Meaux, Rozé Bishop of Senlis, Villars Bishop of Agen, Prouost Curat of S. Seuerin, Boucher Curat of S. Benner, Aubry Curat of S. Andrews, Pelletier Curat of S. James, Pigeon Curat of S. Nicolas, Launoy Chanoine of Soissons, & sometime minister at Sedan: for the Nobility the Marquis of Canillac, the Siegneur of Menneville, S. Pol, Rozé, Montberault, Hautefort, Saussay: for the third Estate, Maseparault, Neaill, Gouquely, Misdorger, Mochault, Bafon, Marillac, Acharie, de Bray, Beaucier, Bruyere Lieutenant Ciuill, Anroux, Fontanon, Drouart, Crucé, Bordeaux, Halaguein, Soly, Bellanger, Pencher, Senault, Charpentier, all Lawyers or men of trafficke. The great men enter presently into iellousie of this number, whereas the people commanded: so as (by the Dukes importunity and the aboue-named Princes) they adde vnto them Hennequin Bishop of Rennes, the Abbot of Lenoncourt, the Presidents Lanin, Yeuue, Le Maistre, Dormiffon, Videuille, D' A D mours a Councillor, Villery, both father and son, Sermoise, Dampierre, La Bourdaisiere, Le Fay, and many others, who to cary it away by plurality of voices, called vnto them the President Le Sueur, Bragelonne Treasurer, Rowland a Sheriffe, & others, who assisting one another with their voices, ouerthrew many things which those that were deputed for the people were ready to decree, for the confirmation of their tyranny.

The Duke of Mayenne (to settle his affaires) suffers these base companions to play the petty King. Those of the Clergy, exceeding the authority of the Church, doe in their sermons excommunicate the father that knoweth his sonne to be the Kings seruant, and reueales him not to the Councill of the vnion: the sonne that discouers not his father, the wife and the husband that accuse not one another, the kinsmen and friends that discover not the goods of their kindred and friends being absent, to be employed in the warres. E The Nobility reapes some profit of the ransomes and spoiles of the Royalists and Politikes. The people condemne, imprison, spoile and ransom, of their absolute power, and sell the goods of any that beares not the marke of their enraged faction. This furious combustion of Paris, sets all the Realme on fire: townes and prouinces frame themselves after the mould of the capitall City. Chartres begins the dance: expels Sourdis their Governour, and receiues Reclainville a Gentleman of Beaufe, a partisan of the League. This town imports much for the Estate of Paris, as one of their chiefe graniers for corne. The Duke of Mayenne postes thither, to be assured thereof, and the people receiue him as their Redeemer.

F Being ariued there, Rouan sends for him. He goes: and in all places as he passeth, they meet him, present him their keyes, and sweare to obey him. Those of Mans murder many of the Kings Officers and seruants, spoile others, seize vpon Fargis their Governour, and send him prisoner to Paris. Angiers was assured for the King: but the Duke of Mercœur Governour of Britan, subdiuided in a manner all the Prouince to his party. Thoulouze murders Duranti their first President (a man who in all the fires he had formerly kindled, did neuer shew that hee had any taste of a Huguenot in him) and Dasse

A general
Councill of
the vnion.

Exceeding in-
solent.

Strange re-
uolts.

B b b

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the Kings Aduocate. *Aix, Arles, and Marçilles* plant vp suddenly the Ensignes of the League, and follow the dance with the rest. Lion iumps with them, and growing suspitious of the passage of Colonel *Alphonso Corle* (afterwards Marshall of France, vnder the title of *Ornano*) to command the army in Daulphiné which the Duke of Mayenne had abandoned, they declare the occasion why they take armes, (weare to maintaine good correspondency with the Princes, Gentlemen and Inhabitants of Paris, and other townes vnited, and to put in execution all the Duke of Nemours commandements, who was now escaped out of the Caste of Blois. But we shall see this people as easie to mutine against him, as they were now ready to allow him for their Governour. *Charles* retained almost all Champanaigne in their duty and obedience. *Rosne* was Governour there. But the whole body of the City, aduertised of this great execution at Blois, let him vnderstand: that seeing the Duke of Guise his master was dead, his authority was extinct. and that acknowledging no other Soueraine but the King, they would preferue their City from all strange enterprises. Langes deserves an honorable testimony, to haue lesse then all other fostered rebels, and to haue constantly opposed themselves against all the attempts of the league. In other Prouinces the townes bandy directly one against another, and the most modest affecting neither party, keepe themselves from the storme. The King beholds this pitifull Tragedy, acted vpon the Theater of his Estate, and thinks yet to reclaim his subjects by mildnesse. He pardoneth, he abolisheth, he forgets all, so as euery one will performe the duty of a subject, and againe promisseth the oblation of his Edicts of vnion, in fauour of the Catholikes, an for the extirpation of heresie. But in the end, patience provoked, turnes into fury. He sees that the Princes, the Prouost of Merchants, & the Sheriffs of Paris which were dismissed, doe lie vnto *Nes Rayen*, they cast oyle in stead of water vpon the fires that are kindled. Seeing therefore, the more he seekes by mildnesse to reduce these strangers to the right way, the more violent they grow in their furious passions: he now vseth his authority, hee makes sundry proclamations, aswell against the D. of Mayenne, the Duke and Cheualier of *Amale*, as against the Cities of Paris, Orleans, Chartres, Rouan, Amiens, Abbeuille and other adherents, pronounceth both heads and members, disloyall, rebels, guilty and convicted of the crimes of rebellion, treachery and treason in the highest degree: degrades them and their posterity of all honor, it by the beginning of March they submit not themselves to his obedience. And to ioyne armes to his declarations, he makes a speedy leauy of twelue thousand Suisses, by the Lord of *Sansy*, who molested the Duke of Sauoy vnder the Kings authority, about Geneva, where hauing taken the townes of *Bonne, Gex, Thonon* and their Castles, he besieged the fort of *Rapaille*, where the dukes succors led by *Cont Martinengues*, were defeated, *Martinengues* slaine in battell, with about 2000 men, and the place yielded: in the end hee calls the Nobility vnto him, sends forth many Commissions to leaue souldiers, transports the execution of iustice to Tours, which was wont to be in his Parliament at Paris hee commands his chamber of accounts, and all his Officers of the marble table, to repaire presently to Tours, to attend their charges, and deprives from all honors, charges, dignities, E and priuiledges, all townes adhering to these new reuolts.

This did but kindele more the fires of rebellion. The D. of Mayenne armes both horse and foot, practiseth without the Realme, seekes to the King of Spaine, sends out patentes and Commissions vnder a new seale, usurpes all the parts of Royall Maiesty, goes to field with his troopes, makes choise of the most resolute, and goes to Vendosme with a designe to surpris the King in Tours being ill accompanied. All the great councill was at Vendosme, vnder the assurance and word of *Maille-Bouchard* Gouernor of the towne. But the rich treasures of these Lords were an enticing baitte to a disloyall and wicked soule: He suffers *Rosne* to enter, and deliueres them all vnto him, to dispose of as prisoners of war: A treachery added to other crimes which shall cost him his head in the market-place of Vendosme, when the towne is taken.

The league increased daily, and the King had need to vse the King of Nauarres forces, and where could he find more trusty French men in so vrgent necessity. To this end he sends to his brother in law, *Diana of Poitiers* the Duchesse of Angoulême, bastard daughter to King *Henry* the second, and inuities him to make a truce betwix them, that by their common forces they may more commodiously withstand the furious attempts of

The kings facility, armed into fury.

The Dukes attempts.

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Reconciliation of the Kings.

A of the enemies of the Realme, *Peter* of Mornay, Lord of *Buhy* Marshall of the campe for the King, and *Philip* of Mornay, Lord of *Pleffis*, *Marli* his brother, superintendant of the King of Nauarres house, treat this truce for the two Kings, and conclude vpon these conditions; that the Towne, Caste, and bridges of *Saumur*, should be put into the King of Nauarres hands for the safety of his passage and of his forces. That all matters vntill a firme peace were concluded (the which should be treated of before the end of the yeare) should remaine in the state they were in: and for a retreat for sicke and wounded men, one of the three places which should be reduced by their common forces, provided alwaies it were no head of a Seneſhawry nor Bayliwicke. So the King of Nauarre hauing placed *Du Plessis* gouernour of the Towne, Caste and Seneſhawry of *Saumur*, and *Du Faur* at *Largeau* vpon *Loire*, he freed all suspitions, and all impressions of distrust which they gaue him to diuert his enterueiw. He passeth *Loire* the 28 of Aprill with foure hundred masters, and a thousand *Harguebuziers* on horse backe, to ioyne with the forces of Normandy, Maine, and other places that attended him: and the last of the moneth doth his duty vnto the King within the park of *Pleffis* les *Tours*, the one making a great shew of loue, the other of a free and ready resolution (laying aside all icalousie and impressions of distrust, whereby some would haue diuerted this enterueiw) and both of a singular and mutual content.

Three dayes were spent in discourse and conference. The King of Nauarre had repaid the riuier, to cause his foot to aduance: and the Duke of *Epsernon* (who was newly arised with foure hundred horse, and two thousand foot) marched towards Blois, to keepe the inhabitants in awe: when as the Duke of Mayenne (who stayed at Vendosme) seeing the Kings forces diuided, and trusting in the intelligences he had with some great personages about the King, makes a march of twelue leagues, and the 8 of May appears with his Vantguard about the suburbs of *Saint Symphorian* of *Tours*, whither the King was gone to wake, He was scarce thirty paces from the suburbs, when as a man came running to the towne, and knowing his Maiesty, *My Liege (saith he) retire your selfe, the league follows me.* So the King mans the suburbs, with the Regiments of his guards of *Picardy*, of *Rubempré*, of *Gerzely* conuered from the league to the Kings seruice (grieved with that shamefull fight: hee had made vnder Duke *Mayenne*, being chased by the King of Nauarre vnto the Suburbs of *Nantes*) hee causeth them to make barricadoes, fers the Marshall *D'Amont* at the gate vpon the bridge, and the Suisses of Colonel *Galati* within the Towne. Hee sends for the King of Nauarre, who was at *Chinon*, and the Duke of *Epsernon* at Blois. The Duke of *Tremouille* and *Chastillon* Colonel of the King of Nauarres foot-men, arise within few houres. They fight at many barricadoes on foot, then they made the retreat with the Lord of *Grillon*, who commanded the regiment of the *Guarde*, hauing a *Harguebuze* shot through the body. Their troopes arise towards the euening, whom the King caused to be lodged in some Islands neere vnto the enemy all night.

E In the meane time the Duke of Mayenne begins the skirmish, forceth some barricadoes, and kills many souldiers. *Gerzely* (seeking with too braue a resolution to keepe the enemies from taking vp of his hat, which was fallen from him in defending his barricado with his pike) lost his life. The Duke comes, and about foure of the clocke winnes the suburbs, and threatned the towne. The Inhabitants trembled; and those with whom the Duke had intelligence studied to effect their designs. As the night gaue some rest vnto their armes, the King of Nauarres troopes arise: the Duke of *Epsernon* did second him. As soone as the day began to breake, the Duke aduertised of these new succours, burnt two great Arches of wood, and the houses at the entry of the bridge, and with a speed equall to his coming, returned the same way, leauing a great suspicion against such as accompanied the King, to haue sought great meanes to deliuer him without striking stroke.

His Maiesty aduised to giue his enemy a free passage to returne. *It were folly* (saith hee with a pleasant countenance) *to haue a double Henry against one Carolus*, which is the Duke of Mayennes name. It is a horror to thinke of the infolencies, spoiles, murders, ravishings, sacriledge, blasphemies, irreligions, which these braue Champions (armed for the defence of the Catholike religion) did practice in these suburbs, euen in the Church of *S. Symphorian*. The Vicar and the Chaplaine beaten and bound all night, did see the

Succored by the King of Nauarre.

A double Henry is a double duce, and a Carolus is but a penny. Infolency of the souldiers.

B b b 2

cofers

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coffers broken, the goods caried away, women and maids (that were fled thither as into a sanctuary) rauished: and which is worse, they steale away holy things, as Coopes and Ornaments of the Altar, the Robes and Vestments of Priests, & many Chalice of siluer mettalls, carrying away those of siluer, as belonging to heretikes and royalists (as they termed them) and therefore good prize: and the others that were not siluer they left behind, being (say they) of the vnion. The Cheualier *D'Aumale* and his people shewed themselves braue artificers in these exploits.

Doublelesse the vnion hath more disunited the Church, and more ruined the Catholike religion in few yeares, then the Protestants had done in many. We haue sene their fouldiers (and amongst them many Priests and Monkes that had cast away their frocks) force Vicars & Curats of Parishes in Lent (with a dagger at their throats) to giue them caluer, sheepe, lambs, pigs, kids, hens, capons, and other flicth, vnder the names of pikes, carpes, barbles, soles, turbot and herings, whilst the College of Sorbonne, and their Preachers, thunder out against their lawfull Prince and Soueraigne. The essentiall forme of a zealous Catholike was then, to rob Churches, to rauish wiues and Virgins, to murder men against the Altars, and to spoile the Clergy, not to be the Kings seruants, which that age held for a crime, but to vomit out against him all the indignities, and all the wickedesse, which religion and impiety could inuent in mad fouldiers.

We know the Lion by his pawes. The towne of Arquenay (three leagues from Laual) had a Church guilt & enriched by the Lords of Rombouiller, and at that time filled with all the goods of the Inhabitants. *Commerande*, with a regiment of seuen or eight hundred men (hauing ouer-runne and spoiled the Countrey of Aniou, and the Countie of Laual) comes thither with his men to lodge, in the end of Aprill, who burnt the doores of the Church, sackt it quite, hauing no respect of the feminine sex: they slue a poore man at the foot of the crucifixe, complaining that in the same place they had rauished his wife: they did their excrements in the holy water stocke; perfumed all the Church with their stinkinsse, applied to their owne eyes the ornaments of our Lady, sold the coopes, the banner and reliques to the Monkes of Eurons: the Chalice and crosse of siluer to them of Vagute: and to heape vp the measure of their villanies (hauing taken the Pixe of siluer and some foure and twenty of their holy cakes in it) one of them atired himselfe like a Priest, D causing some twenty of the fouldiers to kneele downe, and with his hands imbrued with blood and sacriledge, distributed them vnto them, and trode the rest vnder his feet. The like they did within few daies after at Thorigny.

It sufficeth amongst so many to haue noted this horrible impiety in particular, that posterity may learne, that armes doe not edifie but destroy the Altars: and that piety dwels not much among such as follow the campe. The re-union of the two Kings had greatly troubled the Leaguers of Paris. Now they cease not to draw Articles, instructions and aduertisements, both within, and without the Realme: they forget nothing that may confirme the building of their confusion. They send their Deputies to Rome, the Commander *de Dion*, the Councillor *Coguelay*, the Abbot of Orbais, and the Deane *E* of Rheims: who iustifie their actions to the Pope: demand a Legate, promise the publication of the councill of Trent, beseech his Holinesse, to bee gracious and fauourable to their designs, and to the townes of their affociation, and to contribute to the charge of this common warre, whereof they must beare the chiefe burthen. Indeed they had need of much money, to furnish the expences of so many petty Kings: but some filled their cofers, others payed their debts, and some bought lands & Lordships. Thus the people are the instruments of great men, and the sheffe wheron all kinde of stormes and tempests doe beat.

Liberty exceeded in all places, and rage against the Kings authority seemed desperate. The fire of this reuolt had kindled the heart and all the corners of the Realme: and generally there was nothing but inroades, spoiles, surprizing and facking: when as suddenly many checks amaze the League, and giue hope of a speedy reuiuing of the Kings affaires. The Duke of Montpensier, assisted by the Lords of Hallot, Creueceur, Bacqueuille, and *Larchant* was in Normandy, with forces for his Maiesties seruice: and for the first fruits, hauing defeated the garrison of Falaise, taken three Captaines, cut most of their companies in peeces, and dispersed the rest, they besieged the towne, and had brought it ready to yeeld, when as the Earle of Brissac (who of late did wonders in speaking well

as

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A at the Estates in the kings fauor) advanced with about three hundred Gentlemen, and five or six thousand foot, whom they called Gaultiers, and made the Duke abandon the siege to encounter them. They lodged in three villages: the Duke forceth two, kills such as make resistance, and chafeth the rest with small difficulty. The Earle flies with al his horse, leaving a thousand or twelue hundred prisoners, and about 1000 slaine vpon the place, amongst the which were found many Gentlemen.

After this attempt of the Duke of Mayenne, in the suburbs of Tours, the King sends the Lord of Lorges to discover the enemy: the Duke of Aumale hath intelligence thereof, and sends some troopes to charge him. The Lord of Chastillon passeth at Boisygeny B with two hundred horse, and as many harguebuziers to second *Lorges*, and cauleth *Fouquerolles* to aduance with twenty Gentlemen towards Bonneuall. They meet with *Reclainville*, who commanded in Chartres. He offers to discover them, they charge him, and kill five or six of his men: he retires in haste, and giues the alarm to the troopes of Picardy, led by *Saueuse* & *Les Broffes*, who commanded about three hundred masters, and a good number of Harguebuziers on horse backe, and on foot. The two Commanders *Chastillon* and *Saueuse* are in front one against another. No man makes shew to recoyle, and both resolute to fight. *Saueuse* puts his Harguebuziers before, and placeth his Lancers in hay, approaching softly without disbanding. *Chastillon* disposeth of his foot, makes two battalions of his horse, and sets *Charboniere* and *Harambure* on his left hand, C with their companies of light horse, and then he aduanceth to the charge. *Saueuse* chargeth resolutely. His Harguebuziers on horse backe very neere. *Chastillon* too tem receiue them in like sort, and with one breath enter amongst the horse that were come to the charge: they kill many horses with their swords, and lose but three fouldiers. *Saueuse* chargeth the light horsemen vpon his right hand, and breaking the first rankes, had vnhorled *Chastillon*, and some eight or ten Gentlemen, but with the losse of five and twenty horse: as these rise and fight on foot, *Harambure* and *Fouquerolles* comes in: they charge *Saueuse* & his men, kill about sixscore Gentlemen, ouerthrow the rest, and force through them. Thus broken, without meanes to make a new head, euery man flies, twenty one placeth his saterie in the heeles of his horse. *Chastillon* goes to horse-backe, and pursues, chasing, beating, and killing about threecore more in the flight, with all their Harguebuziers. Two Cornets were gotten, and forty Gentlemen taken, most being hurt in the conflict. *Saueuse* caried Boisygeny, dyed there of his wounds, not able to bee perlawed by any meanes to acknowledge the King, or scarce to aske God forgiuenesse.

Senlis had of late daies, by the meanes of some good Inhabitants, shaken off the yoaके of the League. It was a troublesome thorne in the Parisiens feet, being distant but one small daies iourney to come from their City towards Picardy. To pull it out, the Duke of Aumale goes from Paris, with some troopes of *Balagny*, *Chamois*, *Tremont*, *Congis*, *Menneville*, and an army of the Inhabitants chosen out of euery quarter: he besiegeth, batters E it, and makes a breach, but is repulsed from the assault.

Now they aduise the besieged to provide for their safeties: when as the Duke of Longueuille appeared, being followed by the Lords of Humieres, *Bonniet*, *la Noue*, *Giury*, and other Commanders, the Duke of Aumale turns head, and prepares to fight: but *La Noue* (whom the King had especially commanded to assist the Duke of Longueuille with counsell in matters of warre) did so wisely make choise of the houre and opportunity to charge, as the duke of Aumale, *Balagny* gouernor of Cambray, and the rest (putting in practice the vie of their long spur-reuols, lately inuented as a mournfull prediction to the League) saued their persons by the swiftnesse of their horses, and left the field dyed with the blood of fiftene hundred slaine vpon the place, in the flight and pursuit, verifying the saying: Hee that flies betimes, may fight againe. *Chamois*, *Menneville*, and diuers others could not run fast enough. The artillery, baggage, and many prisoners remayned at the victors discretion, who by the kings commandement went to receiue the army of strangers which were come to the frontiers. The Kings meaning was to subdue Paris. The greatest of the *Hidraes* heads being cut off, did weaken the whole body, and gaue hope to his Maistie by that meanes to find what hee had lost, the loue and obedience of his subjects. To this end he sends the Duke of Epemont, to take from the Parisiens the commodities about the riuer, and assembles his forces to compassse them in beneath.

Bbb b ; Thus

The Parisiens
souris.Their petition
vnto the Pope.Diuers defeats
the League.

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Lest for the King.

Thus the war growes hot: the Nobility goes to horse on all sides to reuenge the wrong A done vnto the King: but the more his troopes increased, the more bitter his subiects grew against him.

No prosperitie is so great, but it hath some crosses. As the King attends the forces which the Prince of Dombes (now Duke of Montpensier) brings him from Tours, newes comes that the Earle of Soissons (whom he had sent to command in Britan) had beene defeated at Chasteauguion three Leagues from Rennes, and led prisoner with the Earle of Auaugour, and many other Lords to Nantes: that the Duke of Mayenne had taken Alençon. That the Lord of Aubigni (a younger brother to the house of Gordes, and a partizan of the League) had chased the Colonel *Alphonse* out of Grenoble, and seized on the towne. B The taking of these Earles caused the King to send the Prince *Dombes* thither, who more happily reduced many places to his Maiesties obedience.

But was it reasonable to neglect the imprisonment of a Prince of the blood, and of the companions of his fortune, seeing that the hazard of armes doth not depend vpon him that leads them, and that God doth sometimes crosse them, to the end that man should not make a buckler of his strength, but acknowledge his owne weaknesse. To seeke their liberty, the King commands Capitaine *Gentil* to make an attempt vpon the towne and Castle of Nantes, and to *Sardini*, to giue him directions, guides, and boates for his descent vpon the riuer of Loire. As they labour in the execution of this commandement, Behold *Sardini* is taken and led prisoner to *Gilbourg* in Anion by *Hurtand*, Saint *Offange* C and the Abbot of Saint Maur. So his Maiesty reuokes his first commandement, and wills him (being assisted by *Pucharic* Gouvernor of Angiers) to attempt to force the Castle of *Gilbourg* by *Petard*. He views it, and after the discharge of six *Petards* he becomes Master of the place, of *Hurtand*, and of his companions: but they had already transported *Sardini* to Roch-fort. It did much import his Maiesties seruice to haue this prisoner set at liberty, so as at the instant pursuit of his wife, the King caused *Pucharic* and *Gentil* to treat an exchange with *Hurtand* and the Abbot, suffering the designe of Nantes surcease, to aduance other executions which they had in hand.

Gilbourg taken.

Varennes taken.

Varennes in Maine, is situated betwixt Laual, Mans and Sable, by the taking whereof he should giue many strokes with one stone. They did amoy these places which were D held by the factions of the Realme, and the Spanish Partisans, and they made the succors easily for Saint Susanne and Pichellieres, which were besieged by *Boisdauphin* and *Laufac*. Fiue blowes with a *Petard* forced it, and *Rochepart* did afterwards free those two places from the seruitude which did threaten them.

Gilbertine taken.

Nine other *Petards* did ioyne vnto the former the conquest of *Gilbertiere* neere vnto Mauleon in Poictou, and this taken by *Gentil*, laid the way open to surprize others who had fortified themselves in an Island of the riuer of Loire, beneath Rochfort, and hindered his descent to Nantes. *Malicorne* Lieutenant for the King in Poictou, hauing assisted him with a hundred men armes and 400 *Harguebuziks*, he passed by night into the Island and clesed Aniou and Poictou of this furnished Vermin. After which he went to view Gan- E nache, and as he returned, hauing for his guard fiftene or sixteene horsemen which hee led commonly at his owne charge, with *Pucheries* light-horse and some others, Behold the Seigneure of Aillon led 400 souldiers to Poictiers, by whose induction he takes *Crusine* and Monateuil by *petard*. Worthy doublet of our History, hauing neuer spared his paines, the perill of his life, nor his expences, in *petards*, rolling-bridges & other Engines which F he had often made at his own charge, in entertaining of spies for his guard; hauing not any one vein; but he had prodigally opened it, nor motion, which he hath not with great affection bided to exploit with happy successe the Stratagems which industry had suggested. The successe of the Kings affaires made men to iudge, that the League would soone be ruined, the Kings army increasing hourly. Three hundred horse of *La Chastre* (who presently after the Tragedy of Blois had made shew to iustifie himselfe vnto the King for the strict familiarity he had with the D. of Guise) were defeated by the duke of Montbazon, and the

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A Marquis of Nefle his Lieutenant, and fifty of his company slaine: the taking of Iargeau, Pluuiers, Janville, and Estamps, terrified the Parisiens. They call backe the Duke of Mayenne: and he finding the Duke of Longueville far off, goes into Bry, assures some places, and takes Montreuil-faut-yonne, by composition from the Duke of Elpemon: but the Kings approach caried him suddenly to Paris, where (suffering his troopes to lue at discretion in the suburbs) he caused an ill impression to grow in some which could not well digest this confusion in the State.

An army of about twenty thousand men, gathered together by the Duke of Longueville, ioyning with the Suisses and Lanquenets of Sanly, and Pontoise reduced by force B to the Kings obedience: soone after the Kings arrival, all the Kings forces ioynd in one body, being about 40000 men, lodged about Paris: and the taking of S. Cloud, made the Parisiens ready to yeeld: when as a diuellish Monke, an excrement of hell, a *Iacobin* by profession, *James Clement*, of the age of two or three and twenty yeares, vowes (said he) to kill the Tyrant, and to deliuer the City besieged by *Sennacherib*. Thus resolu'd, he imports his damnable proiect to Doctor *Bourgeois* Prior of his Couent, to Father *Commoles* and other Iesuits, and to the heads of the League, to the chiefe of the sixteene, and to the forty Councillors at Paris. All encourage him to this happy designe: they promise him Abbeyes and Bishopricks: and if hee chance to be made a Martyr, no lesse then a place in heauen about the Apostles. They caused the Preachers to perswade the people C to patience seuen or eight daies: for before the end of the weeke, they should see a notable accident, which should set all the people at liberty. The preachers of Orleans, Rouan and Amiens, clatter out the like at the same time, and in the same termes.

Paris besieged.

The first of August, the Monke goes out of Paris, and marcheth toward S. Cloud: vpon his departure, they take about two hundred of the chiefe Citizens and others prisoners, whom they knew to haue goods, friends and credit with the Kings party, as a precaution to redeeme that cursed murder, in case hee were taken before or after the deed. In his way he was stayed by the Regiment of *Cuslan* which was then in guard; telling them that he went vnto his Maiesty, to let him vnderstand something which concerned his seruice. *Cuslan* caused him to be conducted by two souldiers to the Kings quarter, D which was at S. Cloud, commanding them, that (if haply the King were not there) they should bring him to some one of the Councill. They meet with *La Guesle* the Proctor generall, and leaue him with him, hearing of his Maiesties absence. He heares him privately in his lodging: the Monke giues him to vnderstand that the first President and other of the Kings seruants had sent him, to aduertise him, that there is a good number of Partisans at Paris, who if it please his Maiesty to giue them a day and houre, will keep him a port open. And to purchase the more credit to his words, he shewes a certaine paper written in Italian Characters, the which hee said was a letter of credit from the first President, accompanied with a passport from the Earle of Briennes, signed *Charles* of Luxembourg. And feignes that he had obtained it to goe out of Paris vnder colour of going to E Orleans. That he had many priuate instructions which hee might not deliuer but to his Maiesty alone.

The Seigneure of *La Guesle*, conceiuing him to be a spie, examined him when he saw the first President, and of the forme of their faces that were with him; and by what meanes he entred into the Bastile. Hee answered as if he had knowne them well, and added that hee was assisted by the fauor of *Portails* son, the Kings Chirurgeon, for the knowledge which he had of his wife. The King being aduertised by *La Guesle*, commands hee should be brought the next day, but he is examined first by *Portail* vpon his pretended acquaintance with his wife, to whom he answered pertinently, and gaue good obseruations. The next day being come to the Kings lodging, they were called by *du Toulle* the first Groomer of F his Chamber. At the first *La Guesle* caused the Iacobin to stay neere the doore, and taking his papers he presents them to his Maiesty, who hauing read them, commands the Iacobin should approach, whom he asked what hee would say, to whom he answered that it was a secret thing. Some distrust made *La Guesle* to speake, being betwixt the King and him. Speake aloud (said he twice or thrice) there is not any one here but the King trusts. His Maiesty seeing him make difficulty to speake, commands him againe to approach. The Baron of Bellegarde, master of the Kings horse, and *La Guesle* (who were alone in the Chamber) retired two or three paces. The King bends his ear, but in stead of hearing what

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what he expected, this wretch drawes a knife out of his sleue made of purpose, thrusts A his Maicesty into the bottome of the belly, and there leaues the knife in the wound. The King drawes it forth, and with some struuing of the Monke, strikes him about the eye. Many ran in at this noyse, and in the heat of choller killing this monster of men, presented the true discouery of this enterprize, and the authors thereof, worthy to bee noted with a perpetuall blot of disloyalty and treason. The Physicians held the wound curable: and the same day the King did write of this attempt, and of his hope of recovery, to the Gouernors of Prouinces, to foraigne Princes, and to his friends and confederates. But feeling that the Kings of Kings had otherwise determined of his life, he did first comfort himselfe, in foreseeing that the last houre of his crosses should bee the first of his felicities: then lamenting his good and faithfull seruants, who furniuing should find no respect with those whose mindes had bene so abandoned to mischief, as neither the feare of God, nor the dignity of his person could dissuade them from this horrible sacrilege. One thing (said he) doth comfort me, that I read in your faces, with the griefe of your hearts, and the sorrow of your soules, a goodly and commendable resolution, to continue vnited for the preservation of that which remains whole of my Estate, and the reuenge which you owe vnto the memory of him who hath loued you so dearly. I seeke not the last curiously, leauing the punishment of my enemies vnto God. I haue learned in his schoole to forgieue them, as I doe with all my heart. But as I am chiefly bound to procure peace, and rest vnto this Realme; I coniure you all, by that inuiolable faith which you owe vnto your Country, that you continue firme and constant defenders of the common liberty, and that you neuer lay downe armes, vntill you haue purged the Realme of the troublers of the publike quiet. And, forasmuch as diuision alone, vndermines the foundations of this Monarchy, resolute to be vnited in one will. I know, and I dare assure you, that the King of Nauarre, my brother in law, the lawfull successeur to this Crowne, is sufficiently instructed in the lawes, to know how to reigne well, and to command reasonable things: and I hope, you are not ignorant of the iust obedience you owe vnto him. Referre the difference of Religion to the conuocation of the Estates of the Realme, and learne of me, that piety is a duty of man vnto God, ouer which worldly force hath no power. Thus spake Henry, euen as the last pangs of death caried him within few houres after from this vnto another world: but (a notable circumstance) in the same Chamber where the Councell was held on that fatall day of Saint Bartholmew, in the yeare 1572. By his death he extinguished the second Parcell of the third Race of Capets, in the branch of *Valois*, leaving the Crown to the third Royall branch of Bourbons, whereunto the order of the fundamental law did lawfully call him.

The Kings last speeches.

The death of Henry the third being murdered.

His manners.

A mild and tractable Prince, courteous, witty, eloquent and graue, but of easie access, deuout, louing learning, aduancing good wits, a bountifull rewarder of men of merit, desirous to reforme the abuses of his Officers, a friend to peace, and capable of counsell, but weak and yielding in aduersities, and by that meanes making his enemies ouerbold in their ambitious desires. Finally, a Prince who deserved to bee placed amongst the worst of this Monarchy, if voluptuousnesse, luxury and excessive prodigality to some of his favorites (the which might without enuy haue bene diuided amongst many men of honor,) had not made him negligent and carelesse of the politike gouernment of his Estate, and so blemished the goodliest graces which nature had planted in his soule.

THE

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THE
THIRD PARCEL OF THE
THIRD RACE OF CAPETS, IN
the royall Branch of the BOVRBONS, beginning
at HENRY King of Nauarre, and the fourth
of that Name, of FRANCE and of NAVARRIE.

C Our King shall iudge vs, and goe before vs, and shall conduct our battels for vs.

A N D

God hath annointed thee ouer his inheritance for Prince, and thou shalt deliuer his people from the hands of their enemies that are about them.

A N D

The Lord his God is with him, and a cry of the Kings victory in him.

HENRY the FOURTH,
The 63 French King.



Ehold the Theater of mans life: diuers passions appeare in diuers acts; hatred, rebellion, infidelity, treason and fury shall play a long and tragicke rowle in many Scenes. But as our new Successeur hath eaten the bitter roots in his youth, so in his age he shall reape the sweet fruits of vertue, being honored, feared and respected, both of his own subiects and strangers. God gouerns the being of this world by course and temper of diuers seasons, men reape not before they haue sowed, neither doe they sow before they haue laboured. Thus he gouerns the society of mankind by certain degrees; that man

may know, that he deserves not the sweet, that hath not tasted of the sowre: and that the force of his wit can no way aduance the happy success of his estate, without the helpe and grace of that great Guardian, who by miraculous meanes preferres Estates from apparent ruine.

F This Raigne hath two parcells. The beginning is painfull, full of crosses, and confused: vntill that our Henry (solemnly installed) be acknowledged lawfull King by all his subiects: for till then, the most impudent and passionate called him the *Bearnois* in disdain: others more modest, left him his first title of King of Nauarre, or at the least, of Priace of Bearne. But the successe will teach vs, that euen now the Lord would succor this Monarchy, and in despite of all the violent oppositions of man, make our King to triumph ouer all domesticall and foraigne infolencies, which had disallowed him for the lawfull successeur, and almost dispossessed him of his Realme.

Doubtless

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what he expected, this wretch draws a knife out of his sleue made of purpose, thrusts A his Maieity into the bottome of the belly, and there leaues the knife in the wound. The King drawes it forth, and with some striking of the Monke, strikes him about the eye. Many ran in at this noise, and in the heat of choller killing this monster of men, prevented the true discouery of this enterprife, and the authors thereof, worthy to bee noted with a perpetuall blot of disloyalty and treason. The Physitians held the wound curable: and the same day the King did write of this attempt, and of his hope of recovery, to the Governors of Prouinces, to foraigne Princes, and to his friends and confederates. But feeling that the Kings of Kings had otherwise determined of his life, he did first comfort himselfe, in foreseeing that the last houre of his crosses should bee the first of his felicities: then lamenting his good and faithfull seruants, who suruiuing should find no respect with those whose mindes had beene so abandoned to mischief, as neither the feare of God, nor the dignity of his person could disswade them from this horrible sacriledge. One thing (said he) doth comfort me, that I read in your faces, with the griefe of your hearts, and the sorrow of your soules, a goodly and commendable resolution, to continue vnited for the preservation of that which remains whole of my Estate, and the reuenge which you owe vnto the memory of him who hath loued you so dearly. I seeke not the last curiously, leauing the punishment of my enemies vnto God. I haue learned in his schoole to forgiue them, as I doe with all my heart. But as I am chiefly bound to procure peace, and rest vnto this Realme, I coniure you all, by that inuiolable faith which you owe vnto your Country, C that you continue firme and constant defenders of the common liberty, and that you neuer lay downe armes, vntill you haue purged the Realme of the troublers of the publike quiet. And, forasmuch as diuision alone, vndermines the foundations of this Monarchy, resolute to be vnited in one will. I know, and I dare assure you, that the King of Nauarre, my brother in law, the lawfull successeur to this Crowne, is sufficiently instructed in the lawes, to know how to reigne well, and to command reasonable things: and I hope, you are not ignorant of the iust obedience you owe vnto him. Referre the difference of Religion to the conuocation of the Estates of the Realme, and learne of me, that piety is a duty of man vnto God, ouer which worldly force hath no power. Thus spake Henry, euen as the last pangs of death carried him within few houres after from this vnto another D world: but (a notable circumstance) in the same Chamber where the Councell was held on that fatall day of Saint Bartholmeu, in the year 1572. By his death he extinguished the second Parcell of the third Race of Capets, in the branch of Valois, leauing the Crown to the third Royall branch of Bourbons, whereunto the order of the fundamental law did lawfully call him.

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Doublets

Doubleſſe, we muſt confeſſe without flattery, that France had neede of this Prince, to A
root out (like another French *Hercules*) thoſe hideous monſters which made it horrible
and fearful to his own children: to reſtore the French to the greatneſſe of their reputa-
tion, and this Crowne to her former beauty. It is of him that the Princes of our age, and
of future ages ſhall learne to be Captaines. He himſelfe alone hath made more war, then
all they haue ſcene together. Let vs alſo obſerue a great conformity of his raigne, with
that of *Dauid*, in afflictions and bleſſings, and wiſhing that God would make him equall
in the zeale of piety and iuſtice, (the chiefe and firmeſt pillars of a Royalty) let vs hope,
that with a holy ambition, (being borne a King) he will ſhew himſelfe ſo: and that hee
might long raigne happily, to the glory of God, the good of his ſubiects, and the health
of his owne ſoule.

The Gene-
ralle of the
King.

But let vs ſee by what degrees the fundamentall law of this eſtate calls him to this Mo-
narchy. *Lewis*, ſurnamed Saint, 44 French King, had many ſonnes. *Philip* his ſucceſſor
ſurnamed the Hardy, *Peter* Earle of Alençon, *Robert* alſo Earle of Alençon by the death
of *Peter*, and *Robert* Earle of Clermont in Beauuaſin: the firſt and laſt haue left iſſue; the
two others dyed without heyres, and before their father. *Philip* hath left by order ſucceſ-
ſiue in direct line maſculine and lawfull, or collateral from the neareſt to the neareſt
kin, all our Kings which haue continued in the third royall race, euen vnto *Henry* the third
King of France and of Poland: by whole death (the name and family of Valois being
extinct) the law ſeekes to the line of *Robert* Earle of Clermont in Beauuaſin, and findes
not any one nearer then the houſe of Vendome, whereof our *Henry* was the ſole and
lawfull heire-male, as deſcending in the direct maſculine and lawfull line from the ſaid *Ro-
bert*. For *Robert* had by *Beatrice*, the only daughter and heire of *Archibauld* Earle of
Bourbon, *Lewis*, whole lands were erected to a Duchy in the yeare 1329. *Lewis* Duke of
Bourbon, and *Mary* the daughter of *John* the 18 Earle of Hainault, had *Peter* Duke of
Bourbon, and *Jamies* Earle of Ponthieu, Conſtable of France. *Peter* had by *Iſabel* the
daughter of *Charles* Earle of Valois, *Lewis* and *Jamies*. *Lewis* ſurnamed the Good Duke
of Bourbon, had by *Anne* Counteſſe of Auvergne, *Lewis* Earle of Clermont, who died
without children, *John* and *Jamies*. *John* Duke of Bourbon had by *Bonne* Duchefeſſe of Au-
vergne and Counteſſe of Montpenſier, *Charles*, and *Lewis* Earle of Montpenſier, father
to *Gilbert*, of whom iſſued *Charles* the laſt D. of Bourbon. *Charles* D. of Bourbon had
D
of *Agnes* the daughter of *John* D. of Bourgogne, *John* and *Peter*. *John* the ſecond of that
name, married *Joane* of France, daughter to *Charles* the ſeauenth, and dying without law-
full heires of his body, the name and armes of Duke, went to *Peter* his younger brother.
Peter the ſecond of that name, Duke of Bourbon, had of *Anne* of France, the daugh-
ter of *Lewis* the eleuenth, one only daughter, *Suſanne* the general heire of Bourbon, who
was wife to the aboue named *Charles*, the yongelt Son of *Lewis*, aboue named Earle of
Montpenſier, and brother to *Charles* Duke of Bourbon. But no children growing from
this marriage, the branch of the eldeſt ſonne of *Lewis* created Duke of Bourbon, ended
in this *Charles* Duke of Bourbon, and Conſtable of France, who died at the ſiege of
Rome, and the Duchy of Bourbon ſiſe being incorporate to the Crowne, we muſt ſeek
the line of *Jamies* of Ponthieu (they alſo giue him the titles of Earle of Charolois and *La
Marche*) Conſtable of France, the yongelt ſonne of *Lewis* the firſt Duke of Bourbon.
Jamies had by *Joane* the daughter of the Earle of S. Paul, *John* his ſucceſſor Earle of La
Marche. *John* had of *Catherine*, the only Daughter and heire of *John* Earle of Vendome,
iſſued from the Dukes of Normandy, and Earles of Anjou; *Jamies* King of Naples, who
leaving none but daughters, tranſported his right of inheritance to *Lewis* his yongelt
brother. *Lewis* had no children by *Jane* of Ruſſy, his firſt wife, the daughter of *Ralf* Earle
of Montfort, & *Anne* of Montmorency, but of *Jane* the daughter of *Guy* Lord of Guare,
and of *Anne* heire of *Laual* and *Vitry* in Britany, or of *Mary* the daughter of *Engender*,
Lord of Concy, and of *Iſabel* his wife, the daughter of *Edward* King of England, accord-
ing to ſome opinions. By his ſecond marriage he had *John* his ſucceſſor, & Earle of Ven-
dome, the ſecond of that name. *John* the ſecond had of *Jane* of Beauue (or of *Iſabel* of
Beauuais, daughter to the Lord of Priſſigni) *Francis* his ſucceſſor and Earle of Vendome,
and *Lewis* Prince of La Roche-sur-yon, who of *Louſe* of Bourbon the daughter of *Gil-
bert* of Bourbon, and ſiſter to *Charles* laſt Duke of Bourbon, left *Lewis* of Bourbon Earle
of Montpenſier, who was Father to *Francis* of Bourbon Duke of Montpenſier, which

was

A was father to *Henry* the laſt Duke of Montpenſier, Prince Soueraigne of Dombes,
Dauphin of Auvergne, Lieutenant general for the King in Normandy, and husband
to *Katherine Henriette* of Loyeuz, (a Prince whole vertues France did admire) to *Francis*
were borne by *Mary* of Luxembourg, Counteſſe of S. Paul, and daughter to *Peter* of
Luxembourg; *Charles* Earle; but created Duke of Vendome by King *Francis* the firſt.
Francis Earle of S. Paul, (who by *Adrian* Duchefeſſe of Elouteuille had *Francis*, who di-
ed young) *Lewis* Cardinall of Bourbon, *Autoyette* wife to *Claude* of Lorraine Duke of
Guiſe, *Louſe* Abbeſſe of Font-Eureaux. *Charles* the firſt, Duke of Vendome, had by
Francis, or according to ſome others, by *Louſe* the daughter of *René* Duke of Alençon,
B *Lewis* who died at the age of ſeuene yeares, *Anthony* who ſucceeded in his right, and was
afterwards King of Nauarre, *Francis* Earle of Anguien, famous for that great battell of
Cenſolles, and ſlaine by chance at La Roche-Guion, *Charles* Cardinall, Archbiſhop of
Rouan, *John* who died at the battell of S. Quintin, and *Lewis* Prince of Conde, who
made another ſtroke of the elder Princes of Bourbon. *Anthony* had by *Joane* of Albret
Queene of Nauarre (daughter to *Henry* the ſecond of that name King of Nauarre, and
by *Marguerit* of Orleans, ſiſter to *Francis* the firſt of that name King of France): *Henry*
the Fourth of that name French King by his Fathers right, and the ſecond of that name
King of Nauarre by his Mother.

The amazement was great in the Kings army, and mens hearts extremely daunted
C with ſorrow and griefe, when as our *Henry* was by the common conſent of the Army, and
as the neceſſity of the time and place did ſuffer, publiſhly proclaimed King. Some reſol-
ued to retire as neuters, to ſee how the chance of armes would fall: others aſpired to
change their party, and made a ſcruple to follow a king of another religion. A ſcruple
which neuer entred into the minds of our firſt Chriſtians, who fought againſt the for-
raigne enemies, vnder the Enſignes of *Clouis*, and other Pagan Kings. The Duke of
Eprenon retired himſelfe: many troopes followed his example: few continued firme
and conſtant to reuenge the outrage wherunto the deſeased Kings laſt words had ſo kin-
dly inuited them, and wherunto euery French-man ought to haue an eſpecial regard.

At Paris there was nothing but ioy and mirth. Bonfires, Songs, Feaſts, Maskes, pa-
D ſtimes, and curſing the memory of the King. The wicked Monkes picture was ſuddenly
made, he was canonized as a new Martyr, and deliquit of the Church from the oppreſ-
ſions of a Tyrant: all that were allied vnto him were enriched with almes and publike
contributions: that by this bayte others might attempt the like againſt the King that
ſucceeded. The Duke of Mayenne (not daring to take vpon him the title of King) cauſed
it by publike proclamation to be giuen to *Charles* Cardinall of Bourbon, then a priſoner:
and coynd both gold & ſiluer with the picture of King *Charles* the tenth. And diſguiſing
the ſurpuration of his authority, he accepted the title which the general Councell of the
Vnion gaue him, of Lieutenant general of the State, and Crowne of France. An abſurd
title, ſtrange and ridiculous, for a Lieutenant is he which holds the place for another, who
E (by his abſence or other let) cannot performe the function in his perſon. But who can
maintaine that a man may be Lieutenant to an Eſtate, to a Crowne, to a thing without
a ſoule? It is againſt the rules of Grammar, and againſt the termes of State, who giue
the titles of Regent, and of Lieutenant General for the King, and to tolerate that of Lie-
utenant in the Eſtate and Crowne of France; this was properly to contumace mountaines,
and to bring forth a ridiculous mouſe.

On the other ſide, the King (ſeeing the diminution of his forces, teſtifies his intention
by a publike declaration to the Princes and Noblemen of the army, hee aſſembles the
chiefe of the Nobility: hee lets them vnderſtand the deſeased Kings will touching reli-
gion, by a general or national Councell, whereof he proſſets to follow the inſtruction.
F I giue leave (ſaid he) to all ſuch as would leaue me; ſo to doe: yet I am ſorry they are better
French-men, for their owne good and ſafety. I haue friends enough without them to maintain
my authority. God hath neuer left me, and will not now abandon me; hee hath not begun ſo
miraculous a worke; to leaue it imperfect: not for my ſake alone, but for his owne names ſakes
and for ſo many ſoules afflicted in his Realm, whom I deſire and promiſe by the faith of a King,
to reſtore, ſo ſoone as God ſhall giue me the means. But how precious is this to me, that an
your lawfull King; and who leaues you in the liberty of your religion, to ſee you goe about to
force me to yours by unlawfull means, and without former inſtruction?

The Kings de-
claration.

This

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This declaration retained them that were least scrupulous in their duties: and his promise not to alter any thing in Religion, might have shaken many of the League. To cross him, the Duke of Mayenne publisheth an Edict of the seventh of August, in his name and the Councils of the holy Union established at Paris, attending a generall assembly of the Estates of the Realme, to write (said he) all French-men that were good Christians, for the defence and preferuation of the Catholick, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and the maintenance of the Royall estate, in the absence of their lawfull King, *Charles* the tenth of that name, for whose liberty he invited them all to armes. But he desired no more the liberty of his pretended King, then our *Henry* did to force Religion, the support whereof serueth them for a goodly cloake.

Violent decrees

Some Parliaments grow incensed of these sudden changes in the State, and seeme to entertaine the people in doubt and feare of the subuersion of their Religion. That of Bourdeaux commands all men vnder their Iurisdiction, by a Decree of the 19 of August, to obserue inuiolably the Edict of Union to the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church: & declarations were thereupon made. That of Tholoua is more violent. They decree, that yearly the first day of August, they should make processions and publike prayers for the benefits they had receiued that day, in the miraculous & fearful death of *Henry* the third, whereby Paris was deliuered, and other townes of the Realme: forbidding all persons to acknowledge *Henric* of Bourbon, the pretended King of Nauarre, for King: declaring him incapable euer to succcede to the Crowne of France, by reason (said the Decree) of the notorious and manifest crimes contained at large in the bull of Excommunication of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth. Without doubt the authority of the Soueraigne Court is much blemished in pronouncing a Decree, which they must reuoke by a contrary sentence. Thus the league kindled anew the fires which the siege of Paris had somewhat quenched: the Kings troops decreased hourly, sickness diminished their numbers, and the D. of Mayenne increased. The King therefore diuides his Army into three: one vnder the command of the Duke of Longueuille into Picardy, the other into Champagne vnder the Marshall *d'Aumont*: and he is aduised to passe himselfe into Normandy, with twelue hundred horse, three thousand French foot, and two Regiments of Suisses, as well to receiue succours out of England, as to assure some places and passages fit for his designs, but with direction to ioyne at need. In his passage he causeth the Kings body to be conducted and left at Compeigne, and reduceth to his obedience, Melen, Gisors, and Clermont: he receiues from Captaine *Roulet* both the place and the hearts of the Inhabitants of Pont del' Arche, four leagues from Rouan, a passage very commodious for the trafficke betwixt Rouan and Paris. He visits Deep: confirms the townes of Caen, forceth Neuchastell to yeeld, hauing by *Hallots* and *Guitry* his Lieutenants overcome the succours that were sent thither, and slaine seuen or eight hundred men vpon the place.

The King retires his siege from Paris.

His conquests.

The Duke of Mayenne follows.

All these surprises could not draw the Duke of Mayenne out of the walls of Paris. But when as he sees the King lodged at Dernerat, a league from Rouan, and the townes of Eu vpon Bethune brought to his obedience: at the instant request of the D. of Aumale, and the Earle of Brissac commanding within Rouan, he goes to field, with aboute three thousand horse, and fiftene thousand foot, French, Germans, Italians, Flemings, and Spaniards. He promisseth the Parisiens to pursue, bessege, take, and bring the Bearnois prisoner, and makes them already by supposition to hire shops and windows in *S. Antonies* street, to see him passe in chains vpon the Bastile. He passeth the riuier of Seine with this mighty army, and recouers Gournay (being lately taken by the D. of Longueuille) Neuchastell, and Eu; and then he aduanceth to stay the course of the Kings prosperity, who triumphed in Normandy.

This proceeding made the King imagine, they should not part without blowes, and full of that generosity, constancy, and ready resolution which he did alwaies carry in accidents which did seeme dangerous, sends for his Lieutenants, the Duke of Longueuille, and the Marshall *d'Aumont* to approach, for that he forescees a dangerous scin in the Estate which was very sicke. The King parts from Deep, and marcheth towards the Duke: he lodgeth at Arques, three miles from thence, betwixt two hills diuided by the riuier of Bethune: at the foot of the one is the Village, and the Castle which commandeth it. He views the situation, and findes it fit to receiue the enemy. And not to lose the aduantage

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A rage which time or industry might giue him, he casts vp a trench of seuen or eight foot deepe on the top of one of the hills, raiseth the defences, furnisheth it with artillery, and foure companies of Suisses: provides for the safety of the Village, casts vp Trenches vpon the weakest places of approach: and a thousand paces off, neere to the riuers side where the enemy should passe, hee lodgeth eight hundred French Harguebuziers in an Hospitall, to cut off the enemies passage. The Duke (whose army was now about thirty thousand men) chooseth rather to leaue the shortest way, then to fight for this passage: and passing the riuier about, he encamps on the other hill right against Arques, and three daies after, the 16 of September, marcheth against the Pollet, a tūberne of Diepe, where the Lord of Chastillon did fortifie, leauing some number of horse, and troops of foot to guard his hill and lodging of Martinglife.

There is no such policie as to strike first, and to charge the enemy while he consults, being irresolute whether he shall fight or retire. The King knowes it well, his owne experience hath often tryed it. He therefore sends to view this army, to discouer their forces, and to obserue their countenance. He leaues the Marshall of Biron to command at Arques, and lodgeth in a mill, which they had entrencht vpon the approach to this suburbs. There they make a furious skirmish. But the Leaguers hauing lost nine or ten Capitaines, and a great number of their most resolute souldiers, they had no will to proceed. They leaue the place, and lodge at the nearest village to the Suburbs of Diepe: an open place, without defence or houses. So many discomforts were scarce tolerable. *Chastillon* also dislodged them soone, and made them to seek another quarter.

No able exploits at Arques against the League.

On the other side, the Corps de-gard (lodged in the guest house) would not suffer the enemy which kept both the hill and the lodging, to approach neare the Riuier side. Being impatient then to haue any such vigilant neighbours, they resolute to charge this Corps de-gard, and to become masters of either banke, that they might approach more freely to the Trenches at Arques. The Marshall sees them come, and drawing them on by light skirmishes, makes them beleaue they shall haue the better: but suddenly with a furious charge he scatters them, some here, some there: and many seeking to saue themselves from the fight, drowne in the riuier. So this army is charged in three places at one instant: D at the Mill by the King: at Martinglife by *Biron*, and at the Pollet by *Chastillon*. They first amaze them whet their courages. They are daunted for this first checke. Battells are variable, and it may be, a second attempt will giue them a more happy successe. Being thus resolute, the Duke leaues that great designe he had vpon Diepe, and propounds to set vpon the guest-house. Three or four volleys of our Cannon (said he) will beat it down. They shot, but preuaile nothing: and seeing their attempts vaine, they leaue force to sie to surprizes.

The first charge in three places.

The 21 of September they passe the water in the night, without drum, without trumpet, and without light; they put themselves in battell, and meane at the breake of day to worke some great effect. But they haue a vigilant enemy, who will see all, know all, and E doe all: the King causeth a long trench to bee drawne from the top of his hill vnto the guest house, and mans it with foure companies of Suisses and Lanquenets, and some French, supported by the Earle of Auvergne, (who in this warre gaue braue and singular proofes of his valor) commanding three companies of light horse, and three other companies of men at armes, seconded also by the companies of the Princes of Condé, and Conty, and on the top of the trench he placeth the Marshall of Biron with the Companies of *Chastillon*, and of *Maligny*, (afterwards Vidam of Chartres) and a good number of the Nobility.

All these Companies march by the fauour of the Cannon (which plaied from the Castle to their aduantage) and charge the Duke of Mayennes Cornet, ouerthrowes *Sugonne* F with some horsemen, dead vpon the place, and disperse the rest. But a new supply forceth them to retire. The Suisses of Colonel *Galatz* stay their violence. The Lanquenets of the League (degenerating from the ancient constancy of Germans) approach neare the trench, but seeing themselves weake, and engaged with the hazard of their lues, they make offer to yeeld vnto the King. Those within the trench giue them their hands to receiue them. The King seeing them ioyned with his men, runs to charge them, not knowing they had called vpon his name. But seeing his Maiesty, they yeeld themselves, and lay downe their weapons, He receiues them, and assures them of the pay they had gotten in fighting

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fighting

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Treachery of
the Lanquenets
of the League.

fighting against him. Seeing themselves freed from danger, and the King, *Biron*, and the other troops of horse, fighting here and there, and that the body of the Dukes horse advanced to charge the *Suisses*, they turne their armes against them which had newly giuen them life: they charge the Marshall of *Birons* troop, make them abandon the trench, become Masters thereof; spoile all the Kings Souldiers, take the Ensignes of his Maiesties *Suisses* and *Lanquenets*, and deliuer this trench vnto the Leaguers: but they shall not long enjoy it.

A third Siege.

For the King seeing that the treachery of these villaines had made the issue of the combat doubtful, (seconded by the Duke of Montpensier, and his Cornet, and relieved with five hundred foot, led by the Lord of Chastillon) hee comes furiously to charge, imbrues his sword with the blood of many of them, takes many prisoners, drives them out of the Trench, and presently plants two Cannons there, which shot into the Battalion of the enemies *Suisses* that made the retreat, and strikes such a terrour among them, as in short time all leaue him the place of battell, being covered with the carcasses of his rebellis.

Doublelesse this Spittle-house should be honored with an eternal triumph. It is the place where they thought to haue driven the King into an extremity, either to suffer himselfe to be taken at Diepe, or to seeke his safety beyond the Seas. It is the place where the veins of the League being opened, they powred forth streames of that blood and vigor which maintained their first iollity. It is the place where 300 horse, 1200 French foot, and two thousand *Suisses*, had as it were prodigiously triumphed ouer thirty thousand men, who with a Giant-like brauery, boasted to bring either dead, or bound hands and feet, the greatest King, the greatest Captaine of the world, who like a lightning finding nothing that might withstand the fury of his victorious armes, dispersed & suppressed with the point of his Sword, the presumptuous and rash attempts of his mutinous Subjects. The Earle of Belin (one of their Marshalls of the field) was taken prisoner: many soldiers, but a great number of men at armes: many Gentlemen, and more Commanders serued as a prey to the birds of the ayre, and the beasts of the field. The King lost the Earle of Rouilly, six or seven Gentlemen, and some souldiers.

Some few daies after, the King doubting (his troops being but small) might be beaten D from their lodging at Arques, he abandoned that quarter, and lodged them neare vnto Diepe, vnder the fauour of the Castle. The Duke of Mayenne finding that lodging abandoned, passed with his whole army vnto the other side of the Towne, within halfe a mile: he plants six Cannons, and about midnight shoots into the Port of the Towne, to keep them from issuing forth. The King vpon this alarme, cast vp a traues before the Port, to blinde their sight, and sends speedily into England to hasten the forces which he expected from the Queene, the which were 4000 men, vnder the command of the Lord *Wilborough*. But some few daies after (these troops being ready to land) the D. of Mayenne (seeing all his attempts proue vaine) dislodged, and thinks he hath done much for his reputation, if (by some volley of Cannon against Diep, where the King was, and then against Arques) he publisheth throughout all France, that he is Master of those townes without entering. In the end, toyled with the Kings continuall skirmishes, and toucht with apprehension at the first newes, he hearing of the Earle of Soissons approach, (who had cunningly escaped out of prison) of the D. of Longueuills, and the Marshall *d'Aumonts* with their troops, he went to seeke his safety beyond the riuier of Somme. To assure (said he) those places which by the treaty of Arras he was to deliuer vnto the Spaniards: and then returning to Paris, did nothing memorable, but established his Councell of sixteen, and forty, the which afterwards he reuoked and disannulled all he could, as we shall see in the course of the History. In the meane time (to busie the Parisiens) those three Ensignes which the trecherous *Lanquenets* had by a trayterous stratagem stolne in the trenches, brought forth twenty other counterfeit, which the Dowager of Montpensier, sister to the Duke of Mayenne, caused to be made at Paris in the Lombards street. This was a patterne of the subtle deuices of that woman, who euery morning suborning some new post, made him to goe forth at one gate, and to enter at another, as bringing still some aduertisements of happy successe, which she sent vnto the Curats to deliuer in their Sermons. and by these publike stratagems, entertained the people in their disorder, and beeced the purfes of the most credulous.

The

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The King
proceeds to
Paris.

A The Dukes retreat made the King suspect that he retired for an aduantage, and that marching to defeat the supplies that came vnto him, he would retaine putt vp with greater courage, and new hopes. His Maiestie therefore leaues the Marshall of *Biron* at Diepe with the army, and resolues to goe meet the Earle and the rest with four hundred horse. Being ioyned, he takes the towne and Castle of *Ganache*, and recouers the towne of *Eu*. This bayte might haue drawne the Duke; but he found his aboad in Picardy more safe, and *La Fore* which he deliuered into the strangers and enemies hands, made him continue the intelligences he had with the D. of Parma, whereof wee shall shortly see strange effects. So the King returning to Diepe, provided for the affaires of Normandie, leaueing the Duke of Montpensier there, (with the forces he had brought) for his Lieutenant generall: he receiued from the Queene of England foure thousand men, money, and munition belonging vnto warre.

VVith this supply his Maiestie parts the 12 of October, and alwaies coasting the enemy, comes to passe the riuier of Siene at Meulan, and marcheth directly to Paris, with a double designe either to fight, or at the least to draw the Duke out of Picardy. The last of October he arrives about Paris, and diuides his troops into three battalions. The first had four thousand English, two regiments of French, and one of the *Suisses* vnder the command of the Marshall of *Biron*, for the Suburbs of Saint Victor, and Saint Marcell. The second was of ten Regiments of French, and strangers, committed to the Marshall *d'Aumont*, for Saint *James*, and Saint *Michael*. The third, ten regiments of French, one of *Lanquenets*, and one of *Suisses*, commanded by *Chastillon*, and *La Noue*, for Saint *Germaine*, *Buffy*, and *Nelle*. He giues to either of these troops a good number of Gentlemen on foot, well armed, to support the footmen in case of resistance: and behind either of them two Cannons, & two Culuerins. The King Commanded the one, the Count *Soissons*, and the D. of Longueuille the other. Hee causeth the Trenches and Rampars without the towne to be viewed, and the next day by the Sun rising, hee sets vpon them, and forceth them in lesse then an houre: seven or eight hundred souldiers slaine in the streets, thirteene peeces of Cannon caried away, foureene Ensignes taken, and much spoile gotten, did versifie the saying. That all comes to one end to him that can attend. Here *Chastillon* did not forget to inuite his friends to reuenge the blood so vnworthily spilt at those bloody Parisiens mattins, but by the effusion of his blood, who now suffers for others.

At this new and sudden terror of the Parisiens, the Duke of Mayenne posts to the city with the greatest part of the army. His Maiesty (to see if he would fall forth) presents himselfe the second and third day following, in the suburbs, and without the suburbs, in view of the City, and then afterwards towards *Linus* vnder *Montleher*: but all was in vaine. Thus being content to haue taught the Parisiens, that he wanted no means to punish them, but desired rather to reduce them to obedience by mildnesse, the King went and tooke the towne and Castle of *Etampes*, where *Clermont* of Lodeue, with about threescore gentlemen or more, had shut vp himselfe vpon the Duke of Mayennes word, to vngage him with all the rest of his army.

Here the Queene Dowager sent a Petition to his Maiesty, beseeching him to doe iustice of that cruell and execrable murder committed on the person of the deceased King her husband. The King sent this Petition to the Court of Parliament, removed to Tours, to the end that his Maiesties Procicour general requiring it, they should frame indictments against such as were held culpable, protesting neither to spare care nor force to take that iust reuenge which reason and his duty required. Doublelesse the horror of this sacrilege had so wonderfully moued some of the officers of the Court, as if they had beene beleueed, the Order of the *Jacobins* had by decree beene rooted out of France, their Couent at Paris pulled downe, and a Pillar set vp as a perpetual monument, and the hangmen of France should haue beene afterwards attired like *Jacobins*. The Queene Dowager hath long pursued the rooting out of them. But the memory of Ancestors is Venerable, and their Sepulchers religious. Seuentene Princes and Princesses of the house of Bourbon, buried in the Monastery of the *Jacobins* at Paris, haue chiefly preserved and kept the Order and their Couents.

The King seeing that he no meanes he could draw forth his enemies, he sends backe the D. of Longueuille, and *La Noue*, to refresh themselves with their forces in Picardy.

The Kings new
conquests.

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Giury, into Brie, and passing farther into Beausie, takes Ianuile by composition, then A from Chasteaudun he leads to inuelt Vendome, his ancient patrimony. *Maille Benhard* commanded about four hundred men of Garison, and eight hundred Townes-men armed against their Soueraign and lawfull Lord. The Artillery had no sooner made a hole of foure paces wide, but the souldiers, impatient, flie to the assault, take the Castle, and to enter the towne pell mell with the garison, so as his Maiesty seeing himselfe in lesse then halfe an houre in possession both of Town and Castle, he gaue the inhabitants their liues; but the souldiers the spoile.

The treacherous part of *Benhard* to the great Councell, (as we haue said) with the treason of a vassall and subiect, and the edititious preachings of *Iesse the Friar*, were the B cause that these two principall motives of rebellion suffered for the people: the one beheaded vpon the Paucement, and the other hanged. *Laurdin, Montoire, Montrichard, and Chasteau du Loir*, became wise by the example of *Vendome*, and opened their gates to the Marshall of Biron, who entered into the towne with all his Company very peaceably.

The King seeing himselfe neare vnto Tours, goes thither: the people receiue him the 21 of the moneth with an admirable shew of ioy, he giuing the same day audience to the Ambassadors of Venice, who in the name of the Seignoury, congratulates his Maiesties happy comming to the Crowne; with offer of seruice and loue to the King, and Crown of France. *Beaulle, Dunois*, and *Vendome* being subdued, the Kings army marcheth in to Maine: the Earle of Brissac vndertooke to succour Mans, which the King threatned: C to that intent he aduanceth with two regiments, and some horse to *la Forté Bernard*: but terrified with the noise of the Cannon, he returns, and contenting himselfe with a pillage of forty horse, and some baggage of his Maiesties Reistres which he met by chance, he proclaims his victories at Paris. *Bois-Dauphin* commanded in Mans, accompanied with a hundred Gentlemen, and twenty Ensignes on foot, who in shew would die with their armies in their hands, rather then suffer the King to enter. But must they cause the people to spend a hundred and fifty thousand crowns to fortifie the towne and suburbs: burne so many houses without the towne, to yeeld it at the third volley of the Cannon? Learne, o ye people! that great men play with you, as with a renise ball: and bee not wedded to any other party, but that of our Soueraigne and lawfull Prince. You run rashly D into a bad action: they fortifie you at your owne charge, and you are the means to vndermine your selues.

The taking hereof caused the Castles of Beaumont and Tenteuoyes to yeeld, with the Townes of *Sable, Laual, Chasteaugonthier, Mayenne, Alancou, Falaife*, and many others in the Prouinces of Touraine, Anjou, Mayne, Perche, and Normandy. So as in lesse then two moneths, his Maiesty marched with his army (furnished with many Cannons, and a great number of strangers, English, Suisses, & Germans) about eightscore leagues, hauing attieued many memorable sieges, taken fourteen or fifteene good townes, assured many Prouinces: and in all places as he passed, *He came, he saw, and ouercame*. Thus our Conqueror made the round of a third part of his Realme, not finding any let to stay the course of his prosperities: when as the Court of Parliament at Rouen, no lesse violent and presumptuous then that of Tholouza, pronounceth them guilty of treason both against God and man, and the Estate and Crowne of France, that had opposed themselves against the holy Vnion: and all Royallists and their successors deprived of all prerogatives of Nobility, their offices to be void and not to be recovered: unworthy to possesse any offices, benefices, or dignities, and all their goods forfeited. These armies were too weak to terrifie his Maiesties seruants: this decree did little aduance the league. And the Duke of Mayenne (seeing the King far off, partly through shame, partly through despair, and importuned by the Parisiens) was constrained to pacifie their exclamations by some great exploit. But the taking of *Bois de Vincennes* and *Pontoise* ended all F his Conquests.

So many new triumphs did wonderfully amaze the Leaguers: the people grew weary with the burthen of imposts, the spoile of souldiers, and a thousand calamities that did oppresse them: To maintaine them in the gulfes of this confusion, the mutinous and corrupt tongues of the Preachers charmed the blinde with an impression of many intelligences both within and without the Realme, by the hope of a speedy and great succour from Spaine, by the publication of many libels, which they most furiously vied as a fire-brands

A brands to feed this combustion, and by counterfeit deuices, they made the Kings name and his actions very hatefull vnto the multitude.

The King in the meane time, continued the course of his histories in bafe Normandy, where hauing taken Honfleur, a Port town, he came & raised the siege of Meulan, where the Duke of Mayenne had lien fifteene daies, being distant from Honfleur about thirty Leagues, where he offered him battell. The aduantage (being twice as many in number as the King) could not draw him to it. The memory of Arques was yet too fresh, and the supply of fifteene hundred Lances, and five hundred Harguebuziers which the Duke of Parma sent him, vnder the command of Count *Egmont*, made him forbear. Whilest the Duke goes to ioyne with his strangers, the King takes Nonancourt, and then besie- Siege of Dreux geth Dreux.

In the beginning of March the Duke turnes head towards Manté, to passe the river eight Leagues from Dreux. His Maiesty hath intelligence thereof, and giues him leaue to approach within two leagues. To giue and win a battell is indifferent vnto him. He catcheth his army to march towards Nonancourt, to view the foard of the riuier of Eure, which runs there: he himselfe treads out the place of battell, he imparts it to the Duke *Montpensier*, the Marshalls of Biron and Aumont, to the Baron of Biron, Marshall of the Field, and to the chiefe Captaines of his army: he makes choice of the Lord of Vique for Serient Maior of the Field: he appointed the rendezuous for his troops at the village of S. Andrew, foure leagues from Nonancourt, vpon the way to Yury, and the place of bat- C tlell in a great plaine neare vnto it. All these old souldiers found the place chosen with so great iudgment and military wilddome as they altered not any thing.

The King hauing deliuered it vnto the Baron to appoint euery man his place, said; *It is no desire of glory, nor motion of ambition, nor appetite of reuenge, that makes me resolute to this combat, but the extreame necessity of my iust and naturall defence, the pity of my peoples calamity, and the preservation of my Crowne. Let vs refer the cuncts of this enterprise to the e- ternall Providence.* Then afterwards lifting vp his eyes to heauen: *Thou knowest, O God (said he) the sinceritie of my thoughts. I beseech thee put mee not in the number of those Prin- ces, whom thou hast forsaken in thy wrath, but of those whom thou hast chosen to reparaire the ruines of a desolate Estate, and to relieue my miserable people oppressed with the violence of war.* O Lord, I yeeld myselfe to the disposition of thy holy and infallible will, and desire not to liue, nor to raigne, but so far forth as my life may be to the aduancement and glory of thy name, and my authority the raigment of vertues, and the banishment of vices. These, and such like religious words, moued all the Campe to praiers, and workes of piety, euery one according to his deuotion.

This done, the King disposeth his army according to the plot which he had laid. He diuides it into seuen squadrons, and in euery one 300 horse, flanked on either side with foot-men: the first he giues to the Marshall *d'Aumont*, with two Regiments of French. The second to the Duke *Montpensier* with 500 Lanquenets, and a regiment of Suisses. E The third to the Earle of Auvergne and *Giury*, either of them commanding a troope of light horse, and on their left hand foure Cannons and two Culuerins. The fourth to the Baron of Biron. In the fift were five ranks of horse, and sixscore in a front, Princes, Earls, Barons, Officers of the Crowne, Kinghts of the Order, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the chiefe families of France, besides those which the Prince of Cony, and *La Guiscke* great Master of the artillery brought that day. His Maiesty was in the head of this troope, shining in armes like the Sun amidst the seuen Planets, hauing on the side of him two battells of Suisses, with the regiments of his guards of Brigneux, of Vignoles and S. Iohn. The sixth to the Marshall of Biron, with two regiments of French: The seuenth were about two hundred and fifty Reistres. These squadrons were all in a front, but somewhat bending at the ends, in forme of a Crescent. There was nothing more terrible then to see two thousand French Gentlemen armed from the head to the foot.

The Duke of Mayenne appeared a far off, and had taken a village betwixt both armies: but his Maiesty forceth them to dislodge, and wearies them with skirmishes, to draw them to fight: and the approaching night leaues our warriors burning with desire to haue the day call them to the Field, to make prooffe of their seruice and duties to their King and Country. At the breake of day the men at armes were in their squadrons, the souldiers in their battalions, and by nine of the clocke euery man did fight in his gesture, in

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his threats and words. At the same instant the enemy shewes a body of about foure thousand horse, and twelue thousand foot, and almost in the same forme, but most glistering, with more feathers, more men, and lesse courage, almost like a Crescent. The Dukes Cornet was about two hundred and fifty horse, augmented with the like number by the Duke of Nemours, who ioyned with him, and was almost in the midst of his squadrons as that of the Kings, but flanked with two squadrons of Lancers, that came out of the Low-countries, who were about eighteene hundred horse marching altogether. On the side were two regiments of Suisses, covered with French foot, then two lesse squadrons of Lances, seven hundred on the right hand, and five hundred on the left: two Culverins and two Bassards.

The Sunne and the wind might haue greatly annoyed the Kings army. To prevent this inconuenience, his Maiesty aduanceth aboue an hundred and fifty paces, gets both the Sun and the winde, and findes the enemies number greater then he esteemed. But this multitude serues as a spur to euery Capitaine to encourage both himselfe and his men. The King goes to the head of his Squadron, begins his first worke by prayer, exhorts and encourageth them with a countenance full of Maiesty, ioy, and constancy: *Mariants a rieurs* and giues him intelligence, that the Lords of Humieres, and Mouy are within two thousand paces of the Field. But the King had well obserued the point of his happinesse, and will not giue his enemy that honour to strike the first stroke.

The first charge.

He that begins well, hath halfe ended, saith the Prouerbe. He commandeth *La Guisclie* to discharge his Cannon: it pierceth through the thickest Squadrons of the enemies, and shoots nine vollies before theirs could begin: five or six hundred light horse, French, Italians, and Wallons, aduance with a full Carriere to charge the Marshall *d'Amont* on the one side; on the other side their Reistres charge the Kings light horse. The Marshall ioynes with them, and makes them turne their tayles presently: their groue of Reistres is so violently repulled and drinen backe, as they turn suddenly to rally themselves behind the other troops. Another squadron of Lancers, Wallons, and Flemings (seeing his Maiesties troopes separated somewhat from the rest which the Reistres had charged) come hotly vpon them. The Baron of Biron makes it good, and not able to charge them in the front, takes them behind, pierceth a part of them: the rest breakes away like a billow against a rocke: the Baron had two wounds, one in the arme, and the other in the face.

A second charge.

Now comes the Duke of Mayenne with his body of horsemen, in the which were the Dukes of Nemours and Aumale, hauing vpon their wings foure hundred Carabins, (which were Harguebuziers on horse backe, armed with Murrions and Plastrons) who make a furious fallie five and twenty paces off vpon his Maiesties troopes. This done, the King parts like a violent lightning from the head of his squadron, being 600 horse, hee chargeth two thousand of the enemies: he breakes them, scatters them, and is so engaged amongst the thickest of them, as (notwithstanding the great plume in his Caske, and that in his horses head which made him apparant) he remained a good quarter of an houre vnknowne euen to his own people, in this great forest of Lances; amidst a great shower of strokes, giuing a good testimony, that if before he could doe the office of a great King and Capitaine in ordering, so could he now performe the duty of a braue fouldier, and resolute man at armes in fighting.

A bloody charge.

But aboue all, of a most milde and mercifull Conqueror: who in this bloody fight, did found forth that gracious speech: *Sau the French, and downe with the stranger*. Doubtlesse he is well kept whom God keeps. Some were greatly amazed, others trembled and quaked, hauing lost the sight of the King. This great body whose foundation was so much shaken, began to wauer: those who euen now presented their faces so furiously with the points of their Launces and Swords, doe now shew their heeles, cast away their armes, and trust to their horses. His Maiesty being freed from this presse, hauing with welue or fifteene in his company, taken three Cornets, and slaine the Wallons that did accompany them, and returning to his Squadron a triumphing Conqueror, he filled the Army with exceeding ioy, and the Army the ayre with that louing cry of *God sau the King*.

The Suisses remained yet whole, but abandoned of all their horse, and laid open. They propound to send the French foot on the right hand, who had not yet fought

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A fought to breake them. But the respect of the ancient alliance of that Nation with this Crowne, made the King to grant them life, and receiue them to mercy. Laying downe their armes they passed to his Maiesties side, and those French that were with them, enjoyed the like clemency. But the time his Maiesty lost in pardoning the Suisses, did greatly fauor their retreat that fled, and gaue the Duke of Mayenne leysure to passe the river of Eure, to breake the bridge after him, and to recouer Manté in safety. The Marshall of Biron stood firme without striking, yet did he more terrifie the enemy then any other: for seeing this troope of rescue whole, they supposed that this old fouldier hauing bene practised in to many battels in his life time, would easily breake them, and make the victory absolute. Hereupon the Marshall *d'Amont*, the Earle of Clermont, the Baron of Biron, and other Commanders, returne from the chase, gather together their troopes, and ioyne with the King. And the King hauing receiued his forces that came out of Normandy, makes a body, leaues the Marshall of Biron with the army to follow him, sends the Earle of Auergne before, takes the Baron of Biron on his right hand, and another troope on his left: and accompanied with the Prince of Cony, Duke *Montpensier*, Earle *S. Paul*, Marshall *d'Amont*, the Lord of Tremouille, and many others, pursued the point of his victory, chasing, beating and killing, vntill that the broken bridge diuerting them a league and a halfe out of the way, to passe at the foard of Ancty and the horses (whose legs the Reistres had cut to stop the way) hindring the pursuit; and the approaching night, ended the victory.

Loss of the Leguiss.

The disorder was great in the retreat of the vanquished, and the slaughter great in the fury of the fight: about five hundred horse were slaine or drowned, and aboue four hundred prisoners. The Count Egmont, the young Earle of Brunswike, *Chastaignery*, and a great number of other Noblemen slaine, *Bais-Dauphin*, *McSaut*, *Cieongne* (who caried the white cornet to the duke of Mayenne) *Fontaine*, *Martel*, *Louchamp*, *Lodnan*, *Falendre*, *Henguesan*: the Marshals of the field, *Treuzay*, *Cassiere*, *Desmieux*, and many other French, Germanes, Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings were prisoners, whereof the most part being graciously released, did afterwards aboue the Kings bounty by a reuolt, who neuer could practice that vnciuill maxime of State, a dead man neuer makes warre. There were twenty Cornets taken, the white Cornet, the great standard of the Generall of the Spaniards and Flemings, the cornets of the Colonel of the Reistres, three score ensignes of foot of diuers nation, and the 24 of Suisses which yielded. All the footmen which yielded not, or were not drowned, were cut in peeces. All their artillery, all their baggage caried away. Such as fled into the woods found lesse mercy in the peasants, then in the men of warre. The Duke of Mayenne saued himselfe in Manté, and gaue the Townsmen this shourt for their comfort, that the Bearnois was slaine, or little better. The Duke of Nemours, *Bassompierre*, the Vicount of Taucones, *Rosne*, and some others tooke the way of Charrres. To conclude, his Maiesty pursues them almost to the gates of Manté, finding the waies (notwithstanding his lets) full of runners away which remained at his discreti- on. And of which Manté persisting in their first resolution to keepe their gates shut, had not yeelded to the Dukes earnest request, both he and all his followers had faine into the victors hands. Thus God poured out his wrath vpon this army: thus a handfull of men defeated many Legions: thus the French spoyled Perou euen in France. On the Kings side were slaine *Clermont* of Entragues, Capitaine of his Maiesties Guards, *Tieb Schomberg* Colonel of the Reistres, fighting then vnder the white Cornet, *Loneulnay* of Normandy, being three score and twelue yeares old (an honourable graue for that braue old man) *Crenay* Cornet to the Duke of Montpensier, *Fesquiers*, and at the most twenty Gentlemen more. The Marquis of Nefle being hurt, died within eight daies after. The Earle of Choisy, the Earle of Luden, *d'O*, *Montlouet*, *d'Auergne*, *Rosny*, and some others were lightly hurt.

Lost on the Kings side

In this battell they obserue three chiefe things. The first, the Kings firme resolution to giue battell, with an assured confidence, that the sincerity of his intent, and the equity of his cause should be fauoured with the assistance of heauen. The second, that at the very instant of the fight it seemed that the earth did bring forth armed men for his seruice: for on the eue and the day of battell, there came aboue fixe hundred horses vnto him vnexpected. The third, that of two thousand French Gentlemen, only 1200 did fight: welue hundred put to rout an army of foure thousand horse, fresh, well mounted, and well armed,

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Conquests at
treatie victory.

med, and twelve thousand foot. Without doubt the eternall God of armes doth neuer forget the right of Princes, against their rebellious subjects: and abraue resolution, with a wife command giues a happy end to battells.

The next day by the Sunne rising the Vidame of Chartres went to field by the Kings commandement, to get some intelligence of the enemy. In the sight of Mantes he caused *Dauid* of Villeneuve a Gentleman of Quercy neere vnto Cahors, to aduance, whom he knew to be full of courage & zeale to his Maiesties ser vice, hauing seene him many times in good places, and lately very active to pursue the victory without care of booty, like vnto many others. Gold doth many times cause him to be hated that loues it, and spoiles doe little aduantage the spoilers; But goodly aduances, leaue a fauour of immortal praise in generous minds. *Villeneuve* resolves not to returne without some certaine newes. All the Country was amazed, No man appeared. Hee approacheth neere vnto the towne, to talke with the first hee should meete. Some labouring in the Vines, seeing him armed and wearing a white scarfe, they run and giue the alarm at Mantes. The Inhabitants run in heapes to the port with all sorts of armes. He heares a great tumult in the towne, and thereupon takes an occasion to found their wills. He prickes on his horse to the turnepike, and cries out that he came from the King to know their intentions: That hee hath his armes open to receiue them with clemency that fauour the Iustice of his cause, and his sword ready to force them that thinke to pul from him the Inheritance which Nature and Law had giuen him.

God blessed his designe, and disposed the hearts of this people to follow the better way. Aboue two hundred of the chiefe Inhabitants, come to him to the port. Hee shewes them the Iustice of his Maiesties armes, exhorteth them to renounce all foraigne leagues, and not grow obliuate, through the perswasions or promises of such as pretend to raulsh the Crowne, against all right and reason, and to consider that this warre was merely for state, and that religion was onely a maske: witnesse the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, which lay masse dayly in the army, with all liberty. That they should deliuer their resolutions freely, the which being reported to the King they should fee the effects, which a people merits of a most mercifull and conquering Prince.

Being thus perswaded, and seeing the King armed with right & force, all ioynly lift vp their hands, and protest to liue and die in the fidelity, which good and loyall subjects owe vnto their lawfull Lord; and that by their true obedience, they would wipe out rebellion whereunto they had suffered themselves to be carried, in the common deluge which had drowned the other people of the Realme. The Duke of Maine being aduertised by a strange Captaine of the garison, of the oath which he had seene giuen by the Inhabitants, from the which he could not diuert them neicher by threats nor violence, in stead of assuring himselfe of the towne, as hee might well haue done, hauing many souldiers with him, both horse and foot, considering that to settle his safetie vpon the vncertainty of a popular friendship is to build vpon a quick sand: hee retires by the opposite Port without any trumpet, leauing the souldiers in so bad teames with the Inhabitants, as feare putting wings to their feet, they followed the fortune of their Commander. Thus by the industry of this Gentleman (worthy doubtlesse to be registred in our History) the towne of Mantes importing much for the bridge which it hath vpon the riuer of Seine, came without charge or losse of men vnder the Kings obedience, who the next day made his entry there with all signes of ioy. Vernon another bridge vpon the same riuer did in like manner plant the banner of France. And the heavens seemed to poure more blessings vpon our *Henry*, and to make his way easie to an absolute Royalty: for the Earle of Rendant, chiefe of the league in Auvergne was the same day of the battell of Yury, shamefully chased from the siege of *Issoire*, slaine in battell, his troopes cut in peeces and his Artillery taken, by the Lords of Curton, Rosignat and Chafferon.

As they had abused the Mantois with a vaine assurance of his death, whom they durst not looke vpon nor encounter, so with the like practices they must delude the Parisiens. The Duke of Mayenne, his sister of Montpensier, and the other heads of the league, decieued of their hopes, published by printed bookes, and at the first assault at Dreux, the Bearnois had lost about 500 men, that their wounds had made a greater number visit for their armes: that the Marshall of Biron was wounded vnto death. That in another encounter

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A counter neere vnto Poissy the Vnion had gotten a great victory. That in the battell of Yury, the combat had bene long, and the losse almost equall. That if the Bearnois bee not dead, he is little better. But such as (glad to haue saued themselves) came to Paris, marred all, in verifying the contrary, making the people to hang downe their heads, and to wish for peace by a still and mournfull muttering. The firebrands of hell in their pulpits made the losse far lesse then it was, giuing them an assured hope of speedy and new succors from Spaine, for the restoring of their Estate and destruction of the Maheustres, so they then called such as did fight vnder the Kings Ensignes.

And the Duke of Mayenne after hee had made a certaine practice vpon the Towne of Sensis (for the which twelve as well Captaines as souldiers, and many others being engaged in the same conspiracy, past through the hang-mans hands, the third day of Iuly went into Flanders, to the Duke of Parma: that is to say, he went to ruine his honor and reputation, for being a master at home amongst his owne Country-men, hee went to make himself a seruant and slaue to an ambitious proud man, who hath often in scorn made him attend at his Cabines doore, and lacquay after him, before he could receiue an answer of any matter of small importance: to the great griefe and disdaine of the French Gentlemen, that did accompany him, who scorned to imbase themselves to those proud humors. Doubtlesse it was necessary the Duke should try the infoleny of strangers, the better to know the courtesie of the French, and submit his armes and person to the King his Soueraigne and lawfull Lord: the means whereby hereafter hee shall abolish the memory of things past.

Adversity makes the willfull more obstinate. The Court of Parliamt at Rouen, for execution of the former decree, puts to death the seuenth of April, some prisoners the Kings seruants: and three daies after they declare all those persons guilty of high Treason both to God and man, that followed the King of Nauarre (so spake the decree) and would not yeeld to King *Charles* the tenth of that name, ioyne with the Vnion, and cary armes vnder the Duke of Mayenne. Whilest these threaten by their decree, and the duke goes to beg reliefe, the King being at Manté laboured to reduce the Parisiens to reason by mildnesse. But these trumpets of sedition, imputing this delay to want of courage, persuaded the people, that shortly their sworne enemie should haue worke enough, and that at length he should be ruined, that a little patience would giue them a great victory: that they must not yeeld to any Article whatsoever: making impudent allusions to the name of his family, who is now seated in the throne of this Monarchy.

These insolent exclamations brought the King about Paris. Paris is accustomed to liue from hand to mouth: the benefit of the Halles, the place Maubert, and other market places, is the cause that most households doe not know what prouision means. And the chiefe of the League had so settled this former beliefe in the Citizens mindes, as of a hundred, foure score and nineteen had neglected to provide for things necessary to endure the toyle of a siege. So as the taking of Manté Poissy, Pontchartrain, Corbeil, Melun, Montreau vpon Seine, and Lagny vpon Marne, brought Paris in few months to extreame necessity. *Compiegne*, *Creil*, and *Beaumont* stop the riuer of Oise.

But the ordinarie cries of the Preachers: the practices of the chiefe, and the Ladies of the league, and the erroneous decision of the faculty of Sorbonne, giuen the seuenth of May in the third General Congregation, held to that end in the great Hall of the sayd Colledge, prohibiting all Catholikes according to the Law of God, said they, to receiue for King an Heretike or fauor of Heretikes, relapse & excommunicate, although he doe afterwards obaine by an outward iudgement absolution of his crimes and censures, if there remaine any doubt of dissembling, treachery, or subuersion of the Catholike Religion. Condemning all them for Heretikes, forsakers of Religion, and pernicious to the Church, that should suffer any such to come to the Crowne. All these made the multitude more obstinate against the extreamest miseries which the rigour of a long and painful siege may cause. Besides this decision, they had yet stronger restraints to bridle mens tongues & actions that fauoured the Floure de Luce in their hearts. The sixteene Tribunes set spies to obserue the speeches and countenances of such as they suspected: that is to say, of such as wish for peace, and haue not lost the remembrance of the true Princes of France. And if any one chance to say, it were good to treat of a peace. Hee is a politike: he is a Royalist, that is to say, an Heretike, and enemy to the Church.

Another battell
gotten of the
League.

Siege of Paris.

Erroneous de-
cision of Sor-
bonne.

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Church. They spoile, imprison, yea put to death, such as doe not applaud this horrible A tyranny.

The Duke of Nemours, in the Duke his brothers absence, commanded at Paris, and for his chiefe Councillors, he had the Popes Legat, the Ambassador of Spaine, the Archbishop of Lion, the Bishops of Paris, Rennes, Placentia, Sens, and others. Panigraole, bishop of Ait, Bellarmine and Tyrens Iesuits, who with diuers processions, fasting, vovles and supplications, bewitched the people in their greatest famine: many zealous doctors, curats, priests and monkes tooke armes, and the Friars with their Breuaries in open multers were admired by some, and laught at by others. The Cheualers D' Aumale, with some others, laboured by fallies to annoy the Kings troopes, who content to repulle them, hoped B their bellies would shortly make their tongues to sing a new note. The Duke of Mayenne on the other side courted the Parmesan: and the King of Spaine proceeded so slowly in his succors, as the best iudgments did perceiue, he rather sought to entertaine, then to quench their thirst.

The Parisiens in the meane time had leisure to sharpen, but not to satysfie their appetite. The corne and other prouision of the publike, was wasted the first moneth. Such as had any prouision in their houses, kept it very secret: and others that trusted too confidently to the words of the chiefe Commanders and Preachers, perished of hunger, or at the least indured much, straining against the cruelty of famine. All passages by water were cut off, the taking of Saint Denis deprived them of the plaine of France, and but C for the passports (which a little fauour or money obtained easily of the Capitaines and Guards) the Citizens had in few weekes beene brought to the Kings discretion, who yielded good for euill, suffred them to carry victuals for the Duke of Nemours, the Ladies and others who practised his ruine, except Nitri Gobert, who by his ordinary fallies had often conference with the King to produce in the end great effects for his Maiesties seruice, and by his returne to the Royall party euaporate the bad fauour of foure thousand Crownes which had caried him to the mutines faction in the greatest necessity of the Kings affaires.

The misery of
the Parisiens.

Their misery grew extreame in the third moneth of the sicke. There was a hundred thousand people dead of hunger, griefe and poverty, in the streets and hospitals, without D reliefe, and without pity. The suburbs ruined, beaten downe and waste. The City needie and solitary. The rents of the Towne-houie (being the chiefe livings of many families) were extinguished: their lands about the City wasted and desolate, the Vniuersity forsaken, or serving to lodge peasants, and the Schooles for stables for their cattell: the Palace not frequented, but by some idle persons, the grass growing whereas before they could hardly go for preffe. The shops either without workemen, or without traffike. No corne, no wine, no wood, no hay upon the river. Nothing passed but was subiect to the garisons of S. Denis, the fort of Gournay, Cheureuze & Corbeil: the Halls were empty, no Merchants in market-places, no means to make money, nor to get meat. To conclude, see this Queene of Cities, this little world, this Paris without Peere, waste, desolate, and at the last E gaile, and (to augment the disorder) many reliques were eaten, the Jewels and the crownes of ancient Kings molten, and for a peece of bread, many Wiues and Virgins doe willingly abandon their bodies, and their honours to the fondlers.

But all these miseries and horrors cannot moue these hard-hearted Pharaoses. The sixteenth, the forty, and the chief of the faction, bewitch the people, as it were with a sleeping potion which benums the members, to cut them off by peece-meale when they be asleep, that hauing sucked the blood, the vital heat, and the hearts out of their bodies (as they haue done the fluer out off their purses) they might confirme their insolent tyranny, without controll: They force the Parliament (being subiect to the houses of Spaine and Lorraine) to publish a decree the sixteenth of Iune, F Forbidding upon paine of death all men to speake of any composition with Henry of Bourbon, but so oppose themselves by all means, yea with the effusion of their blood. And the Preachers did fill feed them with hope of a speedy deliuey.

A forced decree of the Parliament at Paris.

But the belly hath no eares: the people are not fed with paper, or with the Duke of Mayennes promises, nor with his trumpets. They haue already eaten dogs, cats, horses, asses, moyles, herbs, roots, and any thing that might quench the rage of famine, such extreame dispaire. They come tumultuously to the Conncell assembled in the Palace, to requite

A quire a peece. They prouide for this mutinie by a silly reliefe of eight or ten daies. At the end whereof a great number appeare armed in the same place, and demand a peece, or bread. Gohs, a Capitaine in the towne, steps forth to feede these famished people with words, but no bread, and for his reward he was wounded in the shoulder with a Sword, whereof he died within few daies after. The Cheualer D' Aumale flies thither, and followed by a troope of men at his deuotion, shuts the Palace gates, imprisons them that were armed, and hangs two, out of the whole multitude, to suppress the like fits of this despairing people. These popular mutinies had confounded the chiefe Leaguers, if they had not preuented it. To this end they assemble with the chiefe of the Citie, and notwithstanding the decision of the Sorbonne, and the Decree of the Court, they resolute B to send the Archbishop of Lions, and the Bishop of Paris to the Kings Maiestie, to seeke some meanes of pacification.

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A mutiny of
the people.

Deputies sent
to the King.

Before they part, they will haue leaue from the Legate, lest they incur some Ecclesiasticall censure. The Legate consults with Panigraole, Bellarmine, and Tyrens, whether the Parisiens did fall into excommunication, being forced by famine to yield vnto an hereticke Prince. If the Deputies going to such a Prince, to conuert him, or to better the E. state of the Catholike Church, were comprehended in the excommunication of the Bull of Pope Sixtus the fifth: the Doctors answer no. Thus the Deputies come to the King, to S. Anthanies in the field. The King heares their speech, tending to a generall peace C for the Realme, or a particular for Paris, if the Duke of Mayenne will not seeke a generall. But what can they hope to obtaine of a King of France and of Nauarre, treating with him but with the simple quality of King of Nauarre?

Your Conncell (said his Maiestie) contradicts it selfe, demanding peace of him whom they will acknowledge but for King of Nauarre. I will and desire peace, to ease my people, but not according to your proposition. I loue the Citie of Paris as my eldest daughter, and will doe her more good then she requires, so as she be thankfull vnto me, and not to the D. of Mayenne, nor to the King of Spain. The brute of the Spanish succours for Paris, do not amaze me. I know the practices of Spaine, and with the helpe of heaven will conuert them into smoke. Paris and the Realme of France are not fit for King Philip D. lips mouth. I will giue the Parisiens eight daies to consider of their yielding, and of the Articles of peace for the whole Realme. Vpon their refusal, I know well how to vse a Conquerors right against the chiefe motiues and fauourers of rebellion: the constancy of them of Sancer, the despaire and victorie of the Gantois, whereby you magnified them of Paris, is impertinent: for those of Sancer were prest to these extremities by the violences of such as would take from them their goods and liberties, their religion and liues. Contrariwise I will giue the Parisiens life, which Mendos the Ambassadour of Spaine takes from them by famine. As for religion, informe your selues of these Princes and Noblemen Catholikes, if I doe force their consciences in the exercise of their religion or otherwise. The comparison with them of Gant is not good. The Parisiens haue sufficiently E shewed their courage, in suffering their Suburbs to be taken. I haue five thousand Gentlemen with me, who will not be intreated after the Gantois manner. I haue likewise God, and the equity of my cause. Make a faithfull report of my words to them that haue sent you.

The Kings
answer to the
Deputies.

With this answer, and other speeches testifying the Kings good meaning, and the small feare he had of the League, these Deputies goe to the Duke of Mayenne: and he sends them backe to the King, and giues great hope to incline to a peace. But, Be not amazed at this treaty (said he to the Parisiens, by a Secretary of his going after the Deputies) I will rather die then make a peace. And being aduertised, that Paris would shortly be forced through want to yield vnto the King, The taking thereof (answered he) shall be preiudiciall F vnto him: this conquest shall disperse his army, and then we shall proue easily. But his Maiestie would neither see nor suffer the ruine of his capitall city: and his meaning was not to seize vpon Paris in such sort as his enemies supposed. It grieved him to see so many ill aduised people. And if the Dukes of Mayenne and Parma, comming to succour them, would hazard a battell, he hoped by their ouerthrow to bring the Parisiens vnto reason.

Thus the Duke thought to abuse the King with deuices, and vnder a color of treaty win time, in fauour of the besieged. But the King being aduertised, that the D. of Mayenne was parted from Bruxelles, and tooke the way to Paris, followed by Balagni, Capitaine S.

The King goes
against his enemies.

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The siege of
Paris traile.The Kings of
Paris battle.The execution
of the traitors.The Duke of
Parma's retreat.

S. Paul, and other troops, his Maieſty advanceth with a troope of horſe, and marcheth A ſeventene leagues to encounter him: and miſſing them but one houre, he forceth them to ſie into Laon. The Duke fortifies himſelfe there with his forces, and approaching vnto Meaux, he gives a generall hope of a battell. The King goes againe towards him: but he finds the Duke fortified betwixt two rivers, attending the duke of Parmaes comming: who being come, renews this fiſt hope, and with this deſigne he goes to lodge at Clay and Preſures, fixe leagues from Paris. The King raiſeth the ſiege, comes to meet him, appoints the Rendezvous for his army: the next day, the thirtieth of Auguſt, on the plaine of Bondy in the way to his enemies, hee chaſeth their quarter-maſters from Chelles, who began to make out their lodging, and forceth a troope of eight hundred horſe to retire B into the body of their army. The fiſt of September, the Kings army is in battell about the village of Chelles, about fix thousand horſe, in the which were fixe Princes, two Marſhalls of France, many Noblemen, more Commanders, more great Captaines then are in all the reſt of the world, foure thousand French Gentlemen (whom the bare ſhew of a combat doth draw more cheerfully to the place of battell, then to a gallant wedding) and eightheene thousand foot, French & ſtrangers. The Duke of Parma ſtanding vpon a hill to view them, *Be theſe (ſaid he to the Duke of Mayenne) the tenthousand men, which you afford me would be ſo eaſily overcome? there appears above five and twenty thousand in the beſt order that I have ſene.* This Duke made more account to ſaue one of his men, then to kill ten of his enemies. So reſolving not to hazard any thing, they change their ſwords C and lances, into ſhouels and pick-axes, and intrenching themſelves in the Fenne, ayoyed the danger, and preferred his army: neither could ſkirmiſhes nor alarums make him abandon his trenches.

On the eight day of the month, the miſt was great, and the winde being contrary, carried away the noiſe of the enemies cannon. The Dukes laying hold of this occaſion, make a bridge of boats, beſiege Lagny vpon Marne, a weake towne, lying behind their backs, and halfe a mile from their campe: they batter it, and take it by force, but not without an honorable and vertuous reſiſtance of three hundred men, that kept it, but holding it not guardable they razed it. To draw them out of their fort, his Maieſty makes ſhew of a great enterpriſe againſt Paris: he makes his deſigne knowne, that hee will attempt it by ſeaſon: and the tenth day at night goes from the campe with a good troope. But they keepe themſelves within their Fences, yet could they not long ſubſiſt in this ſtraight, where they endured all wants: and hunger in the end would drive the Wolfe out of the wood. The King offered them battell in vaine: he attended the tryall of the Dukes forces in vaine. Hee therefore mans thoe places he held about Paris, ſends backe ſome of his troops into Touraine, Normandy, Champagne and Bourgongne, and retaines a ſufficient army to annoy his enemies.

This proceeding draws the Dukes to field, to free Paris. Parma calls himſelfe a Redde-mer: and to make his profit of this advantage, he beſiegeth and taketh Corbeil by force, and kills all that he finds in armes. *Rigaudi* (a brave and valiant Captaine) commanded there, and having no time to reſiſt to great a power, he found there an honourable Sepulcher. For dying at the breach, he performed the duty of a faithfull and vigilant ſervant to the King. But the Parmeſan loſt the Marquis of Renty, with a great number of men, blemiſhed his reputation, and weakened his army: for whileſt that he waſts time, the King makes new deſignes, which ſhall bring the league into greater difficulties.

Even then the Agents of *Philip* would have filled his good City of Paris (for ſo the Spaniards called it) with numbers of Spaniards and Vallons. But on the one ſide the plague was great, and victuals very ſcant: and on the other ſide, the forces of *Maurice* Earle of Naſſu prevailed in the Low-Countries: the Queene of England ſending great ſuccours thither. And the ſixteene Tribunes of Paris ſeeing themſelves at ſome more F liberty, thanked the Duke of Parma, giuing him to vnderſtand, that his aboad at Bruxels, would be more pleaſing and more ſafe for him. His army decayed viſibly: hee ſees himſelfe in the middeſt of an incontinent multitude, and to diſmember his forces to leave any with the Parisiens, were to loſe them, to draw the King vpon him, and to bee in danger of an overthrow. So in the end of November hee gathers together his troopes, and makes his retreat, being purſued, tired, and beaten with dayly loſſe, even to the frontiers of Artois, by the King, the Dukes of Nevers and Longueville, by the Baron of Bi-ron,

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A ron, Guiry, *Parabel*, and others. To teach ſtrangers, that France cannot be taken, nor ruined, but by it ſelfe.

He had no ſooner turned his backe, but Corbeil, and other ſmall places held by them, returned to the Kings obedience: the garriſons placed there by them, repayed the French blood lately ſhed at the taking thereof: and Paris fell againe into new confuſions and like neceſſity. The Duke of Mayenne was greatly troubled to aſſiſt the Parmeſan in his retreat. During the which the Marſhall of Biron tooke Clermont in Beauvoſſin for his Maieſty, five or fixe other townes, and twenty forts or caſtles poſſeſſed by the Enemy. The Duke of Parma being out of the Realme, the King made his entry into S. Quentin, being receiued B by an honorable entertainment, and exceeding joy of the inhabitants: and the tenth of December, he was aduertised, that *Humières*, *Beſſiere* his brother-in-law, and *Parabel*, had forced Corby, ſcaled the wals, fought with the garriſon, ſlaine all men of defence, and conquered the towne for his Maieſty.

Corby taken
for the king.

We have conducted a mighty enemy out of the Realme: let vs now obſerve ſome particular exploits, for which wee would not interrupt the continuance of our Hiſtory. The Leaguers forces conſiſted of men, who fought their priuate profit in the confuſion of the Eſtate, and by conſequence, wiſhed for nothing but increaſe of diſorders: to all their deſignes tended onely to ſpoile and delolation, to the prejudice of the Kings ſubiects, but to no advancement of their party. In Dauphine thoſe of Vienne fought in the month of C March to ſhew ſome effects in ſauour of the croſſes of Lorraine. Thoſe which had the Flower de Luce printed in their hearts, aſſure the towne for the King. The Colonel *Alphonſo* and *Des Diguieres* goe to ſuccour them: and from thence goe and take Pont d' Beauvoſſin, and S. Laurence du Pont, poſſeſſed by the League.

In the meane time, the Marquis of S. Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours, hath an enterpriſe vpon Vienne. Theſe two Commanders flye thither with ſpeed, and repulſe the Enemy. *Alphonſo* deſires to ſee how he carries himſelfe in his retreat: he falls into an ambuſh laid by the Baron of Senecy, is taken priſoner, and payes afterwards forty thousand crownes for his ranſome. *Des Diguieres* tooke the townes and caſtles of Briançon and Daxilles, and entred vpon the territories of the Duke of Sauoy. Then in November he beſieged and forced Grenoble a Parliament towne, to ſet vp the armes of France, & to change their affections which inclined to the factions of ſtrangers. So we may ſay that Dauphine was the fiſt Prouince of the Realme wholly ſubdued to the King from the League: which was chiefly performed by the valour and diligence of the Lord of *Des Diguieres*. In Normandy the Duke of Montpenſier tooke Honfleur, and forced the Leaguers to leave the field. Thus the League decreaſed in diuers Countries: and to giue them a mate, the King did ſollicit a leauy of Reſtires in Germany, by the Vicont of Turenne. On the other ſide, *Gregory Sfondrate* lately inſtalled in the Pontifical Chaire, and a partiſan of Spaine, reui- G te the hope of the League, promiſing a ſuccour of ſiſtene hundred horſe, and eight thousand foot, vnder the command of *Francis Sfondrate* his Nephew. During theſe E preparations, the Cheualier *D'Amale* attempts vpon Saint Denis, ſcales the wall by night, enters the towne without loſſe, and held himſelfe for maſter thereof, when as the Lord of Vicq, a valiant, wife, and reſolute Gentleman, comes into the ſtreet, chargeth the Knight, layes him dead vpon the place, kills moſt of his followers, and puts the reſt to flight. This Knight was one of the chiefe of the League, violent, hardy and valiant, but of a ſtrange diſpoſition, inſupportable and diſſolute.

Gregory the 14,
a partizan of
Spaine.

The King tired the Parisiens with continuall alarums, and new enterpriſes, but rather to terrifie then to ruine them, and to giue them occaſion to open their eyes, and to conſider of their eſtate. They grow ſo amazed, as they wall vp S. Horories gate, vpon an aduertiment that the Kings troops would make ſome great attempt the 20 of Ianuary. The Parisiens feare ſerues the Agents of Spaine for a pretext to draw in ſome regiments of Spaniards and Neapolitanes, attending ſome great ſuccours from the D. of Parma. The hope of theſe new ſuccours from Spaine and Italy, ſerued the chiefe of that faction as a bridle to reſtrain the Parisiens. But the more to encourage and content the whole body, *Gregory the 14*, aſſiſted by many Cardinals, doth againe excommunicate the King and his adherents: he ſends a Monitory to the Cardinall of Placentia his Legate at Paris, by *Marcellin Landriano* his Nuncio: and for the effect of his purpoſes and promiſes, he begins to arme, to nouriſh (in ſtead of quenching as a common father) the combuſtions of this Realme.

D d d

On

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On the other side (the Chastillon having priuate intelligence with the D. of Mercœur) A the Spaniards land in Britany, and fortifie Blauet a port of the Sea: & thereby in a manner dismember the whole Prouince, vnto the Crowne vnder *Charles* the eighth. The King sent *La Noue* to make head against them: & retiring to Senlis, he tooke the way to Brié, accompanied by the D. of Neuers (who hereafter shall be of the Kings party, vpon the assurance the Cardinall of Bourbon gaue him, that he might without scruple of conscience cary armes for his King, although of a contrary religion) he makes a shew to besiege Prouins, Sens, or Troyes; and then with a sudden change hee giues out, that his meaning was to go to Tours, to redresse some disorders: but he commands the Marshall of Biron (who returned from the conquest of Caudebec, Fescamp, and diuers other places for his Maiesty) to make a shew to passe through Beaufe, to ioine with him, and that suddenly he should turne and inuest Chartres, before any greater forces should enter.

Chartres besieged and taken.

Chartres was environed the tenth of February, besieged, battered, and assaulted, but valiantly defended almost two moneths and a halfe. *La Bourdaisiere* commanded there, who hauing endured some assaults, it was propounded in the Kings Councell to raise the siege: but the Earle of Cheuerny (lately restored to the office of Chancellor by his Maiesty) did vehemently impugn it: hauing an especiall interest in the reduction of this towne, by reason of some lands he possessed thereabout, he aduise the King to giue a generall assault: insists vpon the dishonour and prejudice it would bring to the Kings affaires, and the commodities he should receiue by the taking thereof, being one of the C keys of Paris, which might greatly settle his estate, and annoy his rebels. The Lord of Chastillon (comming from raising of the siege of Aubigni, which *La Chastre*, chiefe of the league in Berry, had besieged) prometheth the King, that if he will make him his Lieutenant on this side the riuer, he will deliuer it into his power within eight daies. His Maiesty giues him this command. He makes a bridge of wood, the point whereof reached vnto the breach, that they might come couered to handy strokes with the enemy. This new engine amazeth them, and draws them to composition: the which they obtained on good Friday, vpon condition to yeild within eight dayes, if they were not relieved. The Duke of Mayenne would not lose the certaine, to run after the vncertaine. He held Chasteau-Thierry to faithfully begirt, as the Vicount *Pinard* was forced to capitulate D with him before the King could come to his succour. So the King lost Chasteau-Thierry, and in exchange tooke Chartres, a goodly and a strong place. There came forth about 600 men with their armes, horse, and baggage, and the 19 of Aprill the King made a triumphant entry in armes, appointed a garison, restored *Soudis* to his gouernment, reduced Aulneau and Dourdan to his obedience, and then went to refresh himselfe at Senlis.

Chasteau-Thierry taken by the League.

Let vs now see some other sinister accidents, which in time shal help to ruine the league. A thousand horse, and eightene hundred Harguebuziers, Prouengals, Sauoyards and Spaniards, seeke to subdue that Province for the Duke of Sauoy. *La Vallée* inuities *Les Dignieres* to doe the King herein a notable seruice: he goes, and both ioyndly charge these troops of strangers and bastard French, they kill foure hundred masters, and 1500 Harguebuziers, take many prisoners, and carry away fiftene Ensignes, win many horses and much baggage, and lose but one Gentleman, and some twenty souldiers. This done, *Les Dignieres* returns into Dauphine. Being gone, the league recouers new forces in Prouence by the fauour and credit of the Countesse of Saulx: but she had neither force nor vigour able to countenance the factions of Spaine and Sauoy. The Duke of Sauoy, lately returned from Spaine, grows zealous of some intelligences preiudiciall to his Estate, and sets guards, both ouer her and the Lord of Crequy her sonne. She is cunning, counterteifes her selfe sicke, conceales her discontent, and in the end, finds meanes to escape with her sonne disguised to Marfeilles.

In Poitou.

In Poitou the Gouernor of Loches, hauing taken the Castle of la Guierche, the Vicount of the said place presseth his friends, intreats the D. of Mercœur, assembles all he can to recouer his house. The Baron of Roche-pose ioyned with some other Commanders of the country for his Maiesties seruice, comes and chargeth the Vicount, kills above three hundred gentlemen, his best footmen, and about seuen hundred naturall Spaniards that were come out of Britany, to succour the Vicount. The Vicount after he had maintained a little fight, flies to a riuer by, where thinking to passe in the ferry-boate, the presse grew presently so great, as boate and passengers sunke. *La Guierche* with

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A with many other Gentlemen slaine or drowned, did almost equall the number of the Nobility which died at Couras.

Then the Princes, and Noblemen, Catholiks, following the King, did sollicite his Maiesty to turne to the Catholike religion, and had by the Duke of Luxembourg fought to appease the bitterness of the Court of Rome, against the estate of this realme. The dukes returne with small hope: the petitions made vnto the King, to provide for his dutifull subjects of both religions: to prevent the new attempts of *Gregory* the fourteenth and his adherents, to the prejudice of this Crowne, were the cause of two Edicts made at Maite in the beginning of Iuly: the one confirmed the Edicts of pacification made by the deceased King, vpon the troubles of the Realme, and disannulled all that passed in Iuly, 1585 and 1588, in fauor of the League. The other shewed the Kings intent to maintaine the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish religion in France, with the ancient rights and priuileges of the French Church. The Court of Parliament at Paris, resident at Tours and Chaalons in Champagne, hauing verified these Edicts, did presently disannull all the Bulls of Cardinall *Casertani* Legation, and other Bulls come from Rome the first of March, proceedings, excommunications and fulminations, made by *Marcellin Landriano*, terming himselfe the Popes Nuntio, as abusive, scandalous, seditious, full of impossittures, made against the holy decrees, Canonick constitutions, approved Councels, and against the rights and liberties of the French Church. They decree, that if any had bene excommunicate by vertue of the said proceedings, they should be absolved: the said Bulls and all proceedings by vertue thereof burnt in the market-place by the hang-man, *Landriano* the pretended Nuntio (come priuily into the Realme without the Kings leave or liking) should be apprehended and put into the Kings prison, and so to proceed extraordinarily against him. And in case he could not be taken, he should be summoned at three short daies, according to the accustomed manner, and 10000 franks giuen in reward to him that should deliuer him to the Magistrate. Prohibitions being made to all men to receiue, retaine, conceale or lodge the said pretended Nuntio, vpon paine of death. And to all Clergie men, nor to receiue, publish or cause to be published any sentences, or proceedings comming from him, vpon paine to be punished as Traytors. The declared the Cardinals (being at Rome), the Archbishops, Bishops and other Clergie men, which had signed, and ratified the said Bull of Excommunication, and approved the most barbarous, abominable & detestable Parricide trayterously committed on the person of the deceased King, most Christian and most Catholike, deprived of such spirittuall liuings as they held within the Realme, causing the Kings Proctor generall to seize thereon, and to put them into his Maiesties hands: forbidding all persons either to cary or send gold to Rome, and to provide for the disposition of Benefices, vntill the King should otherwise decree.

That of Tours added this clause to their Decree: they declared *Gregory*, calling himselfe Pope the fourteenth of that name, an enemy to peace, to the vniou of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romane Church, to the King and to his Estate, adhering to the E conspiracy of Spaine, and a fauourer of rebels, culpable of the most cruel, most inhumane, and most detestable Parricide, committed on the person of *Henry* the third of famous memory, most Christian and most Catholike. The Parliament of the League, did afterwards condemne and cause those decrees to be burnt at Paris, which were made against the Bulls and Ministers of the Romish see. So one pulled downe what an other built vp. During this contrariety of Parliaments, there fals out a crosse to diuide the intentions of the Spaniard, and Lorraine without the Realme, and of the Dukes of Mayenne and Nemours at Paris. Euery one by diuers practices affected this Crowne, and euery one tryed all his wits to set it vpon his owne head. But these men had diuided it amongst them, giuing the rest to vnderstand, that they fed themselves with vaine hopes. To call more wood F and oile into the flames of their diuision, and to ruine one by another, matters were so handled, as the fifteenth of August, the yong Duke of Guise escaped out of prison from *La Chastre*, to conduct him. This escape caused many bonfires, and greatly reuiued their hearts, who held this Prince fit to make a King of the Vnion. But the cleere-sighted thought with reason, that his arrival at Paris would rather ruine then aduance their party, and the deuices and practices of other pretendants, must needs soone kinde an extreme and common ialousie amongst them.

The Popes Bull annulled.

The D. of Guise escapes.

D d d d

Whilest

1591

HENRY the fourth,

HENRY the fourth,

While these confult with their moft truly friends and feruants, what effects might A
grow by this new accident, the King in the fame moneth befieged Noyon in Picardy, de-
fented the succours fent by the League, foure times, killed their moft reſolute men at
armes, took many priſoners, put the reſt to flight, and at the duke of Mayennes noſe (who
to auoyde this checke, which the League was like to receiue, attempted neere to Noyon,
fought to force his Maieſties Suiſſes lodged at Houda, and approached neere to Noyon,
but would not fight) heaping ſhame vpon his enemies, he forced the beſieged to yeeld to
his obedience: and moreover, went and dared him to fight before Han. Whileſt on the
other ſide the Prince of Couary reduced Sellies in Berni to the Kings obedience, at the
winning whereof hee won more honor, being ſtrongly ſituated in a marſh, then *Mal-* B
be did in the keeping of it: for he ſuffered it to be recovered within two months by him
that had loſt it.

Let vs returne in Dauphiné, to behold the moſt memorable, and moſt fatali defeat for
the enemies of this Crowne, the moſt vertuous expedition of armes, which for theſe ma-
ny yeeres hath moſt broken their deſignes vpon Provence & Dauphine, and moſt weak-
ned the League in thoſe Provinces which the Sanoſien affected: *Don Amedeo*, baſtard
brother to the Duke of Sanoia, *Don Oliuier* cheife of the Spaniards, (when the duke had
lately obtained of King *Philip* his father in law,) the Marquis of Treuic and others, con-
ceded to ſeue hundred and ſixtye men, by the plains of Pontcharra, neere to the Caſtle
of Bayard, in the valley of Graſiaudin, Doubtleſſe the place ſhould not ruine the me- C
mory of that incomparable Knight, who by the valour of his armes, had in former times
wonderfully eyed the Realm: to commend his merits: the Lord *Les Dignieres* meets
them, chargeth and defeats them, leauing two thouſand five hundred ſlain vpon the place,
caries away many priſoners, and moſt of the Commanders, takes eighteene Enſignes
with Red Croſſes, and makes booty of all their baggage, which amounts to aboue two
hundred thouſand Crownes, in chaines, jewels, plate, money, both gold and ſiluer, horſe
and armes. Two thouſand Romanes and Milanolds, which had ſaued themſelues with
Comte *Galas* of Bel-loyeuſe their Commander in the Caſtle of Aualon, were the next
day at the victors diſcretion: fixe or ſeven hundred were cut in peeces, the reſt were ſent
to a place of ſafety, with white wands in their hands: and then ſent home into Italy, with D
an oath neuer to rayſe armes againſt France.

The King ſeeing, that neither by the taking of Noyon, nor by any other baite, he could
draw his enemies to fight, doth preſſe them yet more neerly. To this end he commands,
that Paris ſhould be reſtrained on all ſides, both by water and land, and enioy no com-
modities, but by the mercy of the neighbour garriſons (the which hee entertained, vpon the
tributes and cuſtomes impoſed vpon victuals, which they ſuffered to paſſe to Paris: and
by this meanes emptied the inhabitants purſes, ſtrippt them, and drew out of the City ne-
ceſſary commodities for his troopes,) then with one part of his army, hee marcheth into
Normandy, to priſon the Louiers, and then reſolueth to beſiege Rouan, the inhabitants
whereof ſeeming no leſſe obſtinate then the Pariſiens, whereupon hee made a voyage to E
Dieppe, to provide for all things neceſſary for this ſiege, from thence he ſent an Amba-
ſadour to intreat the Queene of England to aſſiſt him at this ſiege with foure thouſand
men for three moneths, and to haue the Earle of Eſſex, to command them, the taking of
which Towne imported very much hee ſaid for the Trade of the Engliſh Merchants.
The Queene did willingly graat theſe ſuccours, and the Earle came at the appointed
time with foure thouſand foot, and a hundred and ſixty horſe as gallant troopes as could
bee ſene: the King in the meane time was in Picardy attending his Germane army
which came vnto him vnder the command of the Prince of Anhalt. The Engliſh lay idle
and halfe of the time was ſpent that was limited for their ſtay: at the laſt the King ſent the
Marſhall of Biron to ioyne with them with part of his army, who beſieging Gournay
with their ioynt forces they took it by compoſition, and then vpon the Kings arriuall they
went to ineſt Rouan, where at their firſt ſitting downe the garriſon made a gallant ſally
vpon the Engliſh quarter, but they reſuſt them and beat them into their towne as vali-
antly, but the Engliſh loſt in this ſkirmiſh Maſter *Walſer Denoreux* the Earle of Eſſex
brother, a gallant yong Gentleman and of great hope. This ſiege grew long and the in-
habitants cried out for ſuccours being reduced to a very deſperate eſtate. So the King of
Spaine ſends to the Duke of Parma, commands him to leaue the government of the

Low.

A Low-Countries to Cont *Mansfield*, to go and free Rouan, and to imbrace ſuch occasions
as ſhould be offered. Whereupon hee parts from Bruxelles with 4000 foot, and 3000
horſe: and fortified with the ſuccors of Italy, and 3000 Suiſſes, hee marcheth by ſmall
iourneies, for he wiſely conceiued that his maſter ſent him into France for the ſame con-
ſiderations, that he would haue giuen him the conduct of his army by ſea into England,
and vnder this ſhew of armes hee practiſed another deſigne: to cauſe the eſtates of the
League to giue the Crowne of France to the Infanta of Spaine, whom the father promiſed
to marry with one of the heads of the party, whom the eſtates ſhould name.

This tended greatly to the preiudice of the D. of Mayenne, for he was married: and the
eldeſt ſon of *Lorraine*, with the Dukes of Guiſe and Nemours were to marry. He is there-
fore now reſolutely determined to croſſe the 16 Tribunes of Paris, who with their Cham-
pions caried away the peoples voyces, and aboue all others, did feed the Spaniards hopes
in this Realme, to whom (inticed by the gold of *Pern*, and his prodigall promiſes) they
had already ſold the Capitall City. The 16 growne hatefull through their tyrannous au-
thority, ſeare to be ſoone ſuppreſſed: they reſolute to preuent it, and rather to vnkhorſe the
Duke, the better to aduance their affaires according to King *Philip*s intentions. One thing
ſeemed to aduance their deſigne: they held priſoner one named *Brigard* a Proctor of the
Towne-houſe, accuſed to haue had intelligence with the King, and for letters written to
his Maieſty. *Brigard* eſcapes out of priſon: they ſuſpect the Preſident *Brifſon*, and the

C Councellors *Larcher* and *Tardiſe*, to haue fauored his eſcape. In this fury the 15 of No-
uember, they ſeize vpon theſe three venerable perſons, hale them to the Chafeſter,
cauſe them to be ſtrangled in the cloſe priſon, and the next day, hang vp their bodies at
the Greue, with infamous writings on their breſts. This execrable fact might haue ex-
tended farther, and made the like ſpectable of any one that ſhould in any thing haue
controlled the actions of theſe homicides. The Duke of Mayenne (who treated with
Parma) poſts to appeaſe this tumult. Hee ſends for *Eſpriuel*, Francis of Ardilly a Gen-
tleman of Beaufe who commanded in the Loure in the abſence of *Rinande* his kinfman,
aſking him if there were an executioner provided. This had bene ſufficient to amaze
the moſt conſtant, if he were not aſſured not to haue failed againſt the commandement

D which the Duke had giuen him at his departure, not to obey any but the Lord of Belin.
He offers his hand to *Ardilly*, and commands him to cauſe thoſe which hee ſhould ſend
vnto him to be preſently hanged. *Crucé*, *Louchart*, *Hameline*, *Auvoux*, *Emonnet*, *Ruſſile*
Clerie, and many others of the fixteene which could not bee found in the heat, eſcaped
the gibbet. *Crucé* had bene firſt hanged if the Biſhop of Triſt had not purchaſt his
pardon from the Duke of Mayenne. *Louchart* had eſcaped this miſchiefe if hee would
haue accepted the honor which the Duke offered him to make him Commiſſary of the
victuals in the army. I will not (ſaid he proudly) goe out of Paris.

You haue men about you, to whom you ſerue as a buckler; if your preſence were not,
we would make them change their language. *Hameline* ſeeing *Louchart* ſtrangled, made a
E long prayer in French. *Emonnet* a violent man, ſtrugled much with the Hangman that
bound him, thinking they would only terrifie him: but being led towards his compani-
ons hee deſired to be confeſſed, proteſting before all the aſſiſtants, being about forty, that
he was not culpable of the Preſident *Brifſon*s death: yet that God had worthily puniſhed
him for that hee had in a night wickedly ſlaine a Secretary belonging to the *Chenailier d*
Aumale, whom hee had ſene receiue two hundred Crownes in gold which hee had.
Auvoux excuſed himſelfe that hee was not of *Louchart*s practice although hee had ſollicit-
ed him, that hee tooke his death in good part, for many other great offences which hee had
committed, but he named them not. Thus theſe foure rascals were hanged in the lower
Hall of the Loure, the which they call Saint Louys Hall, and by him, who for that hee had

F made no reſuſall to put them ſecretly to death and without any ordinary forme of pro-
ceeding, whom the beauty of their Scarlet robes made reuerent and to be reſpected, ſhall
be hanged within few yeares after with other confederates of that curſed attempt, when
as after theſe furies the capitall City of this Realme ſhall acknowledge her lawfull Lord,
and the Court of Parliament recouer her former dignity, to reuiue theſe miſerable wret-
ches oppreſt at this day by the damnable commands of theſe Tribunes. The Duke of
Mayenne by this execution thortned their number, weakened their authority, and main-
tained his owne as well as hee could, and to pacifie the people, guilty of this mutinie, he

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he

1591

Disturbance be-
twixt the Duke
of Mayenne and
the ſix-
teenes.

Execution of
ſixteen of the
tribunes at Paris.

1592

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he published the tenth of December an abolition of things past in this disorder. The King A
in the meane time made his necessary provisions for the siege of Rouan; and appointed his
store houses at Caen, Pont Larche, Pontreau de Mer, and other places. On the other side,
the hope of speedy succors from the Stranger, the presence of *Henry of Lorraine*, eldest
son to the Duke of Mayenne, and the arrival of the *Seigneur of Villars*, with six horse,
and 1300 Musketers, made the Citizens to persist in their rebellion: and the Parliament,
forbid all men by a decree, in any sort to favour the part of *Henry of Bourbon*: upon
paine of death: ordaining that the oath of the union made the 20 of January, in the year
1589. should be monthly renewed in the generall Assembly made to that effect: in the Ab-
bey of Saint Owen, with commandement by the said Court to the Inhabitants; to obey
the Lord of Villars, Lieutenant to the said Henry, in all he should command for the pre-
servation of the towne. Moreover, *Baughemare* then first President, procured that all the
Inhabitants should sweare before *La Londe* Mayor of Rouan, to retaine all such as by
word or deed should favour the King of Navarre, to be exemplarily punished. *Villars* ha-
ving got footing within Rouan, he presently displaced his superior: settles his authority,
expells all such as he suspected, fortified *S. Katherine* mount, and did all acts of hostility a-
gainst the King, annoying his army what he could, which he did, the obsequy of the
besieged, was to encounter with the extreme rigor of the winter, sickness, & want of victuals
But they surpassed all these difficulties cheerfully, and the besieged were ready to yield,
when as newes comes that the Dukes of Mayenne, and Parma had taken Neuchastell, C
(abandoned by the Kings garisons) and were lodged at Franque-ville, halfe a daies iourney
from Rouan. The Duke of Guise, *la Chastre* and *Viry* his Nephew led the forward.
The Dukes of Mayenne, of Parma and *Sfondrate* Nephew to *Gregory* the fourthenth, the
battell. The Duke of Aumale, the Earle of Chaligny, brother to the Queene Dowager,
Boisdauphin, *Balzany*, and Saint Paul the rearward: *Boisjempierre* and *la Motte*, *Loraines*,
led the Swisses and the artillery. Wherest that the King made a necessary voyage
to Diepe, to frustrate some intelligences of his enemies, the Marshall of Biron draws
forth seven peeces of artillery to Bais, a village about Darnetall, plants them in three
places, and puts himselfe in battell, to receive the Duke of Parma, who should come to
lodge in the valley on that side, and by this countenance, made them thinke that he had a
desire to fight.

The King arriues, continues in battell almost thirty houres, and prouokes his enemy by continual skirmishes. But he was encountered by a cunning temporizer, who paffing with his troopes wide of Darnettall, made the king to deuise a new stratagem to draw him on more, and to ingage him; as it happened foone after. The King dismisseth his Nobility, but with charge to be ready at the first command; & by continual skirmishes kept Rouan from any reliefe, from the 20 of March to the 21 of April. In the end, the Dukes of Mayenne, Guise, and Parma, seize vpon Caudebec, from whence the garison was dislodged, and the same day they come to Rouan, but stay not many houres, neither had they means to victual it. His Maiesty seeing that Rouan was not supplied with victuals, paffeth at Pont-Laueche, catches his army to aduance toward Fontaine-le-Bourg, and sends for all i. garisons of Louiers, Manté, Meulan, Vernon, and other places neere; so as fortified with about 3000 horse, and 6000 foot in lesse then six daies, he turns head towards the village of Lucor, where the Duke of Mayenne & Guise were lodged, charged their forward, and defeats it quite, chatcht the Dukes about two leagues from *Parma*s quarter, leaving their baggage & place in the possession of *La Guishe*. The first of May he takes from them another lodging, leaves about 600 Leaguers dead vpon the place, and loseth but fise souldiers, and eightene or twenty hurt. All these checks should draw the Dukes to fight; but *Parma* seeks only to free himselfe from the king, and the rest had no desire to make triall of their valors. They held themselves very close intrenched and fortified within their campe, issuing forth no more then they had lately done neer vnto Lagny. The King preffeth them and takes from them all passages both for victuals and retreat. They likewise intrench a great wood, and to stop the Kings approach, lodge there 2000 Spaniards and Wallons. In fight of their whole army his Maiesty forceth this entrenchment, and had it not bene for a small number who by great speed recovered the army, had defeated the whole troop. For ten dayes space the King tyred them with continual skirmishes, during the which he views the situation of their Camp, and the 10 of May he made choise of such forces as he

A. held necessary, and by five of clocke in the morning, chargeth a quarter which the Leaguers held to be most safe; and without resistance kills about two thousand five hundred men upon the place, carries away about two thousand horse, and wins all the baggage. To conclude, this war brought forth nothing so memorable as that which was done at Gaudebec; at Iuctor, and at Aumale. For a proofoe of the perpetual assistance and fauour of Heaven to our King, amidst this thundering of Artillery, and so many shew-ers of shot, his Majesty was hurt with a hargubeuze in the reynes; but yet so miraculou-ly, as the force of the bullet was spent in the empanelle of the ayre, and lay betwixt his armour and his backe, giuing the King this lesse by a diuine aduertisement, *My Lord,* *His hand your life more sparingly, it is necessary for your subjects.* The Duke of Parma (ticiped not all these encounters without a musket-shot in the arme: the wound did accom-pany him to his graue.

1 In the end, blowes, hunger and extreme thirst, forced these Dukes to take their way to Paris in confusion, from whence *Prima* (carrying no tokens of victory) passed through Brice, recouered Arthois, and so went to refresh himselfe at Bruxelles; then in the end of the yeare he died in Arras, as he returned from the Spaw. His reputation began to decay. He had preuailed little in France, and *Conte Maurice* did daily take something from him in the Low-countries. He had bene aduertised by a great souldier, and a man of iudgement, that hauing taken the towne of Antwerp (against the opinion of all the world) in the yeare 1585, he should shake hands with war. Doubtlesse this Prince should haue ended his labors by this great seruice done to King *Philip* his Master, as the most glorious triumph which Spaine had long time seene.

Thus the Duke of Parmas troops by land were weakened, and those he had imbarked were fought withall, some taken, and the rest sunk by the Hollanders. So *Spondani* came to confine his troops in France. Thus France elapsed at this time the proud threats of her ancient enemies. Rouan pressed with as great necessity as before, brought come out of *Fillars* store-houses, at his own price, whereby he got an infinite treasure. The King weighing well the toils his nobility had endured, dismisst some, and retyened the most resolute, and to hinder the Parmelan from attempting any thing, he sent the Marshall of *Biron* to follow him at the heeles. Who loath to remaine idle, besiegeth, battereth, and takes *Epernay*. But *Epernay* must be the fall place to end his labors, and by his death brake off some other designs which his Majesty had, who to stop the entry of another army of Strangers (which King *Philip*, at the entreaty of the chiefe of the League, nothing sorry for the Duke of Parmas disgrace, whose pride they could not beare) determind to send, vnder the conduct of the young duke of Parma, assisted by the Duke of *Feria*, vntill the coming of the Archduke *Ernest*, brother to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, gave order for the most vrgent affaires of his Realme: he diuided his forces into the most convenient places, to let vpon the league, where they had greatest strength, and laboured to effect some intelligences he had within Paris. But the period of his happinesse was not

E yet come. During these practices the Duke of Mayenne surpris'd Ponteau de Mer: and to get more bags of double Pistolets, he treats again with the Agents of Spaine, touching the assembly of their estates, to make the Crowne elective, against the fundamentall law of the realme. But he had his designe apart, and the greatest part of the parliament was tir'd with this hidious confusion, vnder the which their secret toabes could not appeare so beautifull, as vnder a stately Royalty: and the chiefe of the third Estate inclining vnto peace, abhorred these tedious furies of the league. The D. of Nemours for his part laid the foundation of a petty Monarchy at Lions, but he built it vpon the sand. He was now installed in the towne which *Mangron* had found him treacherously; considering the shew he had made of faithfull seruice to the King, and the towne and Castles of Vienn *e* in Dauphiné, the which he had recieued to the preiudice of the truce, which was then betwixt them of Lions and Dauphiné. Being assured of these good places, hee goes to field, but with more breare then fruit: for he did not fortifie his party, but by the taking of Saint Marcellin, and Echelles, places of weake resistance: and doublet *Bellicre* won more honour in the defence, then the Duke did in the conquest of the last. The Colonel *Alphonso*, and *Les Dignieres*, vpon assurance of the truce were far off, the one in Provence, the other in Languedoc, where both oppoled themselves against the forces of the league. This breach recalled them soone into Dauphiné, where with their ioynt forces

The enemy de-
feated at luc-
mor.

The King miraculously hurt

The Duke re-
sponds:

The death of
the D. of
Pauze.

The death of
the Marshall of
Bacon.

The Kings pro-
ceeding.

The Duke of
Mayenne.

The Duke of Nemours,

1592

Les Digniers.

they recover that which the Duke had taken, not daring to oppose himselfe. In the end *Les Digniers* having thrust the Duke of Nemours out of Dauphiné, (who by fauour of the forces of Sauoy, thought to settle himself there) enters into Piedmont, in the moneth of September, fortifies Briqueras, batters and takes the towne and Castle of Caouons, chargeth the Dukes men at Vigon, forcéth and defeats them. The Duke of Sauoy posts to Turin, and seeks to take the fort begun at Briqueras by Scalado. Hee is repulst with dishonour and losse. They charge him in his retreat, but some feare of an ambush made them retire. And *Les Digniers* (having left the Lord of Piët to command in Piedmont) returns to Grenoble, whither the affaires of the Prouince did call him.

Represented
temporarily
by the Spaniards.

On the other side, seeing the armes of Spaine had preuailed so little on the Land, they must try if some enterprize by Sea would repaire their former losses. The *Gouernour* of Fontaraby had long practised vpon Bayonne with a Physician named *Blancpignon*, who had intelligence with a Spaniard that had liued long in the towne, and vnder borrowed termes of art, did by letter negotiate the surpris of Bayonne, and the rooting out of all the Kings officers and seruants. Their treason was so well advanced, as a fleet of Ships with an army at land was ready for the execution, when as by Gods permission *La Hillière* Gouernor of Bayonne surpris'd the Lacquay comming from Fontaraby with letters of credit to the Traytors, who being taken and beheaded afterwards, discouered soone the whole practice: but the Spaniard chose rather to dye then to write those letters hee was required, to giue direction to the attempters, and to lay a plot for his companions.

Disaster of
Ambulic.Duke of
Joyeuse.

In October the D. of Bouillon followed with four hundred horse, two hundred harguebuffers, before the towne of Beaumont defeated *Ambulic* great Marshall of Lorraine, Lieutenant General to the Duke, accompanied with eight hundred horse, and two thousand: he slew the Commander, and above seven hundred others,ooke their artillery, their ensignes, and their Cornets, sent home four hundred Lanquenets with white wands, and lost not one man of marke. A small fifth called *Remora* slaises a great ship: so a poultry hens rouffruins the league in Languedoc and Quercy. The Duke of Joyeuz (brother to him who died at Coutras (having spoyled the Country about Montauban with six hundred masters, and foure thousand foot, French and Lanquenets, in the end became Master of Monbequin, Mombartier, Monbeton, andooke *Barte* by composition: but in reuenge of so souldiers he had lost before it, (contrary to his faith) he puts most of them that yielded to the sword. A treachery which caused his brothers death, and for the which the vengeance of God shall soone confound this man. The fort of Saint Maurice came in like sort into his power, & then he besieged Villemur. The Lord of the place called *Reniers*, commanded about two hundred and fifty souldiers, whom the Lord of *Theminis* Seneshall of Quercy (a wise and valiant Gentleman) relieved suddenly with six and forty men, as well Cuirasses, as Harguebuffers, led by the Seigneur of *Pedoue*: and then (being ioyned with the Duke of Espernon) he caused *Joyeuz* to raise the siege, recouered *Mauzac*, and some other small places thereabouts.

Theminis
surrendered
and de-
scended.

But whilst his troops sleepe at their ease, after the order and maner of the French, with too great confidence and contempt of the enemy, the Duke of Joyeuz, sets vpon them with all speed in the night, kills foure hundred, hurts a great number of them, and but for the wisdom and aduice of *Theminis* had slaine all the rest, and gotten two Cannons of Montauban. This done the D. of Espernon retires into Prouence. His brother *La Valente* died in February, & the Estate of Prouence required the Dukes presence, being Gouernour. *Joyeuz* laies hold at this occasion, and the tenth of September returns and camps before Villemur. *Reniers* commits the place to the Baron of *Mauzac*, to *Chambert*, and *La Chaise*, wife and valiant Commanders in war: and goes himselfe to gather together some succours at Montauban. The Seigneur of *Desme* is happily there with some forces, and without any stay puts himselfe into Villemur. *Joyeuz* made his battery of eight Cannons and two Culierins, when as *Theminis* accompanied with sixscore Masters, and 200 Harguebuffers, marcheth courageously to succour them, causeth his horsemen to light, and sends their horses safely backe to Montauban, and so with great dexterity, thrusts himselfe into Villemur. And in good time, for the next day, the 20 of September, *Joyeuz* gaue a furious assault, but it was valiantly defended with great losse to the enemy. At the same instant *Theminis* gives an alarm with foure Trumpets which he had brought with him, chargeth *Joyeuz* fiercely, and defeats a Regiment newly come from

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A from Tholouze, with a supply of powder, bullets, pikes and iron forks.

Hereupon the Marshall of Montmorency Gouernour of Languedoc supplies the besieged with some troops led by *Leques* and *Chambault*, who aduertised of new forces, comes to *Joyeuz*, attends some daies for *Misillac* Gouernor of Auerngne, to ioine with him. *Joyeuz* means to prevent them, and before they ioine with the Auerngne, to set vpon them. He chargeth them at Bellegard, and finds the beginning successful and pleasing, but the end foule and mournfull: for hee left the Field, and returned with great losse.

Notwithstanding he meanes to amaze the besieged, and by the counsell of *Oronce* and *B. Mombertault*, polittike Capitaines, he makes many fires in his Campe, as a signe of victory and ioy: but *Theminis*, *Leques* and *Chambault* did but laugh at this policy. *Misillac* arrives at Montauban with a hundred Masters, and a good number of Harguebuffers. *Joyeuz* having his troops then disperfed, some before Villemur, others in field against the Kings seruants, all the Commanders resolute to fight with him. *Misillac* leads the forward, *Chambault* the battell, *Leques* the rereward: & the 19 of October they resolutely set vpon the Dukes first trench, by the regiments of *Clunel* and *Montaillon*, guarded by two hundred souldiers, and presently succoured by foure hundred others, they force them and chate them to their second trench, after an houre and a halles fight, vnder their Commander. The rest of the Kings army comes violently vpon them. *Theminis* sluesh out of C. Villemur and chargeth them behind. He leaues die place and retires farther off to *Candommes*, where his Campe and arillery remained. His men seeing themselves purfued, takes this retreat for a flight: they grow amazed, all disbanded, all fly in disorder, feare makes them to lose their iudgement, and the most part casting themselves into the river of Tar, (the bridge of boats which *Joyeuz* had made being vncapable of so great a presse) desired rather to try the fortune of the water, then of the victors sword. They cut the bridge, which was in a manner the death of all them which had trusted in this violent Element. *Joyeuz* disappointed of the vse of the bridge, leaps among the rest into the river of Tar, being full of them that fled, and the Tar swallowing vp his body, as the rest, leaues his soule to lose the place of his destiny. The Victors passe the board, and charge them D that did swim in the water, pursue them that flye, cut all in peeces they encounter, and of so great a number bring but forty three prisoners.

The Duke of
Joyeuz was
killed.

The death of about three thousand men ruined the league in Languedoc and Quercy. Three Cannons, two Culierins, two and twenty ensignes, and all the baggage, were the spoiles of this memorable day. And to make it the more memorable, the Victors lost but ten men, wherof foure being not well knowne, did by mistaking run like fortune with the vanquished. Thus Villemur hauing endured about two thousand Cannon shot, was fully deliuered, with the losse of seventene souldiers only. The Dukes body was drawne out of the water and buried in Villemur, and the Kings army, consisting of five hundred Masters, and two thousand and five hundred shot, besides those which remained in the place besieged, retired (having purchased great honour) to their garisons. Thus the leagues affaires began to languish: the impatience and lightnesse of people (who promise vnto themselves much, and suffer little) did quench their great heat which was lately seene in good towne, and the whole party runs headlong to their ruine. They did no more take for payment the assurance which was giuen them to prouide shortly for this common disorder, and by an assembly of the Estates, proceed to the election of a King, who should raise the pillars of their Estate, and restore the good order and harmony that should be betwixt them. The zeale of the new Pope, *Clement* the eight, moued them very little. The forces and pistolets of Spaine grow careful vnto them. The adions of the Duke of Mayenne are detested; they abhor the tyrannies which other petty Kings F would practice in their Prouinces, and did well foresee, that the ambition of great men would soone thrust the people into the gulfe of vnter ruine, finally euery one begins to lift vp his head, and to desire peace. They speake of it in the open Parliament of the league. The chiefe of the City ioine with them that are desirous of quiet, and in the end procure an assembly of the City of Paris, in the middelt of Nouember. They speake very plainly to end these troubles, and to send to treat with the King to that end and purpose: besides (by the death of the Cardinal of Bourbon lately deceased) the preferring & aduancing of the vnckle before the nephew, which they pretended, was no more of force.

The league
declines.

The

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The D. of Mayenne seeing himselfe ready to be disapointed, goes to the town-houſe, A
increaſes the aſſembly to refer the deciſion of that point to the Eſtates, and to forbear
to deale therein. Otherwiſe ſaid he I ſhall haue reaſon to thinke that the authors ther-
of are ill affected to our partie, & will deale with them as with the enemies of our religi-
on. Notwithſtanding all his threats, it was decreed, that attending a conuocation of the
Eſtates, they ſhould ſend vnto the King to obtaine a free trafficke betwixt them and the
Townes of this Realme. The Duke not able to impugne this concluſion, ſeemes to allow
thereof. This was to reconner ſome life after a long nummeſſe and fainting, and to returne
to the way of obedience: But the Legate of Rome (a penſioner of Spaine, and the chiefe
of the League) hoping to draw the affaires to another courſe, calling from all parts the B
Deputies of townes confederate, to aſſiſt at the Eſtates at Paris, they fought all meanes to
mortifie theſe motives of charity to their country, which reſiued in the moſt modeſt. And
the better to aduance their deſignes, they publiſh a certaine writing in forme of a Bull,
commanding, and giuing authority to the Cardinall of Placentia to aſſiſt and to con-
firme the future election of a new King. This doth ſufficiently diſcouer what which hither-
to they haue concealed and kept ſecret, couering (with the pretext of religion) their wicked
and daubable conſpiracy, which opened the gates to the ouerthrow and ruine of all
order and humane ſociety, inſtituted by God, eſpecially of this moſt famous and flouriſhing
Monarchy, whereof the fundamentall law conſiſts chiefly in the order of the law-
full ſucceſſion of our Kings.

A ſentence a-
gainſt the
Bulls

The Court of Parliament (being remoued from Paris to Chazalons, by a decree of the
18 of Nouember, (confirming the requelt of the Kings Proctor generally,) allowed of his
appeale from the grant of the ſaid Bull, and authority contained therein, the publication
and execution thereof, & whatſoeuer was therein contained, they decreed that *Philip* of the
title of *Omphrius*, Cardinal of Placentia, ſhould be cited to plead againſt the ſaid appeal.
They exhorted all men not to ſuffer themſelues to be infected with the poiſon & witch-
craft of ſuch rebels and ſeditious perſons: but to continue in their duties like good and
naturall French men, and to retain ſtill the obedience and loue they owe vnto their King
and country, not adhering to the practices of ſuch as (vnder the colour of Religion)
would invade and trouble the Eſtate, and bring in the barbarous Spaniards, and other D
viſſipers.

The Popes Bulls
diſannulled.

They did expreſſy inhibit and forbid the keeping of the ſaid Bull, to publiſh it, to ayde
or fauour the ſaid rebels, or to transport themſelues into any towns or places that might
be aſſigned for the ſaid pretended election: vpon paine for the Nobles to be degraded
of their Nobility, and they and their poſterity to be declared infamous and baſe; and for
the Clergie to loſe the poſſeſſion of their benefices, and to be puniſhed as all other offen-
ders, guilty of treſon, troublers of the publique peace, traitors to their Country, with-
out hope to obtaine pardon, remiſſion, or abolition. And all townes not to receiue the
ſaid rebels and ſeditious to make the ſaid aſſembly, to lodge, entertaine, or harbor them. E
Moreouer, they decreed, that the place where that reſolution had bene taken, together
with the townes of the ſaid aſſembly ſhould be quite razed, without hope to be reedified,
for a perpetual memory of their treachery and treſon: Commanding all perſons to ſet
vpon ſuch as ſhould transport themſelues to the ſaid townes, to aſſiſt at this aſſembly:
And to the Proctor generally to informe againſt the authors and procurers of ſuch mono-
polies and conſpiracies made againſt the Eſtate.

This decree was but laughed at by the heads of the League, and did nothing daunt their
priuate hopes. Every one makes his faction apart. Every one deſired to ſiſt in his maſters
Chayre: and not one would be a ſervant or companion. The D. of Guiſe, Mayenne, Ne-
mours, and Sauoy, the Marquis of Pont, fought by ſundry practices to get the voyces of
the pretended Eſtates. The inſtructions found in the colers of the Baron of Teneſſey, F
after his defeat by *Vaugrenan*, who commanded for the King in *S. Iohn de Lanne* in Bour-
gogne, did ſufficiently diſcouer the high proceſſes which certaine bad Councellors made
this young Prince to conceiue. But above all, the D. of Mayenne, ſuppoſing that after
the death of the Duke of Parma (whom he feared as very oppoſite to this authority) this
occurrence would giue him meanes to recouer his credit, began to play the King within
Paris, hoping the Eſtates would prefer him before the younger: or at the leaſt, the title
of Lieutenant generall to the King of Spaine, could not eſcape him in the conqueſt of
the

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A the Realme. For the ſiſt fruits of his absolute power, hee forceth the Presidents and
Councellors remaining at Paris, to receiue *Reſes*, one of his moſt truſty friends, with the
title of Marſhall of the Crowne, and Gouernour of the Ile of France, dignities fit for
a Nobleman of a better houſe and quality. And to bridle the Pariſiens who demanded
peace; he cauſed on Christmas Eue, going vp to the Palace (the City being in armes) the
foreſaid decree againſt the Popes Bull to be openly burnt, then by a publike declaration
he inuited all the Catholikes of the Realme to vrite themſelues, and to forſake the obe-
dience which they ſhewed to a Prince, whoſe profeſſion and perſeuerance made him in-
capable, and appointed the conuocation of the Eſtates on the 17 of Ianuary following
B at Paris. There ioyntly to ſeeke (without paſſion ſaid he, or reſpect of any mans intereſt)
the remedies which they ſhould thinke in their conſciences to be moſt profitable for the
preſeruacion of religion and the Eſtate.

But what Eſtates? Like vnto thoſe of Troyes, where they diſinherited *Charles* the
ſeauenth, the true and lawfull heire of the Crowne, as Excommunicate. Eſtates, choſen
almoſt of all the ſcum of the people, of the moſt mutinous and ſeditious: corrupted by
mony, and all pretending ſome priuate profit in change and innovation. A Parliament
compounded of men, which either enjoyed the benefice, the office, or the houſe of their
neighbour, or that had ſtolne his goods, or detained his reuenues; or (to conclude)
that feared by a peace to be toucht for ſome committed crimes, bankrouts, infamous
C and wicked. Eſtates, where there appears not one Prince of the blood, no Chancellor,
no Marſhall of France, no Presidents of Soueraigne Courts, none of the Kings Proctors
generall in his Parliament: few men of reputation, knowne to haue loued the peoples
good, and their owne honours. No men of make and account, without whom they
could not aſſemble, nor hold any iuſt and lawfull Eſtates. Finally, a Parliament where
they ſee none but paſſionate ſtrangers, gaping after France, greedy of the blood and
wealth thereof; ambitious and reuenging women: corrupt Priests, licentious and full of
vaine hopes. No Noblemen of worth, but three or foure, who already had reſolued to
abandon that faction. All the reſt were beggarly, louing war and trouble, during the
which they eat the poore mans bread, not able to maintain their trains in time of peace,
D An Italian Legat, and vaſſall to a ſtrange Prince, (who in this quality neither can nor
ought to haue any place) ſent to hinder the liberty of voyces, and to authorize ſuch as
had promiſed him to doe wonders for the affaires of Rome and Spaine. A Cardinall of
Pelue, a Frenchman by nation, but pleading the cauſe of the King of Spaine, and the
rights of Lorraine. The Duke of Feria, and *Mendoſa* Ambaſſador of Spaine, had their
Agents and Aduocats, by whom they gaue them to vnderſtand, that the King of Spaines
intention was onely, to haue a King choſen that might pacifie the troubles of the realm;
deliuer them from their enemies; defend them againſt all aſſailants; and reſtore the
Crowne to her firſt beauty. And repreſenting the voluntary bounty of the Catholike
King, and the great effects of the ſuccours giuen by him vnto France; wherein he had
E employed about ſix millions of gold: he would infer, that none but hee was capable of
this election: or eſſe in regard of him, the Infanta *Donna Iſabella*, to whom the ſaid Am-
baſſadour durſt maintaine, that by the lawes of nature, of God, and the Realme, it did
belong. Doubleleſſe from the inſolent proceedings and proud deſignes of ſtrangers, the
ſoueraigne author and guardian of Eſtates cauſed the preſeruacion of this Monarchy to
grow. They commended this Ambaſſage, and receiued it with honour. But the pretenti-
ons of this Infanta were reiected at the firſt, as a propoſition contrary to the fundamen-
tall lawes of the realme. His Agents, ſeeing themſelues fruſtrate of this firſt demand,
they frame a ſecond, vpon the election of the Archduke *Erneſt*, firſt brother to the Empe-
rour, to whom the King of Spaine promiſed to giue his daughter to wife, when as the
F aſſembly had declared her Queene of France. But what ſhould become of ſo many com-
petitors growne vp in France? So this propoſition finding no man willing to entertaine
it, remained fruitleſſe.

The deſignes
of Spaine.

Croſſ by ſome
men of honor.

Now ſome thinking to giue the laſt mate to the Kings good fortune, vtge a third ex-
pedient: That if they giue this Crowne to the noble Infanta, and to him of the Princes
of France, comprehending the houſe of Lorraine, whom the King of Spaine ſhould
choſe, they would cauſe this election to be ſeconded with an army of eight thouſand foot
and two thouſand horſe, and within ſew months to be fortified with the like numbers,
which

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which soone should reduce France wholly and peaceably to these new Kings : that they A would giue a hundred thousand Crownes monethly, so long as the war should last, to entertaine ten thousand foot, and three thousand horse within the Realme. Was not this to feed mens minds with fancies, dreames, and imaginations ? But no man giues his voice to this last proposition. Doubtlesse there was no proportion to recompence the succours sent by Philip to the revolted townes, with the Crowne of France.

Contrariwise, many hauing their minds meereley French, knew well that this proposition was to make matters irreconcilable, and to bring an immortal war into France, and therefore with a feruent zeale and great affection, they opposed themselves against the reception thereof : hoping the eternall providence, who had so often raised France from B most grievous falls of war, and from greater infirmities, would now preuent these latter dangers, otherwise then by the subseruion of the lawes which were made to support it. The declaration which his Maiesty opposed to that of the Duke of Mayenne, did much preuaile to fortifie those good minds in their commendable resolution, and prepared their hearts generally to conceiue a great hope of a speedy peace. For the King discovering the practices of his rebellious subjects, namely of their heads, and the Dukes treachery, presuming to assemble the Estates of the realme, which may not be called but by royall authority ; and for matter of religion, he protesteth, that besides the Conuocation of a Councell, if there be found any better or more speedy meanes to come to the instruction which they pretend to giue him, to diuert him from the exercise of his religion, C to that of the Catholike and Romish, he will willingly embrace it with all his heart, giuing leaue to the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and other Noblemen that did assist him, to send their Deputies to the Pope to deale in this instruction, and to be pleased therewith ; and blaming the Leaguers who had hindred the effects, he layed a good foundation of the obedience which his subjects prepared for him. Declaring moreover, this pretended assembly at Paris, to be attempted against the lawes, against the good and quiet of the Realme : and that should be treared or concluded therein, abusive and of no force. Terming the Duke and his adherents in that case, guilty of high treason ; shewing that he could maintain his authority against all vlturpers. But offering pardon to all townes, Commonalties, and persons seduced by the chiefe of the league, and exhorting them to remember themselves, hee made his subjects begin to tast that great and admirable clemency, whereby he hath won the hearts, and brought the affections of the French to a perfect and most voluntary obedience.

To this declaration of his Maiesty, the Princes and Noblemen, Catholikes, that were about him, added another, which they sent to these pretended Estates, and required that some should be deputed on either part, to resolve of the fittest expedients to pacifie these troubles, for the preferuation of the Catholike religion and the Estate. The Duke of Mayenne and his party accept of this conference, to as it may be done by Catholikes onely, and it began the twenty ninth of Aprill at Surenecare Paris. Whilst the good Cardinal of Bourbon liued, he was an instrument for the League : now hee E is dead, Religion is their onely pretext. And the more the King giues them hope of his conuersion to the Romish Church, the more violent they are to draw the people from this beleefe.

The Legate seemes to crosse it, and by a publike exhortation full of injuries against his Maiesty, hee labours to perswade the French, that the King long since dismembred from the body of the Church, was most iustly pronounced incapable of the Crowne. Then opposing himselfe against the decrees of the Parliaments of Tours and Chaulons, made against the monities of Landriano, he extolls his Masters praises, condemnes the Parliament which had condemned his Bulls, magnifies the Estates of the League, who reiected an obstinate heretic and relaps, with a resolution neuer to yeeld vnto him ; for (said he) such is the Popes will and pleasure. But why a relaps and obstinate, considering the due submission which our Henry makes to yeeld to better instruction ? The Pope himselfe will hearken soone vnto him, and all the Consistory will blesse his resolution.

Both the Duke and Legate preuaile little in their deuices. Those which held the first place in this assembly, and had no other care but to preserve this Monarchy, found this expedient : that to frustrate the former propositions, they should say to the Duke of Feria and

The Kings declaration against the Leaguers.

The conference at Surenecare.

Crossed the court of Romme.

The answer of the Estates to the Parliaments of Bourges.

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A and other ministers of Spaine, that it would be now out of Season, and dangerous to make this election : and that the assembly referred the conclusion thereof, vntill they might see an army ready, by meanes whereof their resolutions might bee supported and put in execution. Courage ! This calme promisseth that wee shall soone anchor in a safe harbour. And that which aduanceth the ship of our estate with a more prosperous gale, That great and magnificent Senate of France remaining at Paris, resumes their credit, and the beauty of their scarlet Robes : they exhort the D. of Mayenne to employ his authority of Lieutenant, that vnder colour of Religion, the Crowne fall not into strangers hands, against the lawes of the realme, and to provide speedily for the peoples quiet, and B by a decree of the 28 of Iuly, they declare all treaties made, or to be made to that end, voide, and of no validity, as being made to the hurt and preiudice of the Salique Law, and other fundamentall lawes of State.

A decree of the Parliament at Paris.

This decree did wonderfully incense the Duke of Mayenne and the agents of Spaine, especially against the President *Le Maistre* who deliuered the speech : who encountering all their chollers, left them to byte vpon the bridle. But see now the fatal blow which ruins that third party, by the which Catholikes were ready to thrust the realme into new combustions, and cuts off all difficulties as well in them which made a scruple to fight vnder the ensignes of a King of any other religion then their owne, as in others which had for long time shadowed their mutinies and rebellions with this goodly pretext. The King, C after the taking of Dreux, satisfied in his conscience, by the instruction of the Archbishop of Bourges, of *Rene Benoist* Curate of *S. Eustache* in Paris, and of some other Doctors, desires to be admitted into the bosome of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and the twenty five of Iuly made a publike and solemne profession at *S. Denis* to the said Archbishop, assisted by *Charles* Cardinal of Bourbon, Archbishop of Rouan, and Nephew to the deceased, nine Bishops, with many other Prelats and religious men : he protested to liue and die in the Catholike religion, swearing to defend it against all men : he made profession of his faith, and performed all ceremonies requisite in so solemne an act : and then he received absolution and blessing with an admirable ioy and acclamation of the people.

The Kings conversion.

D Presently after this solemne act, his Maiesty sent the D. of Neuers, the Marquis of Pisani, and *Henry* of Gondy Bishop of Paris to the Pope, to yeeld obedience by them to the holy See, and to testifie, that he desired no lesse to imitate the example of Kings his Predecessors, and to deserue the title and ranke of the first Son of the Church by his actions, then they had bene carefull to get it and preserve it, and to beseech him to allow of his conuersion, and to countenance it with his owne blessing. This is that great action of State which the chiefe of the league most feared : for what could they now object against the King, to contradict his right, & to rearm him incapable of his inheritance ? See now by what subtlety they seek to crosse his Maiesties affaires, and to support strangers. They complaine first of his sudden change, and say they may not trust him : that his Holinesse must begin and end this worke. That the King should make all submissions to the Sea of Rome, and attend if the Consistory would declare him capable to gouerne the Realme of France. That hauing command from the Conclauce they would aduice to do what should be reason. Vntill the which were effected they would not treat any more with the Kings Deputies, and till that this change of religion which the King had made, were approved by the Pope, whereof afterwards they would take aduice, for assurance of the preferation of the onely Catholike Religion in this Realme.

The D. of Mayenne hauing (to his great preiudice) so often tryed the proud insolencies of the Spaniards, and since knowne that their practices tended only to feed a perpetual fire of diuision among the French, by meanes of the election of a new King, whom F they promised to marie to the *Infanta*, had often protested, that when he should see the Kings return into the bosom of the church, from which his religion had excluded him, he would presently yeeld him obedience as his most humble seruant. The Kings conuersion doth now free him of this imaginary scruple. The King himselfe offering him offices and honorable aduancements, seeks to draw him out of those snares from the which hee would willingly bee freed. But hee is so farre engaged as hee can hardly retire himselfe : and some hope that the decisions of *Rome*, the resolution of the Estates, the conclusions of the Colledge of Sorbonne, and the practices of

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Spaine, would yet worke some good effects in his fauour, doth with-hold him from accepting of his Maiesties offers.

The Duke of Mayenne seeks to coule his Nephew.

But on the other side, he cannot digest the aduancement of the D. of Guise, whose marriage with the Infanta the partisans of Spaine did solicit, as being heire to his fathers pretensions. And to ouerthrow it, he seemes in generall termes to approue so great an honour done vnto his Nephew: but requiring for his owne particular so high and difficult things, he giues them easily to vnderstand, that he will not subiect his will to the appetites of Pope Clement, nor of Philip King of Spaine, neither yet to the decision of the Estates, whilst that he crosseeth the propounded election of the D. of Guise. The conference at Surene giues the subiect meanes to take the liberty of the fields, and the sweetness of peace, concluding the last of Iuly a generall suspension of armes on either side for three months, a meane which shall soone reduce whole Prouinces withdrawn from their ancient obedience. In the meane time, the more the Agents of Spaine see their practises disappointed, the more vehement they are that the Court of Rome should giue no audience to the Kings submission.

They oppose themselves by the meanes of the Ambassadors of Spain at Rome, against the negotiation of the Kings Ambassadors with the Pope. They speake of his Maiesties conuersion, as of a counterfeited thing, to decieve the Church, and after his confirmation to ruine the Catholike religion. To conclude, to doe their best to quench these coals of charity, which were kindled in the peoples hearts, and cause the Pope to reiect this faithfull and willing obedience, where by the King will shew himselfe a successor of the piety of *Clouis, Charlemaigne, and Saint Lewis*, as well as heire of their Scepter.

Execution of their Barriers.

But see one of the most violent attempts of the league, which had almost dissolved this harmony, which was prepared by a generall reconciliation of the French among themselves, and of them to their lawfull and Soueraigne Lord. The 26 of August *Peter Barriere* borne at Orleans was taken prisoner at Melun, where his Maiesty was then, by the discovery of a Iacobin a Florentine, to whom he had confessed himself in Lions; (the Priest revealing this crime, incurs no Ecclesiasticall censure) he confessed, that seduced and persuaded by a Capuchin of Lions, and afterwards confessed by *Aubry Curate of S. Andreu des Arts* at Paris, by his Vicar, and by father *Parade* a Iesuite, he was come thither expressly to murder the King. And in truth, the wretch was found seized of a sharpe knife with two edges: and for this cause he was pinched with hot pincers, his right hand burnt off, holding the said knife: his armes, legs, and thighes broken, and his body burnt to ashes, and cast into the river.

The like treason practised by the Duke of Mercuer, whereof the chiefe were the Marquis of Aillerac, of the house of Rieux, the Seigneurs of Crapant and Bois-marin, had entrapped Henry of Bourbon D. of Montpensier (who made war in Britany for the King) and the Parliament of Rhemes; if the discovery in time had not brought these three heads to a publike scaffold, and many others to the gallows.

Recouerat Lions against the D. of Nemours.

Whilst the Agents of Spaine labor for this election, and their partisans doting, will doe as the Frogs, who weary of their quiet King, made choise of the Storke, which in the end deuoured them all: the D. of Nemours made his faction apart, and seeing that by the nomination of these goodly Estates hee should bee excluded from his pretensions: knowing moreover that his brother on the mothers side, did crosse all his designs, and bare him no good affection, he resolved to canton himselfe in his gouernment, and by many and sundry forts both on the water and land, to plant his fortunes there. Already the Citadels and Forts he held at Toifay, Vienne, Montbrison, Chastillon in Dombes, Belleuille, Tify, Chartieu, and else-where, threatened all Lionois with seruitude, if the Lord of S. Iulian would haue sold him *Quirieu* for ready money: whom in the end (thrusted on by the persuasions and presence of their Archbishop, sent by the Duke of Mayenne, with this Commission among others) they force into his house, and the eighteenth day of September put him with a guard, into a straight prison in the Castle of Pierre-ancise, from whence in the end disguised, (playing the part of a groom of the Chamber which carried forth the excrements of his Master) he passed through the guards, turning away his face more for feare of being knowne, then for the ill smell: and escaping from them the three and twentieth of March following, being dispossessed of all his meanes, and expelled from his places, he went and died in Ancy, a house of his owne, in the Countie of

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A of Geneva in Sauoy, nor without suspition of being poysoned at a Feast that was made him.

This generall surceasing of armes prolonged vnto the end of the yeare, and religiously obserued on either side brought a great quiet to France, and gaue the King leisure to assemble some of the chiefe of the Realme at Manté, to consult vpon sundry affaires, and particularly to heare the complaints of such as stood in doubt of the Kings change in religion, and were grieued at diuers controuersions of his Maiesties Edicts, whereby they suffered many wrongs in all Prouinces: for the partisans of Spaine, for their last refuge, continually exclaimed of the incompatibility of two Religions in France, and many continued to this opinion: That the King ought not to be a limited, but he should promise expressly to banish all such as made profession of any other Religion then that which hee did embrace, or at the least to abolish all publike exercise. But the King employed all his care to vnite his people in accord: and this new change did nothing alter the affection which he did beare indifferently to all, as a common father of his subiects.

Assembly at Manté.

Thus armes were laid aside, whilst the Lord of *Des Diguieres* hauing beaten the Sauioyard in diuers encounters in Prouence, in Dauphiné, vpon the frontiers, and in Sauoy vpon his owne land, conquered many places in Piedmont, & lately succoured *Cauiours*, which the Duke had besieged two months, gaue great hope to force this neighbour enemy sooner to yeeld what he had lately vsurped of this Crown, if he had beene supplied with men, munition and money, and if some priuate feeds of new combustions had not drawn him away, to quench those fires which threatened to consume Prouence.

By what meanes and degrees, the Townes subiect vnto the League, returned to the obedience of this Crowne: and the Spaniard chased out of this Realme.

But courage oh my Country-men! After a long and sharpe winter, wee begin to see a pleaine Spring. As the Sunne rising on his horizon encreased in heate and brightness, so the people are ready to embrace the French liberty: their naturall affection to their lawfull Prince reuiues: now we shall see them which made the wound, giue the remedy: the French striue now to submit themselves vnto their King, and the king to receiue his subiects with an admirable clemency and fatherly affection. The Lord of Vitry giues the first checke vnto the Spaniard. The sundry conferences hee had had with his Maiesty before Paris and elsewhere, doe now worke a great effect: for deliuering the towne of Meaux to the King as a New-years gift, he gaue a plausible beginning to this yeare, and made the way for the Lord of La Chastre, his Vncle, at Shroftide to bring vnto his Maiesty two goodly Duchesses at once, of Orleans, and of Berry. And to summon Monsieur *De Villars* to follow these commendables example, he writes vnto him, I haue giuen a New-years gift vnto the King, Monsieur *de la Chastre* hath sealed him at Shroftide: shew you your selfe vnto him on horse backe at mid lent: which letter shall soone take effect. Some townes practised by the heads of the league, demand a continuance of the truce, but it was only to prolong the miseries of France. The King therefore doth publish a declaration, shewing the wicked and damnable practises of the Leaguers, who vnder the continuance of a truce, would confirme their tyranny. Hee prescribes to all in generall one moneth of respite to acknowledge their lawfull King, and to performe all necessary submissions, to be restored to their charges, benefices, goods, and liberties. He condemnes the Rebels, and reuokes his pardon, the time being expired. The brute of this declaration, and the Kings preparatiues to punish the obstinate, terrified the heads, and the most part of the townes and commonalties, yet he was content to hold the staffe, but not to strike: and the providence of God conducted the worke of this restitution, by other then violent meanes. The Duke of Mayenne sought all meanes to auoide this blow, but he found no force able to prevent it. So this vnion cemented together, with so many thists, oaks and coniurations, is dismembred on all sides: the most obstinate apprehend their totall ruine, if they persist in their rebellion.

Preparations of Orleans and the Kings.

Meaux begin, Orleans and Bourges le-could it.

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THere was one thing very necessary to seale the generall approbation of the Kings lawfull authority. He was not yet anointed, nor crowned, and the want here-
of (as if the Coronation were the essentiall forme of a Royalty) served yet as a maske to many to with-hold their obedience. It is good in some things to please the peoples humour, and doubtlesse the end will shew, that this solemne action did serve as a bright Lanterne to guide them to the Port of obedience, which had refused to yield.

And for that the rebellion of Rheims had shut the gates against him, Chartres was the Rendezvous of this solemne Ceremony, and the Abbey of Marmouster furnished the Oyle, which they keepe religiously in the holy Voyall, with the like life and vertue, as in former times. *Raoul* was anointed at Soissons, *Lewis* the fourth at Lions, *Hugues* at Compeigne, and *Lewis* the young likewise at Chartres. Thus was our *Henry* anointed in Chartres by *Nicholas Thon* Bishop of the same place, the 27 of February, in the presence of the Prince Contry, the Earle of Soissons, and the D. of Montpensier, Princes of the blood; of the Dukes of Longueville, Luxembourg, Retz, of Vantadour, and of the Earle of S. Paul. Of the Bishops of Angers, Orleans, Nantes, Maillezais, and Beauvais. The Marshall of Matignon supplied the Office of Constable; the D. of Longueville, of Lord Chamberlain; and the Earle of S. Paul his brother, of Lord Chamberlain. The next day his Majesty received the Order of the Holy ghost by the hands of the Bishop of Chartres. Let vs now see the fruits of this solemnity. The townes and commonalties of the League begin to tremble, and the most part determine to send their Deputies to his Majesty being resolved to receive his commandments.

The fruits of
his Coronation.

Attempts of
the Marquis of
Saint Sorlin a-
gainst Lions,
and of the Span-
iards.

Misfortune is good for something. The Marquis of S. Sorlin, brother to the Duke of Nemours (being yet a prisoner) afflicted the Inhabitants of Lions with all acts of hostility. The King of Spaine on the other side confirmed his intelligences more strictly with them of his faction: and gave them assurance by the D. of Terra-nova, Gouverneur of Milan, of a leavy of twelve hundred Swisses, the which with other forces he would thrust into the towne, under pretext to succour it against the violencies of the Marquis, but having drawne them in amongst the Inhabitants, he should through the favour of the partisans of Spaine, make himself Master of the towne. Lions was now ready to fall under the rule and tyranny of a stranger: but God this vp means beyond mans reason. Some good men alwaies well affected to France in their hearts, with the consent of foure Sheriffs, resolved to seeke the meanes to draw the towne to his Majesties obedience.

Lions reduced.

They acquaint Colonell *Alphonso* with their enterprize, who gives them assurance of his favour and succour in so good an occasion, the seventh of January hee comes to the suburbs of Guilloiere with goodly troops. And the same day betwixt three and foure of the clock in the morning, *Laquer* one of the Sheriffs, assisted by the Seigneurs of Liergues and *de Sene* (followed by a good number of armed men) force a guard placed at the foot of the bridge vpon Saone, and constrain them to leave the place. The towne is in armes, they make barricades in their streets. Such as were of this enterprize, repair to the quarters that were assigned them: euery man desireth the liberty of France. They seize vpon the Arcenall, and vpon the most factious Officers and Captains of the towne. All the people wear white scarfes & fethers. That happy cry of, *God save the King*, sounds in the ayre. They make Bon-fires in all places, they burne the armes and livery of Spaine, Sauoy and Nemours, and the picture of the league in forme of a witch, and set vp the Kings in all places. Hee vpon *Alphonso* entred the towne, accompanied with *d'Andelot*, *Chenierres*, *Saint Forient*, *Sothen*, *la Liegue*, *Banne de Mures*, with many other Gentlemen of the Country: and for the finishing of so good a worke, he deposed the suspected Captains of the towne, received the oath of fealty to the King of such as he did substitute in their places: and afterwards the councill of the towne did resolve and sweare neuer to admit any Italians, or Sauoyens to publike charges: Nations which had most nourished the fire of vncwill rebellion within their city. The like broile in a manner recovered the obedience of the towne and Parliament of Aix in Prouence to his Majesty. The D. of Epemnon built a Citadell there to keepe them in awe, with whose humors

they

A they could not well agree. Moreouer, he was not in good termes with the King, and seemed to pretend some inuouation to the prejudice of the Kings affaires. The Nobility of the Country grew also in hatred against him, and from their secret discontentes grew to open armes to expell him the country, whereupon they made a protestation for their taking armes against him.

Hereupon they had called vnto them *Les Dignieres*, and the King commands him to goe with speed, and to oppose his forces against the Dukes in Prouence. He wanted men, money, and necessary prouisions, to entertaine that which he had exploited in Piedmont: he therefore furnisheth the places he held, as the time would suffer him, and goes to cross B Epemnon, razed the fort he built against the towne of Aix, and reduced the Inhabitants to their ancient obedience.

The miraculous reduction of Paris to his Majesties obedience.

A Middest for many happy Catastrophe for the restoring of this Monarchie, some notable Inhabitants of Paris, which lound the *Flower-de-luce* in their foules, made the way to free it from the rule of Strangers: but many difficulties crossed the meanes they gaue vnto the King, who employed all his designs to recover the ancient throne of his Predecessors by the mildest meanes he could. Paris was neuer without some Prince of the house of Lorraine: and about foure thousand French, Spaniards, Italians, Lansquenets, and Wallons, kept the City in subiection. Seeing then that of many enterprises, not one could succeed happily, neither might they attempt it by open force, without a horrible effusion of blood, and bringing the City in danger of extreame desolation, a surpris was therefore necessary.

Miscellaneous
State of Paris.

It was now almost ready to be effected, by the meanes especially of the Lord of Belin Gouverneur of Paris, of *Martin Langlois*, Seigneur of Beurepaire, one of the Sheriffs of Paris for that yeare, and some others, of whom they had assurance for the execution of their proiect, as well of the City, as of the Souldiers practised long before. But the Duke of Mayenne being aduertised that the said *Belin* had intelligence with the King, puts him from his gouernment, and doth substitute in his place the Earle of Brissac: and to fortifie the garison with strangers, he causeth fourteen hundred natural Spaniards to approach. By this displacing of the Lord of Belin all their first designs are made frustrate: but the Earles humor was found apt to vntie them. Hee sought the means to bring to light the effects which he had resolved, to purge the ill opinion of times past. As *Langlois* attended some favourable opportunity to discouer himselfe to the said Earle, his Majesty sends him word that he is agreed with him, that he should not feare to open himselfe vnto him touching the meanes he had plotted with *Belin*. He confers with the Earle, lets him vnderstand such as be of the intelligence, and they resolve together, That to bring the King in without effusion of blood, (as he desired) the Eue before the execution they should eary some stuffe to the new gate, that vnder colour to wall it vp, they should draw away the gabions that stop the gate: that in the night they should cut away the earth which stoppeth that of Saint Denis, and so feize on the one and the other. That the Sheriffe *Nerat* with his children should take S. Honoris gate, whereof hee had the keyes, and draw in a good number of men of war to fauour the enterprize; and that by Saint Denis gate should enter another troope of armed men, as well to feize on the Gate, as on the Rampar of either side, to make a barre betwixt the Spaniards and the Wallons, and keepe them from ioyning. They keepe two guards neere Saint Denis Gate, one at Saint Eustace Croisse, and the other at the Temple. At the same instant the garisons of Melun and Corbeil should enter by Boate at the Bulwarke by the Celestins, and should be received by *Iohn Grosfier*, and by the Seigneur of Cheuallery, the first being Capitaine of the said bulwarke, and the other Lieutenant generall of the artillery remaining in the Arcenall. And to auoide a popular tumult, a brute should be spread abroad of a peace betwixt the King and the Duke of Mayenne, whom (vnder colour of the peoples ialousies of the Spaniards, which he had caused to approach vnto Beauuois) they had found meanes to send out of Paris, with promise to cause them to retire. That ouer-night they should giue tickets to the chief whom they knew desirous of a peace, (as for the multitude of factions, and the partisans

Eccc 3

of

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of Spaine, they durst not speake openly vnto them to bring in the King, and some that were desirous of peace, could not rest assured of his clemency and bounty by the which they should be aduertised of the accord, and intreated to arme with their friends, for the bringing in of the Deputies of either part, which should come in the morning to make the publication, and resist the Spaniards that would oppose themselves. So it was decreed, and so executed.

This order being resolved on, it was imparted to those with whom the enterprise had bene long before concluded, by the means of the Lord of Viques then Gouvernor of S. Denis, to whom the greatest honour is due, both for that all the associates did rely vpon him, and daily were aduertised and encouraged by him, and also for that he did cary himselfe so wisely in S. Denis, as he was more gouernour of Paris, then of S. Denis. The 19 of March, the Secretaries of the Lords of Brissac and S. Luke, carie it to Senlis to the King, with a plot of the City, setting downe the places of the strangers guards, and of the Parisiens. They are searched going out of the towne, but they remember not to looke into their gloves, where their instructions were written by the hand of the said *Langlois* the Sheriffe. The King giues them aduice for the execution, the night before the two and twentieth day of the month, about foure of the clocke he finds all things ready, and the new gate, and S. Denis gate at his deuotion. He enters with his trooppes by the Lords of Humieres, Belin, Viques, and Fauas, at the same Gate by the which the deceased King parted mournfully out of Paris. At the same instant the Lord of Vitry comes C with a troope of men at armes to S. Denis gate, beats backe the strangers, who made resistance vpon the rampar, enters the towne, lets guards at the gate, and on the rampars, then passing through S. Denis street, he encounters his Maiesty, whose troopes were come to S. Michaels bridge, and before the Palace.

Thus according to the oath which his Maiesty had taken of the Captaines of euery company, Not to doe or suffer any inoleny or outrage to any Citizen, but to such as should obliuiously make resistance, all his troopes enter without disorder, without murder, without spoile, and by their perfect obedience testifie how great his authority is that commands ouer them. The King being seized of the Loure, the Palace, both Chastelets, and other chiefe places of the City, and assured of the D. of Feria and his strangers, he D went armed with his Caske on his head, with an incredible concourse and ioy of the people, to our Ladies Church, and there gaue solemne thanks to the Soueraigne Protector of this monarchy: who hauing as it were led him by the hand, by such extraordinary and miraculous meanes, into the capitall city of the Realme, gaue him hope that he should soone chase the stranger out of his inheritance, and peaceably enjoy the throne of his predecessors. In the meane time the Earle of Brissac, *John Lhuillier* Master of the accounts, and Prouost of the Merchants, with the Sheriffe *Langlois*, accompanied with the Heralds, went through the City, proclaiming the Kings generall pardon: causing them to take white scarfes, and gaue tickets printed at S. Denis, containing an abolition of all offences past. So as in lesse then two houres all the City was quiet, euery man went to his ordinary exercise, the Shops were opened, as if there had bene no alteration, and the townes-men grew familiar with the men of war. There was nothing but signes of wonderfull ioy and loue: the bitternesse of the proud and insolent command of the Spaniard, made the Parisiens to tast the sweetnesse of the fatherly rule of their Kings, and those detest him as an enemy, who lately feared and respected him as a Master.

A happy and famous day, wherein the people (lately so contrary and full of cruelty) reduced to that misery as they durst not fight in their misery, exceeding glad to see a means to enjoy their ancient liberty, know not with what acclamations to receiue their peacefull and gracious King, who by his wonderfull clemency washing away the blemishes wherewith Paris had bene unworthily polluted, made the inhabitants, of slaues, Citizens, restores them their wiues, children, goods, honours, Magistrats, and liberties, and giues peace to them who lately held it a crime to demand bread onely, and capitall to demand bread and peace together. His Maiesty suffered the Duke of Feria, *Don Diego* with other Commanders and men of war, to depart with their baggage, their marches out, and their armes downe. The Basille made some shew of resistance: but as all was prepared to force it, and that their viuals (which were purposely kept backe) began to faile them, *de Bourg* hauing the command thereof, yielded it three daies after: and

Abol'd and
aduenturous
execution.

Paris obeys
the King.

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A and his Maiesty to recompence such as had serued him in this enterprife, gaue them great gifts, with many Offices, and aduancements.

He confirmed all the companies of the City, and disanulld the delarations which had bene published in the month of March 1589: hee restored the Lord *d'o* to his gouernment, from the which the generall reuolt had expelled him: he appointed him to goe to the towne-house, to take an oath of the Officers in the presence of Master *Francis Miron*, one of the Kings priuie Councell, Master of Requests, and President of the great Councell, Ouer-seer of the discipline of the Kings armies, and appointed to assist him. And the Earle of Chiuerny Chancellor of France, assisted with the Siegneurs of Ris, Pontcarre, B *Miron*, and other Councillors of the Priuie Councell, & Masters of Requests of the kings house, to the number of twelue, went to the palace, and caused the letters of re-establisment of the Court of Parliament to bee read, and at the instance of *Loisell*, appointed in the abeance of the Kings Officers, they tooke the oath of all the Presidents, Councillors, and Officers of the said Court, before the returne of the Parliament, remoued to Tours in the yeare 1589. And so in like sort to other companies, the Chamber of Accounts, Court of Aydes, and chamber of the money, to whom Councillors were sent to doe the like as to the Parliament, and to continue their places and dignities, with the other Officers resident at Tours, whom this happy reduction brought within few weekes after to their ancient seat of Iustice. Paris being freed from the command of strangers, and reduced C under the obedience of their naturall & lawfull King, it was needfull to reparaire that which the liberty of war had changed, touching the lawes and grounds of the Estate, and the rights and honors of the Crowne. To this end, the court of Parliament lately established, reuokes, and disanuls by a decree of the 30 of March, all other decrees, orders or oaths giuen or made since the 29 of December, 1588, to the preiudice of the Kings authority, and the lawes of the realme, decreeing that as things forced by violence, they should remaine suppressed for euer. And especially they disanulld all that had bene done against the honor of the deceased King, as well during his life, as after his decease: forbidding all persons to speake of his memory, but with honor and respect: commanding to informe of the detestable parricide committed on his person, and to proceed extraordinarily against D such as should be found culpable.

They reuoked the authority giuen to the Duke of Mayenne vnder the title of Lieutenant generall of the Estate and Crown of France, forbidding all men to acknowledge him with that quality, to yeeld him any obedience, fauor, comfort or aide, vpon paine of high Treason. They likewise enioyned the Duke of Mayenne, vpon the like paines, and other Princes of the house of Lorraine, to acknowledge King *Henry* the fourth of that name, King of France and Nauarre, for their King, and to yeeld him the obedience of faithfull seruants and subiects. And to all other Princes, Prelats, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate men, to forsake that pretended faction of the League, whereof the Duke of Mayenne had made himselfe the head, and to yeeld vnto the Kings obedience, service and lealty, vpon paine to the said Princes, Prelates, Noblemen, and Gentlemen, to be degraded of their Nobility and Gentry, and they and their posterity declared base, with confiscation of bodies and goods: and the razing of their Townes, Castles, and places, that should infringe the Kings Ordinances & commandements. They reuoked and disanulld all that had bene done or decreed by the pretended Deputies of the Assembly held at Paris, vnder the names of the generall Estates of the Realme, as void, done by priuate persons, chosen or suborned for the most part by the factious of this Realme, and partisans to the Spaniard, hauing no lawfull power: forbidding the said pretended Deputies to take vpon them this quality, and to assemble any more in the said City, or elsewhere, vpon paine to be punished as troublers of the publicke quiet, and guilty of high F Treason. They inioyned such of the pretended Deputies as were yet resident at Paris, to retire home to their houses, to liue there vnder the Kings obedience, and to take the oath of fealty before the Iudges of those places. Moreover, they decreed, that all processions and solemnities instituted during the troubles, should cease, and in stead thereof, the two and twentieth day of March should bee for euer celebrated, and the same day a generall procession should be made after the accustomed manner, where the said Court should assist in their scarlet robes, as a remembrance, to giue God thanks for the happy reduction of this said City to the Kings obedience.

As

A decree against the
League and
the Duke of
Mayenne.

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The voluntary
surrender of
the Vniuersity.

As the Vniuersity by their trecherous decision had before countenanced and supported the Parisiens insolencies and mutinies, so now by their humble and due submission, of their owne proper motion, they seeke to repair the crime they had committed. *James d'Amboise* Doctor in Physicke, chiefe Rector, chosen since the reduction of Paris, the Deane and the Doctors of Sorbonne, the Deanes and Doctors of other faculties, all the members and officers of the Vniuersity, come to the King to yeeld him a testimonie of their loue, and finding him in the Chappell of Bourbon, prostrate before his Maiestie, they acknowledge him their true and onely naturall Prince, sweare to bee obedient and faithfull seruants to him for euer, and beseech him (as to his other people which submit themselves like good and loyall subjects) to extend his fauor vnto them. The Kings owne disposition did moue him, but the place did inuite him to this pardon. He protests before God, to be as ready to remit the offences of others, as he desired Gods diuine Maiesty to be mercifull vnto his. So he received them, and sent them home gratiofully, granting them this Edict following.

*The Kings Edict or Declaration, vpon the reduction of
Paris vnder his obedience.*

HENRY by the Grace of God, King of France, and of Nauarre, to whom these presents shall come, greeting: As it hath alwaies beene our desire and intent, (since it pleased God to call Vs to this Crowne) to settle a good and assured peace in this our Realme, to the end that the disorders, violences and miseries of warre ceasing, God might be serued according to his holy Commandements, and the authority of the lawes and of our iustice restored; vnder the protection whereof, the three Estates of our Realme may happily enioy with peace that which doth iustly belong vnto them. To attaine vnto the which, we haue (as euery man knoweth) employed all our meanes, with the hazard of our life, preferring death before the blame and infamy which would iustly fall vpon vs, if wee should suffer the vniust usurpation and dissipation which some pretend to make of this Crowne. And not to omit any thing which is in the power of a good Prince, for the settling of peace and vniou among our subjects, so necessary and so much desired of al good Frenchmen, we haue with much patience supported & giuen vnto the publike, the offences and rash attempts of many, who without this respect, haue deserued seuer and exemplary punishments. Wee haue for this consideration after diuers victories, pardoned them which haue attempted against our life. And for the great compassion which wee haue had of the Capitall City of our Realme, to auoyde the sacke, and spare the blood of many good Citizens which did not participate in the wicked designs of such as did nourish rebellion, we haue chosen rather to bee frustrate of the obedience which was due vnto vs, then to see innocent men which dwell there, with the women and little infants, and so many goodly buildings, exposed to the violent rage and fury of fire and sword. Having moreover, for this consideration granted in Iuly last a generall truce for three monthes, during the which the Deputies of that party which doth not obey vs, did assure vs that they would send speedily vnto the Pope, to haue his aduice vpon the resolution which they were to take, in the conclusion of a good and durable peace and reconciliation with vs, who am their King and naturall Prince. Wherein they also promised to employ themselves with all loyalty and affection, to settle a peace in this Realme, the which made vs more easie to yeeld vnto the said truce, although we knew well how much we were prejudiced thereby, & what great aduantage we might haue had by armes: hauing (during the parcell of peace) taken Dreux in view of the chiefe of their party, being assisted by their Protectors of Spaine. At which time wee wanted no meanes to presse the City of Paris in such sort, as necessity should in the end haue aduised them to shake off the yoke of such as had so long tyrannized, and insolently abused their miserable patience. But we yeelded of our authority, to the end the Pope might bee satisfied, and truly informed of all our actions, to whom our intent was to haue recourse to discover our wounds, and to implore his aide, fauer, counsell and assistance: and to that end wee made choice of our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Duke of Neuers, a Prince full of all vertues, wisdom, piety, and of great merit: who preferring the seruice of God, and the good of this Estate, before the discommodities of his health, and the tediousnesse of the way, had courageously vnder-

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A vnder taken a voyage to his Holinesse. And as for the Deputies of the said party, whom they promised confidently to send with all expedition; We doe not find that during the truce, they made any accompt to dispatch them. And notwithstanding that since the conclusion of the said truce, we haue not discovered in all their actions, but designs preiudiciall to the publike good of the Realme, with whose spoiles they pretended to cloath and to enrich themselves with the blood and meanes of good and loyall Frenchmen: there being fallen into our hands a certaine oath made by the chiefe of the said party, in a manner at the same time when as they signed the truce, and promised to treat faithfully touching a good peace, and to reconcile themselves vnto vs, and to that end to send to Rome to haue the Popes aduice: The said oath containing, that they would neuer treat any peace with vs; wherein they suffered themselves to be so transported by the passions of the King of Spaines Ministers, as they made no reservation of the Popes authority, vnto whom they said they would send: wherewith being iustly incensed, notwithstanding at their great instance, and to iustifie our actions vnto the Pope, we granted them a prolongation of the truce for two monthes. But conceiuing how little they desire to see an end of the miseries of this Realme, with the authority they haue vniustly vlturped ouer part of it: iudging also by their cunning delayes, that they seeke nothing but to prolong the miseries of France, and to assure their vniust vlturpation: Wee haue therefore with the aduice of our Councell, refused a prolongation of the truce for 3 monthes more, which they required of vs, with such importunity, as wee haue iust cause to beleuee, that this pursuite was not to purchase a peace, but rather that during the said time, the King of Spaines forces, being come vnto the frontier of our Country of Picardy, they should haue better meanes to reuiue the warre, to the ruine of our good and loyall subjects: the which God by his grace would not suffer, causing vs to see plainly (by the letters which were intercepted) their wicked designs to continue the miseries of this our Realme. His diuine bounty hauing taken the defence of our iust cause into his protection, moued an infinite number of our good subjects to acknowledge their naturall duty, in the reduction of the Townes of Meaux, Lion, Orlean, Bourges, Pontoise, and others to our obedience. But the memory shall neuer bee lost of the happy reduction of our good City of Paris, the chiefe of our Realme, which happened the 22 of March, with such mildnesse, and order, as not any one Citizen can iustly complaine of wrong. The peoples ioy and acclamations, which haue seene their King so much desired, was not lesse, then if they had had the same security which is giuen them by these presents, of our grace, fauer, protection, and forgetting of things past, with assurance that the merits of such as shewed themselves faithful to our seruice shall neuer be forgotten. The which considering, and the speciall bounty wherewith it hath pleased God to fauour vs in this occasion, wee hold our selues bound more then any man liuing, to make our actions pleasing to his diuine prouidence. For this cause, acknowledging that there is nothing makes vs more like vnto God, then clemency, forgetting freely all offences past: we declare by these presents, that we receiue E into grace, the Citizens of our good City of Paris, and of our speciall fauor and royall authority, doe abolish all things hapned in the said City, during, and by reason of the present troubles, the which we will shall remaine extinct, and held as if they had neuer hapned.

And to this end, with the aduice of the Princes and Noblemen of his Councell, he ordained, That within the City and Suburbs of Paris, or within ten leagues round about, the Romish religion should be only exercised. That no Clergie men should be molested in the exercise of his function; That they should freely enioy the reuenues of their Benefices, and be restored vnto that which belonged vnto their Churches. Moreover, hee restored the City of Paris to al her ancient rights, liberties and immunities, to enioy them as they formerly had done. All matters were remitted which concerned the inhabitants, and had beene committed during the troubles, if within eight daies after publication of this Edict, they came and tooke the oath of Allegiance. All iudgements and sentences giuen against the Earle of Brissac were reuoked. The Inhabitants which should performe their due submissions and take the oath, were restored to the possession of their goods, offices, dignities, and reuenues: and all grants made to the preiudice thereof reuoked. There were many other Articles tending to the good of the Parisiens, and the settling of a quiet estate within the City.

Paris

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Diners re-
turn in diuers
places.

Paris gave example to all the rest of the Realme. And the first fruits of this happy re-union began to ripen in the hearts of other Townes and Commonalties. So the moneths of April and May were spent to receiue the submissions of diuers Prouinces, and chiefe pillars of the league: so as every bird hauing his feather, the Crow in the fable remained in the end naked: The Lord of Villars submits himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord, and yeelding him the townes of Rouan, New hauen, Harfieu, Montiuillier, Pontoile de Mer, and Verneuil: he obtains in exchange the Office of Admirall of France, and hereafter closes a most obdurate warre against the Spaniard. But a sad accident shall soone frustrate the designs he made with his Maiesty. Abbeville hath beene alwaies called the Citadell of Picardy, lying at the mouth of the sea. *Maugis* the Mayor, and some Inhabitants, had resolved to giue a great checke vnto the League: but the feare of the Duke of Aumales faction restrained them, and the seditious impressions of Preachers, (who throughout the Realme, haue beene the greatest motives of these last mutinies) made this their good will fruitlesse. The King being aduertised thereof, did hazard *Franc*, one of the Secretaries of his chamber, who was borne at Abbeville, to found and discouer the end of their intentions.

He parts in April, and vnder colour to visit his friends, he behaues himselfe so discretely in his negotiation, that in lesse then eight daies they resolved in open assembly to send their Deputies to yeeld themselves at his Maiesties feet, who in token of good service, ennobled *Franc* and his posterity, and augmented the priuiledges of the Towne. In the same moneth, the Inhabitants of T.oyes expelled the Prince of Iauille, and recalled the Lord of Inteuille, their ancient gouernour for the King. The Townes and Prouinces contend, who shall haue the honor to return first to their due obedience, from the which these popular furies had withdrawn them. Sens, Poitiers, Agen, Villeneuue, Marmande, and other Townes of Gasconie, and in a manner all that had followed the dance of Orleane and Paris, do now frame themselves to discerue. And all this is done in few weeks. The most factious of the party, did still feed the fire of rebellion in some townes of Picardy: Amiens and Beauvois wauered: the Spaniard possessed Laon and La Fere, places of importance in that Prouince: and the Count *Charles* of Mansfield had euen now besieged and taken Capelle, a small towne, but strong in the Duchie of Tiersche. The King being aduertised thereof, went home to their trenches, to draw them forth to fight: but making no shew to come forth, to get that by force, which he could not obtaine by reason, he besiegeth Laon, deserts the succors at sundry times that come to the besieged, kills aboute fiftene hundred of their men in sundry encounters, and taking the towne by composition in the end of August, he ends (by this act) the furies of civil warres without hope of returning, and then returns triumphing to Paris. Chasteau-Thierry, before the siege, and after the siege of Laon, Amiens, Beauvois, and all the townes in Picardy (except Soissons and La Fere, which the Duke of Mayenne and the Spaniard held) did shake off the strangers yoke, and took the oath of fealty to the King. Cambray did likewise acknowledge him, and gaue his Maiesty such advantage, as his enemies remained without meanes to maintain the war, and without hope to obtaine their peace. The duke of Mayenne in the meane time entertained all his friends and intelligences at Bruxelles: but the supplies of men and money which he drew from thence, were not able to stay the course of the kings prosperities. He therefore retired himselfe into Bourgongne, to assure such places as were yet at his deuotion.

Contrariwise, his nearest kinsmen retiring themselves, left him almost alone to treat with the Spaniard. The Duke of Nemours made his accord at the Castele of Pierre-anse, but being escaped the 26 of Iuly, as we haue said, death deprived him of the vse of his liberty, as we shall see hereafter. The Duke of Guise did still testifie, that he desired nothing more then the Kings seruice, and drawing in the moneth of Nouember to his Maiesties seruice his brethren with himselfe, many Noblemen, the City of Reims, to his many other places, it did greatly shake this monstrous building, which was now ready to fall to ruine.

The Sect of Iesuits had as chiefe pillars of the League, mightily supported it vnto this day, and by all meanes laboured to aduance the Spaniard in France: they had spread throughout the whole Realme, the furious effects of the fire which they had kindled, and

continued

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A continued in priuate confessions (as lately in their Sermons) to disgrace the memory of the deceased King, and the Maiesty of the King now reigning: and to encrease it, the principall of their Colledge, and some others, had largely approved, countenanced, and perswaded that execrable attempt of *Peter Barriere*. The Vniuersity of Paris grounding the renewing of their ancient Processe against the Iesuits, vpon these considerations and motives, demand the rooting out of them. Some great men, & of the chiefe men of Iustice, sue for them: the Cardinall of Bourbon supports them: The Duke of Neuers makes their cause his owne. The respect of their learning, care, and diligence to instruct and teach youth, did moue them: and a very vtigent cause must draw the Court of Parliament (whose authority notwithstanding they did contemne and reiect) to pronounce and declare this great decree, the which an accursed and detestable attempt, by one of their owne disciples, did in the end extort. They proceeded that the cause might be pleaded secretly, for that (said their Aduocat) to defend my Clients, I shall bee forced to speake some things offenfue to many which haue lately turned to the Kings seruice. But these pleadings are to be read in *Arnault* against them, and *Perforis* for them, both graue and learned Aduocates.

By the reduction of so many Prouinces, Townes, Commonalties, and priuate Noblemen, the League shall be now confined into some corners of Bourgongne, Picardy, and Britany, where the Spaniards (to haue alwaies footing within the Realme) entertained the hopes of the Duke of Mayenne and Mercœur. The first began to fall from them: but the other (grounded vpon some vaine pretensions of the Duchie, where he gouerned by reason of his wife) hoped to preuaile, if not of all, yet at the least of a good part. The Queene Dowager his sister, laboured to make his peace: but he delayed the time, knowing that in his greatest extremitie he should finde grace with the King. The Spaniard being brought into Blauet by his means (a fort which the situation of the Country had made almost impregnable, as if they had built a fort nere vnto Croisic, to shut vp the entry of the port at Brest, they had also made another right against it on the other banke) hoped, that being chased out of the other Prouinces, he should yet hold this as a pawne for the money he had disbursed. His Maiesty sent the Marshall *d'Aumont*, and General *Norrice*, a braue Commander of the English, to encounter him, who fortified with a Fleete, vnder the command of Captaine *Forbisher*, they became Masters of Quimpercorentin and Morlay, and then they forced the new fort at Croisic, and slue (but with the losse of men, and of the said *Forbisher*) foure hundred souldiers, to whom the guard was committed: which seruice was chiefly performed by the English, to their immortal praise.

France grew quiet, yet must they employ the souldiers, and cary the warre into the Spaniards Country. It seemed this would free the Realme, but feldome doth it bring forth the effects that are expected. Yet for a triall, the King agrees with the Estates of Holland and their confederates, to invade the Duchy of Luxembourg with their common forces. E The Duke of Bouillon, now Marshall of France, and the Count *Nassau*, seeke to enter in October, but they find the passages stoppt, and the Count *Charles Mansfield* before them, who by the defeat of the Hollanders troopes, made this attempt fruitlesse. On the other side, the King seeke to keepe the frontiers of Picardy safe from the Spanish forces, and threatened Arthois and Hainault, that if they fauoured the forces of Spaine, which molested Cambray and the Countries thereabout, he would make violent warre against them. The Estates of those Prouinces make no answer to these threats, framing their excuse that they could draw no direct answer from the Archduke *Ernest*, Lieutenant generall for the King of Spaine in the Low-Countries, who soone after perswaded the subiects of the said Countries to arme, and to invade France. The better to know Picardy, and to iudge of what should be necessary against the attempts of this new enemy, the King makes a voyage to the frontier, and then returns to Paris, to celebrate the solemnity of the Knights of the Order of the holy Ghost, and to receiue the Ambassadors of Venice, *Vincent Gradenigo*, and *Iohn Delphino* being sent to congratulate the happy successe of his affaires, and *Peter Duodo* to succeed *Iohn Mocenigo*. At his arrival he receiues three good aduertisements: That the Marshall *d'Aumont* had taken from the Spaniard one of the places he had fortified in Britanie; That the Spaniards thinking to enter into Montreuil, hauing giuen fifty thousand Crownes to the Gouernor, had beene repulsed with the losse of five or six hundred

War in Brita-
ny.In Luxem-
bourg.The Duke of
Guise count-
eracted these
labours.The Duke of
Guise count-
eracted these
labours.

1594

The King hurt
in the face.

hundred men: And that the Marshall of Bouillon had ioyned with the army of Count A Maurice in despite of Count Charles.

But oh monstrous prodigy! the onely remembrance should make our haire to stare, and our hearts to tremble. The 27 of December, the King being booted in one of the Chambers of the Louvre, hauing about him his cousins the Prince of Conty, the Count *Saiffons*, and the Earle of Saint Paul, and a great number of the chiefe Noblemen of his Court, bending downe to receiue the Lords of Ragny and Montigny, who kist his knee, a yong man called *Iohn Chastel*, of the age of eightene or nineteene yeares, the son of a wollen Draper in Paris, a Nouice of the Iesuits, encouraged by their instructions, and thrust on by a diuellish furie, creeps into the Chamber with the presse, and surprizing B his Maiestie as he was stooping to take vp these Gentlemen, in stead of thrusting him into the belly with a knife, as he had determined, he strucke him on the vpper lip, and brake a tooth. This wretch was taken, and confessed it without torture. The King vnderstanding that hee was a discipule of that schoole. *Must the Iesuites then (said he) be iudged by my mouth?*

Thus God (meaning by this cursed and detestable attempt) to countenance the pursuite of the Vniuersity of Paris against that sect, *Iohn Chastel* hauing declared the circumstances of his wicked intent, was found guilty of treason, against God and man in the highest degree, and by false and damnable instructions, holding that it was lawfull to murder Kings, C and that the King now reigning was not in the Church, vntill hee were allowed by the Pope, was by a decree of the Court condemned to doe penance before the great doore of our Ladies Church, naked in his shirt vpon his knees, holding a burning torch of two pound weight, to haue his armes and legs pinched at the Greue with burning pincers, and his right hand holding the knife wherewith he fought to commit this parricide to be cut off, his body to be torne in peeces by foure horses, burnt to ashes, and cast into the wind, and all his goods forfeit to the King. The said Court decreed by the same sentence, That the Priests, schollers, and all others terming themselves of that Society, (as corrupters of youth, troublers of the publike quiet, and enemies to the Kings state) should depart within three dayes after the publication of this decree, out of Paris, and other places where they had Colledges: and within fifteene, out of the Realme, vpon paine after D the said time to be punished as guilty of high treason, all their moueable and immoveable goods to be forfeited, to bee employed in godly vses, forbidding all the Kings subiects to send any schollers to the Colledge of the said society without the Realme, there to be instructed or taught, vnder like paines as before.

The Decree was executed the 29 of the said moneth. *Peter Chastel* the father, and *Iohn Gueret* school-master to this murderer, were banished, the first for a certaine time out of Paris, and fined at two thousand Crownes, the last for euer out of the Realme, vpon paine of death. The fathers house standing before the palace, razed, and a pillar erected contained (for a perpetuall monument) the causes of that ruine. Amongst the writings of one named *Iohn Guignard* of Chartres, were found certaine outrageous and scandalous libels against his Maiestie, made since the generall pardon granted by him at the reduction of Paris, for the which he was executed the 7 of Ianuary following. Experience hath often taught, that armes produce greater effects abroad in the enemies Countries then at home, and that the goodliest triumph is sought farthest off. Our vnciuill confusions were forged chiefly in Spaine, and the Iesuits had bene the chiefeest workmen. One *Francis Iacob*, a scholler of the Iesuites of Bourges, had lately vnto to kill the King, but that he held him for dead, and that another had done the deed. And this horrible attempt of late vpon the sacred face of his Maiestie, (wherein he was miraculously preferred) doth witness, that they were the chiefe firebrands. So the King grounding the necessity of his armes vpon these considerations, after hee had rooted this Sect out of the Schooles, which they held within the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, hee published a Declaration for the making of Warre against the King of Spaine. Without doubt the reasons were very apparent and manifest, and the beginning more fauourable then the end.

The Marshall of Bouillon begins this new warre: hee enters the Duchy of Luxembourg with an army of a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, and at the first puts to rout eleven cornets of horse of Count Charles neere to Witron, kils two hundred and

fifty

1595

Some Lorraines
leave the King.

A fifty vpon the place, makes the rest to leaue armes, horse and baggage, and to saue themselves in the next forest. *Philip* likewise for his part proclaimes warre against our *Henry*. The Duke of Lorraine on the other side, hauing taken a truce with his Maiestie, the Baron of Aunsouille, with the Siegneurs of Tremblecourt, and Saint *George* (who before made warre vnder him) now take the white scarf, they enter the County of Bourgogne with a thousand horse, and fise thousand foot, and at the first they seize vpon Vezou, Ionville, and other places.

Behold the fire which threatens two Prouinces: but the Spaniard suffers them not to be consumed, as men presumed, that being busie to quench it, he would leaue Picardy in B quiet. He commands the archduke *Ernest*, that with the hazard of the Low-countries he should transport all his forces into Picardy, and moreover causeth the Constable of Castille gouernor of Milan, to passe the Alpes with a great army of Spaniards and Neapolitans, who recovered the places, and forced the Lorraines to disperse themselves.

The Artesiens and Hannuyers, fore-seeing the desolation which the continuance of this warre would cause, solicited the Archduke to seeke some meanes to quench it: but death cuts off the course of his enterprife. The Earle of Fuentes (that is to say, Fontaines) aduanced them courageously, causing the gouernour of Arthois to enter into Picardy with a thousand horse, and fixe thousand foot. Behold rough seas and great storms, which violently beat vpon our great Pilot: but in despite of their attempts, hee shall C guide his ship to a safe port, and bring his enterprises to an end.

Vienne, Nuiz, Autun, Beaune, and Dijon, did happily assist him: let vs see the successe. The Duke of Nemours escaped from prison, assembled a good troope of souldiers, horse and foot, and drawing to him 3000 Suisses which wintered in Saouy for the defence of the Country: with these forces he pretended to subdue the Prouinces of Lionois, Forest, and Beauuicoulois, and to reuenge the disgrace hee had receiued in Lions. For a beginning, hee had reduced to his deuotion, Thisi a strong Castle in Lionois, Vienne in Dauphine, Feur, Montbrison, S. Germane, and S. Bonnet, townes in Forest: and by this, restraining them both above and beneath the R. iuer, hee made an account either to bring Lions to some extremity of victuals, or to cause some tumult among the people, who should giue him entry into the City.

D Being ready to effect his designs, the Constable parted from Languedoc, to ioine with the King, he resolues in this encounter to doe him a notable seruice. He comes into Lionois, followed with a thousand horse, and foure thousand spoile Harguebuziers, happily for the preservation of the Country: for he presently stayed the course of the Duke of Nemours prosperity, who posting to oppose himself against the constable, (hauing made a voyage to the Constable of Castille, with hope to haue authority ouer these foraine forces, and to dispose of them for the execution of his designs) fortifies S. Colombe, a small village at the foot of the bridge of Vienne towards Lionois, lodgeth some troopes there, and the rest he puts in garison into the towne.

This great multitude of men shut vp in Vienne, makes their victuals grow scant: E they likewise want other necessities and munition for warre. The Constable cuts off all meanes from them. The Suisses mutine for want of pay, and being called home by their Colonels, goe to ioine with the forces of Saouy, which the Marquis of Tressfort commanded, being Lieutenant generall for the Duke of Saouy, on this side the Alpes. To curbe Lions more straightly, the Marquis came to winter his men at Montliel, a small towne of Saouy, three Leagues from Lions. The Constable preuents him, and surprizing the Towne, disappoints the Marquis, lodgeth his men dry, and leaues the Sauioussien subiect to the injuries of the aire, and keepest him from attempting any thing against Lions.

F The Constable aduertised of some discontent betwixt the Captaines of the strangers that were in Vienne, and the Siegneur of Disminie a Gentleman of Dauphine, who commanded in the Castle of Pipper, the chiefe sort of the said towne, he practiseth *Disminie*, lets him vnderstand of his dutie to the Kings seruice, his naturall Prince, his duty to his Country, and the profit hee shall bring by the reduction of this Towne, to so many people threatened with foraine oppression. *Disminie* giues ear and without any great difficulty, hauing passed his word to the Constable, suffers the Siegneur of Montoiion to enter the Castle with a troope of Harguebuziers. The Constable parts the foure and twentieth of Aprill, with eight hundred Harguebuziers, three hundred horse, and

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many

A decree against
the murderer.Warre procla-
med against
the Spaniard.Spaniards in
Picardy.The Duke of
Nemours
makes warre
against Lionois.

1595

many Gentlemen, as well of the Country, as his owne followers: and marcheth towards A Vienne. The Marshall of Ornano doth likewise meet him, with 500 Harguebutiers, and two hundred masters. All shew themselves about Vienne at noone-day. Then *Disimieu* gives the Siegneur of Cheylart, and *Dom Vincentio* Colonel of the Italian foot (that were there in garrison) to vnderstand, that being well informed of the finifter practice and charge they had to seize vpon his person, he had resolved to yeeld the towne and castle vnto the King: yet would he not put it in execution, before he had obtained a safe conduct for the and their troopes. *Montolison* shewes himselfe with his troope, and makes *Cheylart* and *Vincentio* to accept the condition that was offered them. They goe forth, and take the way to Sauoy, guarded by a company of light-horse. *Disimieu* brings them vnto S. Blandine, B where the Constable attended him, and there takes the oath of obedience and fealty to the King. Towards night the Constable entred Vienne, and received the towne and castles of Pippet and La Bastie in his Maiesties name. So Vienne, the only Sanctuary of the duke of Nemours, the Rendezuous of strangers, and the Port of Dauphiné to neighbor Prouinces, caused the quiet of all the Country and neighbors about. Since the which, the duke alwaies droopt, being contemned, hated, and frustrate of his attempts: and finally, he ended all his griefes by a mournfull and lamentable Catastrophe.

As all things succeeded happily for the King, the Marshall of Biron hauing taken Beaune in view of this great army of the Constable of Castille, Autun and Nuy in Bourgogne, he puts himselfe into Dijon, being called by the Inhabitants, he chased away the C Vicount of Taunannes troopes (who held the Inhabitants shut vp in a corner of the town) fortified their barricades against the Castle, and did beleaguer it, attending his army, which made haste to returne out of the Franche Conté. His Maiesty foreseeing, that the Constable of Castille being free, after the recovery of Vezou, should be employed by the Duke of Mayenne, to succour the Castle of Dijon, wherein consisted the chiefe hope of his rising, makes haste to Troyes, gives tolemme thanks for so happy a victorie, and takes his way to Dijon, arriues there the fourth day of Iune, carying with him the execution of a designe, more miraculous then all the rest. Without doubt our posterity may put this History with the fabulous tales of the foure sonnes of *Aymond*, of *Rouland*, *Oliver*, and others, if we set not downe the truth, with the chiefe Circumstances: for D is it not a dreame, and enchantment, and a fabulous tale, that fourescore Cheualiers, but true French Gentlemen, generous, and well led, haue amazed and put to flight, two thousand horse? But what durst not this braue Nobility doe, hauing in the head of them so incomparable and valiant a Capitaine, and a King so well beloued and respected of all?

The Castilian had already passed his troopes and Artillery vpon bridges of boates at Grey: when as the King hauing fortified the Inhabitants with a thousand men, commanded by the Earle of Thionny, he viewed the Castle of Dijon, the fort of Talon a Cannon shot from the towne: and all the approaches, whereby the enemy might attempt to succor the Castle, made choice of a place of battell fit to stay him, and where to make fort for the restraining of the said Castle: he resolves to free him of halfe his paines, and to meet him in the mid-way, with a double intent, the one to fight with him at the passage; the other, to giue the assaillants time to finish their trenches against the Castle. For the execution hereof, he assigns the Rendezuous at Lux vpon Tile, & Fontain Française to a thousand horse, and 500 Carabins, whom hee would vie in this rare stratagem: and the same day parts with the onely company of the Baron of Lux, and some thirty horse, and comes to Lux, & from thence to Fontaine Française, putting a troope of foot into two Castles which are in the village of Saint Seine vpon the river of Vigerine, to stop the enemies passage. It was the direfkest and best way to come to the succour of Dijon.

A league from Fontaine Française, the Marquis of Mirebeau gives his Maiesty intelligence, that he hath encountered with two troopes of three or foure hundred horse, which made him retire in haste: that hee did thinke to haue seen some wing of the army behind, but hee had no leisure to discover them plainly: He spake thus, for all the Castilian army was aduanced to seize vpon the passage of Saint Seine. Some weak spirit or lesse generous then our Henry, would presently haue resolved to make an honourable retreat: but this did kindle his courage, and increase his desire to their countenance.

Wonderfull
effects of true
Kings armies.

1595

A tenance. He sends the Marshall of Biron with the company of the Baron of Lux, to discover if it were the army, or some other troope that went to the war, and himselfe followed the Marshall a good pace. A hundred paces beyond Fontaine Française, the Marshall discovers about threescore horse vpon a hill, mid-way to S. Seine, situate at the foot thereof on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall resolves to chase them, to see what the enemy did behind. He sees the enemies army comming to the said village, and neere vnto a wood fast by, about 300 horse, which had bear backe the Baron of Aulonville, whom his Maiesty had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or layed.

B These (supported by their whole army, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troope on the right hand, and another on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, he causeth the Marquis of Mirebeau to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of Lux on the other, and then assured that the enemies army followed, hee began to make his retreat towards the King. The enemy presseth him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But he retired only, to charge more furiously. The Baron of Lux less a troope, which aduanceth before their army, and enters so hotly amongst them, as his horse being slain, he remains engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had not taile on them with so rough a charge as they were constrained and forced to turne their backs. Hereupon C

The widome
and valour of
the Marshall of
Biron.

issie forth from the woods, many troopes of horse, which in all, with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retires more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiestie that all their army followed, as also to tell him that he had meanes with his horse to fight with theirs before their foot could arriue. Before he could deliuer this vnto the King, the troopes of the Baron of Thianges, *Thenifsey*, *Villiers*, *Houdan*, and a company of Carabins ioyned with him, whom he had chased, and forced him to turne head, but with twenty horse onely, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. Hee charged, and ouerthrowes the first he encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skinne of his belly, made the victory for D a while doubtfull. Without doubt his braue resolution and wise command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in shew tended to ruine. The onely feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then hee had made shew of, kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduanced: in the meane time they put them into five equadrans. His Maiesty sees himselfe engaged to fight, and hath small meanes to make it good, for the troopes followed easily, and the houre of the Rendezuous was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troope of horse which newly arriued. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retire to his Maiesty.

An aduentu-
rous charge.

One torch may kindle many lights. If our Henry had wanted resolution: if his valour E had not been able to hear these cold and frozen hearts: if numbers had exceeded his courage, he had been wonderfully perplexed. It was a shame to retire, a rashnesse to aduance, and dangerous to make a stand. There was perill to fight, or not to fight. He chooseth rather to exceed the limits of valour, then to be noted of any cowardise. He aduanceth to them that fled, and causeth some to turne and to ioyne with his troope. The Lord of Taunannes arriues with his companie, encreasing his number, which are about two hundred horse, but not yet well ioyned. Hereupon the Duke of Mayenne appeares vpon a hill, and sends forth threescore equadrans against his Maiesty, which flanked him on the right hand, the one of three hundred horse, the other of two hundred, and the third of a hundred and fifty; and two others against the Marshall of Biron.

F The King aduanceth, with about fourescore horse, and chargeth the first squadron so violently, as he giues them no leisure to thinke to fight, ouerthrowes the second, and dispereth the third, with about five and twenty horse, which remained with him (this rest pursued the victory) strikes terror into all, and leaues the vanquished no other safetie, but to die by the hand of so incomparable a Conqueror. The Marshall of Biron seconds this admirable victory with a great resolution, who followed with about fifty horse, defeated the two equadrans that came against him, one after another, within threescore paces of the Duke of Mayenne, who stood firme on the hill with his troope

F f f f 2

of

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Wonderfull effects of the kings armes.

A tenance. He sends the Marshall of Biron with the company of the Baron of Lux, to discover if it were the army, or some other troope that went to the war, and himselfe followed the Marshall a good pace. A hundred paces beyond Fontaine Françoise, the Marshall discovers about three score horse vpon a hill, mid-way to S. Seine, situate at the foot thereof on the one side, so as the villages cannot see one another. The Marshall resolves to chase them, to see what the enemy did behind. He sees the enemies army coming to the said village, and neere vnto a wood fast by, about 300 horse, which had beat back the Baron of Autonville, whom his Maiesty had likewise sent before with a hundred horse, to see if the enemy marched or stayed.

B These (supported by their whole army, which followed them at the heeles) put forth one troope on the right hand, and another on the left, who make a shew to charge the Marshall, that they might obserue what forces followed him. To frustrate their expectation, he causeth the Marquis of Mirebeau to stretch forth at large on the one hand, and the Baron of Lux on the other, and then assured that the enemies army followed, hee began to make his retreat towards the King. The enemy presteth him, taking this retreat for a kind of flight: But he retired only, to charge more furiously. The Baron of Lux sees a troope, which aduanceth before their army, and enters so hotly amongst them, as his horse being slain, he remains engaged in great danger, if the Marshall had notaine on them with two rough a charge as they were constrained and forced to turne their backs. Hereupon C issue forth from the woods, many troopes of horse, which in all, with them that marched before, made about twelue hundred. The Marshall (discouering them) retires more speedily, as well to aduertise his Maiestie that all their army followed, as also to tell him that he had meanes with his horse to fight with theirs before their foot could arriue. Before he could deliuer this vnto the King, the troopes of the Baron of Thiangies, *Thénifsey*, *Pilliers*, *Houdan*, and a company of Carabins ioyned with him, whom he had chased, and force him to turne head, but with twenty horse onely, for the great number of enemies at the first view had amazed most of them which followed the Marshall. Hee charged, and ouerthrowes the first he encounters. But two wounds, one on the head, with a sword, the other with a Lance which razed the skinn of his belly, made the victory for D a while doubtfull. Without doubt his braue resolution and wise command encouraged many that were amazed, and confirmed that, which in few tended to ruine. The onely feare which they had, least he had more men in the village or thereabouts, then hee had made shew of kept the enemy backe, and made them to attend the rest of the army which aduanced: in the meane time they put them into five equadrons. His Maiesty sees himselfe engaged to fight, and hath small meanes to make it good, for the troopes followed easily, and the houre of the Rendezuous was not yet come. The King notwithstanding aduanceth a troope of horse which newly arriued. But discouering this great cloud of enemies ready to charge them, they retire to his Maiesty.

One torch may kindle many lights. If our Henry had wanted resolution: if his valour E had not been able to heat these cold and frozen hearts: if numbers had exceeded his courage, he had been wonderfully perplexed. It was a shame to retire, a rashnesse to aduance, and dangerous to make a stand. There was perill to fight, or not to fight. He chooseth rather to exceed the limits of valour, then to be noted of any cowardise. He aduanceth to them that fled, and causeth some to turne and to ioyne with his troope. The Lord of Tannanes arriues with his companie, encreasing his number, which are about two hundred horse, but not yet well ioyned. Hereupon the Duke of Mayenne appears vpon a hill, and sends forth the rest of the equadrons against his Maiesty, which flanked him on the right hand, the one of three hundred horse, the other of two hundred, and the third of a hundred and fifty, and two others against the Marshall of Biron.

F The King aduanceth, with about fourescore horse, and chargeth the first squadron so violently, as he giues them no leisure to thinke to fight, ouerthrowes the second, and dispereth the third, with about five and twenty horse, which remained with him (the rest pursued the victory) strikes terror into all, and leaues the vanquished no other safetie, but to die by the hand of so incomparable a Conqueror. The Marshall of Biron seconds this admirable victory with a great resolution, who followed with about fifty horse, defeated the two equadrons that came against him, one after another, within three score paces of the Duke of Mayenne, who stood firme on the hill with his troope

The wisdom and valour of the Marshall of Biron.

An aduantageous charge.

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of three hundred horse, whither the run-awaies fled, thinking there to be in safetie.

The King and the Marshall charge them ioyntly, force them, put them in rout, and pursue them vnto the corner of the wood. Here the King findes their battalions of foot, and great store of Muskets and other shot placed amongst it, with four hundred fresh horse, sent to relieue the Duke, a hundred paces from their battalions. So his Maiesty makes a stand, and the enemies freed from him, begin their retreat. The Kings horse follow them to the toppes of the hill, and there put themselves in battell. The King hauing taken breath in the place from whence he parted to go to the charge, diuides his men into two troopes, one for himselfe, the other for the Marshall. Here, about a hundred French Gentlemen take the place from fiftene hundred horse, and by this means the King was master both of the enemies bodies, and of the place of battell. His Maiesty gathers together such as were disperfed, to make the better shew. Hereupon arises the Earle of Clermont, *Vitry*, the Kings lights horse, those of *Caſar Monsieur*, the Duke d'Elbeuf, the Earle of Chiuerny, the Cheualier d'Oise, the Lords of Risse and Aix, which made about fixe hundred horse of his bands of Ordinance, all gricued that they had not followed the fortune and valor of our King, to bee partakers of the honour which he had won.

With this supply he turnes to ouertake them that fled, and pursues them two leagues, neere vnto Grey: but not able to follow this shamefull flight, he was content his glory should surmount their shame, and that his valour had vanquished their force: and vsing this famous victory with piety, hee let all the world know in his person, that it is not the sword, nor the arme that strikes, nor the number of men, that preferres Kings in the midst of armes: but that high Providence, which fighting with the one hand for the iust cause of lawfull Princes, against the attempts, and violences of vfurpers and Tyrants: and holding victories in the other, decides the quarrels of Soueraignties, by the equity hee finds in Princes armes vnjustly oppressed, and makes it manifest that the admirable euents of batells consist not onely in number or force, but in the free disposition of his fauors, vnto a people whose miseries he will shorten, which the continuance of warre hath bred in a diuided Estate.

The enemy returned to lodge at S. Seine, and dislodging the next day with feare, they repassed the water vpon their bridges, leauing both the one and the other side of the hill at the Kings deuotion, who without doubt had giuen them a great checke vpon this retreat, if his footmen had bene with him, and the horses lately arriued could haue endured the toyle in the vehement heat of the Sun. The Duke of Mayenne and the Castilian lost in this charge sixscore men slaine vpon the field, threescore prisoners, and two hundred hurt. His Maiesty, onely foure slaine, and one prisoner. But for a notable circumstance, and a signe of the especiall care of God ouer his person, hee performed these exploits without any other armes then his cuirasse alone, and was well assisted (to their great commendation) by the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf, the Lord of Tremouille, and the Marquises of Treyne and Pizany, by the Lords of Inteuille, Roquelaure, Chasteauvieux, Liencourt, Montigni, Mirepoix and others. And in despite of all the furious attempts of the league, the Castle of Dijon, and in a manner all Bourgongne was soone after reduced to the Kings obedience: and now the third time, he freed his Realme from strangers. The King in the end inuades the Country, forceth one of their lodgings in the view of the Constable of Castile neere vnto Grey, becomes master of the field, takes Alpremont and many other places: he had forced their chiefe forts, if the Swisses had not intreated him to retire his army, and to suffer that Province to inioy her ancient libertie.

The Princes absence did imbolden them that were light headed to discover the rash imaginations of their brains. The Colledge of Sorbonne was not yet so well purged of factious humors, but there remained some leuaine of sedition and scandall. For *Florentine Jacob* an *Augustine* Monke maintained in his disputation in the Colledge of Sorbonne, vnder *Thomas Blancy* Doctor in Diuinity and principall of the Colledge of Caluis, That without doubt all Spirituall and Temporall things depend vpon the successe of Saint Peters Chaire, whereas *Clement* the 8 sits at this day, the great and most soueraigne Bishop, Lieutenant to God on earth, for hee hath Spirituall and Temporall power ouer all. And all in generall, Cardinals, Bishops and others of what estate and condition fouer, ought to obey him, and adhere perpetually vnto him as the members

vnto

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A vnto the head. And that the Church hauing the power of two swords, grants vnto Kings and Magistrates the vse of the temporall, for the defence of the good, and rooting out of the wicked. But the Court of Parliament, the true seat of Royall Iustice, ready and careful to maintaine the estate against such as would shake it, in that which concerns the affaires of the Crown, declares by a decree of the nineteenth day of Iuly these two Articles to bee false, schismaticall, contrary to the word of God, holy decrees, canonical constitutions, and lawes of the Realme; tending to rebellion and the trouble of the publicke quiet: wherefore the Monke being conducted from the prison of the Conſergerie vnto the Sorbons hall; the Deane, Sindic, Doctors, Lycenciats and Batchelors, being assembled by the found of the bell, he declared (being bare-headed and vpon his knees, *Blancy* also assisting bare-headed, but standing) That rashly and indiscreetly he had propounded the said positions to be disputed off, and maintained by him in his Ordinary *Aff*, for the which he was sory, and demanded pardon of God, the King, and Iustice. The questions were torne in peeces, and defences made to all Batchelors to present the like against the Kings power and the obedience which all his subiects owe vnto him, the establishment of the royall estate, and the rights of the French Church; and to the Deane, Sindic and Doctors of the faculty, to receive them; nor to suffer them to be printed nor disputed off, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason, and vnworthy to enioy the priuiledges granted to the faculty of Diuinity, by the Kings predecessors to the King now reigning, and confirmed by him. And to eternize the memory, the Court ordained, that this decree should be written in the Registers of the said Faculty, and read euery yeare at the first Assembly of the Sorbonne by the Beadle of the said Faculty: enioying the Sindic to certifie the Court of the reading thereof within three dayes after it should be done, vpon paine of disobedience. This present decree was executed by *Iohn Forger* one of the Kings priuy Council, and President in his Court of Parliament, *Stephen Flury*, *Ierome Angenoult*, *Ierome Anreux*, and *Prosper Bauin* Councillors in the said Court, and deputed Iudges to that end, in the presence of his Maiesties Doctor generall, who by a graue and Maiestical admonition did shew zeale and affection to conuince the error & rashnesse of any one that would attempt to make a breach in the royall and soueraigne authority, to weaken the temporall sword, which God only did put into their hands for the preservation of the good and punishment of the wicked.

Whilest the King continues his victories, the Marshall of Bouillon executes a dangerous enterprize, but of importance, vpon the Towne and Castle of Han. Han opened the way for the Spaniard from the frontier vpon Beauvais and Amiens: but this surprize cunningly performed, did wonderfully annoy them, and not one Spaniard of those which had it in guard escaped either death or prison. Sixscore naturall Spaniards, and fixe or seuen hundred Captaines and souldiers of diuers nations were slaine, and three or foure hundred prisoners. But all this summe of men could not recompence the death of that braue and generous Nobleman *Humieres*, one of the chiefe actors in the enterprize, as much lamented first by the King, then by the Nobility, and generally of all France, as his vertues and merits had made him commendable and necessary for his Maiesties seruice. *La Croix* master of the campe, *Maſſiers* Lieutenant to *Surville*, and *Boycourt* Captaine of *Humieres* guard, were companions of his valour, and graue. The Towne was taken for the King, with the death of some twenty other Gentlemen, and about a hundred souldiers. But the Spaniard soone after reuenged this surprize vpon Castile, but more sharply vpon the towne of Dourlans, for hauing put to rout the succours which the Marshall of Bouillon sent, slaine the Admirall of Villars and many Gentlemen, they tooke the towne by assault (not for want of men or munition, but by their bad order, and the intelligence which the Commanders in the towne had with the enemy) and entered it with such fury, as they had no respect of sex or age: hauing no reason for their horrible cruelty, but the fresh remembrance of their companions. *Itis* (cried they) to reuenge those of Han.

The Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Bouillon, and the Earle of Saint Paul, Commanders of the Kings troops, hauing diuided the charge amongst them, to encounter the Spaniards forces, the Marshall and the Earle went to provide for the places about Bollongne, and the Duke for those vpon the riuer of Somme. Passing by Amiens, he finds the people and chiefeſt so amazed, that to assure them, he was forced to lay aside the quality of his person,

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person,

A notable victory.

A shamefull flight.

Han surprized for the King.

Humieres slaine.

Castile and Dourlans for the Spaniards.

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Cambray besieged.

person, and to promise to put himselfe into Corbie, foure leagues from Amiens, to defend it the enemy approached. He enters it the third of August, views it both within and without, takes a survey of the quantity of munition, and of the number of mouths, and provides as time & necessity would permit him, for things necessary for the preservation of the place. The Spaniard had another designe: for the first day of the month he parts from about Dourlans, and taking the way betwixt Peronne and Corbie, seemes to threaten S. Quentin or Cambray. So the Duke leaves Corbie, but doubtfull whether the Spaniard went: yet aduertised by the Viconc d'Auchy gouernour of Saint Quentin, that the Enemy approached towards him, he goes to defend S. Quentin. He is no sooner aduertised, but newes comes, that the Earle of Fuentes is lodged about Cambray, to besiege it with seventene thousand men, and threecore and two peeces of artillery. The Lord of Balagny, Marshall of France, by his articles of capitulation with the King, confirms this aduise by his letters of the eleuenth, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth of the month, and requies to be suddenly released, for the pitifull Estate of Dourlans terrified the people: the towne was ill provided of men, this huge number of Cannons, and this fearfull multitude of soldiers, strooke a generall terror among the Citizens.

But to reuine their spirits, who were ready to yield obedience to a new Lord, the duke of Neuers sends them his only sonne, the Duke of Rethelous, assisted with the valour and wisdom of the Lords of Vicques, Buhy, Trumelet, Vaudecours, Sugny, Fleury, Chantay, and others, with about three hundred and fifty horse. The Peasants by their bells giue the alarm from village to village, & a paley bridge of wood at Anne, two leagues from Cambray, having their troope, gaue the Earle of Fuentes means to put his horse in battell almost directly in the way where the Duke should passe. He anoides it, and going aside encounters a guard of six and twenty Lances, making a stand on this side of a hollow way: he chargeth them, cuts them in peeces in the sight of their horse, which could not succour them by reason of the said way, and passing on, hee falls into a troope of two hundred & fifty horse, marcheth directly to them, scatters them, goes on his way, & comes to the towne ditch. The Inhabitants know him and receiue him, with much honor and ioy to see so braue succors.

But it was too weake against such a number of assailants: the King was farre off, the Estate of Bourgundy kept him occupied: the affaires of the Prouince of Lionois required his presence. The Inhabitants of Cambray began to decline in affection: they were male-content with the tediousness of the siege, and the ruine of their houses by the Cannon, and of the constraint to take certaine money made of Copper, and not suffer them to employ it, carrying on the one side the Kings armes, as Protector; and on the other chole of the Lord of Balagny, created Prince of Cambray by the Articles of his rendition. On the other side, the enemy made strange attempts, and gaue horrible threats against the besieged. They shut their eares against all persuasions, and make a disloyall resolution to yield, and hoping for better vltage and more liberty, they open the gates to the enemy. The Duke of Rethelous, Balagny, Vicques, and others sicke into the Citadell. The Duke would retire his sonne, and makes the besieged despaire of any speedy succours. So the ninth of October *Balagny* signed the capitulation, offered by the enemy: but with so much griefe and sorrow, as the same night hee signed it, his wife being a woman of a great spirit died, not able to endure that so precious a Iewell as Cambray (whereof she was newly created Princesse) should fall into the Spaniards cruell hands.

Thus this ancient member of this Crowne was lost: Thus the onely triumph of a son and brother of the Kings of France was blemished. Doubtlesse had it not beene for the impatience and disloyalty within, the fault of some great men that might haue prevented this mischiefe, all their attempts had been in vaine: for the Earle of Fuentes was ready to build forties about the towne, rather to vanquish them by a long siege then by assault. And the King halted his entry into Lions, so come to their speedy succor. The Duke of Neuers died soone after, grieved on the one side for so great a breach made to this Estate, and satisfied on the other, that his sonne had shewed himselfe so valiant in the conduct of the succors he put into the towne.

The King seeing the Constable of Castile shut vp into Dole and Grey, being loath to hazard a battell, he went and made his entry into Lions the fourth of September, assured the

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A the Prouince, provided for the troubles of Prouence, nourished not so much by the league, as by the discontentments and partialities of some which had no intelligence with them: he receiued *Bais Dauphin* in his obedience, with the townes of Chasseaugonier in Aniou, and Sable in Maine, and for recompence of his seruice, honored him with the place of a Marshall of France. Then he granted a general truce throughout the whole realm, to the Duke of Mayenne, which after so many storms and so many tempests, shall in the end bring vs to a safe port, so necessary to quiet the diuisions of this Realme.

The King being prest to make a general truce, and cessation of armes throughout his whole kingdom, vpon the assurance which the D. of Mayenne had giuen him to cause it to be obeyed by all them which doe yet make war, as well vnder his authority, as in the name of the Vnion: his Maiesty desirous to ease his subjects of the oppression of war, granted them certain Articles:

That there should be a truce and cessation of armes for three monthes. That all men indifferently might enioy the fruits of their reuennues, and returne into the possession of their houses and Castles. That no fortification should be made during the truce. That Labourers and husbandmen might with all liberty follow their accustomed workes, and not be molested vpon paine of death. That all men might passe freely throughout the Realme without passport. That all taxes and impositions set vpon Merchandize, should be leauied during the three monthes. That during the said truce nothing should be attempted vpon the places of either party, nor any act of hostility done, which it any should attempt, reparation should be made, and the delinquents punished as troublers of the publike peace. That no man might take any place, during the truce, to fortifie. Quarrells and challenges were forbidden for any difference which had hapned during the troubles. These Articles with diuers others were concluded vpon at Lions the three and twentieth of September 1595, and signed by the King, and Duke de Mayenne.

God raised vp a great meane from beyond the mountaines, to make the way easie for a general peace and re-union of people distracted from his Maiesties obedience. The Pope moued in the end to see the eldest Sonne of the Church, and the chiefe Christian Prince prostrate at his feet, shewes himselfe a true father of Iustice, to vanquish the difficulties and oppositions, whereby the Ambassador of Spaine had cross his Maiesties constant and iust pursuit, since the time of his conuersion. The 18 of September he opens the streames of his blessing vpon our Kings head: and all the Colledge of Cardinals, all the people, all the Citie of Rome cry out with that happy acclamation, *God saue Henry of Bourbon, King of France and of Navarre, most great, most victorious. God saue the most Christian and the most Catholike. God saue the chiefe Sou of the Church.*

The Pope blest both the Kings.

Few daies after the newes of this solemne action, the King went from Lions in post by night, to goe to the succour of Cambray, but the effects were not answerable to his care. The Cambresiens had already conceiued some hope of greater liberty: they hoped to get much by the change, and yielded their necks to a new command. There is neither meanes, counsell, nor reason that can stay a multitude, when as a disordered appetite of Freedome doth transport them. His Maiesty finds other worke to employ his forces: hee sought to roote this foraigne power speedily out of Picardy, which held his hands bound and insulted over him. *La Fere* is the chiefe and most important fort of the Prouince; he besieged it, and finds therein an obstinate and inuincible resolution. Perseuerance is necessary in all actions of war, but especially in the Siege of townes, and there is no place which the munition and the situation makes impregnable, but time & famine will force, subdue, and bring vnder. Whilst the King leaves the besieged nothing free but the ayre, and drives them to all extremities: the D. of Mayen on the other side (seeing his retreats in a manner all lost, and that he is in disgrace with the Spaniards) fues for his Maiesties fauour, and vpon his simple word he promitteth to come vnto him wherefoeuer he pleased. The Marquis of S. Sorlin, now Duke of Nemours by the death of his elder brother, yields with the like facility.

La Fere beleagued.

The Duke of Mayenne and Nemours received into grace.

Neuer Prince did more easily remit the wrongs were done him. The King grew more cold then was requisite in a siege of such importance, to attend the trearies of the one and the other. He commended the first, for the affection he had shewed to preserve the realme entire, hauing not done, nor suffered it to be dismembred, but of some places, in the great declining of his estate, and declares that hee had alwayes heard that the

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second had no part in the troubles and diuisions of the realme, by any designe preiudiciall to the Estate. This re-vnion of the Duke of Mayenne, performed at Monceaux in Brice, caused the yielding of Soissons, Pierrefont, Chaalon vpon Soane, Seurre in Bourgogne, and some other places, to the Kings obedience, whereupon the King made an Edict, as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. As it is the duty of a good King to loue his subjects, as his Children, to intreat them as his owne, and to thinke that their felicity is his: God and men are witnesses, that since it pleased God to call vs to this Crowne, wee haue had no greater desire then to free our selfe of this charge. For, hauing found this realme full of factions, war, and diuisions, more dangerous then haue been heretofore, we haue neither spared our blood to defend our authority, nor our clemency to forget wrongs which haue bene done vs: to the end we might soone free our Realme from oppressions and ciuill wars, the very spring and mother of all miseries. Wherein we confesse that we haue bene no lesse assisted by the grace & blessing of God in the one, then in the other. For, if he hath often giuen vs victories ouer our enemies, he hath also giuen vs a will and meanes to vanquish them by mildnesse, that haue made them selues worthy; so as we may say, that we haue no lesse advanced the re-vnion of our subjects by clemency then by armes. And therein we haue bene chiefly moued by the great loue we beare vnto our subjects, and the compassion we haue of their calamity and miseries, more then with our owne particular interest or aduantage. We haue also had a great regard vnto the causes which haue incited many of them to arme, being grounded vpon the care which euery man should haue of his foules health, the which we haue held so much the more worthy of commiseration and excuse, for that we doe acknowledge as a true Christian, that there is not any thing hath more power ouer vs, then this bond. Wherefore hauing often tried by our selfe, that force doth rather fortifie then change the resolution of man, in matter of Religion, and that it is a grace which is infused into vs, not by our owne iudgments, nor by any other, but by the only bouny of the euer-living God, and by the working of the holy Spirit.

As soone as we had any breathing from our great toyles, by the aduantages which God hath giuen vs ouer our aduersaries, wee drew vnto vs Prelates and Doctors of good life, and learned in the holy Scriptures, to instruct vs in the truth of the Catholike religion, whereof God by his grace hauing made vs capable, with a firme resolution to perseuer therein vnto the death: we haue since had no greater desire then to participate in the vnion and society of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Church, and our reconciliation with our holy Father the Pope, and the holy Sea, as all men may see by our actions, and the continuall pursuiues which we haue made: the which haue bene so crost by the ordinary practices of our enemies, and their power at Rome, as if our constancy and reason had not moued and fortified the vertue and singular bouny of our Holy Father (who like a common father did only regard the good of Christian religion) we had neuer attained to the happinesse of his holy blessing, nor of our reconciliation so much desired, for the quiet of our conscience, and the better satisfaction of our subjects, moued onely with the zeale of religion. Wherein we haue great cause to praisse God, and to magnifie his holinesse and equity, who by his wisdom and bouny hath confounded the infolency and falshood of our enemies: We haue no lesse cause to admire Gods diuine providence, in that it hath pleased him to make the way of our saluation, the fittest meanes to win the hearts of our subjects, and to draw them to obey vs, as hath bene seene soone after our vnion to the Church; and euer since continued.

But this worke had not bene perfect, nor the peace absolute, if our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Duke of Mayenne, chiefe of his party, had not followed the same course, as he was resolved to doe, when as he saw our holy Father allow of our re-vnion: The which hath made vs to like better of his actions then before, to take in good part the zeale which he had to religion, and to commend his desire to perseuer the realme, the which he would not suffer to be dismembred, when as the prosperity of his affaires seemed to giue him some meanes: As also since, being weake, hee chose rather to cast himselfe into our armes, and yeeld vs the obedience, which God, Nature, and the Lawes commanded him, then to seeke other remedies which might continue the wars, to the great preiudice of our subjects: The which makes vs desire to acknowledge his good will, and to loue and

A and intreat him hereafter as our good kinsman and faithfull subiect. And to the end, that both he and all Catholikes which shall imitate him in this duty, may be the better confirmed, and others incited to the like resolution: And also, to the end that no man may hereafter seem to doubt of the sincerity of our re-vnion to the Catholike Church, and vnder that pretext stir vp new seeds of dissention to seduce our subjects, and draw them to their ruine: Wee declare and protest that our resolution is to live and die in the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish religion, whereof wee haue made profession: our intention is also to procure the aduancement thereof with all our meanes, and with the like care and affection, as the most Christian Kings our predecessors haue done, by the aduice of our good and loyall Catholike subjects, as well of those which haue alwaies assisted vs, as of others which haue since yeelded vs obedience, maintaining notwithstanding the publicke tranquillity of the realme.

After this Edict and protestation, his Maiesty granted many things touching the good of the Duke De Mayenne, and those of his party which should submit themselves. The townes of Chaalons, Seurre, and Soissons, were left vnto the Duke for six years, as places of surety, and no religion to be there exercised during that time but the Romish, nor any one to be aduanced to any office or publicke charge, but such as made profession thereof. All Letters, Declarations, Iudgments and Decrees, made against the D. of Mayen, or any other whoseouer, that would enioy the benefit of the said Edict were reuoked, and the memory thereof suppressed and extinct. All men of what quality and condition soeuer, that did acknowledge the King, and make their due submission, were restored to their goods, offices and dignities, notwithstanding all Edicts, seissures, sales, confiscations, or declarations formerly made, the which were reuoked, and they put into possession thereof by vertue of this present Edict, vpon condition that they should sweare fidelity and obedience to the King, and presently depart from all leagues and associations. That neither the Duke, or any one which had followed his party, should be called in question for any thing which had bene done during the present troubles, if within the time limited by the Edict, they came and acknowledged their duties: vntlesse it were for the murder of the deceased King: which exception should not tend to the Princes and Princesses which had fallen from the obedience of the deceased King, & should now acknowledge their duty. That all men which desired to enioy the benefit of the Edict, might returne and possesse their houses, goods, and dignities, notwithstanding all letters and decrees to the contrary. That the Duke of Mayen, and all that had followed him, should be discharged of all soms of money, leauied or taken by them for what cause soeuer, and they likewise acquitted which had furnished the same. They were likewise discharged from all acts of hostility, and from any thing attempted contrary to their duties, during the war: with many other Articles for the ease and discharge of the Duke of Mayenne, and those which had followed his party. All that would enioy the benefit of this present Edict, were bound to make declaration within six weekes after the publication thereof, to the Courts of Parliament, or to the Iudges where they dwelt, and to take the oath of allegiance.

The execution of a decree made by the Court of Parliament, against the Duke of Anjou was surceased with an intent to suppress the same, if the Duke of Anjou should acknowledge his Maiesty as he ought within the said terme. Moreouer, the Duke of Mayenne was discharged of three hundred and fifty thousand crownes, for the which he and some of his friends and seruants had engaged themselves, which was employed for the war, and not conuerted to his owne priuate vse. The King did also promise to discharge him of all soms of money, for the which he stood bound to the Suisses, Reistres, Lanquenets, or any other strangers, and to make it his owne debt. There was other secret articles granted which were not expressed in the Original.

This reduction of the Duke of Mayenne serued the Marshall d'Amont as a spur to crosse the exploits of the Duke of Merceur in Britany. He had lately seized vpon Chai-ze, a place situated betwixt Normandy, Maine, and Britany, and from thence commanded the neighbour Prouinces; stretching out his wings thirty leagues round about, without contradiction. They of Caen did first complaine of it: the Marshall d'Amont aduertised of this prize by the Earle of Montgomery, sends for Captaine Genill (whose merits haue giuen vs subiect to make an honourable mention of him else where.) Genill

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gets leave of the King, and goes to view Chaze in a daie night, but he could finde no meanes to force it, being seated high, enuironed with steep rocks, a river and two pooles, hauing no approch nor entrance, but by two narrow Cawseys, whose issues must be discovered by light. He returns thither at a full Moone, and finds no other expedient, but to open the wall by the force of his Engines, by the meanes of a little hole which he found close to the ground. Yet this place is fortified with a double ditch, flanked by the dungeon, and hath but a very narrow cawsey to passe vnto, and to descend into the ditch by Moone light, in view of a Sentinel set right ouer it. Circumstances able to discourage the vnder taker, if some inward motion of a diuine assistance had not fauored his designe. He undertakes it, moued with the excess and violences of this insolent Garison, consisting for the most part of Spaniards, and roguish strangers. The Earle of Montgomery, and the Seigneur of Roches his brother, led many of the Nobility thither with sufficient forces. At their first approach the Sentinel gives the alarme: the Garison is presently in armes and man the walls. The first Petard discharged within the hole: all run thither to defend the entry: foure others follow as speedily as their shot. *Gentil* applied a great mortar, when as beheld the wall opens, and giues them meanes to enter. He calls for a Saullige to scatter them that came thronging to the breach. *Des Roches* brings it vnto him, but he is stricken dead with a Musket shot. *Gentil* cast the Saullige among their feet, it burnes some, lames others, lets fire of their furniture and powder, discharged their peeces, and makes a terrible spoile. *Gentil* casts himselfe desperately into the breach: the Earle of Montgomery seconds him, preferring the publike profit of this victory, before his priuate griete for the death of his brother. All the troops frue to go in, and pursue their enemies vnto the entry of the Dungeon. The Engines being speedily prepared to force them, ended them to capitulare, every one to depart with a white wand leaving the place to the discretion of the Earle Montgomery, and to *Gentil* a desire to make other enterprises in Britany, the which he had effected, if the Duke of Mercœur had continued in rebellion against the King.

The hazard and burthens of rebellion, ruined the Duke of Aumale onely: he would be more willfull then all the rest. He therefore grew so incensed against him, as the Court of Parliament at Paris made his proceesse, declared him guilty of treason in the highest degree, his picture to be drawne in peeces with foure horses, all his goods forfeited to the King, adiuudged his goodly house at Anet to be razed to the ground; and for more detestation of this treachery, the trees about it cut off by the waist. But he sought his safety with *Albert* Cardinall of Austria at Bruxelles, lately come to succed the Archduke *Ernest* his brother.

Albert assures the besieged in La Fere, to free them: but hee suffered the succours that should relieve them, to be defeated. And the Earle of Fuentes hauing manned the towne of this new conquest, went to winter in Haynault, and gaue the King meanes to dismisle most part of his horse to be ready in the Spring against the Cardinals designs. In the meane time he assembled the Estates of Picardy, Bolognois, Vermandois, and Thierache in Amiens, provided for the estate of the Prouince, and punished those Capitaines with death, whose couetousnesse had partly bin the cause of the former losses.

Whilst that our *Henry*, assisted now by the Duke of Mayenne in person, brings them of La Fere to be ready to submit vnto his Maiesty, behold the beginning of this new year, sows the seedes which shall bring forth most profitable fruits for the perfect restoring of this Estate. The townes and whole Prouinces desire a generall deliury, and nothing staies the effects, but that some gouernors will haue the honour to see the Cannon at their gates, before they treat of their accord: others set their places to sale. A filthy traffike, fit for the confusion of this age, but vnworthy of all good order, vnworthy the duty of good lubiecs, and vnworthy of the liberty and honour of the French Nobility. The King reducing them by force which will not voluntarily returne to their duties, he willingly giues ease to the mildest and shortest course. He should spend more money to get more honor, but he frames himself after the example & model of *Charles* the seventh, whose two raignes had many conformities. He desires rather to buy a place for money, then to besiege it with much more charge, and great losse of men. The people suffer great losse, and oft times the issue is doubtfull.

The first fruits of this new yeare are most happy in generall, and most honourable for the

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The D. of Languedoc.

A the chiefe authors thereof. The Duke of Ioycuze holds the first ranke. It is hee which shall take againe his possession of a *Capuchin*, whereunto he was vowed after the death of his wife: and by the deceale of the last Duke of Ioycuze his brother (drowned neare to Villemur) had left it to succede in the name, gouernment and estate of the deceased. Without attending of any force, he yeelds freely to his Maiesties seruice, and the King opening his armes and heart, makes him partaker of his special fauours, honouring him with the title of Marshall of France, and one of his Lieutenants generall in Languedoc, in the townes, places, and countries he brings to his obedience: giuing him this testimony, that the onely zeale and profession of his religion had made him take armes, without any other pretension whatsoever. By his example the Officers of the Court of Parliament remaining at Tholouza for the exercise of Iustice, the Capitouls, and all the rest of the Citizens, together with all other people of the Prouince of Languedoc, which held the contrary party, vnder the authority of the said Duke, make known vnto the King the desire they haue to yeeld obedience and duty vnto his Maiesty, and their resolution to perseuer therein.

The D. of Guise did second this happy beginning of the yeare, and dorth sweeten the sharpnesse of those losses which the Spaniards had caused vs lately to suffer. He was still vigilant to embrace all occasions that might settle his affaires in his gouernment of Prouence, wherewith the King had newly honoured him, hauing already with the helpe of the Lord of Les Diguiers, reduced Cisterton and Riez to the obedience of this crown, and Martegues, with the tower of Boue, seated at the mouth of the Sea, the towne and citadell of Grasse, with the helpe of the Earle of Carces, and the Lord of Croze: he finds a fit opportunity, to make knowne vnto his Maiesty, that hee had quite forsaken the alliance and correspondency which he had with the Spaniard.

Lewis of Aix, and *Charles* of Casau commanded in Marfeilles with great authority: Marfeilles violent men, and of the Spanish faction, They bargained with *Philip* to sell him this towne of importance, the port of all the Prouince, and the key of one of the chiefe entries of this realme, where the Emperor *Charles* had often knockt, yet could neuer get it open, and for the execution of their design, had already caused some Spanish gallies to approach vnder the command of Prince *Charles* Doria of Genoua. All such as were fled out of Marfeilles, propounded some enterprises vpon the towne to the D. of Guise, but all were weak and of small possibility, yet had he purchased some reproch to faile in his seruice to the King if he had not attempted some one. *Peter* of Liberta commanded at port Reale, a man of courage, and full of affection to the Kings seruice. He acquaints the D. of Guise with his resolution, either to kill or to shut out these two Tribunes, who euery morning at the opening of the gates went with their guards to walke without the towne; that laying an ambush neare vnto the Gate, it would be easie for seize on, to be masters of the Port, and to consequently of the Towne. The Duke thinks well of this enterprise: he takes the name of the gate and of the person, for a presage of good fortune. The gate is called Royall, and the liberty which the Predecessors of the vnder taker had in sold time purchased to the Towne of Calui in Corseca, from whence they came, had deferred this goodly surname of *Liberta*. But the Dukes neare aboad at Aix, held these two petty tyrants in perpetuall distrust. To free them of this iealousie, he retires from Marfeilles, to employ his forces in some place which might breed no distrust in them. Hee doth therefore besiege and take the townes of Hieres, S. Tropez, and Draguignan: blocks vp the citadells, undertakes the siege of La Garde, a small Towne, but with a strong Castle, which the Duke of Elpernon held, being a cornuall to the Duke of Guise, in the gouernment of Prouence: batters the place, makes a breach, and giues two assaults, and euen when as they held him far engaged at this siege, he riseth, retires his Cannon, comes to Toulon the fifteenth of February, giues the Rendezuous to all his troops, at ten of the clocke at night, at Saint Iulian, two leagues from Marfeilles: he approacheth, and sends his Sentinels of horse before to aduertise him of the sign which *Liberta* should giue him, which was to shut the wicket after the Tribunes, or one of them as occasion serued. It was a faire day, when as these Counsils being aduertised that they had discovered sixtine Souldiers, two hundred paces from the gate, *Lewis* of Aix goes forth, and to discouer them he causeth twenty muskets of his guard to aduance: *Barthelem* of Liberta taps to the wicket and shuts *Lewis* out, and *Casau* within. *Munier* Leader of the Dukes Sentinels, seeing

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A hardy resolution.

seeing the signe giuen, sends eight horsemen to charge these musquetiers, and aduanceth A with the rest towards the gate by another way: the footmen present themselves to the charge, as was resolved, but in stead of good reception, the Cannon and small shot plaies on them from the towne. *Casau* meaning to go forth with his guards to follow his companion, *Peter* of *Liberta* thrusts him suddenly through the body: his musketiers charge *Liberta*, his brothers assist him, the Captaines *Heruizen*, *Laurence*, *Imperiali*, and some few others, to whom he had imparted the enterprize, disperse these guards, and set vpon the gate, crying *Liberty by the King*: and by the authority of this name assured many which were vncertain what party to follow. Then with *Liberta* they set themselves to guard the Port. *Lewis* of *Aix* seeing himselfe shut out, and these vnknown men coming to charge B him, found meanes to get ouer the walls, and to enter the towne by a boate which hee found happily, and being accompanied by *Fabio* of *Casau*, the Sonne of *Charles* that was slaine, and five hundred of his friends and partisans, hee comes to force the gate on the town side: but being repulsed, he goes to the Corps-de-garde, that was before the town-house. Here, by some rumour that he heares, he takes an impression of the peoples ill affection towards him. To free himselfe, he makes shew to goe to the other guards, and so goes to Sea with *Fabio* to get Saint Victors port, and to assure himselfe of the rest. Some of his friends march after him, some disperse themselves in the towne, and some begin to cry: *God saue the King, and Liberty*. Retained sore, and the Duke of Guise amazed at this long protraction in the town, thinking the intelligence had bene double, thought C to retire his men engaged in fight, against the musketiers of *Lewis* of *Aix*, when as *Imperial* and *Laurence* come to assure him that *Casau* was slaine. Then began his troops to march into the towne, and for his better assurance, the President *Bernard* in the open street assembles what honest men he could, and ioynes with the Dukes men, promising them that were armed before the Town-house, life, liberty, and freedom: then going to another guard neere to the hauen, and to S. *Iohns* Church, where at the first broile about a thousand men were together in armes, by meanes of the like promise hee easily drew all this multitude, to sound forth that happy cry: *God saue the King, and Liberty*.

These two troops being assured, they visit three or foure other guards, whose attempts were to be feared, some they changed doubting such as commanded, leaving such as D knew desired to be freed from the command of strangers. So as in lesse then an houre and an halfe, they were all dispersed that lately fauoured this new tyranny. Thus the Flower-de-luce, which an vnwholsome winde from Spaine had till now blasted at Marfeilles, recovered its ancient beauty, and the white scarfes, which feare had kept in their coffers, or made them to reiect, were now put on.

Charles Doria growes amazed: he dreames of nothing but of his retreat: but so surprised as he forgot part of his company. The hauen seemed too little to carie forth their least Cock-boate, feare and amazement had so daunted them. The Captaine of Saint *Iohns* Tower, and that of the Moores head might haue staid them, or at the least, hindered their escape: but they were shrunken with the like terror, expecting the last act of E this Tragedy.

The Seigneur of Baufet, Captaine of the Castle d'If, fought to annoy the stranger with his Cannon, but being far off he did them small hurt. *Lewis* of *Aix* had thrust himselfe into S. *Victors* Abbey, and *Fabio* of *Casau* into our Lady of La Garde, but so amazed, as they could not think of their own safeties. Twelue hundred Spaniards being along the hauen, retired to enter into their Gallies: but this generall terror had so daunted them, as they saue themselves, without any remembrance of their men. The D. of Guise chargeth them by the Baron of Sel, Lieutenant of his company of men at armes, and *La Pierre* Captain of his guards, who slew a great number vpon the place, and got about a thousand muskets, hargubuzes, and pikes, and the onely Ensigne which they had, which feare made them forget to their great shame and confusion. The Duke entering into Marfeilles without any troupe, made knowne vnto the people the freeness of his affection, and the assurance he had of them: he confirmed all things for the Kings seruice, disappointed the designs of the factious which remained in the towne, and by his presence did so amaze all the garisons therof, with the Towers and Forts, as they submitted themselves to his discretion, and obeyed the King.

Doubtlesse this young Duke wonne much honor in this action, namely, that the fowldiers

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A diers entred without effusion of blood, and without spoile, restrained by the respect of his presence, they were contented to haue the houses of *Aix* & *Casau* for their booty. On the other side, those of La Fere (hauing nothing free but the ayre, which cannot bee kept from prisoners) suffered (with the hope of succours) the extremest discommodie which might afflict a place strictly besieged. The Cardinal of Austria (newly come from Spaine into Flanders) promised to deliuer the Men supposed this Prince hauing made no profession of a military life, would find smal credit among martial men, who rather follow actions then words, and the example then discipline. But he will teach vs, that the surfeit strokes come from the head: and if the old Duke of Guise could by a gallant stratagem B reconquer a Towne from the English, most important for the Estate of this Crowne, hee in like sort by the like exploit will make himselfe the terror of all Picardy. He departs from Brussels, and giues it out that he will succour La Fere. For his first fruits, hee finds meanes to giue them some reliefe of men and munition in March. Then in April hee causeth his army (being very strong) to turne head towards Calais, besiegeth, batters, and takes both Towne & Castle by assault, against all the resistance of the besieged, and puts many French Gentlemen to the sword, being sent to supply the Castle. The Seneschall of Montimart, commanding the French, and *Aluarez* of *Orsio* the Spaniards in La Fere, hauing for the space of five moneths endured all the toyls of war, and seen the Riuier which in the Towne rise two or three foot by the labor of men, had the 22 of the said month, C by a good composition somewhat recompensed this so notable a losse, if the Cardinall had planted here the limits of his victories. But continuing the propertie of his armes, whilst the Kings are weary, and demand rest, after to great a toyle: he goes in the beginning of May, and camps before Arrdes, a very strong Towne, and notwithstanding their great defence, became Master thereof, the 23 of the moneth, and resolves to people these townes of his new conquests, with strange Colonies, and prepares to add vnto them that of Hulst in Flanders. In the meane time the two armies spend the rest of the Sommer in light roads one into anothers country.

In the beginning of September the Marshall of Biron enters Arthois, takes the Castle of Imbercourt, encounters with five cornets of horse, of the Marquis of Varambon, D followed by five or six hundred horse of combat, chargeth them, he kills all that seek to withstand the violence of his armes, puts the rest in rout, takes the Marquis prisoner, and afterward had forty thousand crownes for his rancome: filled the whole country with feare: then inuading the Countie of Saint *Paul*, hee tooke and spoiled the Towne, and some other places.

The Cardinall busied at the siege of Hulst, hearing that the Marquis was taken, he sent the Duke of Arfcot to command in his place. As he enters into Arras, the French assaile him on the other side, spoile the country about it, and (laden with booty) the Marshall retires safely into the frontiers of Picardy. Being discharged hee returns to Bapaume, spoiles Hebuterne, Benuiller, Courcelles and other places, defeats such as would make E resistance, and caries away more spoile then at the first. And seeing the Duke of Arfcot encamped neare to Arras, vnder the fauor of the Cannon, intrinched carefully and loath to hazard any thing, knowing that he was to deale with one of the happiest and most valiant warriors of Europe, they fire all, and reuenge (as opportunity would suffer them) the Spaniards outrage in places lately taken: they make a road towards Bethune and Theroenne, bring away many prisoners, furnish their places with cattell at the enemies cost, and without any resistance goe and campe in the plaine of Azincourt. The Duke supplied with eight hundred foot, ioyned to the Regiment of Colonell *Bourlart*, parts from Arras the first of October, and goes and encamps at Saint *Paul*. The Marshall leaues Fardly there, returns into Arthois, runs vnto Douay, spoiles all: then returning into Picardy, he gaue the Duke of Arfcot meanes to recouer the Castle of Himbercourt: who content with this conquest, dismisseth his army, and disposed of his companies into garisons. Then by the means of the Duke of Bouillon, the alliance was confirmed and sworn betwixt the King, the Queene of England, and the vnited Prouinces of the Low Countries. For matters past, there is no remedy, and the Politicians hold: that there is no law more vnprofitable, then that which tendeth to reform what is past. The King therefore to settle his affaires, and to provide for the future, resolute not to suffer these new Colonies of Dourlans, Capelle, Chastelet, Cambray, Calais and Arrdes, and with the

Calais and Arrdes taken by the Spaniards.

La Fere lost.

War in Arthois.

An assembly at Rouen in forme of a Parliament.

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new year to renew a deadly war against the Spaniard, which might not be attempted A without a mighty army, nor the army leaue without treasure, the which he could not recover without the help of his subjects: he assembled, in manner of a Parliament, the greatest and most discreet of the three orders of his Realme, at Rouen the fourth of Nouember, where the Inhabitants of their owne voluntary free will, spent foure hundred thousand Crownes to make his Maiesty an honourable reception, where hee received the Garter (a marke of the Order of England) by the hands of the Earle of Shrewsbury.

His Maiesty desired to deferre these two glorious titles of Deliuere and Restorer of his Estate. At his comming to the Crowne he had found France, not onely in a manner ruined, but almost all lost for the French: but by the grace of the Almighty, by the prayers, by the good counsell of his loyall Subjects, (who make no profession of armes) by the sword of his Princes, and of his braue and generous Nobility, by his paines and labour, he had preferred it from losse. *Let vs since now from ruine (said our King, speaking to the Assembly) participate, my deere subjects, with me in this second glory, as you haue done in the first. I haue not called you as my Predecessors did, to make you approue my will. I haue caused you to assemble to haue your counsells, to beleue them and to follow them: finally, to put my selfe into your hands. A desire which seldom commands Kings that haue white hairs, and are Conquerors. But the loue I beare vnto my Subjects, and the exceeding desire I haue to add these two goodly titles to that of King, makes me to finde all easie and honourable.* C The sharpest of winter had laid armes aside, and the excess of raine caused many inundations, whereof amongst others followed that of the Millers bridge at Paris, which sinking on Saint Thomas night, was the losse of three hundred persons, flaine in the ruins of the building, and drowned in the riuer. Whilste they examine the resolutions taken in this honourable assembly, and that the King prepares for a mighty army to chase the Spaniards out of Picardy, behold the capitall City of this Prouince, strong of fear, and well fortified, where his Maiesty pretended to make his Arcenal and store-house for the war, against the Stranger in Arthois, and other Prouinces of the Low Countries, was surprised in the day time, the people being at a Sermon, without force, and without defence, by the practice of some factious, and the careless baseness of the inhabitants, who standing vpon their ancient priuileges, had refused to receiue the Swisses into garison. *Hernand Teillo* Gouverneur of Doullans for the Spaniard, advertised that the Citizens of Amiens (a proud people, and little practised in armes) would not receiue the garison that the King offered them for the preservation of their Towne, hastens the effect of those intelligences he had there, and on munday the 10 of March he attires forty or fifty soldiers like peasants, laden with many burthens, and armed vnderneath with daggers, and short peeces, and marcheth with about seven hundred horse, and 5000 foot: he laies his ambushes neare vnto the Towne, and the next day sends his disguised Soldiers to the gate of Montreuil, following a cart, which being vnder the Portcullis, one of the pretended peasants cuts the horse trace, and by the great disorder of the horse, hinders the liberty of the gate. The others presently discover their armes, seize vpon the Corps-de-guard, and giue a signe to the ambush. The ambush comes horse and foot, and enter into the towne, and goe directly to the market-place: the troops enter, take the fort, and seize vpon the Arcenal and munition which the King had lately sent, & in the end compound with the townsmen for the redeeming of their goods. But at length they had both cloth and siluer, and those of Amiens shall not tast much of the Spaniards command, but the sharpness thereof will make them desire the mildness of the French. The great bell of Beffroy did ring at the first tumult, as it was their manner, but few were moied thereat. Some heard the Sermon, others slept at their ease, and some were contented to shut their shops and to retire themselves into their houses. The Earle of S. Paul was then in the Towne, but seeing the small care and endeavor of the Inhabitants to resist this forraigne inuasion, he gets himselfe out of Amiens with all speed, and retires to Corby: This affront had in shew made the realme without all hope of recovery, and without means to assaile, for the effects of all the Kings designs seemed disappointed in their beginning. They thought Amiens could not be recovered but by surpris, and that the hope to take it would be lost with the enterprize: and now the Spaniard began to thinke that Amiens should be the bounds of the country of Arthois, as in former time vnder Philip D. of Bourgongne.

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A Bourgongne. But when as the affaires require a present remedy, our *Henry* wants neither courage nor counsell. They were hopes built in the ayre. His Maiesty doth speedily be- siege it, giues order that no greater forces may come to raise vp these mountaines of pride, which built the honour of their nation vpon the shame of such a losse: he batters it with fise and forty Cannons, makes the Marshall of Biron Lieutenant in his army, besiegeth it on the strongest part, restraines their sallies, keeps them within their trenches, and approacheth in such sort, as by the midst of July, they might hurt one another with stones: then lodging vpon the ditch, and cutting off the beseged daily in their sallies, or other stratagems, he made *Hernand* to haue the Cardinall to his succour.

B Some place of importance taken from the Spaniard, might in shew serue as a reprimall. Capitaine *Gentil* of Geauaudan, tried all his wits and inuention for this designe, for the effecting whereof he went by night to view the Towne and Castle of Perpignan in the County of Roussillon, and found no difficulty but to leaue men without alarm in the country. Languedoc might furnish sufficient being the frontier, but the Spaniard entertained many secret spies. *Gentil* therefore thinks it best to take them in more remote places, 200 horse were to be leaued in Poitou, who vnder a colour to ioyne with the Duke of Guile, take their way by Guienne to Beziers, and should giue no ialousie in regard of their small number. And 2000 foot, leaued in Viuzare and Geauaudan by the Seigneurs of Fosseuse and Chambauld should crosse base Rouergue, vnder colour of assisting them. C selues by the Kings commandment into Bayonné: (whither by the common brute the Spaniard was bringing an army) and by the rocky and hidden waies should defend on the side of Beziers, soone after the taking of Perpignan: faigning to take the way to Thoulouze to recouer Bourdeaux, and from thence Bayonne. This resolution being taken, *Gentil* imparts it to the Seigneur of Pleffis Mornay at Saumur, and to the Constable at Paris, they allow of it, and hee, assuring himselfe to take the Castle at the first without Petard, during the long nights, he might from the Castle (being furnished with about thirty peeces of Ordnance) thundering into the enemies trenches, bring his troops into the Towne: and the brute of this vnexpected newes would haue armed 20000 men in Languedoc in 8 daies to inuade all the county of Roussillon. The King himselfe held it D feasible, and caused dispatches to be made to *Gentil*, as well for himselfe as for *Fosseuse*, and *Chambauld*. But at the instant pursuit of the Bishop and Inhabitants of Mende, his Maiesty hauing commanded that the Citadell should be dismantled, and *Fosseuse* Gouvernor of the place, pretending recompence for some charges, before hee would suffer the Cannon to be transported. The King commanded the Duke of Vantadour to besiege him within Mende, in the month of August, and to force him to that which hee would not willingly yeeld vnto.

They of Perpignan thinke this siege attempted to surpris them, and stand vpon their guards: notwithstanding his Maiesty giueth order for another leauey in Languedoc by the Lords of Spondillan, Conas, Montbafen, Legues, and other chiefe men of that Cly- E mat; but whose actions being neare the frontier, could not be hidden from the enemy. Thus *Gentil* seeing his designe anticipated from the longest nights to the shortest in the year, and that those of Languedoc were employed therein, he thought it could hardly be successful. The Marshall d'Ornano had the conduct of this enterprize. Ten or twelue thousand men follow him confusedly as to a certaine victory. But the most part are thrust on with the glistering of the doubloons of Spaine, and with a desire of spoile. And can we wonder if heaven doth not blesse those enterprizes, where the consideration of priuate gaies doth march before that of the publike good? Hee was not come out of Dauphiné where he was Gouverneur, before all the neighbour Prouinces were posselt of it: and aduertisements were come out of Spaine to them that were threatened. Vpon their F approaches to the towne, the Marshalls guide wandered in the night. The Petards were brought neare vnto the town gate, but the rolling bridges to ioyne vnto the draw-bridge could not be made ready before day. The towne was barricadoed euen vnto the gates, and the Cannon planted. All the whole county did shine with the fires that were made: this enterprize being vnder taken with too much brute, and some of the chiefe commanders, swallowing vp all the best spoiles of an imaginary conquest, learned that it is a rashness to diuide the Beares skin before the beast be taken: moreover, reason would not but the author of a goodly enterprize should haue the principall conduct, to the end

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that

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Effects of the
war in Britany

In Campagne.

that he should either reape the honour of his exploit, or the blame of his error. *Gentil A* is knowne to be capable for such effects, and if many during our incivill wars had performed thelike stratagemes both in quality and quantity to him. France had not so long groaned vnder the burthen of her miseries. All France did in the meane time run to the siege of Amiens: all Europe attended the issue, and did iudge that the end thereof would be the beginning of our slavery, or of our liberty. But whilst the plague afflicts the besieged, that many and sundrie exploits of war diminish their numbers, and many remain vnprofitable, by reason of their wounds: let vs wander a little into some other Provinces both within and without the Realme, whereas their war hath any thing common with ours. The want and dearth of victualls afflicted Britany in the moneth of May, and forced the Marshall of Brissac in Iuly, to diuide and separate some troops which he had gathered together, to preferre some Parishes about Rennes, which the enemies threatened to spoile. The Lord of Saint Laurence, Lieutenant for the D. of Mercœur in his army, desirous to visit the said Duke, lately come to Chasteaubriant, and to giue him newes of some braue stratagem, takes six companies of men at armes with his owne, the regiment of Tremereuc, brother to S. Laurence, fortie Harguebuziers out of euery company of the garisons of Dinan, and some other troops both of horse and foot, making 600 or 700 men, and comes to lodge at Maure, seuen leagues from Rennes. The Lords of Tremblay, la Troche, Teny, la Courbe, Beaumont, and Pomeray, being lodged at Messac vpon Villaine, three leagues from Maure with some forces, march by the Marshalls commandment to fight with S. Laurence: they finde hee was dislodged, follow and ouertake him within three hundred paces, charge the troops led by Tremereuc, appointed to make retreat, kill about 60, and force the rest to fly to their maine strength. They presse them in such sort, as they must either suffer themselves to be slain without resistance, or else fight: they turne head, take a place of aduantage in a field well ditched about, and there make some resistance. But seeing Tremereuc, brother to S. Laurence already taken prisoner, *La Pomeray* Captaine of Dinan, and *Vieux Ville*, slaine vpon the place, with about 150 souldiers, and some members of Companies, all giue way, all fly, all are put to rout, and the most part falling into the peasants hands, finde lesse mercy with them, then they had done rigor with the victors. This was the twentieth of Iuly. On the other side, as the Spaniard had set one foot into Picardy, so did hee long labour to cast the other into Campagne, and had many designs vpon the Townes lying vpon the riuier of Menue, Messires, Sedan, Mouzon, Villefranche, Rocroy, and Maubert. Fontaine: but the care and loyalty of the Gouenours, hauing alwaies made frustrate the hope of his enterprises, hee now conuerts his open force into secret intelligences and dishonest practises.

Villefranche is a very small towne, or rather a corps-de-gard made of foure square bastions, built by King Francis the first, to serue as a bar against the incursions of the Bourguignons (so they call all the King of Spaines subiects lying vpon this frontier, and euen those of the Duchy of Luxembourg) and falling into strangers hands, it opened them the gate to enter into Champagne, and gaue them an assured retreat to fauour their inroads. To this intent *Gaucher*, late one of those souldiers which they call of Fortune, being come within ten yeares to some credit by armes, practiseth with some souldiers of the garison, to sell and deliuer him the place. These souldiers giue care to this traffike, entertaine *Gaucher*, but with as crosse a hope as his name was vntoward and eiminous, for they impart the matter to *Tremet* Gouernour of Villefranche, commanding one company of men at armes, and three of foot. *Tremet* by this trafficke, pretends a great effect for the Kings seruice, commands the souldiers to deale more plainly with this Captain, imparts it to the Earle of Grandprie, to Rumelnil, and to *Estuieaux* Gouernour of Mouzon, Maubert, and Sedan, and draws from them assistance of men, and means to frame a double intelligence. These Merchants treat with *Gaucher*, agree vpon the time & houre to deliuer their ware, they receiue some money in hand, and take his word for the rest.

The fourth of August at night was appointed for the execution, and for a signe a Cannon should be discharged. But *Rumelnil* had the night before brought in a supply of men, needfull for the preferuation of the place, and with the rest hee lay in ambush halfe a league from the Towne, as *Gaucher* should passe. *Gaucher* approacheth, hee causeth all his troops to light, a quarter of a league from Villefranche, puts a part of them very secretly into the ditch, and followes with the rest to second the first attempt: but at all aduacatures

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Gaucher deli-
ted.

War in Saouy.

Maurienne
taken.

A aduentures he causeth his horse to be led after him. The first enter by fauour of the souldiers: the signe is giuen, and being giuen, those which thought to surpris, find themselves surpris'd: all are put to the sword, consumed by wild-fire, or drowned in the ditch. *Rumelnil* comes out of his ambush at the same time, chargeth *Gaucher* behinde, kills three hundred men vpon the place, and suffers few of his enemies to escape, through fauour of the night: finally, of five or six hundred men which he brought, scarce fifty escaped death or imprisonment, and had it not bene for the horse which *Gaucher* held ready to fauour his flight, he had not escaped the victors hands.

Let vs passe into Saouy, and see the progresse of the Kings forces, the taking of places, and victories obtained. This warre shall helpe much for the recovery of Amiens, for they diuert the forces of Saouy from molesting of the King in sundry places at once: for the managing whereof, the Lord *Les Diguieres* parted from Court in the end of March, with the title of the Kings Lieutenant Generall, gathers together about 600 horse, and 5000 foot, in the moneths of April, May, and Iune: enters into Maurienne, a Country depending on the Duchy of Saouy, the high way to Piedmont and Italy, surpasseth with much labour and toile the difficulties of the wayes, rocks, and steepe hills: in the end he recouers the top of the mountaine, finds there a Corps-de-gard of 500 men well fortified, and with his tyred army chargeth them with such fury, as the enemy not able to withstand their force, is constrained to quit the place. Presently the army comes to Saint Iohn of Maurienne, the chiefe towne of the Country, and seizeth on all the valley.

C These conquests as suddenly executed, as wisely attempted, thrust on the Conqueror to goe and fight with certaine Spaniards which were sent into Flanders to oppose against the prosperous successe of *Cant Maurice*: but the bridges being broken, and the waters very great, stayed his passage. Hereupon newes come, that *Dona Sanchio* Earle of Salines, General of the Duke of Saouyes light horse, is about Bragorant with a part of the Dukes army. *Les Diguieres* marcheth thither, chargeth the Earle, makes him to quit the Castle of Saint Michel, and some other villages where he had fortified himselfe, chafeth him by Mont-Senys into Piedmont, and so hotly, as the most part, to make themselves more light cast away their armes. Being thus peaceably possessed of all Maurienne, he fortifies S. Iohn D and the Castle of Saint Michel, and seizeth on all the forts that might serue for the safety of the Country.

To stay the Conquerors course, the Duke of Saouy passed the mountaines, by the valley of Aust with three thousand Italians, and a good number of horse, and came by Chambery into Tarentaise, where his army remained vnder the command of the Earle of Martinengues, consisting of eight hundred horse, and six thousand foot: he came and encamped beyond the riuier of Isere (yet vnder the fauour of the Cannon of Montmelian) at the Castle of Saint Helena. *Les Diguieres* continues his conquests, hee approacheth within musket-shot of the Duke, besiegeth and takes the tower of Aiguebelle, the castles of Rochette, of Villars-Saller a house of the Earles of Montmaieur, de L'huile and Chamoux, and besiegeth the fort of Chamouisset, being defended by *Philippin*, bastard brother to the Duke of Saouy, places very commodious and profitable for victuals and forage, and which stopt the passage from Saouy into Maurienne.

Here newes come to *Les Diguieres*, that the Duke raiseth a fort on the other side of Isere, to assure the passage for his army, and meanes to lodge at Chamouisset, a place of great aduantage, which might greatly annoy the Kings army and the passage betwixt Dauphine and it. This fort was of a triangular forme, made defensive, and raised the height of a pike in one night, it was guarded by 600 choice souldiers out of the whole army of Saouy, & fortified with many gentlemen of the dukes Court. *Les Diguieres* views it, and propounds it in Councell, & according to their aduice that were about him, saures F it with some volley of Cannon, opens it at one point, sends 2000 harguebuziers, commanded by the Lord of Crequy his sonne in law, who seconded by a troop of horse, enter furiously into the fort, and in despite of their obstinate resistance, and the force of foure peeces which played incessantly from the other side of the riuier along the flanks of the said fort, they carried it in fight of the Duke, and kill by the sword and water about foure hundred men, and many of the Dukes Gentlemen, who was in person in his army beyond the riuier of Isere: and forced the fort. The Baron of Chauniruc borne in the Countie was slaine there, the Colonell was taken prisoner, and the Castle of Chamouisset

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yielded

1597 yielded the next day by composition. The towre of Charbonniere, a place strong of A situation, which couers Aiguebelle, and might be made fit to annoy Montmelian, seeing their Capitaine and many others slaine with the Cannon, came likewise into the victors power.

The Castle of Aignille remaind yet, a strong place both by nature and art, vpon the side of a mountaine, inaccessible of one side, hauing on the other a double ditch, with a thick rampar betwixt both, yet was it taken after two hundred Cannon shot. This place assured all Maurienne, and that which lies beyond Isere to his Maiesties obedience from *Mont Senys* vnto *Montmelian*. The supplies the Duke expected, caused the Lances of *Sauoy* to remaine in quiet. Being now fortified with two thousand five hundred *Suisses*, and B as many *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*, he comes with all this army to lodge about *Montmelian*, and resolues to set vpon the Kings army. To free him of some part of this trouble, *Des Diguieres* turnes towards him with his forces, and comes to incamp at *Mollettes*, halfe a league from *Montmelian*, the river of *Isere* being betwixt them. The Duke passeth the river vpon a bridge of boates made nere vnto that of *Montmelian*, and lodgeth at the Castle of *Saint Helena*, right against *Molette*, places some what high, and within Cannon shot one of another, separated by a great meadow and a fenne; at the first they salute one another by skirmishes, and if the *Sauoisians* had done what they might, they had greatly annoyed our men, who were not lodged nor scarce armed. The night approaching ended the combat, with the losse of a hundred good men, and gaue meanes to the Kings C troops to take breath, and prepare to be reuenged with vsurie. The next day the Duke shews 15000 foot, and 1500 horse, in battaile, in this great meadow, but with such advantage, as no man might charge them. *Des Diguieres* intrencheth himselfe at the foot of the meadow: euery master of the Camp, euery Capitaine takes his quarter, and by the care of the Lord of *Crequi* commanding the foot, the Kings campe was in short time out of present danger, which seemed to threaten their ruine. In the meane time they faile not on either side to trie their swords, and pistolls, two to two, three to three, troop to troop, and nothing but a simple ditch, yet deepe and full of water, keeps the two armies from a bloodie fight.

Thus for some dayes these warriors inflamed their resolutions, when as the Duke of D *Sauoy* propounded to his Councell a great designe, for the execution whereof the fourteenth of August by eight of the clocke in the morning, he secretly drawes three thousand men into a great wood, nere to the trenches of the Kings army, lodgeth his *Suisses* with a battaillon of foot on another side, sets his horse in a vallie, and encouraging them by his presence, causeth about two of the clocke a Cannon to be discharged, for a signe of a cruell and bloodie battaile, but fuller of passion then of iudgement. The losse fell vpon himselfe: the Kings troops, both horse and foot, were with a firme resolution prepared to withstand their force. They come to skirmish: the noyse of the Cannon drownes all other sounds, the fire of the shot inflames the ayre and seemed for five houres together to dazell the light of the Sunne: the meadow is couered with dead carcasses, the enemies E blood dies the brookes, and inflames our men to fight. The Seigneur of *Crequi* receiues a musket shot in the right arme: but the Lion is chafed and stormes at the sight of his owne blood. So retyring himselfe apart vnder a tree to be drest, he returns speedily to his companions, and burning with a generous heat of reuenge, shewes that he is a right heire, both in blood and verue to that braue Lord of *Pontdormy*, who hath so often heretofore died his sword and arme in the blood of the stranger being enemy to this Crowne. About twelve hundred men slaine or hurt made the day famous, and made the *Sauoisien* lose all desire to trie any more the firme resolution of our men, grounded vpon the right of a most iust offensive warre.

If all this great armie, neither by the thunder of their Cannons, nor the furie of their F shot, neither by the force of their men at armes, could any thing shake the constancie of our men, doth Colonnell *Ambrose* thinke to preuaile more with five hundred naturall *Spaniards* assailing a Corps-de-gard, placed on the side of a fenne: but he doth increase their flame, in stead of reuenging their publike losse. The Seigneurs of *Baume* and *Poët* receiue him with such resolution, as they kill a hundred and fiftie vpon the place, and take many prisoners: the rest they force to cast away their armes, to be the more light to flie. The Duke spent the night to burie his men, and to carrie away the wounded: then he dislodged

A dislodged the sixteenth, and went to lodge at a village called *Barraux* beyond *Isere*, at the entry of the valley of *Griffuauand* towards *Grenoble*, and there begins a fort, buyling himselfe in the building thereof vnto the end of November. This change of lodging inuaird our men to do the like. *Des Diguieres* comes to lodge at *Castle Bayard*, and his army at *Pont-Charra*, halfe a league from the enemy, the river being betwixt them: hee keeps his men in continuall skirmish, to the enemies losse, and by this placing of his campe, makes the enemy doubt that he would attempt the passage to *Eschilles*. To crosse him the Duke sends many troops to enter by the valley of *Pragelas* into the countrie of *Briancon*, and to shut vp the passage in case he were besieged. The check he receiued countenanced the first. The water, the sword, and the steepe mountains, denoued a greater B number of his men, then the skirmishes of *S. Helene* and *Molettes*.

Behold a third, which shewes that God doth fauour the iust cause of armes, and makes their effects happie against the iniustice of vsurpers. The eight of September, the Lord *Des Diguieres* (who lets not slip any occasion) is aduertised that *Sanchez* Earle of *Salines*, (to draw him to succour his owne Province, and to leaue *Sauoy*) goes to spoyle about *Grenoble* with five hundred masters diuided into two bands of horse.

To adde this victory to the former, he sends two houres before day, the Seigneurs of *Baume*, *Authun*, and *Saint Iure* with two hundred horse, and a hundred *Carbins* to lie in ambush in an Island in the midst of the river of *Isere*. At the breake of day, the Earle C passeth in fight of them: they suffer him to aduance about halfe a league, then they issue forth of their ambush, and wade through the other part of the river to their sadle skirts, they ouertake the Earle at *La Frette*, charge him furiously, kill *Dom Iohn de Sequano* frist

Ar La Frette. Captain of the horse, *Dom Roario*, *Dom Probie*, with many other Commanders and men at armes, to the number of two hundred; and by the taking of *Dom Euangeliste*, who led the second troupe of the Earle of *Gatinari*, of *Dom Iohn Tac*, brother in law to the Earle, and three score others, they end the combat, and returne with honour, having lost but sixe men in this bold encounter. Some daies after, the Lord *Des Diguieres* passeth the river with most part of his horse, at *Chaparrouillon*, and there charging a troupe of the enemies, which made a good shew by the fauour of some trenches, gaue the Seigneurs of D *Crequi* and *Buiffe* the second honor of this victorie.

The last of October, the Kings armie ill lodged at *Pontcharra*, retyred about *Grenoble*: from thence *Des Diguieres* sent foure regiments towards *Barcelonne*, and surmounting the toile of the way, being of most hard access for the Cannon, tooke *Allost*: then in the end of November, *Saint Genis*, to disappoint the intelligences which the Duke of *Sauoy* might haue with some ill affected in *Dauphine*. But a few daies before the Earle of *Roche* had failed by the meanes of *Albigny* a yonger brother of *Gordes*, to deliuer the towne of *Romans* to the *Sauoisien*: for *Saint Ferriol*, that commanded in his absence, had some incking: who by the aduertisement he gaue to the Officers of the Parliament, whom the plague had transported to *Romans*, he faued the towne from the rule of a Stranger.

E The Duke wonderfully grieved to haue failed of *Romans*, retires to *Chambery*, and the Lord of *Crequi* with some regiments to *Maurienne*, very happily to make his coming famous: for hauing first by the assistance of the Lord of *Paquieres*, kept *Dom Amedee* the Dukes bastard brother, from passing with his troops on the side of the mountains, hee made the way open for a braue and generous stratagem. The Earle of *Carraul* would likewise passe with a regiment of twelve ensignes, and two Cornets of horse. *Crequi* parts before day from *S. Iohn* of *Maurienne*, marcheth directly towards him, encounters him at *Saint Andre*, chargeth, defeats, takes him prisoner with all the Commanders, and for a monument sends their colours and Cornets to the King, which hang yet as a trophie in our Ladies church at *Paris*, to his Maiesties great content. Let vs now see the countenance F of them that were besieged at *Amiens*. If there were valour without to win the wall, there was resolution within to burie themselves in the ruines thereof, rather then to abandon it.

The batterie continued with a strange furie. The extraordinary deep trenches, the sap and myne, the attuall of the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Bouillon*, and the troops which increased dayly, gaue hope to the Citizens of *Amiens*, soone to see themselves vnder the milde command of their lawfull Prince, and to returne to their ancient fortunes. The fallies, plagies, hurts, and other infirmities, had diminished the besieged to the number of two thousand: the diuersitie of nations threatned some new change, the soldiers

The Duke of
Savoie defeated
at S. Helene and Mo-
lettes.

Ar Pont-
Charra.

Ar La Frette.

Ar Chaparrou-
illon.

Ar S. Andre.

Siege of A-
miens.

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diers would no more trust the cunning and vaine promises which *Hernando* gave them by A counterfeit Letters from the Cardinall: the old and bad drugges killed in stead of curing: finally the Letter of *Hernando* to the Cardinall being intercepted, gives a very sufficient testimonie of the vrgent necessitie which leads him to his ruine. *It is now time* (said he) *that we cease to write, for I labour with the soldiers and Burgeses at the rauein, where within few dayes I attend a continuall battery of the enemy on three parts. Mans reason sayes vs: our hope is in God, and in your Highnesse speedy comming to giue battell, or to receive it. We attende the second causes should worke.*

There is no lesse honour to keepe well, then to make a goodly conquest. To practise this ancient saying, the Cardinall hauing assembled foure thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, with eghteen Cannons, and fixe or six hundred wagons chained together, to serue as a barricado, and to inclose his campe, he marched to vngage or to succour the besieged, publishing in all places, that he would giue battell. But before hee approached, he sends to discouer the way which he was to take, and where he might lodge nearest to the towne. This charge he giue to *Contreras*, Commissary general, who led the troope to *Don Gaston Spinola* and *Taffedo* Marshalls of the campe, to *Don Ambros Landriano* Lieutenant general of the Light-horse, *Don Iohn Bracamont*, to *Colonell Bourlote*, *Nicholas Basso* and other chiefe Commanders of his army. These to giue the lesse alarm, take about 400 choise horse, and make a shew as if they would come but to Dourlans: but they giue order that the troops of horse at Dourlans, Hefdin and Bapaume should bee ready when they passed.

Thus increased by the said garisons, and making a troope of nine hundred or a thousand horse, the nine and twentieth of August they come beneath Saint Quirieu, a village vpon the banke of a small riuer, two leagues from the Kings quarter: and begin to view the said lodging. A troope of light-horse and Carabins comming from an ambush which they layed, discouer them, the Seigneur of Heucourt doth aduertise the King at six of the clocke in the morning.

Behold one of the effects of his Maiesties speedy resolution, of his great iudgement in warre, and his exceeding diligence in his executions. Behold moreover a patterne of that happinesse which attended him at this siege, and the earnest penny of an absolute victorie which God prepared for him against his enemies. Two alarms had kept the King waking the rest of the night, and he now began only to take a little rest. Hee riseth, goes to horse, hauing about him the Master of his horse and some Noblemen: he passeth by the *Carabins* quarter, commands them to horsehacke with some light-horse, commands the Constable to stay in the quarter to giue order to all euent, and goes directly where the enemy had bene discouered, more with an intent to prouide for the places which they might haue viewed, then to fight: thinking they would not haue bene so slacke in the retreat, being neere vnto an army led by so vigilant a Commander. The Marshal of Biron comes posting after him, the Lord of Montigny brings a troope of light-horse. Some Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court post thither in haste, to haue their part thereof.

His Maiesty makes a battailion 200 horse, and 150 Carabins. Hee pursues them with all speed to Encre, seuen Leagues from his quarter, hee puts his Carabins before, who seeing themselves seconded by his Maiesty, charge resolutely, and so amaze them, as seeing the King so neere them, and knowing him very well, they breake, and take their flight diuers wayes, leauing them that were appointed for the retreat, or such as were not well mounted. There were about forty slaine at the first charge, and about two hundred of the best being prisoners, gaue the Carabins meanes to furnish themselves with horse, armes, and apparell.

To make this victory absolute, his Maiesty sends the Marshall of Biron with the Lord of Montigny before, and halfe his troope with them: the other hee keeps with himselfe, pursues them within a League of Bapaume, tithes their troope by the way, and doth not abandon them vntill they came within view of their retreat: he takes two Cornets from them, and kills or takes fixe hundred horsemen. The generall ioy thereof in the army brought the newes vnto the besieged, who by a heauy and mournfull silence shewed they had no pleasure therein.

But see, the third of September the death of *Hernand Tiello* slaine with a Musket, at the defence of the rauein which his Maiesty caused to bee assailed, assisting them with a pub-

The Cardinall
of Austria
Marshall of his
camp defeated.

Hernand Tiello
slaine.

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A a publike sorrow, giues the Citizens as assurance of a speedy deliuey, and the assailants to conceiue a certaine hope of victory. There is no so great prosperitie, but is crossed with some aduersitie, and trouble. Two dayes after, the Lord of Saint *Lue*, Gouernour of Brouage and great Master of the Artillery of France, slaine in the trenches, obtained that graue and worthy testimony of his valour from his Maiesties mouth, to haue lost that day a most valiant and faithfull seruant, leauing his people much grieved, and the whole campe lamenting this generall losse to France, as of one of the brauest Captaines of his age.

In the meane time the Cardinall approached, vnting that he would fight within foure B dayes. Yet had hee no inclination to put it in practice. The King to draw him to battell, preuents the policy which the enemy would vse to succour the place: he takes his place of battell on the top of Long-pré, a quarter of a league behinde the inclosure of his campe, intrenched as well to saue themselves from the cannon shot of the towne, and from theirs that came to succor them. And to keepe the enemy from sending in any succors on the other side of the riuer, he leaues the Lords of Montigny, La Neue, de Vicques and Cluseaux, there with three thousand foot, and foure hundred horse.

The fifteenth of the said moneth, the towne being reduced to that estate, as without succors it must needs yeeld of it selfe, the Cardinall in the morning casts two artificiall bridges vpon the riuer of Somme, where through the fauour of his forces and cannon he C passeth two thousand, fixe hundred men, amongst which were eight hundred choise captaines, to thrust themselves into the towne, and about two of the clocke he shewes himselfe in the view of Long-pré, with an order which in shew did promise a generous attempt. But the diligence of his Maiesties courage without feare, and the wise order hee presently gaue at his arrival, changed their braue countenance into a cowardly and base feare. The King leaues three thousand men to guard the trenches against the sallies of the towne: he presently marcheth with all his troopes to the place of battell, and plants his Cannon to his best advantage.

The Artillery of the besieged and of them that came to succor them, thunders, but they D passe ouer his Maiesties esquadrons. Our men during this siege haue bene well acquainted with the shot of the Cannon, but they stand firme like rockes. They tyre the enemy with continuall skirmishes, the Cannon mightily annoyes them, the admirable government of the Leader, and the firme resolution of the assailants doth so terrifie them, as at the first attempt they thinke of a retreat, and presently they retire to the quarter where the Kings light horse did lodge by the riuers side. The foure aboue named Colonels hauing discouered the Cardinals Stratagem, charged them that came to succor the towne, kill, take, & force the whol body to repasse the riuer in disorder, and to abandon their bridges. The King seeing the enemy lodged alongst the riuer, passeth three cannons ouer the water, shootes at them, and doth annoy their lodging, and remaining all night on the place of battell, abates the ioy which the besieged had shewne by the number of fires which E they had made. So the Cardinall seeing all his attempts fruitlesse, in stead of turning head to the towne, or against the French troopes, he begins very early in the morning to retire and to take an other lodging on the mountaine of Vignancourt.

The King follows him with foure thousand horse, and twelve thousand foot, lodgeth vpon the next hill and a great valley betwixt them, continues foure or fixe houres in battell before their army, prouokes them by his Cannon and continuall skirmishes, views all their forces, number, forme and countenance, and seeing them disposed to retire, determines to charge them in their lodging. But it is good sometimes to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy. Moreover, it was a great glory for his Maiesty to haue shamefully chased him away, without raising the siege from so great a towne, and to haue pursued F him with the Cannon three Leagues.

They take a contrary way, and couer the right wing of their army, which lay next to the French, with their waggons chained together, they cause their horse to aduance into the head of the army in forme of a halfe moone, and their foot into battalions, diuided into forward, battell and reuerward: they place their Cannon in the head of these esquadrons, in this sort they place their troopes, and their baggage in safety, making a shew sometimes as if they would charge. But seeing, that to come to the gates of the City besieged, they must force through the Kings army, which being in battell did fight with

S. Luc slaine.

The Cardinall
approacheth.

their

their countenances and gesture, they haue no will to attempt this passage, and by their speedy retreat, giue all France an assured hope to be soone freed from this strange nation, which sought to ruine it. The besieged are now forced to yeeld to the victors law. This shamefull retreat hath ouerthrowne their first resolution. Their practices, inuentions, engines, their incredible labour to cast vp earth, their many Cannons, their deepe trenches, their continuall watching, nor the strength of the place, could not keepe the assaillants from lodging vpon their rampier and ravelin, and so neare, as they came to handy blows. So two daies after, the Marquis of Montenegro, who commanded in the towne after the death of *Hernand*, doth promise to yeeld the place, if within six daies he be not succoured with two thousand horse that should enter into the towne.

Amiens yeeld
ed and the
Spaniards
depart.

So was it said, and so done. The time inquired the Cardinall, and gaue him leasure, being with all his forces within feuen leagues of the towne, but he had neither will nor power to relieue them. And therefore according to the capitulation made the nineteenth, that the souldiers should depart with their armes, their matches light, their colours flying, and drums sounding, with their horse and baggage, and whatsoever they could cary away of theirs: the 25 of the moneth, his Maiefty hauing put his army in battell, sent the Constable, the Marshall of Biron, the Duke of Montbascon, and the Lord of Vicques to the Port of Beauuais where the garison should come forth, who comming to the gate, the bridge is let downe, and the Marquis comes forth on horse-backe alone, but followed by a hundred and thirty horse, and as many Harguebuziers on foot for the guard of his person. They receiue him, and conduct him to his Maiefty, who attended him halfe a league from the towne: the King was accompanied with his white Cornet, wherein were about seuentene hundred horse, and fue hundred Suisses, hauing about him the Prince of Conty, the Dukes of Montpensier, Neuers, and Nemours, the Prince of Ioinuille, the Marshalls of France, and other Noblemen in great numbers, mounted vpon goodly Couriers with rich caparisons: he doth embrace him most graciously, and then dismisseth him. He goes to horse, and by the Kings commandement, the Constable conducts him two leagues vnto the confines of the King of Spaines territories.

All the Spanish Capitaines and others both horse and foot, passing by his Maiefty, light from their horses and kisse his boote, with great humility and reuerence, and follow their Leaders, being receiued by the King with courteous words. After the Marquis and his guard, followed about 1000 women of bale quality, amongst the which some foure hundred of the towne marched willingly, a hundred and threecore waggons, laden with all kinde of baggage, and vpon them about 300 men sicke of the plague, and wounded, foureene hundred shot, and six hundred corslets well appointed, and in the end ten companies of horse, six of men at armes Lancers, and foure of Carabius, which made in all about fue hundred horse.

The King hauing not by policy, but by the most memorable attempt, and the greatest glory of armes that might be, pulled this strong Towne out of the strangers paws, without the recovery whereof he was in danger to be lost, and plunged in the gulfe of miseries: he entred the same day into Amiens towards night, triumphant and victorious, as into his owne towne recovered from the enemy, accompanied with a thousand gentlemen on horse-backe, and receiued with a wonderfull ioy and applause of all the people: he lighted at our Ladyes Church, and caused solemne thanks to be giuen to God: hee placed twenty companies of foot, and three of horse in Garison, and gaue the Government thereof to the Lord of Vicques. Doublesse, O Lord, wee haue reason herein to admire the wonders of thy mercy! The supprise of this place seemed late a Charybdis, to swallow vp the greatest part of France. But it is not now alone, that the iudgments of God doe make vs know, that if he puls vs downe with one hand, hee raiseth vs vp with the other; and if we be vpon the brink of our destruction, he retires vs by the hand to saue vs. So his prouidence subuerted the designs of the Spaniard, who by this trophie promised to extend his conquests, & recouer those places and prouinces which he had lost. So from the trouble bred by the enemies of this estate, grew the aduancement of our quiet, from their pernicious practices, the assurance of the country, & seding of inconstant minds from their vniust attempts & violence: one of the greatest actions that hath been of long time for the good of France, and preservation of this Monarchy. The losse of Amiens was shamefull, but the recovery glorious: the taking strange, but the reduction admirable, at his enemies

A enemies nose, and in view of his armie. Finally, a reduction, which giues as much consolation as the inuasion brought desolation.

The Cardinals retreat puts the King in hope, that God would doe him iustice, for the wrongs that he and his had done vnto his Realme: with this designe hee marcheth with his troopes, and 18 peeces of Cannon to Dourlans, into the which the Cardinall in passing had put some of the best men of his army, with a great conuoy of victuals and munition of warre. He presents himselfe, and seekes by all means to draw them out of the precinct of their walles. But being loth to aduenture any thing, his Maiesty passeth into Arthois, fills the Country with feare and terrour, goes vnto the gates of Arras, into the which the Cardinall had shut himselfe, dischargeth fue, and twenty or thirty volleies of Cannon, makes a stand there: and by all the deuices which a generous and warlike mind may inuent, he seekes to draw him to fallly forth, and to see some braue exploit of his men at armes.

Roades into
Arthois.

In the end, his Maiesty not able by any stratagem to heat these cold humors which did freeze their hearts through feare, the rest of his victorious army, after so great toyle, endured in so long and painfull a siege, the raine and the sharpnesse of winter which approached called him backe to prouide for a people, who by the negligence of their owne health, had lately, as it were, enclosed within their walls the destiny of France, and to passe into Britany, to finish that great worke, for the restoring of this Monarchy, that afterwards he might with all his forces, set vpon the common enemy of his Estate, if the negotiation of peace betwixt these two mighty warriors, practised by the Pope, a common father, did not take effect.

The Kings
retreat.

But before we proceed, let vs see the last acts of the Tragedy that was played in Sauoy. The discomforts of the lodging of Pont-Charra, caused the Kings army to winter about Grenoble, and the extraordinary Snow stops the passages from Daulphiné into Sauoy. The Duke of Sauoy embraceth the time and occasion, to recouer the Country of Mauryenne. He parts in February with twelve Cannons, and by the induction of Albigny, camps before Aiguebelle. At the first brute hereof, *Des Diguieres* sent the Lord of Crequy, vnder the authority of Lieutenant general for the King in Sauoy: hee causeth him to passe the rough and steepe mountaines on foot, where through the rigor of the season, appeared no traces of man on the side of *Puissigny*, to march more safely, accompanied onely with feuen or eight Gentlemen. He arriues happily at S. Iohn of Mauryenne, findes that the Seigneur of Pasquieres, commanding in the said place, had fortified the approaches of the bridges of Amefrex and Hermillon with good barricadoes, and finished them with speed. The sixt of March the Duke puts his Cannon in battery, and the next day *Arce* Captaine of the said place, yeelds it vpon composition not to ioyne with *Crequy* but to returne towards Grenoble. They supposed this place would haue held at the least fixe weekes: and the Sauoisien, to decieve the Seigneur of Crequy, being lodged but three leagues from him, continues shooting his Cannon into the aire, to persuade him that the place was not yet yeilded. *Crequy* abused by this stratagem of *Albigny*, marcheth with a good troope of foot, to take some lodging from the enemy, thinking that Aiguebelle did yet hold good. But God will haue man to know that he is man, and that his condition makes him subiect to the chances of this world. Hee findes the Duke before him, being dillogged, the eight of the moneth, and thinking it some troope gone forth to the warre, he aduanceth neere, and with a furious charge seekes to open a way through the enemy. The whole army comes vpon him, and as hee thinks to recouer his Barricadoes by the sides of the hills, as they gaue him hope, hee findes the snow had stopp the passages, and finally compassed in on all sides, hee is forced to take a Law from the stronger, and by his imprisonment to redeeme the liberty of *Pasquieres*, his Captains and souldiers. The duke proceedes, and taking all Mauryenne, by composition, makes great designs vpon the towne of Grenoble, by the means of a fort which he had built to cower his Country on the side of Montmelian and Chambery.

Crequy taken
Prisonier.

The fort was vpon the frontier of Daulphiné, about a quarter of a League within the Kings Country towards Grenoble, vpon the side of a hill above the village of Barreaux, kept by *Bellegarde* a Gentleman of Sauoy, with feuen companies of foot, and furnished with all munition necessary, but made rather by ostentation (hauing as a great wonder sent the plot therefore almost to all the Potentates of Christendome) then by any necessity,

1597 fity, the place lying neare to Montmelian the chiefe fortresse of Sauoy, from whence he A might commodiously make his designes vpon Grenoble.

Printed Saint
Bartholomew

Grenoble did wonderfully apprehend this eye-fore, and *Des Dignieres* having dispersed the Kings army for to winter, framed many designes and enterprises at Grenoble vpon this fort (the which, for that it was made defensible the eue before *S. Bartholomewes* day, the Duke called it by that name), and had attempted it by siege, if he had not beene pressed with the want of the chiefe finewes of war. In the end, vrged by his duty, and moued by the misery of his Maiesties subiects, and pressed with the iust entreaties of the chiefe Officers, both of Iustice and of policy within the country of Daulphine, he learns of many fault-finders that came forth, the estate of the place, with the forces that kept it, and sends off B ten to view it in the night.

He is informed that it may be taken by Scalado in two places, at a corner on the right hand going from Grenoble, and on that side which looks towards Isere, the earth being not yett above two fadome and a halfe high. Hee causeth the troops nearest to Grenoble to approach, makes them to passe ouer the bridge into the towne, and saines that all the rest shall make the same passage, to goe into Maurienne, where the army of Sauoy was. But the fourteenth of March, on Palme Sunday Eue, he secretly puts some petards into a boate, and thirty ladders, necessary for the execution, and at the same instant hee causeth his troops to repasse in the night in boats prepared to that end, to take from them of the fort all knowledge that they were on their side, whereby they might haue occasion C to call for supplies from Montmelian or Chambery. Things thus disposed he parts from Grenoble the five and twentieth of the said moneth in the morning, ioynes at a Village called Lombin, with such as he had appointed for this execution, making about three hundred horse, and a thousand or twelue hundred foot, diuided into foure troops, commanded by the Seigneurs of Morges, of *Hercules*, Lieutenant of *Des Dignieres* company of men at armes, of Auria, and of Maurieu, ensigne to *S. Iulian*: he calls these Commanders apart, acquaints them with this designe, to set vpon the fort the night following, and arises there about eleuen of the clocke at night. The Captaines appointed to plant the Petards and the ladders, performe their charge with an incredible resolution, notwithstanding the alarme which those of the fort had taken, by reason of the fires indiscreetly kindled by their boyes. The Petards worke their effect happily, one at the false gate which looks towards Grenoble, and the other at the principall Port towards Montmelian: the alarm growes hot on all sides, so as they within the Fort knew not which side to guard. They mount to the scalado: some ladders are ouerthrown, and with their shot they seeke to repulse the assailants, who get vp and come to handy blowes: the weakest must yeeld to the stronger. The enemies fought to make a new head: but after some little resistance they slew a hundred of them, and the rest leaped ouer the rampier where the alarm was least violent. *Bellegard* and some others remained prisoners: of seven ensignes five were sent vnto the King, the two others were lost in the heat of the assault. They found there six peeces of battery, and three for the field, with great store of powder, lead, match, & come, which had bene so many scourges against the vniust usurpations of the Sauoifien, if the reduction of the Duke of Mercœur, and that which remained to conquer in Britany had not laide their armes aside, and aduanced the Treaties which were made for the tranquillity of their estates.

The Kings authority had for nine years been banished out of such places as the Duke of Mercœur held in Britany: This Province was a prey for such as enriched themselves with the miserable spoiles thereof: the people hauing nothing left them but their voice, wished to see themselves freed from the tyranny of many vicious men, and without mercy; and to talke with many others, the effects of the Kings clemency and bounty: and his Maiesty grieved infinitely to see them afflicted, and not able to relieue them, for the vrgent necessity of his affaires. But after a storm comes a sun-shine. The Duke of Mercœur had often giuen hope of his submission & obedience; but the places of his command, and the quality of his person, in his opinion deserued a voyage thither. Our *Henry* is not sloathfull in that which concerns the good of his realme, and the great loue he bare to the ease and health of his subiects, who with a generall voyce giue him that fauourable title of *Father of his people*, and made them willingly to exceede the bounds of modesty.

At the onely brute of his coming, the Lords of Heurtault, and La Houffaye, *S. O. fange*

A fange, commanding at Rochefort vpon Loire, knowing that the D. of Mercœur was ready to free himselfe from the Spaniard, and to bee reconciled to his Maiesty, they cast themselves at the Kings feet, beseeching him to receive and accept of them as his most humble seruants and subiects, & that it would please him in that quality to continue them in the command of the said place: to appoint what garison hee pleased for the good of his seruice: to grant them a pardon for their taking of armes, and all other things which had followed vnder the authority of the Dukes of Mayenne and Mercœur, whom they had acknowledged for the heads of the Vnion: and with that capitulation they bring to the Kings obedience, the places of *S. Symphorian* and Rochefort.

B *Plessis* of Cosne at the same instant yeelded the town and Castle of Craon to his Maiesties seruice. But the surprixe of Dinan by them of *S. Malo*, one of the strongest places of Britany, in the which the said Duke put his greatest hope, forced him to fly to his Maiesties mercy. There is no cause so bad but may be shadowed with some apparant reasons. The Duke of Mercœur giues his Maiesty vnderstand, as well for himselfe, as for those that shall submit themselves vnder his Maiesties obedience, that the zeale of the Catholike religion, the respect of the good of the Realme, whereof he had alwaies desired the preferuation, and feared the dismembring, the danger into the which Britany was brought, when as the King encountered the Spanish violences vpon the frontier of Picardy, the intelligences of the greatest of the Prouince with the enemy, the means they had to make diuers enterprizes, and to draw in forces to the great preiudice of the Crown and State, had caused him to continue so long in armes after his Maiesties reconciliation with the Pope: and therefore hee beseecheth him most humbly to take knowledge of his good will, and to countenance and vse him as his most faithfull seruant and subiect.

His Maiesty had alwaies wished, that God would giue him the grace, to end the troubles of his Realme, rather by a voluntary obedience of all his subiects, then by force and necessity of armes: that the last come might taste the same fruits, which his bounty shewed to those that had formerly returned to their obedience. So the said Duke of Mercœur, the Clergie, Officers, Gentlemen, and other persons of all qualities and conditions, making their due submission, and taking the oath of fealty, the King made the Edict which followeth.

An Edict made by the King vpon the Articles granted to the Duke of Mercœur vpon his reduction to his Maiesties obedience.

HENRY by the Grace of God, &c. We haue alwaies desired that God would giue vs the grace to end the troubles of this Realme, rather by a voluntary obedience of all our subiects, then by the force and necessity of armes, to the end the last come might E enjoy the same fruits of our bounty, which the first which returned to their duties, haue received: The which hath so happily succeeded by the reduction of our deare and welbeloued cousin the Duke of Mercœur, (who hath shewed himselfe so willing to yeeld vs the obedience which he owes, with all those that were in armes with him,) as wee haue cause to rest content and satisfied: to approue the zeale which hee hath shewed to Religion, and to excuse our Cousin for that he hath continued so long in armes after our reconciliation with the Pope, and the coming of our deare and welbeloued Cousin the Cardinal of Florence, his Legate into this Realme; hauing giuen vs to vnderstand, that he was kept from making of this Declaration, for considerations which concerne the good of this Realme: whereof he hath alwaies desired the preferuation, and feared the dismembring, especially to preserve our Prouince of Britany from the danger whereinto F it was reduced, when as we were buied vpon the frontiers of Picardy, to repulse our enemies, by reason of the intelligences which the greatest had in the said Country, and the means to attempt and draw in forces, to the preiudice of our seruice, and of the Estate. By means whereof, wee desire to acknowledge his good will, and to loue and intreat him hereafter as our good kinsman and faithfull subiect, inclining vnto the humble request which he hath made vnto vs, as well for himselfe, as for those which shall returne with him vnto our obedience.

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To this Edict the King annexed many Articles, by the which hee forbade the exercise of the reformed Religion in the Towne and Suburbs of Nantes, or within three leagues thereof. He did acknowledge the Duke of Mercœur with all that had assisted him and should submit themselves with him vnto his Maiesties obedience, for his good subiects and faithfull seruants, taking the oath of alleageance, and making the submission required, after which they should be restored to all their goods, offices, benefices, charges and dignities, notwithstanding any Grant to the contrary, all which hee did presently reuoke. That no Clergi-men of Britany, which had payed their Tenths to the Receiueurs of eyther party, should be called in question for what was past, and should likewise be eased for the Arrearages which they did owe. That all officers of Iustice, or of the Treasure, which had bene made by the duke during the troubles, should bee maintained in their places in taking letters of prouision from his Maiesty. That neither the Duke, nor any other which had followed and assisted him, should bee called in question for any thing which had been committed during those troubles, if they came with him to submit themselves vnder the Kings authority, the memory whereof was suppressed and extinct. The Duke and all which had assisted him, were discharged of all impositions and leuies of money. There were many other Articles for the freeing of the Duke of Mercœur, and those of his partie, and for the settling of the quiet estate of Britany, the which the curious Reader may finde more at large in the Original.

So our King about all the Princes of the earth, got this commendation, to haue exceeded in wisdom, valour and clemency. The whole Prouince, not by a politicke necessitie (which disposeth people to the obedience of their Soueraigne Princes) but as it were appointed by God to command ouer them, acknowledged our Henry for their Soueraigne King, protested to liue and die in the obedience which loyall and faithfull subiects owe vnto their supreme Lord. And by this milde re-union of the members with their head, of the parts with the whole, forgetting the bitterness of the fore-past warre, he dispersed the confusions and disorders, which threatened to bury him vnder the common ruines of these vnciuill troubles.

So in the end, after so many labours, which Hercules could hardly haue surmounted, so many toyles, vnder which Atlas would haue shrunk, the minds of the French vnited, their affections mutually conioyned by a strict bond of loue, vnder the obedience of their King, and all the forces of the chiefe Kingdomes of Christendome, were ready to fall vpon the common enemy of his Estate. But you haue fought enough: the blood of your subiects, oh Princes, hath bene too outrageously spilt in your Champion fields: the furies of your armes haue wonderfully amazed your subiects. Shew your felues hereafter to be pastors and fathers of nations, which reuerence the beauty of your Diademes. Let the seas, riuers and mountaines, which be as a barre betwixt the territories of your Dominions, limit hereafter the greatness of your ambition. Heauen, the Iudge of controuersies, doth pronounce that sweet and sacred name of Peace. A name which cannot displease any, but such as take delight in blood, spoile, and fire: and (hating nothing of a man but the name) breathing out nothing but impiety, licentiousnesse, and iniustice. So after a long treaty betwixt the Deputies of both Kings, in the end a peace was concluded at Veruins, as you may read in the following Discourse.

1598

A CONTINUATION OF THE GENERALL HISTORIE OF FRANCE,

from the beginning of the Treatie of Veruins, in
the yeare 1578, vnto these times. Collected
out of PETER MATHEVV, and

other Authors that haue written
of this subiect.



HE ciuill warres of France being ended, all the Kings rebellious subiects, & the reuolted Prouinces reduced to his obedience, God disposed the hearts of the Kings of France and Spaine, to a generall peace, for the good of their subiects, who had bene long oppressed with the spoiles and miseries of bloody warre. God stirred vp Pope Clement the eight, who powred balme into the wounds of France, not like vnto his Predecessors (who reioycied at her afflictions, and sought to make them incurable, applying no other remedies but fire and sword.) Hee (like another Hercules) fought to calme the stormes which troubled both Land and Sea: he shewed himselfe a common father of Christians, a Mediator of Peace and Vnion, at such a time as necessity and the estate of their affaires made them to desire rest. To this end he lets Henry the fourth King of France and of Nauarre, vnderstand by Alexander of Medicis, Cardinall of Florence, then his Legate in France, and doth aduertise Philip the second King of Spaine, by his Nuncio: that it was now time to lay aside all passions of hatred and reuenge, to resume peacefull spirits, and to ioyne together against the common enemy of Christendome, who only made his profit of their ruines. That their subiects had bene sufficiently drunke with the blood, gall and vinegar of discord, and that it was requisite to refresh them now with the sweet wine of peace.

These two Princes were too high minded, to demand a peace one of another. There must bee a third person, to vnite these two extreames. But there must be some one to make this entrance, and to bee as it were an Interpreter of their intentions. To this end, the Pope makes choyce of F. Bonauenture Calatagione, Generall of the Order of the Franciscans or Grey Friars, to acquaint these two Kings with this holy and charitable perswasions vnto peace. Religious men had bene actors in this warre, they are now held necessary for the peace. Spirits separated from the troubles and confusions of the world, are most fit for such negotiations, being lesse transported with violent passions.

The King of Spaine did not attend to haue the Pope exhort him vnto peace. He had begun his reigne by war against the French, he would now end it by a peace with them. He was now leuenty yeeres old, being desirous to discharge himselfe of the heauy burthen of so many kingdomes, and to leaue them quiet to his sonne. To this end, he must marry his daughter Donna Isabella, who remaining in Spaine, without a husband, might contend for the succession of the Crowne, with Don Philip her brother. He could not giue her lesse for her dowry, then the Kingdom of Portugal, or the Low-Countries, with the Countie of Burgundy. By the one, he did weaken and diuide his Estates, and by the other, he gaue his daughter meanes to contend for her portion in Spaine. For it was impossible to reigne long in Prouinces diuided by irreconcilable warre, hauing two mighty neighbours for enemies. And therefore to assure Spaine, he must marry the Infanta: and to confirme that which hee gaue vnto her in marriage, it was necessary to conclude a peace with the French King, and to banish those vaine imaginations of the conquest of an Estate, the which will alwaies grow great, by the encrease of Concord: and fortified with armes and iuincible spirits, supports it selfe against any violence that shall seeke to supplant it. Being thus resolu'd of a peace, he desires to vnderstand the opinion of his Councell.

The wisdom, iustice, and piety of Pope Clement the eight. Three Popes in 17. months. Sixtus, c 28 of August 1590. Francis the 7th. the 27 of September. Innocent the 9, the 9 of December. Clement the 8, chosen the 30 of Ianu. 1592. The Pope exhorts the two Kings to peace.

Religious men should be Angels of peace.

He proclaimed warre against France in the yeere 1557.

Reasons that moued the King of Spaine to a peace.

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This resolution to have a peace was iust, and all things shewed a necessity inseparable with iustice. The King of Spaine (to whom this was well knowne) had no need of any other counsell, for that his Councillors for the most part did hold, that his Estates could not continue in peace, vnlesse that France were at warre, and that they must alwaies maintaine a diuision in that Estate, whose forces are so mighty and warlike. Yet would he haue it resolved on in Councell, in the presence of the Prince his sonne, and the Infanta. The Prince transported with the courage of his great and high resolutions, had no other thoughts but to continue his fathers conquests.

The Prince of Spaine calls the counsell of peace.

This peace being propounded in counsell, euery one spake not what hee thought the best, but rather to please the Prince (who valued resolution more then wisdom, and the dangers of warlike enterprises, more then the assurance of a happy peace) there is no place whereas dissembling should haue lesse credit then in a Princes Councell. But *Christopher de Mors*, holding it the chiefe and essentiall vertue of a Councillor, to speake the truth, and that it belonged to none but vile and base spirits to lie: hee fortified his opinion with the best reasons he could, to induce the yong Prince to like of the proposition of Peace: the which he knew the King held to be iust and necessary, and that in this necessity, wise men found the surest law of their conduct, and the felicity of an Estate. You may read his discourse at large in the Originall. For which liberty of speech, contrary to the Princes humor (who shewed by his countenance, that such as loued peace were not his friends) *de Mors* was disgraced with bitter words, and commanded not to come in his presence: but he was restored againe into fauour by the Kings command, hauing made his excuse vnto the Prince, for that hee had spoken the truth too boldly, for the good of the peace.

Mors disgraced by the Prince of Spaine.

The King of Spaine (to preuent all priuate passions, which do alwaies corrupt counsels in publicke affaires, being vnwilling to haue it treated of in Spain) commanded the Infanta *Isabella*, to aduise *Alberus* the Archduke (then Gouvernour in the Low-Countries, to whom the was promised) to make some ouerture of an accord, and to found the mindes of the French. Shee (who was Daughter to the generous Princeesse, whom Spaine called the *Queene of Peace*) inuited the Archduke to imploy his counsell and meanes for the building of this Temple, proceeding with a good intention, and sincerity of zeale. The Archduke (who found no better rampart to defend the Low-Countries, then a peace) makes shew to haue no other thought in his heart, nor any word more ordinary in his mouth, then peace: greewing to see the misery of the warres, and that two of the greatest Princes of Christendome (whereof the one might serue as a sword, and the other as a Target against the power of the Ottomans) should bee so ready to ruine one another.

The Archduke applies all his munde to a Peace.

This conceit, that the Archduke, desired a Peace, did purchase him the loue of those people, ouer whom he should command in regard of his mariage: it confirmed him in the good liking of the King of Spaine, seeing that he did apply himself wholly vnto his humor, and did wondrously content the Infanta, who desired to bee married with a beneficiall peace. All Europe aspired to this general good. Those which were farthest off, held it iust: the neighbours profitable, and such as were interested, necessary: and this interest did not only concerne the French and the Spanish, but all neighbour States, whom it did much import to see a peace concluded.

The Archduke sends armes vnto the king.

The Archduke discouers the Kings disposition, by *Monsieur de Sancerre*, Agent at Brussels for *Queene Elizabeth* Dowager of France. Who coming to Montceaux presented the King with rich armes, which the Archduke had caused to bee made for him at Brussels, and withall hee gaue him charge to say vnto the King, that hee lamented to see the continuance of a warre so preiudiciall to two of the greatest Christian Princes, and so profitable to the common enemy of Christendome. That if it pleased him to hearken vnto a peace, his will should bee soone followed by the effect: offering all his vowes and seruice to the king of Spaine his vnkle, to make him resolute to a perfect & assured peace, wherewith *Sancerre* acquainted his Maiesty, after the deliuey of his armes, saying "That the Archduke was a Prince full of holy resolution for the general good of Christendom, who lamenting the affaires of Christian Princes, which went to ruine by their discord, had commanded him to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, if hee would enter into any treaty of peace, the onely and last support of Christendome."

The first entrance of a peace.

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A The King received the Present graciously, and hauing awhile considered of the proposition (made vnto him by *Sancerre*) he answered, That he had neuer yet tasted the sweetnesse of peace, desiring greatly to know what it was, not so much for his owne ease, as for the good of his subiects: and although he had alwaies loued war, yet had he neuer refused peace: that he was not insensible of the miseries of this diuision, and had often lamented so much blood vnprofitably spilt, & the weakening of the chiefe pillars of Christendome. That he had not entered into this war but for a iust and necessary defence, all Europe hauing seene the King of Spaine to raise the greatest forces of the world, yet and his owne subiects against him, and that there was no war more iust, then to recouer that, which was vnjustly vltured. Yet notwithstanding, all these considerations should not hinder his inclination to a peace. But he could not easily beleue, that the Archduke had any such desire, hauing so many Spaniards about him, who would neuer counsell him to make any warre but in France.

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This holy resolution was imparted vnto the Archduke, and by him to the King of Spaine, who doubted that a Prince borne and bred vp in armes, hardened in the exercise of warre, and prosperous in his proceedings, would giue care to a peace: and although the good of his Realme, might draw him to this resolution, yet such as had counselled him to proclaim war against him, when as his affaires were most desperate: euen when as foure or fise Dukes his subiects were in armes against him, would not aduise him now to make a peace, when as all France was reduced vnder his obedience. He therefore commands the Archduke to proceed warily and easily and wisely, and not to doe any thing that might be dishonorable in seeking of a peace.

The King of Spaine doubts of a peace.

The Archduke knowing that the Kings inclination to a peace, proceeding from his owne proper motion, and from the best aduice of his seruants (who held a long want to be as ruinous for France, as a long peace is hurtfull to a warlike nation) continued his first motion, sending backe *Sancerre* vnto the King who was then at Rouan, to speake more openly and plain y vnto him, and to vnderstand his Maiesties pleasure, in what towne vpon the frontiers the Deputies of either side might assemble. This negotiation was not managed by letters, but by instructions, and by one man onely: the which was kept so secret, as on the Kings part, no man was acquainted therewith, but *Villeroy* (the Oracle of the secrets of this Estate) neither would the Archduke trust to any one but himself and the Duke of Sora, master of his horse, to the end that Spaine should not know any thing but what pleased him, when need should require. If matters had beene managed more openly, they might haue proued lesse successfull. These Princes wanted not spirits of diuision about them which blamed this peace. There were some in Spaine which maintained, that the lawes of Religion and conscience, would not allow them to lay downe armes, vnill that France were reduced vnder one Religion: and that it were dishonorable for so warlike a nation as Spaine, to demand a peace of them which had proclaimed warre against them. In France some cried out that they should make no peace with Spaine, without satisfaction for Milan, Naples, Flanders and Nauarre. Those which did second this good worke with their grane and wise counsell, were men full of affection to the publike good, and capable of the remedies of this diuision. The President *Richarot* was the first to whom the Archduke imparted this secret, and the King would haue *Belieure* his chiefe Councillor of State acquainted therewith, vnto whom *Sancerre* imparted the order and state of the business. This done, he returned to the Archduke to Bruxelles, carrying with him a resolution of the Kings pleasure: whereupon the Archduke commanded him to conduct the Generall of the Friars into France, being then come out of Spaine.

All in peace penckens into a walkenation.

Diuers opinions of the peace.

The Generall acquainted the King with the commandment he had received from the Pope, to passe into Spaine to dispose the Catholike King to a good and holy peace, whereby the forces and wills of all Christians might be vnted against the common enemy, who made his profit of this miserable diuision: that the King of Spaine for seeing it well, and lamenting this general desolation, had said vnto him, that hee desired a peace: which by his will should be firme and durable, for the recovery of that which discord had caused the Christian Princes to lose, desiring not onely to treat a reconciliation of friendship betwix the two Crownes, but also to preuent all occasions of future warre: And to this end, he had giuen all his power to the Archduke his Nephew, who was a Prince desirous of peace.

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The King answered: That he was desirous of a peace, neither would he prescribe him any other conditions, then the honour and iudice of his pretensions, the which hee held so assured, as no man might call them in question. The Generall of the Franciscans assured him, that the King of Spaine would give him all the contentment hee could expect from a iust Prince. Reason which alwaies finds place in generous minds, and Necessity whose stings (when shee is moued) are very violent, made these two Princes lay downe armes, to releue their subiects, tired with miseries and publike oppressions. These first hopes of a peace, did but begin to appeare when as the King was aduertised of the surprize of Amiens. This was a frost which nipt all the hope of this first seed, a winde which blew away all the flowers of this yong plant. The Generall of the Friars returnes into France to assure the King, that if it pleased him, the raking of Amiens should not hinder the peace. The King answered, that hee himselfe wronged in this proposition, that he neither could nor would hearken vnto it: and that hee neuer did any thing by constraint: neither were matters now fit for an accord. *I will not (saith he) that they demand a peace of me in a brauery, I will neuer yeeld vnto it by force. Wee will talke more, when I haue recovered Amiens, Calais, and Ardres:* and so hee sent backe the Generall of the Friars, to the amazement of the enemy, who did admire the Kings noble resolution, (which like vnto the ancient Romances) was more admirable in Aduersity then Prosperity.

The Kings
ceremonious
resolution.

The Generall
of the Friars
returnes in
despayre of
a peace.

The propo-
sition of a
peace
continued.

The first nego-
tiation of Saint
Quentin.

A iust peace is
dualc.

Amiens being recovered, and the Pope foreseeing by the continuance of the Kings victories, that it would produce no other effects but a weakening of the whole body, hee conuises the two Kings anew, by the apprehension of the publike miseries, and the pitifull estate of Christian affaires, to agree and to resume their chiefe inclinations to peace. He commands his Legate to dispose them to some conference, whereby hee might discomie who was to be blamed, and who failed in his affection, for the generall good of a peace. The Legate goes to S. Quentin: the Generall of the Friars comes thither vnto him and beseecheth him, to be a means vnto the King, to send some man of credit, with whom they might conferre of a treaty. The king sent the President *Sillery*, with an expresse commandement, not to consent to any treaty of a peace, but vpon assurance to haue those townes yielded vp, which were held by the King of Spaine. The Popes Legate, the President *Sillery*, and the Generall of the Friars met at Saint Quentin: the greatest difficulty at this first entrance, was for the restitution of places. The Generall of the Friars said, that the King Spaine would not purchase a peace at so deare a rate. *Sillery* answered, that the King of Spaine did giue nothing of his owne, but did only yeeld vp that which he could not keepe, the King hauing made proofe by the recovery of Amiens, what hee might expect of the other places. And if they desired a good and a durable peace, they must make it iust: for else it could not continue. That there was nothing more iust, then restitution, nor more honourable then to leaue that willingly which they could not hold by force: That the King had expressly forbidden him to consent to any Treaty, nor to the choise of any place for an assembly, before hee had Assurance of this restitution: that hee held it a wrong done vnto the dignity of so great a Prince, to the honor of his commandements, to the equity of his cause, and to his good fortune, once to hearken vnto the difficulties they made to yeeld him vp that which was his owne: That whoeuer should treat with this preiudice, deferred to be punished as the authors of Treaties, that were dishonorable to their Masters.

The Generall of the friars (who could not get any other resolution at his hands) returned twice into Flanders, to let them vnderstand, that among all the reasons of the Treaty, that of restitution was inuincible: that it was in vain to demand a peace of the French, if they did not restore all. That this restitution was the soule of the Treaty, without the which it was a fantaslike body, without any naturall proportion and substance: That in the end, desiring too much, they should haue nothing: and thinking to hold all, they would lose all. The Archduke doth aduertise the King of Spaine, that there was no meanes to enter into the Temple of peace, but by opening of the gates of Calais, Ardres, Doullans, and other places (taken in warre) vnto the French King. God inspired the heart of the King of Spaine, against the opinion of his Councell of State, to yeeld vp all his pretensions for the good of a peace; rather then to leaue the world in this perpetuall discord and confusion.

Hee

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A He did consult with his Councell of conscience, vpon the necessity of this restitution. They answered him, that he could not liue with a quiet soule, nor die in the integrity of his religion, if he did not restore those places. The King of Spaine followed this aduice, aduertising the Archduke, that he would not, for that which hee had gotten from another, lose the meanes to leaue a peace to his owne Estates. Vpon this resolution, the Generall of the Friars returnes into France, and passeth his word vnto the Legate and *Sillery*, for the restitution: so as after an infinite toyle of two months, these three made all things ready for a Treaty.

The King of
spaine re-
solves
to yeeld all the
places.

Sillery returnes to the King, leading with him the Generall of the Friars, as well to let him vnderstand from the Kings owne mouth, what hee had said vnto him by his commandement, as also to haue the Generall tell the King what he had promised, and propounded on the Archdukes behalfe. The Legate remained at Saint Quentin, as gardian of the words and intentions of two Princes. Being assured of eithers faith, they agree vpon a place for the Assembly of the Deputies, and to conclude the treaty. The Towne of Veruins (being vnder the Kings obedience, and neare vnto the Frontiers of Artois) was found the most commodious, and was presently furnished with all things necessary to receiue the Ambassadors. The King deputed *Pompeo* of Belicure Knight, Lord of Grignon, the chiefe and most ancient of his Priuy Councell, and *Nicholas Brulart* Knight, Lord of *Sillery*, Councellour of State to his Maiesty, and President in his Court of Parliament. For the King of Spaine and the Archduke, there came *John Richardot* Knight, President of the Kings Priuy Councell, and of his Councell of State: *Iohn Baptista Taxa* Knight, Commander of *los Santos*, of the military order of Saint James, and Councellour of State, and of the Councell of war: and *Lewis Ferrichen* Knight, Audiencer and chiefe Secretary and Tresurer of the Charters of the Councell of State, men of great experience and approved fidelity. The Cardinall *Medici*, Legate of the holy Sea, assisted by the Bishop of Mantoua, was as it were an Vmper of all difficulties in this good and holy reconciliation. The Kings Deputies arised first, and those of the King of Spaine presently after, where hauing saluted one another with their hearts full of ioy and incredible content, they promised to treat roundly, sincerely, and mildly, communicating their commissions one vnto another, and reforming those errors which they found, that they might begin to treat more safely and freely. After much question, and many protestations made by the Deputies of the King of Spaine for the precedence, in the end they yeelded vnto the French Kings, to take what place they pleased, after the Legate, and the Popes Nuncio. At their first sitting, the Legate exhorts them to shew their fidelity and integrity in this action which their Masters desired, whereof he assured himselfe by their experiences, as of those which had happily managed the greatest affaires of Europe; more then any other men: wishing them to consider, that hauing the honour to counsell two of the greatest Princes of the world (who submitted their wills vnto their counsels, as the most diuine thing among men, when it is purged from ambitious passions, violent thoughts, and preiudicial opinions) they should omit nothing that might regard the contentment of their good intentions, and not to doubt, but that God, who hath an especiall care of Kings and Kingdomes, would insufe the light of his Spirit into their most secret thoughts, and threaten them with the severity of his Iustice, if they did not apply all their endeavors to his glory, and the good of the Christian Common-weale.

Veruins chosen
for the con-
ference.

The Prece-
dency yielded
to the French.

The Legate
exhorts the
Deputies.

Then they entered into treaty with a mildnesse fit for men of that quality, and the merit of the subiect. It was managed with such secrecy, as nothing was knowne before that all was concluded. The chiefe point of difficulty was, for the restitution of places. Many reasons were propounded on either side, but the Kings Deputies had great aduantages: the force of reason: the prosperity of affaires in the recovery of Amiens: and above all, the fauour of the time and occasion. The King of Spaine would not dye but in peace: he desired his Sonne might raigne in peace, and that his dearly beloued daughter might be married in peace. The Archduke languished with a desire to be married: & fearing lest the promise which he had (not taking effect) during the life of the King of Spain the conditions would be made worse, he pressed *Richardot* and *Taxis*, not to proceed in this negotiation after the Spanish manner, but to remember, that they must not prolong their consultations, nor protract an action, the praise whereof depended vpon the conclusion. So after they had balanced all matters in the Treaty, to reduce them to a iust proportion

proportion of reason, all controuersies betwixt two Kings were reconciled and ended.

During this Treaty the most Christian King was at Nantes, he pacified Brittany, discharged the new garrisons, and some Imposts, and placed for Gouverneur there, *Caspar Monsieur* his base sonne, now Duke of Vendosme, who was betrothed to the only daughter of the Duke of Mercœur. Hee then granted the Edict of pacification to them of the reformed religion within his Realme, as we shall shew hereafter. A peace being concluded at Veruins betwixt the two Kings, there was nothing yet agreed vpon for the Duke of Sauoy. It seemed the King of Spaine had forgotten him, and that he did not acknowledge him for his Sonne-in-law. The French King held him neither for kinsman nor friend, so long as he should deraine the Marquisate of Salusses. The Marquis of Lullins (who was then Agent for the Duke) assured the Deputies, that the Duke had no other intention, but to giue the King more contentment hereafter, then forepassed occasions would giue him meanes. Vpon this assurance he entered into the treaty, the which by his occasion was in a manner broken off, three dayes before the conclusion. For, the King was resolved, not to thinke of any accord with the Duke, but by present effects: without deferring the satisfaction of that which was due vnto him. It was not likely (that drawing by the execution of the treaty, out of the hands of so great and mighty a King, six places in Picardy, and a Port of great importance in Britany, which was harder to take then the Marquisate of Salusses) the King would conclude a peace with the Duke of Sauoy, with lesse honourable conditions then he had done with the King of Spaine, and bring his indubitable right in question. But the Pope (fearing that this Marquisate of Salusses would proue an *Achilles*, to fire all Italy) prevailed so with the King, as he preferred the public good before his own particular interest, being content (for the finishing this building of peace) that the Dukes interest, and his right should bee put to compromise.

It was agreed, that the Pope should be the only Iudge of this discord, touching the restitution of the Marquisate of Salusses, and that within a yeare. So a Peace was concluded, and signed by the Deputies: but it was not published till a Month after: only a generall suspension of Armes was proclaimed. The King being at Rennes in Britany, came Post to Tours, and so to Amiens, for the better execution of the peace, which was comprehended in thirty eight Articles.

It was concluded, That the treaty of Peace, made at the Castle of Cambresis, in the yeare 1590, should remaine in his full force, but what should be expressly derogated by this present Treaty. That there should bee a firme and stable Peace betwixt the said two Kings, their heires, successors, realmes, countries, and subiects. That there should be free trafficke and commerce betwixt them, and all Letters of make or reprisal suspended, and none to be granted afterwards, but vpon deniall of Justice. That the Townes, Subiects and Inhabitants of either Country, should enioy the priuiledges and liberties which had beene granted them by precedent Treaties. That the subiects and seruants of either side, notwithstanding they had followed a contrary party, should returne into their offices and benefices which they did enioy before the end of the yeare 1588: provided that they should first obtaine leave and Letters-patents vnder their Maiesties great Seale for the same.

It was also concluded, That there should be a reallistitution, one vnto another, of all which had beene taken and held by them, or any other in their names, in one anothers Country. That the Catholike King might cary away all the Artillery, powder, bullets, victuals, and other munition of war, which should be found in those places he was to restore, with all their moueable goods; yet they might not exact any thing of the inhabitants, nor cary away anything belonging vnto them. That the most Christian King should furnish the Souldiers which were in Blauet with shipping, for their speedy return into Spaine, and the transport of their Ordnance, baggage, victuals, and other munition of war, giuing caution for restitution of the Ships, and return of the Mariners within a prefixed time. That the French King hauing ratified the treaty, there should bee foure Offages deliuered vnto him, such as he should choose out of the Catholike Kings Subiects, vntill restitution were really performed, and then to be presently set at liberty: and if restitution were made of the six places in Picardy, then two of the Offages should be deliuered, and the other two remaine vntill Blauet were restored. That there should be Arbitrators deputed on either side, to decide certaine controuersies contained in the

Treaty

A Treaty of Cambray, but not executed. That all prisoners of war on either side should be set at liberty, paying their charges, without ranfome, vntill they were already agreed vpon. All others subiect to the said Kings, and detained in their Gallies, should be released without delay, and without demand of ranfome or charges. All rights, actions, and pretensions were referred vnto the French King, vntill hee or his predecessors had expressly renounced them, to make his pursuit by law, and not by armes: the like reservation was made for the Catholike King, and the *Infanta* his eldest daughter. It was decreed, that the Duke of Sauoy should be comprehended in this Treaty of peace, vpon certaine conditions to be presently performed, and some other controuersies betweene the Christian King, and the said Duke, were referred vnto Pope *Clement* the eight, to be decided within one yeare after the date of these presents.

Thus I haue briefly set downe the chiefe points of the Treaty, the which you may read more at large in the Originall: after which they come to comprehend their allies, as followeth in the thirty fourth Article.

34 In this peace, alliance and friendship, shall be comprehended by the common consent of the said Kings, if they will be comprehended: First, on the behalfe of the said most Christian King, the Pope, the Apostolike Sea, the Emperor, the Princes Electors both Ecclesiasticall and secular, the townes, commonalties, and estates of the sacred Empire, and namely the Count *Palatine* Elector, Marquis of Brandebourg, Duke of Wirtemberg, Landgrau of Hessen, Marquis of Hanfpatch, the Earles of East-Frizland, and the Sea townes, according to their ancient alliances. The King and Realme of Scotland, according to the ancient Treaties, alliances and confederations, which are betwixt the Realmes of France and Scotland; the Kings of Poland, Denmarke, and Sweden, the Duke and Seignoury of Venice, the thirteene Cantons of Suisse, the Seigneuries of the three Cantons of Grisons, the Bishop and Seigneuries of the Country of Valais, the Abbot and towne of Saint Gal, Touchembourg, Milans in the country of Neuf-Chastell, and other allies and confederats of the said Cantons: The Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the Duke of Mantua, and the Common-weale of Luques, the Bishops and Chapter of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, the Abbot of Gozze, the Lords of Sedan, and the Earle of Mirande; provided alwaies, that the consent which the said Catholike King giues to the comprehension of the Earles of East-Frizland, shall not prejudice the right which his Catholike Maiestie pretendeth vnto their Countreies: As also there shall be a reservation against the defences, rights and exemptions of the said Earldomes, with a declaration that the said Catholike King may neither directly by himselfe, or any other, molest any of them which haue beene formerly comprehended by the said most Christian King. And if the said Catholike King pretends any thing against them, he shall pursue them by Law, before competent Iudges, and not by force in any manner whatsoever.

35 And on the behalfe of the said Catholike King shall bee comprehended in this Treaty, if they please: first of all, the Pope, the holy Apostolike Sea, the Emperour of Romans, the Archduke, his brethren and Cousins, their Realmes and Countries, the Electors, Princes, Townes and Estates of the whole Empire obeying him, the Duke of Bauaria, the Duke of Cleues, the Bishop and Country of Liege, the Sea townes, and the Earldomes of East-Frizland. And the said Princes doe renounce all Practices, promising hereafter not to make any, neither within Christendome nor without, that may be prejudiciall to the said Emperour, nor to the members and Estates of the said holy Empire; but shall with all their power, procure the good and quiet thereof, so as the said Emperour and Estates cary themselves very respectfully and lovingly vnto the said most Christian and Catholike Kings, and doe nothing to their prejudice. There shall bee also comprehended the Seigneuries of the Cantons of high Germans, the Grisons, and their allies, the Kings of Poland, Sweden, Scotland, & Denmarke, the Duke & Seignoury Venice, the Duke of Lorraine, the great Duke of Tuscane, the Common-weales of Genoua and Luques, the Duke of Parma and Placentia, the Cardinall of Fernelle, his brother, the Duke of Mantoua, the Duke of Vrbino, the chiefe of the houses of Colonne and Vrsins, The Duke of Salmonet, the Lord of Monaco, the Marquis of Finall, the Marquis of Massa, the Lord of Plombin, the Earle of Sala, and the Earle *Collonna*, to enioy the benefice of this Peace, with expresse declaration that the said most Christian King

The Duke of the
Sauoy desires
to be compre-
hended in the
Treaty.

The King pre-
fers the public
good before his
private in this

1598

King shall neither directly nor indirectly by himselfe or any other, molest any of them, A
and if he pretend any thing against them, he may pursue it by law before competent Iudges, and not by force in any sort whatsoever.

36 And there shall be also comprehended in this present Treaty, all others that shall be named by the common consent of the said Kings, so as within six moneths after the publication of the said treaty, they give their Letters declaratory, respectively as it is in such case required.

37 And for the better assurance of this Treaty of peace, and of all the Articles therein contained, it shall be verified, published and enrowled in the Cour of Parliament of Paris, and in all other Parliaments of the Realme of France, and in the Chamber of accounts at Paris: as also it shall be verified published, and enrowled in the great Council, and other Councils and chambers of accounts of the countries of the said Catholike King, and all according to the form contained in the Treaty made in the year 1559, whereof the expeditions shall be given of either part within three months after the publication of this present Treaty.

38 Which points and Articles, together with all that is contained in every one of them, have beene treated, concluded, and past betwixt the said Deputies in their names, the which by vertue of their authorities have promised, and doe promise vpon bond of all the present and future goods of their said Masters, that they shall be inuiolably observed and kept, and to cause them to ratifie, and to give authentike Letters one vnto the other whereas all this present Treaty shall be inserted, and that within one moneth after the date of these presents, in regard of the said most Christian King, Cardinal, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: which Cardinall shall promise to cause like Letters of ratification to be given within three months by the Catholike King. They shall solemnly swear vpon the Crosse, the Holy Euangelists, the Canon of the Masse, and vpon their honors, in the presence of such as they shall please to depute, to observe and accomplish, fully, really, and faithfully the contents of the said Articles: and in like manner the Catholike King shall take the same oath within three months after, or when hee shall be required.

In witness of which things the said Deputies subscribed the Treaty, at Veruins the second day of May, in the year 1598.

All which Articles contained in the Treaty: and all that had beene concluded, agreed, and passed by the said Deputies in their Masters names, they promise shall be inuiolably observed and kept, and to cause them to ratifie them, and to deliuer one vnto an other authentike Letters, signed and sealed, containing the whole Treaty, and that within one moneth after the date of those presents, in regard of the most Christian King, the Cardinall, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: and that the Cardinall should promise, to procure within three months after, the like Letters of ratification from the Catholike King, Archduke, and Duke of Sauoy: They should solemnly swear vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangelists, the Canon of the Masse, and by their honors, in the presence of such as they should depute, to observe and fulfill really and faithfully, all that was contained in the said Articles: and the like oath shall be taken by the Catholike King of Spaine, within three months after, or when it should be required. In witness whereof the Deputies subscribed the Treaty, at Veruins, the second of May 1598.

He that desires Peace cannot buy it at too deare a rate, no though he pay as much as King Antigonis did vnto the Romans. The King of Spaine, who desired a peace at what rate soeuer, found no condition in this Treaty of Veruins, that might disswade him from ratifying it: although his Council held the restitution of townes, so happily taken, and so hard to recouer, dishonourable and prejudiciall. He prest to haue it sworne and executed, witnessing the contentment he receiued in his soule, for the good which Christendome should receiue by the concord of these two Crownes. The Archduke, who did second his desire, sent Deputies to assist at the French Kings oath, the D. of Alfort, the Count Arrenberg, the Admirall of Arragon, and Lewis de Velasco, being followed by four hundred Gentlemen Spaniards, Italians, Bourguignons, and Flemings. The Count S. Paul receiued them vpon the frontiers. The Confitable feasted them at Amiens, and pacified some quarrells growne among them for place. The Marshall of Birn with a great and goodly troupe of Noblemen and Gentlemen, appointed by the King, receiued them

Ambassadors to
swear the
peace, and Ho-
tages for the
restitution of
the places
They arrivede
the 18 of Iune.

A them a quarter of a league without S. Denis gate, conducing them vnto their lodgings, which were prepared in S. Anthonies quarter. The next day they went vnto the Louure, with all their traine, in rich and stately equipage, to kisse the Kings hands: who receiued them graciously, giving an attentive care vnto the discourse which Richardot made vpon the merit of this action, and the common profit and necessity of a peace, the which, hee said, was to be preferred before a iust war, and al hope of prosperity. The King answered, That he had desired peace, not for that he was tired with the discomforts of war, but to give all Christendome meanes to breathe: That his armes fell out of his hands when as they represented vnto him the teares which fell from the Popes eyes, for their reconciliation, which might greatly aduance the quiet of the Church of God: That he should neuer be taxed to be ill affected to the preservation of the peace as he neuer wanted zeale nor iustice to seeke it, hauing alwaies preferred it before the vndoubted assurance of all the good successe, which the happinesse of his armes, and the reason of his defence promised him: beleeuing the aduice of them which hold, that we must neuer for the hope of any fauourable successe, refuse a good peace, and ground the expectation of the euent vpon the apparence of present things.

The most solemne forme of a treaty is, the oath which binds them that treat. It was not sufficient, that the Princes had signed it, and engaged their faithfull promises to maintain it: they would make the God of heauen the Iudge and witness of their intentions, engaging their faith in the hands of his Iustice, for an assurance of their promises. And therefore the King did swear the obseruation of the peace, in our Ladies Church at Paris, in the presence of the King of Spaines Ambassadors. The Archduke did swear it in the name of the King of Spaine, in the great Church at Brussels, in the presence of the Marshall of Birn, Belleure and Brulart, Counsellors to the King and his Ambassadors. The Duke of Sauoy did also swear it at Chambery, in the presence of Guadagny, Lord of Boutheton, Knight of both Orders. The Oath was ministered in this manner: *We promise vpon our faith and honour, and in the word of a King, and swear vpon the Crosse, the holy Euangelists, and the Canon of the Masse, for that which concerns vs: That wee will observe and accomplish fully, really and faithfully, all and every point and article contained in the treaty of Peace, reconciliation and amity made, concluded, and determined at Veruins, the second day of May last past, &c. and will cause all to be observed, maintained and kept inuiolably on our part, without any breach, or suffering it to be broken, in any sort or manner whatsoever. In witness whereof we have signed these presents with our owne hands, &c.*

The King would haue the sincerity of his intentions knowne to all the world, and Paris a witness of the oath he should take, to observe the peace as religiously, as hee had made wariously. The ceremony was performed in our Ladies Church at Paris, with great pompe: Monsieur de Villeroi did read the articles of the Peace, the King did swear the obseruation thereof, signed the Act, and embraced the Ambassadors of the King of Spaine, wishing his Brother along life, that he might long enjoy the fruits of this peace. E This ceremony was ended with great ioy and acclamations of the people. From thence the King went to dine at the Bishops Palace, where he feasted the Ambassadors, the Duke Montpensier supplying the place of Lord Steward. The feast was royall and magnificent, and all things were answerable to so great a Ceremony. That ancient custome of drinking to the health of Princes, which came from that of the Greekes, who offered to every one of their gods a glasse of wine, and since hath beene vsed, to shew our deuoted affection to great personages, was not forgotten. The King dranke twice to the health of the King of Spaine. This ioy was continued at night at the Louure, in dancing, and the daies following in feasting at diners great mens houses, by the Kings command.

All this did not hinder the execution of the Treaty, neither did the Deputies forget the interest of priuate persons. The Spaniards treated the King for the returne of some that were absent, especially for the Duke of Aumale. The King answered them, That if they restored vnto Antonio Perez his children and goods, he would give the Duke of Aumale contentment, whereby he should enjoy the fruits of the peace: the Spaniards replied, That Perez, who was then out of Spain for matters concerning the Inquisition, might not be equalled with the Duke of Aumale, who was absent but by reason of the troubles. Euery one was content, either with that which was done, or with that which reason did not allow to be done.

The Kings answer.

The King of Spain did signe and swear the peace the 12 of July 1598. His Sonne did not signe it till the Treaty of Sauoy 1601.

The forme of the oath.

After

1598

After that the Ambassadors of Spaine had obtained what they desired for the execution of the Peace, and admired the Kings houles, and the wonders of Paris, they returned with a remembrance of his Maiesties bounty, who gaue them Jewells, and Cupbords of plate. There remained foure principall men as Hostages, for assurance of the restitution of the townes, as it was concluded by the Treaty. All should be performed by the second of August: they began by the townes of Picardy so faithfully, as the King without expecting the full satisfaction of the Treaty sent backe the Hostages, relying onely vpon their word.

It was also concluded by the Treaty, that the Archduke (who had approued the peace in the name of the King of Spaine) should also swear the obseruation thereof in the same name, and in the presence of such as it should please the King to send: His Maiefty would not employ any other then such as had serued him so worthily in the conclusion thereof, as *Belieure* and *Brulart*, two of the chiefe of his Councell, and him whose valour in the recovery of Amiens, had much advanced the end of this war. This honour was accompanied with another, that was greater and more durable, vpon the chiefe of this Ambassage. The King doth neuer forget to recompence great and generous actions, he would haue the Marshall *Biron* as well a president of his fauours, as of the loyalty of his seruice: and therefore he erected his Barony of Biron into a Duchy, and made him Peere of France. He was receiued in the Parliament with a general applausie and testimony of all the Assitants, that these honours, although they were great, did not equal the greatness of his merits. He made a solemne least for this new dignity. The King went from Saint *Germaine* to honour him with his presence: witnessing that this was not the end nor period of the honours wherewith he would reward the peruerse of his seruices, and the constancy of his affection. At that time there was nothing in him that was lesse to be admired then imitated. Slander could not cause any corruption in a body inspired with the life of honour and valour (as flies breed not wormes but in dead bodies) and hee that had spoken ill of him, should haue gotten no credit. He had not yet receiued that pestilent infection which corrupted his blood, and deprived him of all judgment. Reprehension had no power ouer him: but when as he spake vnreuerently of the King; one of his Friends was then the Oracle of his fortune, who told him plainly, That if he did not forbear his licentious speeche, he would repent it. What can they do, answered he? The other replied; That which you feare not. And pressing him to speake more plainly; his friend (knowing that Princes are very apprehensieue and sensible; and that the offences which they dissemble most, they pardon least) said vnto him, halfe in choler, & halfe in least, That the King would cut off his head. This threat was so vnlikely, as he made a least of it. The bad intentions which began to seize vpon his soul in this Ambassage of Flanders, haue verified the prediction. Nothing could make him vnhappy, but the excess of his happines, which deprived him of all government and modesty. If he had beene lesse fortunate, he had beene more wise. It was no strange thing, to make the sonne of the Marshall *Biron*, Marshall of France. An ancient house might well be honoured with the title of a Duchy, a great Captaine, who had to great a share in the restauration of France, deserved the honour and title of a Peere, but this was to recompence him in the midst of his course, for all that he might expect at the end of his carriere.

The first seruice the Duke of Biron did after this new dignity, was the voyage of Flanders. He made his assembly at Peronne, from whence he went to lye at Cambray. In the mid way, the Earle of Sore, Lieutenant Generall of that Country, met him, who (after he had saluted him with a long and respectiue discourse) told him, That he had commandement from his Master to doe him seruice in that voyage, and to accompany him vnto Bruxelles. They of Cambray feasted him in their Towne-houise. He had the like entertainment at Valenciennes and at Mons. Being arriued at our Lady of Halle, three leagues from Bruxelles, he found a Steward of the Archdukes, and fifty of his guard to attend him. The next day (which was the first after his departure) hee was met vpon the way to Bruxelles, by the Earle of Mansfield, the Duke of Aumale, and the Prince of Orange, with about two hundred horse in the Archdukes name, and so conducted through the city vnto his lodging.

Hee rested the Friday, and the next day hee went to haue audience of the Archduke. Hee was accompanied by Count *Mansfield*: *Belieure* by the Duke

Deputies sent from the King to the Archduke to take his oath.

Charles Gontault of Biron created Duke of Biron, and Peere of France.

A feast made at Paris by the Duke of Biron as Iunc.

1598

A Duke D' *Aumale*, and *Brulart* with the Prince of Orange. Thus they entered into the Arch-dukes chamber, whom they found alone without any one but the Bishop of Antwerpe, and the President *Richardot*. The D. of Biron began to discourse, and *Belieure* continued it halfe an houre after. On the Sunday following, the Duke of Biron went to the Cathedral Church, the Arch-duke hauing sent him twenty Carosses for himselfe and his traine: There did the Arch-duke solemnly swear the obseruation of the peace in the name of the King of Spaine. From thence the Duke of Biron went on horsebacke to the Archdukes palace, where he dined. At the Arch-dukes table sat the Duke of Biron, *Belieure*, *Brulart*, the Count *Mansfield*, the Duke of Aumale, the Prince of Orange, and the Bishop of Antwerpe. At another table were some twenty French Gentlemen, chosen by the Duke of Biron, and eight or ten Spaniards and Wallons. After dinner the Arch-duke caused them to see a gallery full of goodly pictures of the country, and from thence he led them into the Parke, in the midst whereof is the house whereas the Emperour *Charles* the first retired himselfe, when as he resigned his Empire and other Estates. The next day the Earle of *Mansfield* invited the Duke of Biron with some dozen of French Gentlemen to dinner: after dinner they put themselves in a round, euery one with a glasse full of wine in his hand, and in this order, the Earle said: Seeing we haue begun our *folies* in wine, it is fit wee should leave them there: and so he spilt the wine, and brake his glasse; the which was imitated by all the rest.

C So after some dayes spent in feasting, the Archduke hauing presented the D. of Biron with two faire horses, gold, plate, a rich iewel, and a rapier, with girdle and hangers set with precious stones, (all which were esteemed at ten thousand crownes) hauing also giuen to *Belieure* and *Brulart* rich fures of Tapistry, and chaines of gold, and to euery one of the French Gentlemen, a rapier blade, and a paire of Spanish gloves, they returned home very well satisfied. But the Duke of Biron did not so much respect what was giuen him, as the esteeme they made of his valour, if hee would employ it for the King of Spaines seruice. *Picard* did first infect him with this poison, (which caused a feuer, and proued incurable, but by that shameful effusion of his blood) whereof the King was presently aduertised by a true-hearted Frenchman, who remained at that time in the Arch-dukes Court. The Duke of Saouy, who enjoyed the same benefit of the Peace, was bound to the obseruation thereof by the like forme.

The King sent to *Monsi de la Guiche* Gouverneur of Lions, that he would willingly haue giuen him that charge, but that he feared his absence might somewhat preiudice the good of his affaires, and his indisposition not suffer him to performe the voyage. Hee therefore commanded *Guadagnes* Seneschall of Lyon, and Knight of both Orders, to vndertake this charge. The oath was taken in the Friars Church of Chambray, on Sunday the second of August, where the Duke was assisted withall his Knights of the *Annunciado* and to witness the content which he had of this peace and reconciliation with his Maiefty, hee said vnto *Guadagnes*, that hee held this day the happiest of all the dayes of his life, and that all E which remained, should be to maintaine and honour the memory thereof. That it were not onely an indiscretion, but a blindness and a madnesse for him to change the felicities of peace, for the miseries of warre. The D. gaue vnto *Guadagnes*; and to the chiefe Gentlemen of his traine, Jewells, horses, chaines of gold; and to all, so many good words, as there was not any one but did wish him more profit by this peace then he reaped. He refused not any thing that was demanded of him in the execution of the Treaty, for the deliuerie and ranfome of prisoners, but onely the liberty of the Admirall *Chastillon* wife. He made answer to the instance which *Guadagnes* made in the Kings name: That the respect he bare vnto his Maiesties commandements, was so great, as to please him he would restore her goods, and giue her some more liberty, whilst that he might giue his Maiefty to vnderstand the iust causes of her restraint.

F That whatsoever had beene decreed at Rome, for her absolution, was rather in fauour of his Maiefty, then for any reason, for that he was seized vpon books and writings that were execrable and damnable. The afflictions of this Lady did moue the hearts of the chiefe Officers of this Crowne, and of many great Noblemen of the Realme, her kinsmen and allies. The King had commiseration of her: for her misfortunes, her imprisonment, losses and disgraces deserved pity. She was so transported with the good successe of the Kings affaires, that although she were among her enemies, yet the fire of her desires could

The Archduke swears the Peace.

The Archdukes presents to the Duke of Biron.

Monsi de Refika aduertised the King of the D. of Biron's practice.

The D. of Saouy swears the peace.

Jequeine Countesse of Ansermet, wife to the Admirall, was prisoner at Luree, and there dyed.

1598

The Constable
the Cardinal of
Loyenne, the
Duke of
Loyenne, and
M. Dandieu
inspired the
Legat to do her
justice.

The Count
telle of an-
tremous
Letter to
Peter Sta-
rion.

Customs
militar-
factions
caise.

Complaints
from the towne
of Geneva.

The Dukes
precautions.

After the peace
in the year
1559, and in the
year 1569.
The saying of
armes consid-
dered the 4 of
August 1568,
published in
the Court of
Parliament 13.

could neither be smothered vnder the ashes of affliction, nor vnder the fume of dis- simulation. If he could haue done that whereof they accused her, shee would haue made as sudden alterations on the earth, as *Henry* King of Sweden did in the ayre, and as admirable : as her will was absolute to desire that the King might overcome his enemies, and haue satisfaction for Nice and Salusses.

Vpon the hope that this peace should giue her some content, and that the Kings commendation by his Ambassadour should giue some truce to her miseries, she wrote a Letter of the pitifull course of her misfortunes, whereby appeared the excellency of her spirit, in these words : Although (saith she) the comparison be as different as betwix an Elephant and a Gnat, yet are they both vegetative and sensitiue creatures. My fortune, and that of B my house, hath alwayes followed that of France and the Kings : for as since his marriage, I haue alwayes scene my Estate declining, euen vnto the period of a totall ruine, by the ill successe of his affaires : so now when as God hath powred his blessings vpon him, that hee hath reuenged him of his enemies, euen by his enemies ; and that against the conspiracies of the wicked, and the iudgement of the good, hee doth enioy his inheritance, I will hope there shall be some change in my condition. I desire it may be good : but if it proue otherwise, I will not alter my resolution, to receive both good and euill as from the hand of God. I haue this aduantage ouer fortune, that hereafter her iniuries how violent and sudden so euer, shall not be strange vnto me. I am inured to my afflictions, as a gally-slave to his oare. Necessity teacheth me to suffer constantly, and custome makes my C sufferance easie.

The King also gaue *Guadignes* charge, to let the Duke vnderstand, that he had receiued three severall complaints from the Citie of Geneva ; that his troopes which hee entertained thereabouts, vsed insupportable hostility, tooke prisoners, chopt and changed them, and that his Maiestie desired the towne might reape the fruit and safety which the common good of the peace did promise them, and that the Dukes troopes might be retired, to the end all ialousie and distrust might cease. The Duke would not answer hereunto by writing, lest (saith he) he should preiudice the pretensions which hee had to that towne, for aboute foure hundred yeares : saying onely, that he did not thinke it had been comprised in the Treaty of peace, for that all other townes and Prouinces had bene particularly named, and not that of Geneva. That he could not free his neighbors from feare and distrust, but in retiring his troopes that were about the towne, to refresh them in Lombardy, he should take away the cause, having no intention to prefer warre before the happinesse of peace. He therefore commanded *D. Iuan de Mendoza* a Spaniard, to draw his regiment, which consisted of 1200 men, out of the territories of Geneva, and to passe to Milan.

A peace being proclaimed in France, the King applies his thoughts to reforme all disorders, and to administer Iustice to all his subiects : and for the better assurance of the publike tranquillitie, he did as his predecessors had done in the like occasions: prohibiting, by the aduice of his Princes, Officers of his Crowne, and Lords of his Council, the carriage and vse of Harguebuzes, Petronels, Pistols, Pistolets, and other weapons, which carried fire, vpon confiscation of Armes and horse, and two hundred Crownes fine for the first offence, and to be kept in prison vntill the money were payed : and for the second, losse of goods and life, without hope of remission. Allowing all men to flay and arrest all such as should carie such prohibited armes eight dayes after the publication of the Edict. None were excepted, but the foure hundred Archers, and the foure Companies of horse, of the guards of his Maiesties person, when as they waited in quarter; the Archers of the Prouost of his household, of the Constable and Marshalls of France, and they of the company of Light-horse belonging to the Duke of Vendosme, who by the Edict might carie Pistols when as they were in seruice. And to free his subiects from the oppression of souldiers, and to accustom them to obedience, to whom it is troublesome in the secur- est peace, hee cut off the companies, as well of horse, as of the regiments of foot : but this restraint was onely that which they might well forbear. It is dangerous to leaue in Estate long without armes. A disarmed peace is weak. The King therefore reserved the places vpon the frontiers, which remained still fortified with ordinary guards. The guards appointed for Governours and Lieutenants generall of Prouinces were suspended, and the companies of men at Armes were reduced to a lesser number. Such whose spirits could

1598

A could not liue in the cessation of armes, and which were good Capitaines in the time of warre (like vnto *Marius*) but ill Citizens in peace, and leaue to goe seek the exercise thereof in Flanders and Hungary.

Peace doth change the exercise of Warre into hunting : the King made it his dayly exercise. Being one day hunting in the great Forest of Fontainebleau, there was heard about halfe a League off, a great cry of hounds and the winding of hornes, and suddenly all this noise which seemed to be farre off, came (to his iudgement) within twenty paces of his care. He commanded the Count *Saiffons* to set out, to see what it was, thinking that no man durst presume so boldly to interrupt his sports : the Earle aduancing, heard the noise, yet could not discern whence it came. A bigge blacke man presented himselfe in the thickest of the bushes, crying out, *Doe you vnderstand me*, and then hee suddenly vanished away at those words. They which were discreet, thought it great indifferency to stay longer there hunting. The Heards-men thereabouts say it is a spirit, which they call the great Hunter, who hunts in this Forest : others hold, that it is *S. Huberts* chafe, the which is also heard in other places.

Many Noblemen, and Gentlemen retired themselves now vnto their governments and priuate houses : the King having said long before, that hee would force euery man to liue of his owne, and not to importune him any more. Neuer any Edict was better obserued then this speech, for euen then hee refused to employ the remainder of his reuenues in C publike necessities, and not in the prodigalities of *Vittellius*, nor for the enriching of priuate men, saying, that he would ease the poore, & giue example vnto the rich to content themselves with little, and to liue accordingly. The Constable went to his government of Languedoc, hauing obtained of the King a reuerfion of his government for *Henry* of Montmorency his sonne. The King in his wisdom, thought he could not sufficiently grace a house which hath brought forth so many Governours, Admirals, Marshals, and Constables : and which vnder the name of *Montmorency* comprehends that of Horne and Laual, which hath giuen wiues to Kings of France and Dukes of Britany. The Letters Patentes were read and registred in the Court of Aydes, as Montpelier, the Duke of Vantadour being President, and the Bishops of Agde and Nismes assisting.

D The order which the King did kittle for the affaires of his House, was a president to all France, shewing the religious desire which he had to see his subiects enioy the fruits thereof. His iustice would not suffer them to be charged and surcharged with impossible duties, seeing that the violence of the warre had left them nothing but their tongues to complain, being like vnto askinck laid vpon a dead maans bones. Yet notwithstanding they were forced to pay the publike charges for the fruits which they had not gathered. And therefore the King did vnto his subiects, as *Constantine* and *Theodosius* did vnto them of the Empire, by a generall discharge of the remainder of their Taxe and Tributes. He also sent, according to the resolution of the Estates held at Roan, many great personages, as well of his Council, as of other companies, to examine the necessities of his people, to order the Taxes and Tributes, and to protect the weak from the oppression and violence of such as during the ciuill warres had scene no light of iustice, but through the flame of Harguebuzes : hauing so abused the time, as to enioy the priuledge of Nobles, they would be so esteemed rather by their shew, then by the vse and seruice of the sword : and when as the Law (which doth chiefly binde Noblemen by reason of their tenures and titles of Nobility, to the duties of Armes) hath conuined them to succour the necessities of their Prince and Country, they haue thrust themselves among the people, liuing idly in townes, or in the delights of their houses, so long as fire and danger was in field. Men unworthy of the name of men, of Gentlemen, and of Frenchmen. The Commissioners forced these kind of gallants to pay, who by pretended Letters of their Gentry, and abuse of the Priuileges, had laid their Taxes vpon the people.

While the King labours to reforme all abuses, and to root out disorders : the Deputies of the Clergy of France (being assembled together at Paris, with the Kings permission) beseech his Maiesty to reforme the disorders of the Church. Which speech was delivered with great reuerence before his Maiesty, by the reuerent *Francis de La Guesle* Archbishop of Tours, accompanied with many of the said Deputies of the Clergy. The Summe whereof was :

That it would please his Maiesty, that the holy Council of Trent might be receiued.

liii 2

and

The King haue
in the
Forest of Fon-
tainebleau.

He enter-
taines
them.

Proposition of
irregularie.

Vittellius in 8
months con-
sumed 22 mil-
lions 50000
Crownes, Tail

Nere 400 yeeres
since *Methue*
of Montmoren-
cy Constable of
France, let two
fences of the
first came diat
of Montmoren-
cy, the second
took the name
of Laual which
was his mothers

Taxes required.

The Clergy of
France petition
vnto the King.

1598

"and published in France, with such necessary qualifications as concerne the French liberties, the Immunities of Churches, and the privileges of Parliaments.

"That his Maieſtie would not charge his conſcience with the nomination vnto Biſhopricks, Abbeyes, and other Benefices hauing charge of ſoules: for that hee ſhould one day giue an account of the ſoules that periſhed for want of inſtruction, and for want of adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments.

"That lay-penſions giuen in recompence to Noblemen and Gentlemen vpon the ſaid nominations, may be reuoked.

"That Clergy-men may bee ſuffered to enioy their liuinges quietly without charge, but onely to doe their duties in the ſeruite of God and the Church.

"That Churches may not be prophaned, nor the Incumbents houſes ſuffered to goe to ruine, but to be well and duly maintained, to the end they may not pretend any iuſt cauſe of non-refidence: and to ſeparate them from the common and licentious conuerſing with the people, for the auoiding of ſcandals which doe often follow.

"That all reuerſions of Benefices may bee taken away, as well for that it is againſt the Canon law, and the holy Conſtitutions of Councils, as alſo for that it is a cauſe to ſhorten the liues of the Incumbents.

"That the contracts before-time paſſed betwixt their Maieſties and the Clergy, may be confirmed without breach, or ſuppoſition, for the Subſidie granted vnto his Maieſty by the Clergy.

"That it would alſo pleaſe his Maieſtie to provide them conuenient remedies vpon the complaints which they had preſented vnto him.

The King with the reſpect which his predeceſſors haue alwayes borne to the firſt of the three Orders of his Realme, thinking that the honor which is done vnto the Clergy, hath a reference vnto God, and that Biſhops, although they be his vaffals and ſubiectes, are no leſſe then the Miniſters and Ambaſſadors of the liuing God, and Interpreters of his holy will, he anſwers them in this manner.

"I confeſſe that what you haue ſaid is true, but I am not the author of theſe innouations: theſe miſchiefs were brought in before my coming. During the Warres I haue run to the greateſt fire to quench it: I will now doe what is needfull in time of peace. I know that Religion and Iuſtice be the foundations and pillars of this Eſtate, the which is maintained by piety and iuſtice. But if they were not, I would plant them by little and little, as I doe all things. With the helpe of God I will ſettle the Church in as good Eſtate as it was an hundred yeares ſince, as well for the diſcharge of my conſcience, as for your content: but Paris was not all built in one day. Let the people be as much perſwaded by your good examples to doe well, as they haue beene heretofore diſſwaded. You haue exhorted mee of my duty. I doe admoniſh you of yours: let vs all doe good. Goe you one way, and I will goe another: if we meet, wee ſhall ſoone haue done. My predeceſſors haue giuen you Words, but I with my gray Iacket will giue you Deeds. I am all gray without, but I am all of gold within. I will write vnto my Councell to ſee your complaints, and will provide for you as fauourably as I may.

"During theſe admonitions of the Clergy, the Cardinall of Florence moued the King for the reſtitution of the Leſuits. The 7 Article of the Treaty of peace at Veruins did ſuffer the ſubiectes and ſeruants of either ſide, as well Clergy-men as Lay, to returne and enioy their Offices, Benefices, and Reuenues, obtaining permiſſion and Letters Patents vnder the broad ſcale from the Prince. Many thought that the Leſuits ſhould be comprehended in this Article, and that if by this peace the Spaniards were held Allies, and as it were couſin germanes to the French, thoſe whom the Kings Adoucate had the yeare before in open Parliament termed *Emiſſaires* to the King of Spaine, ſhould now returne to their Colledges, from whence they had been expelled by a ſentence giuen in December, in the yeare 1594. But the light of peace ſhines not vpon them. The new world which it doth produce hauing caſt the cinders of Warre, Rancor and Reuenge into the aire, allows them no retreat within the iuriſdiction of Paris. The Decrees which had baniſhed them, are grauen in Marble, the Water of Prayers, Fauours and Teares, although it pierceſt ſtones, preuailes nothing. Their enemies had taxed them with the making of certaine writings which offended the Court, whoſe authoritie is alwayes wronged in the offences which concerne the Princes honor. This made them reuie the firſt reſtraints not to ſend any

The Kings
anſwer to
the Clergy

The Leſuits
ſeek to be
reſtored.

1598

A any youth to the Schooles of their Order, as to Tournon, to Pont-au-Mouſſon, and other places, both within and without the Realme, and to declare, that ſuch as ſhould be inſtructed & taught in their Colledges, ſince the Decree made the 29 of December 1594, ſhould not enioy the priuiledges of Vniuerſities, as incapable of the degrees thereof: Neither might they by vertue of any Degrees obtained, teach publicly, nor be aduanced to any Offices or Benefices, ſit for Graduates, nor receiued Adoucates in any Courts or Seates of Iuſtice.

The Court had giuen commandement to the Earle of Tournon to expell them his country, vpon a great penalty contained in the Decree, and for that he had not performed

B it, his goods and Iuriſdiction were put into the Kings hands, and his Office of Senefhall of Auvergne declared void. But although the Parliament of Paris may terme it ſelfe the onely Parliament of France, and the Court of Peeres: that it is the fountaine, and the reſt but little riuers, yet her Decrees preſcribe no lawes to other Parliaments: That of Thoulouſa prohibited the Earle of Tournon to obey that of Paris. The Leſuits are yet there, their Colledges are frequented, their returne deſired, and the exerciſe of Sciences as famous as euer. The defendes to goe thither haue but augmented the number. The Kings Adoucate pleading vpon this ſubiect, ſaid they were the Authors of ſome execrable Pamphlets which he named not. It was a booke printed in Flanders, for the apology of a miſerable Parricide, a prodigious Aſſaſſine, and a wicked Martyr, written with a pen of ſteele, and with inke of blood. Some ſay, the Author hath aduowed it, and iuſtified the Leſuits.

C When they ſaw that this new ſtorme began to threaten them in the calme of publique tranquillitie, and that they had obtained letters from the Parliament of Bourdeaux, to chaſe them out of all Guienne, they had recourſe to the Kings Iuſtice: there is nothing that doth more aduance the greatneſſe of the Soueraigne, nor aſt of greater reuerence, then to demand Iuſtice. Many things may be obtained from others, onely Iuſtice comes from the Prince. One equal may doe good to another, but the Soueraigne onely can doe iuſtice: wherefore in demanding iuſtice by their petition, they ſaid it was a right due vnto them; yea, were they the moſt guilty men in the world, it ſhould bee granted them ſo much the more freely, for that their Iuſtification concerned the good and reputation of the Realme.

D Since that time they haue been incountred both in Verſe and Proſe, and they haue defended themſelues learnedly. The more they fought to make them ſeeme unworthy of their returne, the more they defended the iuſtice and neceſſity of their re-eſtabliſhment.

At the ſame time was concluded the mariage of Madam Katherine Princeſſe of France and of Nauarre, the Kings only Siſter, with the Marquis of Pont, Duke of Bar, and Prince of Lorraine, after many iourneys made by the ſaid Prince vnto the moſt Chriſtian King: in which accord there were great difficulties, as wel by reaſon of the diuerſitie of Religion (the ſaid Princeſſe reſuſing to leaue the reformed, wherein ſhe had been bred) as alſo for that ſhe could not be perſwaded to goe out of France. She had beene formerly fought by many great Princes, to whom ſhe would not conſent, for the one or the other of theſe

E two cauſes, and ſometimes for both together. Francis Monſieur Duke of Alençon deſired her in the yeare 1582, but the difficulty was then greater for matters of Religion. And before that, King Henry the third coming out of Poland did aſſect her: and it was thought, that if he had ſeene her at Lyons at his returne, he would haue married her: but Katherine de Medicis the Queene-mother deſcribed her to bee a dwarfie (the which was moſt falſe) for ſhe was of a meane ſtature, and of a good countenance. It is true, ſhe had one legge ſomewhat ſhorter then another (which is a marke of the houſe of Albrecht: for ſo had Alain Lord of Albrecht, Father to King Iohn, great Grandfather to the ſaid Princeſſe Katherine.) The Queene-mother did this good turne for her God-daughter, ſeeking to diſgrace the K. of Nauarre, whom ſhe hated from his youth, vpon an imagination, being told by an Italian Sooth-layer, that he ſhould ſucceed her children. Then the D. of Lorraine (who ſince was her father-in-law) fought her. The Prince of Conde ſought her. The K. of Spaine ſent to ſee her, in the yeare 1580, promiſing great aduancement to the King of Nauarre.

This failing, the Duke of Sauoy ſent twice in the yeare 83, promiſing no way to im- peach her religion. His Agent being reſuſed, he went into Spaine about his mariage with the *Infanta Catharina Michelle*. In the yeare 86 the King of Scotland ſent Maſter Meluin a Scottiſh-man, and others. The Prince of Anhalt being come to the ſuccour of the King her brother, at his firſt coming to the Crowne of France, demanded her himſelfe in

perſon:

Decree againſt
the Earle of
Tournon.

Leſuits make a
Petition to the
King.

The Kings only
Siſter ſuſtained
to the Prince
of Lorraine.

1598 person : but through the necessitie of the Warres which were dispersed throughout all France, he returned as he came, with some discontent. During these warres, two Princes of the blood affected her, the Earle of Soissons, and the Duke of Montpensier; but the nearness of blood, the diversitie of Religion, and the difficulty of affaires, hindred the effect of their desires. So as in the end he enjoyed her to whom God had appointed her. The ceremonies observed at this marriage, we will shew in the following year.

Treaty at
Boulogne.

Suprema Lex
salus populi.

The King sick
at Monceaux,

Frugality
maintains: hat
which valone
hath gotten,

The King at the conclusion of the Treaty of Veruins, was desirous that his good Sister the Queen of England should be comprehended therein. But it was an accord which the King of Spaine would make apart : for the effecting whereof, the King did offer the Towne of Boulogne for an interview of the Deputies, where they met of both sides : but the Ceremony for Precedence made it fruitlesse. For whereas the Deputies of England would not give place to them of Spaine, they returned without doing any thing : neither was there any of them that thought it reasonable, to purchase a peace with such prejudice to his Princes service : They say, that the peoples health is the Soueraigne law : but that which concerns the respect of the Prince, and the ranke which hee is to hold before others, is alwayes immutable. There are some lawes mortall, and others which neuer dye. Those have their continuance according to the time : Necessity makes the other allayes durable, for the perpetual good they find in the obseruation, as *Lucius Valerius* said, pleading against the Opian law. Of the condition of these mortall lawes is the right of Precedence. He that shall suffer the diminution, as not worthy of the increase.

During this dispute for the Precedence, the King was at Monceaux to take the diet. The Physicians had given him so great liberty to eat Melons of Chenonceau and Lyons, as he felt it, and paid dearly for the taste of his delights : for the third day of his dyet walking in his doublet in his gallery at Monceaux, a fever took him, which turned his dyet into speedier remedies, and brought him to that estate, as many built their hopes vpon the despaire of his health : and there were posts attended, ready to carie these bad newes. But the dignities of troubles and factions dyed, when as they saw him recouer his former health. Th: Duchesse of Beaufort serued him in this sickness, with an affection and care equall to the loue which makes the lower feeble the same griefe that the beloued doth. It was the same time when as she hoped to be as well Queene of France, as she reigned in the Kings heart. They said that our Dauphins should be *Cesars* or *Alexanders*, and that that which had bin but a sport or pleasure, should now be made a contract of necessity. Being recovered, he came to *S. Germain* in *Lay*, there to end the yeare, and to resolute vpon his expences. Hee would haue the aduice of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, to acquaint them with the estate of his affaires, to the end that if euerly man did not obtaine what he demanded, he should impute the cause vnto necessity. The great tables charged with vnknowne superfluities (more esteemed for the price and rarenesse, then for the taste or necessitie) were then cut off by the Kings example, which hath alwayes more force, then either law or correction. Excesse was conuerted into frugalitie, so necessary is an Estate, as the Romanes were so lefse bound to the Figs and Carrots of the *Fabricii* and *Curi*, then to their swords.

Then was there scene a new order in the disposition of the Kings Treasure, by the care and inductions of the Marquis of Rhofny, vnto whom his Maiestie gaue the charge of Superintendant. From the first day he let them know, how hard it was to draw money out of the Kings coffers : and for his many dealers in it as were wont to be, there should now be but one. His humour seemed frange : he cared not for all the petty gods, so as he pleased *Iupiter*, as *Apuleius* saith. He refused many things, to the end that the grant might be referred for the King, and all fauours recieued from his Maiesties only hand, and not from any other, the which hath purchased him many enemies, who envying his prosperitie and condition, desire the ouerthrow of his happinesse, and yet are constrained to admire the force and soundnesse of his vnderstanding. Those who raised to the Sollicite of their greatnesse, must confinde, that Princes fauours are alwayes perillous. It is a difficult thing to stand long time vpon this Ice : and the fall, how gentle so euer, will neuer suffer him to rise againe : the which is proued in *Tiberius* to *Sciannus*, *Charles* the sixth, so *Iohn Montaigne* and many others.

I have learned of a great personage, Ambassador to a Prince of Germany, three words which hee caried grauen in a clocke. Hee said them once a day, and did thinke of them

A continually, *Favour may turne into disfaour, and grace into disgrace.* But he that serueth his master according to his owne heart, that doth nothing against his conscience, and that governes his intentions according to law, iustice, and equity, and neuer abandons the helm, although the wind beat his Barke, he needs not to feare any thing. Fortune must alwayes yeeld vnto Vertue.

They talke of nothing at Court but feasts and triumphs. The King maries in the end of the last moneth of the year, and *Katherine* his only filster, had beene promised to the Marquis of Pont, Prince of Lorraine, and Duke of Barr. The Contracts were, That the presence of the Duke of Lorraine, who came into France. The conditions were, That the said Lady should be entailed Duchesse of Albret, Countesse of Armagnac, and of Rhodiz, Vicountesse of Limoges, and should haue for her yeerely portion an hundred thousand crownes : and in case she had any children, they should cary the same titles, and be provided for. And in case she did suruive him, she should enioy the Duchy of Barr in Barrois, with a yeerely pension, taken out of the reuenues of Lorraine. This done, the ancient alliances which had bin betwixt these two Houses, were renewed, and the mariage was consummated : but there was first some question touching the Reformed Religion, in which the had beene bred, the which she would not change, by reason (as she said) of her deceased mother, *Queene Iane* of Navarre, whose life and actions were held worthy to be imitated. She did with all her heart affect that which did concerne the liberty of conscience throughout all France, beseeching the King often to let her see the assurances thereof whilst she was in France, and not to suffer his Edicts to remaine without execution being proclaimed, & without a durable obseruation being executed. She was daughter to a mother who preferred safety of conscience before assurance of honours and greatness, yet then life it selfe, being accustomed to faye to them of her part, that armes should not be layd downe, but with these three conditions, either an assured peace, an absolute victorie, or an honest death. Moreover, she apprehended the reproach of inconstancy at that age, if she should change her religion, having returned vnto it after shee had bene a while Catholicke: yet she promised her future husband to suffer her selfe to be instructed and to doe what he pleased.

D The King seeing his sisters resolution, did what he could to reclaim her by mildness, propounding unto her his owne example, and giuing her to vnderstand by some words, that the most otherwife looke for no fauour at his hands. Seeing he could not preuaile, before he signed the said contract (which was at Monceaux, a Castle belonging to the Duchesse of Beaufort, whom the King loued) the common brute was, that shee did greatly preesse this marriage, by reason of her pretensions: about the end of the yeare, the King told her, that his meaning was not to force her, neither for her religion, nor for her marriage. He aduised his future brother in law to doe his dutie, and to discharge his confidence: He also advertised him of one expedient, which was, to remove certaine women, and other persons, from about the said Lady, for that her traine consisted of Catholikes, and others, **E** and amongst those others, there were some willfull and contentious, in whom the said Lady trusted much, for that they had bene bred vp in her seruice from her cradle: but all that proceeded but from the poyntie of the said Lady.

The said Prince of Lorraine accompanied with his brother the Earle of Vaudmont, and other Noblemen of Lorraine, with three hundred Gentlemen well appointed, a little before January, this year 1599, arrived at Paris, in which month the King had appointed the day of the marriage. He entered by Saint Denis gate, the King doing him the honour to enter with him, having met him in the field as he came from hunting. The king led the said Duke his brother in law (calling him commonly brother) to the Louvre, where they supped together, and Madam his sister with them. The time was spent in dancing, and other exercises of recreation and pastime among the great Princes. The Kings sister for her part shewed all the contentment that might be, as she had good reason, having attained to that which she was accustomed to say, *Grata superueniet que non perabitur hora*: the said Lady being well instructed in the Latine tongue: and she did the more apprehend this Latine verse, for that some had given it forth, she would never be married.

According unto that which the said Lady had promised, to suffer her selfe to be instructed in the Catholike religion, it was resolved by his Maiesty, that there should be a conference betwixt some Catholike Doctors, and some Ministers of the Reformed religion,

Und Kann
Wol Fein
Werden,
Und raket
Nicht.

The Kings sister
married to the
Duke of Barr
the 31 of Janu-
ary, the con-
tract put at
Monte-nux
the 5 of Au-
gust, 1598.

Why ſhe would
not change her
Religion
Joane of Albret
Queene of Na-
uairre cauſed
twelue me-
dailles to be
made at Ro-
chel with this
inſcription,
Paix aſſuree,
Malice entiere,
morte hoſſie.
The King de-
ſires his ſiſter
ſhould be a
Catholike.

• The Prince of
Lorraine arrives
at Paris.

1599

in the presence of his sister: but they prevailed nothing for her conversion. The King foreseeing some inconveniences, resolved (as well to satisfy her conscience, as to avoid scandal) to have this instruction deferred until another time. And in the mean time they should proceed in the marriage. Hereupon there were some practices by the Ministers of the pretended reformed Religion, who would have the honour (said they) that the Kings only sister should be married by them: and that the Prince of Lorraine should seek his Spouse where she was, and that it was not convenient she should seek him in his Church. In truth this was plausible, and it seemed the Lady had a great interest in it. But the Prince on the other side, protested never to be married by a Minister: so as there was much arguing in what forme they should be married. But the King, by his accustomed wisdom, shewed the effects of his authority.

The thirtieth day of January being Sunday, in the morning, the King having advertised his sister over-night of his intention, and entreated the Prince of Lorraine to be ready, he goes and takes his sister at her rising, and conducts her by the hand into his cabinet, where her future Spouse was already. He commanded the worthy and reverend Archbishop of Roan his natural brother, to marry the said Marquis, Prince, and Duke, with the Princess and Daughters his Sister, by words of the present. Whereunto the said Archbishop at the first made some refusal: saying, *That his accustomed solemnities must be therein observed.* Whereunto he replied most learnedly, *That his presence was more than all other solemnities, and that his Cabinet was a sacred place.* And therefore having commanded the said Archbishop to go on, notwithstanding all difficulties, he proceeded then to the nuptial blessing of the said parties present, that were there conjoynd in marriage, even as if they had been in the greatest Church in Paris, which done, every one went to his devotion. Afterwards the King commanded his Sister to attire her selfe like a Bride: and so the feast was solemnly celebrated. All the great Officers did assist and serve there in their degrees, with all the grace and honour the King could devise to give unto the Prince of Lorraine his brother in law. This marriage was honoured with all kinds of sports and dancing.

About the end of February, the said Princess went with her husband into Lorraine, whereas the Duke gave her the greatest entertainment he could devise, embracing her as his owne child. There had been great heart-burning and discontentment, by reason of the diversity of Religion. The Kings intentions were, to drowne the remembrance of the bitterness of fore-past reigns, in the mildness of his government, and that the common feeling of so many miseries which they had suffered, and which had continued, should persuade them to grow familiar and friendly together, and to have no more occasion to remember things past, then his Majesty had meaning to remember his owne wrongs. Warre is not dead in an Estate whereas consciences are divided: it doth but sleepe, a small matter awakens it: there is nothing more apprehensive, or that doth pierce more violently into the persuasion of men, to bandy them one against another, then religion. Every man thinks his owne the better, and so judgeth of it, more by his owne zeale and passion, then through knowledge and reason.

The King, during the warre, had runne to those things which did most presse him, and to the dangers that did most import: he had deferred to reconcile this division, being grieved in his soule that the impiety of the warre would not suffer him to make shew of the fruits of his piety.

They of the reformed Religion, made many and great complaints, that the Kings Edicts were not observed nor kept: that they were not provided of all things necessary for the exercise of their Religion, the liberty of their consciences, and the safety of their persons and fortunes. They said moreover, that they desired not that the order of government of State should be changed to their profit, or of any foraine Prince: nor to have the State torne in pieces, to please the ambition of some few men, but onely to enjoy their consciences with peace, and their lives in safety. That so many iust requests granted unto them by the Edicts of Kings, predecessors to his Majesty, demanded and defended by himselfe, with so great zeale and vertue, had not bene hearkned unto vnder his reign, when and vnder whom they should best hope: and had it not been for the affection which they had unto his Greatness, and the foundation which they layd on his good wil towards them, they might lawfully and profitably have praised the wayes which they were forced to hold vnder Kings his predecessors. But they could not despaire any thing of him,

whom

Complaints of
a new of the Re-
ligion.

1599

A whom God by the protection of his Church had brought unto the succession of the Crowne, nor obtaine life then liberty and life, having spent their bloods so freely for him. They complained, that Preaching was banished from his Majesties Court, to banish them consequently from his House, where they could not serve him without serving of God. No good man might remaine there, but he was daily in danger of murdering, or to be hurt, without hope of comfort, or assurance of grace. That they practise daily to exclude them of the Religion from all charges and offices in the State, Iustice, Treasure and Policy, which they did neuer greatly affect, as his Majesty can best witness. They beseech him to iudge, if it be reasonable they should doe wrong unto their children, to deprive them by their dullness, to be held in future ages for Lewes within the Realme, in stead of the honourable ranke which their progenitors had left them, and which their service done unto his Majesty should have purchased them. That it was more tolerable to live vnder the truce of the deceased King, who was an enemy to their profession, yet he did grant unto them the exercise of their Religion, both in his army, and in his Court, allowed the Ministry at his owne charge, and gave them a towne of retreat in every Bayliwicke.

His Majesties good servants knew not what to answer to these generall complaints, knowing that it is more troublesome to be deprived of that which is promised and allowed, then of things but hoped for, which makes troubled minds to passe from the hope of good, to the expectation of ill; from long and fruitlesse patience, to seek for remedy. They knew well his Majesty was not without alarme: that hee would take no delight to see a Protector, and would be iealous they should address themselves to any other but himselfe. This Petition ended with bolder speeches then were fit for an obedient Estate, and for men that will seeme moderate and staid, who desire nothing but what shall please the Prince, and who should referre all their wils to his discretion. We cannot speake too humble, too reverently, to Kings. We must vie words of filke, as *Parisius* said: Sir, will you take from them all desire to have a Protector, free them of the necessity, beaen one to them your selfe, continue over them this first care, this first affection; prevent their supplications by a full motion, their iust demands by a voluntary grant of necessary things: when they should see you have care over them, they will not have it of themselves. But pardon him that should tell you, that they all doubt whether you have enough of your selfe. You know what hurts them, and what helps them: the petitions you presented for them to Kings your predecessors, for their liberties and safeties, take them now to your selfe. Doubtlesse since that time they have left nothing of their doctrine, they have done you great services, and should have purchased an increase in your authority, who may both report and fully satisfy their iust demands, and without any Deputies, and with more thanks, if you please, be both Iudge and Advocate.

Such were the discounts wherewith the King was daily importuned. The disposition of men, & above all of men of that sort, of Frenchmen of that religion, is to have a due spirit, the which are hardly stayed: to day a complaint, to morrow a petition, after that a Synod. This publike agitation profits them: they assemble, and dissolve not their Assembly before they know where they shall assemble againe.

The end of all these assemblies, was to obtaine an Edict from the King, so cleare and plaine, concerning all their necessities, as they should not be constrained to sue for any other: as they did not cease until the King had signed it, being at Nantes, after that he had reduced that Province unto his obedience, containing a Declaration of the Edicts of Pacification, and of the troubles growne in France for matter of Religion: the which was not allowed in the Court of Parliament at Paris, until the 25 of February this year 999, by reason of many oppositions and difficulties that were made. At Saint Germaine in Lay, *Berthier*, one of the Agents for the Clergy, made many petitions unto his Majesty, and did greatly importune the Lords of the Councell to consider of them. In like sort, the Bishop of Modena, who was then the Popes Nuncio in France, dealt in it, beseeching the King to deal for his subjects that were gone astray, as the honor of God might remaine whole, and the Church receive no prejudice: in so doing, his Holiness would endure all things for the peace of France.

Berthier demanded, that his Majesty would not suffer the Ministers of the reformed religion, to have any other liberty on this side the river of Loire, but to live quietly, and not

Exclusion from
publicke char-
ges shameful.
No man is held
a Citizen if he
be not partaker
of the brynour
of the Cities.

Honour of
them of the
Religion.

The last Edict
for Religion
at Nantes in
April 1598.

1599

not to be fought after. That the Catholike Religion should bee generally restored in all places, and Churchmen doe their offices without any danger. And thirdly, that the Clergy-men should be wholly freed from the vexations which they had suffered vntill that day, in townes and places held by them of the Religion, where they had taken away their pensions and reuenues, and in some provinces had forced them. His Maiesty granted the second and third Article: and as for the first, the King not being able to make any such prohibition without some trouble, it was let alone.

Contentation
eliciting their
Synods with
strangers.

There was also great contention in particular, betwixt the said *Berthier*, and some of the Reformed religion, touching the assembly of their Synods: the which they would haue free, without demanding leave from his Maiesty: maintaining that they might goe freely into foraine countries, and assist at their Synods and other Acts: and in like sort receive strangers into theirs, the which the Marshall of Bouillon had managed with some, who perhaps had not foreseen the danger: but *Berthier* contested it so vehemently against the Marshall in the Kings presence, as his reasons being heard, and the importance of the thing considered, that it was a meanes to continue their Leagues and Intelligences with strangers, to be ready to take armes at their pleasures, the which could not be but with the ruine of the State. The King having heard their contentations, and finding of what importance it was, he presently caused that article touching foraine Synods to be razed: forbidding them expressly to goe to any Assemblies without his permission, vpon paine to be declared traitors.

The Rector for the Vniuersity of Paris was also a sutor vnto his Maiesties Council, that none of the Reformed religion, nor their Schoolemasters and Tutors, might be admitted into any Colledges of the Vniuersity: but to be excluded from all priuiledges. Whereupon there was great debate, especially for the faculty of Physicke. But it was answered, that they should not be admitted to teach: And as for Humanitie and professions of Faculties, they should be admitted as the rest. And although the difficulties were great, and the conditions in some cases more beneficiall then in the first Treaties of peace: yet the common quiet of all France, shaken and almost ruined with the tragique violence of Schismes and Diuisions, hath made all to be held necessary that was iust, and just whatsoever was profitable. Although it were to be wished, that there were but one exercise of Religion, for that in this vnity consists all truth. But seeing the reparation of the Church is the work of God, as well as the building of it, we must be content with that which may be, and leaue the triumph and conquest of soules, to his eternall Wisedome: who alone makes and frames the heart as he pleaseth, and giues the signe vnto many soules that are gone astray, to make them enter into saluation, being impossible for man to impose any necessity to things which God hath left in liberty, as the conscience, the which should be as free in Estates as in our thoughts.

Our consciences
should be
free.

The Church hath alwayes detested Heresies, but they neuer employed the rigour of their iudgements, but against the Arch-Heresitikes, and but when they had shewed themselves obstinate in their errors: their punishments were more shamefull then cruel, more medicinall then mortall, desiring rather to see their faces blush for shame, then wet with blood. Neuer Prince well-advised, did put his subjects to death to force belief, destroyed his Provinces by Warre, to instruct their consciences by the sword: knowing well that Religion is an act of Vnion, of Concord, and of Instruction; and Warre is nothing but Sedition and Destruction. And those which in this world haue troubled both heauen and earth, to force their subjects consciences vnto one Religion, haue in the end been constrained and forced, to suffer them to liue free and in rest, rejecting and refusing the aduice of those bad Physicians, who applied nothing but Antimony and Phlebotomy to all diseases.

Private & Infi-
dels Princes
doe hurt.

By these reasons, the King (in whose person God hath done so many miracles, and poured forth a sea of blessings) seeing that the continuance of the warre had produced no other fruits but the ruine of Iustice and Pietie, which be the two vertues which doe cano- nize Princes, the two Pillars vpon whose firmnesse great *Clouis* was assured of the continuance of this Estate, he doth now confirme the Edict of Pacification of the troubles for matters of Religion, and wils that which he may, lest he should incur the note of such as seeke to correct things that are incorrigible, and shew that the fore is greater then the remedy, that some things haue taken such deepe root, as they cannot bee pulled vp. Time

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A Truth and Reason haue proued, that this Edict was most iust, most necessary, and most profitable. Yet the Court of Parliament could not allow of this fraternity and communication of Offices: saying, That they should not be transported with the ambition of honours, but content themselves with the tranquility of conscience: that it is not convenient in one estate, to haue great offices executed by men of diuers Religions, being a thing vnusult, to haue the new intreated as well as the ancient. They found a great difference betwixt this Edict and the Precedent, and refused to allow it. The King sent for the chiefe of them, and spake vnto them in this manner.

You see me in my Cabinet, where I come to speake vnto you, not attired in any Royall ornaments, nor with cloake or rapier, as my predecessors: nor as a Prince that comes from receiuing of Ambassadors: but apparelled like a Father of a Family in his doublet and hose, to speake familiarly to his children. That which I haue to say vnto you, is to desire you to confirme the Edict which I haue granted to them of the Religion. That which I haue done, is for the good of the peace. I haue made it without, I desire to settle it within my Realme. You ought to obey me, if there were no consideration but my quality, and the bond whereby all my subjects are tied vnto me, and you especially of my Court of Parliament. I haue restored some to their houses from whence they are expelled: and others to their credit, which was lost.

If obedience was due to my Predecessors, there is as much or more deuotion due vnto me, who haue settled the State. God hath made choice of me to put me in possession of the Realme, which is mine owne, both by succession and acquisition. The Iudges of my Parliament should not sit in their seats but for me. I will not bragge, but I dare boldly say, that I haue no example to imitate, but my selfe. I know there haue bene factions in the Parliament: that they haue stirred vp seditious Preachers. But I will take good order for such people, and will not attend your pleasures. In former times they haue punished them with great severity, that haue preached lesse seditiously then they doe now. It is the course they tooke to make the barricadoes, and by degrees to murder the deceased King, I will cut vp all these factions by the roots: and will shorten all them that shall nourish them. I haue leaped our towne-walls, I will easily passe our barricadoes. They should not obiect vnto me the Catholike Religion, nor the respect of the holy Sea. I know the duty which I owe the one as the most Christian King, and the honour of the name which I carry, and the other as the first sonne of the Church. Those which thinke themselves to be in good termes with the Pope, are deceived. I am more then they. When I shall undertake it, I will make you all to be declared Heretikes for disobeying of me.

The Maiesty of Kings is alwayes wronged by the contempt of their decrees: but the offence is alwayes greater, when it comes from them that should see them to be obeyed. Those which deny the execution of my Edicts, desire warre. I will proclaim it to morrow against them of the Religion: but I will not make it my selfe, I will send them: I haue made the Edict, I will haue it obserued, my will should serue for reason, the which is neuer demanded of the Prince in an obedient State. Their wils should be put in execution, and not interpreted: And yet I say vnto you, that necessity and profit hath drawne mee vnto it. I haue done it by the aduice of all my Council, who haue found it good and necessary for the estate of my affaires, and the good of my seruice: to settle concord, and to disperse all the miseries which discord doth bring forth.

Some haue complained, that I would make leaues of Suisses, or of other troops. If I did, they must thinke it were to some good end, by reason of all my actions past. Witnesse that which I haue done for the recovery of Auiens, where I haue employed the money of the Edicts which you would not haue passed, if I had not come my selfe vnto the Parliament. Necessity hath forced me to make this Edict: by the same necessity I haue heretofore played the fouldier.

They haue talked at their pleasures, and I haue not seemed to regard it. I am now a King, and speake as a King, I will be obeyed. There is not any one of you that finds me not good when he hath need of me. And there is not any one but hath need once in the year, and yet you're bad to me that am so good. If other Parliaments (for that they haue impugned my will) haue bene the cause that they of the Religion haue demanded new things, I would not haue you the cause of other innovations, by your refusal. In the year 1594 and 95, when I sent vnto you a Declaration vpon the Edict, for the promouing of Offices, I did

1599

The Court of
Parliament op-
posed against
the Edict.

The Kings
speech to
the Court
of Parliam-
ent.

A Prince
pines no
reason of
his Edict.

Necessity
the first
reason and
the main
cause of
the Edict.

1599

"did then promise, that I would not aduance any one of the Religion to offices in the Court of Parliament. Since time hath altered the affaires, we must accommodate our felues thereto: and yet I will be well assured of such as I shall aduance to those charges, that they shall gouerne themselves as they ought.

400 pound
feeling.

"Talk not so much of the Catholike religion. To all these great criers, Catholikes and Ecclesiastikes, let mee giue to one a thousand crownes a yeare in Benefices, to another foure thousand Liures of rent, they will not speake a word more. I haue the same opinion of all others that shall speake against the Edict. There are some which hate the sinne for feare of punishment, but the good hate it for the loue of vertue. For Gods sake let me know that you hate sinne for the loue of vertue, or else I will chastise them that hate it for feare of paine: and afterwards they will thanke me, as the son doth his father. The Preachers deliuer words in their Sermons, more to nourish, then to destroy sedition, yet no one of you saith any thing: these faults which concerne me, are not regarded. But I will foresee that this thunder shall bring no storm, and that their predictions shall proue vaine. I will not vse their remedies, which being out of season, will but increase the euill. Consider that the Edict wherof I speake, is the deceased Kings Edict: it is also mine, for it was made with me, and I doe now confirme it. I will say no more, but aduise you to imitate the example of the obedience of the Duke of Mayenne. Being perswaded to enter in some factions against my will, he answered, that he was too much bound vnto mee, and so were all my subiects, amongst the which he would be alwayes one that should expose his life to please me, for that I had restored France in despite of them that fought to ruine it. And if he that was the head of the League, hath spoken in this manner, how much more ought you, whom I haue restored to the place from whence the League had expelled you, yeeld vnto my request, that which you would not doe for threats: you shall haue none of mee: doe that which I command you, or rather what I intreat you, you shall not doe it onely for me, but for your felues, and for the good of the peace.

This speech was well vnderstood by the Parliament, and the difficulties which were found in the allowance of the Edict, were held tolerable, by reason of the Kings will, and the necessity of his affaires. Yet they continued forty dayes after, before they would resolue. The Duchesse of Barr, the Kings sister, would not depart out of Paris, before it was confirmed. She had shewed her selfe burning in zeale and affection in that matter, as in all other affaires in that nature: and it was not without reason, that after the Kings entry into Paris, when as the Deputies of the Churches of Poictou beseeched his Maiesty for something depending vpon the execution of his Edicts: hee said vnto them, *A dresse your felues vnto my Sister, your Estate is now fallen vnto the Disasse.* The Articles and Edict are as followeth.

Edict of Pacification.

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. Amongst the infinite blessings which it hath pleased God to bestow vpon vs, that is the most remarkable, to haue giuen vs vertue and courage not to yeeld to the fearful troubles, confusions, and disorders, which we found at our coming to this Realme, the which was diuided into so many parts and factions, as the most lawfull seemed to bee the least: and to haue so fortified vs against this storme, as in the end we haue surmounted it, and doe now touch the gate of this Estates rest: whereof the glory belongs to him, and to vs the bond and thanks, that hee would vse our labour to finish this good worke: wherein it hath been visible to all men, whether we haue done that which was our duty, and in our power, yea somewhat more, the which it may be in another season had not bene so fit for the dignitie which we hold, hauing not feared to expose our life often and freely therein. And in this great concurrence of so great and dangerous affaires, not being able to pacifie all at one instant, we haue bene forced to hold this course, to attempt those first which could not be ended but by force, and suspend the rest for a time, which ought and might be treated by reason and iustice: as the generall differences betwix our good subiects, and priuate grieuances of the founteyne part of the State, which we held, might more easily be cured, the principall cause being taken away, the which was in the continuance of the ciuill warres.

This hauing by the grace of God well and happily succeeded, and all armes and hostility

1599

A sility ceasing throughout the Realme, we hope our successe will be nolesse in other affaires, which remaine yet to compound: And that by this meanes we shall attaine vnto the establishment of a good peace and tranquility, the which hath alwayes been the end of our vovues and intentions, and the prize which we desire of so much paine and toyle, wherein we haue past the course of our age. Amongst the said affaires, to the which we haue bene forced to giue patience, and one of the chiefe, haue bene the complaints which we haue receiued from many of our Prouinces and Catholike townes, that the exercise of the Catholike Religion was not vniuersally restored, as it ought by the Edicts heretofore made for the pacification of the troubles by reason of religion, as also the supplications and remonstrances, which haue bene made vnto vs, by our subiects of the pretended reformed religion, as well vpon the not executing of that which hath bene granted by the said Edicts, as vpon that which they desire should bee added for the exercise of their said Religion, the liberty of their Consciences, and the surety of their owne persons and fortunes: pretending to haue iust cause, to haue new and greater apprehensions, by reason of these last troubles, wherof the principall pretext and ground was made vpon the ruine. Wherefore not to ouer charge our felues with too much businesse at once, seeing that the fury of A mes cannot agree with establishment of Lawes, how good fociuer, we haue from time to time deferred it.

C But now seeing it hath pleased Almighty God to giue vs some rest, we haue thought we could not better employ our time, then in that which might concerne the glory of his Holy name and seruice, and to provide that he may be worshipped by all our subiects: And if it hath not pleased him that they should bee all of one forme and religion, yet at the least of one intention, and with that order, as it might breed no trouble nor tumult amongst them: and that both wee and this Realme may enioy the glorious title of The most Christian King, which hath bene by so many merits long since purchased: And by the same meanes to take away the cause of trouble, which may happen for matters of Religion, which is the most sensible of all others. For this occasion knowing this businesse to be of great importance, and worthy of good consideration, hauing receiued the complaints of our Catholike subiects, giuing also leaue to them of the pretended reformed Religion, to assemble by their Deputies, and to make their remonstrances, and hauing thereupon often conferred with them, and viewed the precedent Edicts; we haue now thought it necessary, to giue vnto all our said subiects, a generall, plaine, and absolute law, by the which they may bee ruled in all differences which haue heretofore happened amongst them, and which may happen: wherewith all our subiects may haue cause to rest contented, according to the quality of the time.

The cause which makes vs to enter into this deliberation, is the onely zeale wee haue vnto the seruice of God, and that it may be hereafter duely performed by our subiects, and to settle a good and durable peace amongst them. Wherein we employe and attend E the same protection and fauour of his diuine bountie, which he hath alwayes imparted to this Realme since the first beginning: And that of his grace he will make our subiects conceiue, that in the obseruation of this our Edict, consists (after their duty vnto vs) the chiefe ground of their union, concord, tranquility, and peace, and the restoring of this Estate to her first beauty, wealth, and force. And wee for our part, promise to cause it to bee exactly obserued, without suffering any thing to be done to the contrary.

For these causes, hauing with the aduice of the Princes of our blood, other Princes and Officers of the Crowne, with great and notable personages of our Council of State, being neare vs, well and diligently waighed and considered all these busineses, we haue by this perpetuall and irrevocable Edict, said, declared and ordained, and say, declare and ordaine:

That there shall bee an abolition and forgetting of all things past on either side. That the remembrance of all iniuries shall be suppressed, and that they shall liue louingly together like brethren and fellow Citizens. That the Romish Religion shall be restored in all places of the Realme where it hath bene intermitted, and that no Clergie-man shall be molested in the celebration of Diuine Service, but shall enioy the fruites and reuenuues of their benefices, and haue full possession of whatsoever hath bene detain-

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The Kings
sister pursues
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ned from them. That all houses built vpon land belonging to the Clergie shall be purchased of them. That no Clergie-man, or any other, shall demand any ground which is employed for the fortification and reparation of Townes and places, but when they shall be ruined by the Kings Decree. That they of the Religion may liue in all the towns and places of the Realme without feare, vexation or molestation, nor be forced to doe any thing in matter of Religion contrary to their consciences. That Noblemen and Gentlemen hauing high iustice, may haue the exercise of the reformed religion in their houses. That they may continue the exercise of the religion in all townes & places where it had been publicly vied in the years 1596 and 97. That they might not vse the exercise of the reformed Religion, but in such places as were allowed by this present Edict. It was also forbidden in Court, or beyond the mountains, within the Citie of Paris, or within five leagues thereof: notwithstanding they which dwelt there, should not be molested in their houses, nor forced to do any thing contrary to their consciences, carrying themselves modestly according to this Edict. That they should not haue any publike exercise of the Religion in any army, but in those quarters where the chiefe Commanders were of that profession; except that where the King should be lodged. That they might build houses for the exercise of the religion, in all Townes and places which were granted them. That all Preachers and Readers should cary themselves modestly, and not speake any thing which might tend to sedition. All men of what quality soeuer were forbidden to take any children by force, and against the will of their parents, to haue them baptised or confirmed in the contrary religion. That they of the reformed Religion should not be molested for any aburiation, promises or oaths which they had formerly made. That they should be bound to obserue the Feast, appointed by the Romish Church, and not worke vpon those daies, nor sell or detaile any thing in open shops. That no bookes concerning the reformed religion should be printed or sold, but in those townes where the exercise thereof was allowed. That there should be no distinction in regard of religion to receiue Schollers into Vniuersities, Colledges, and Schooles, and the poore into Hospitalls. That they should be bound to obserue the lawes of the Romish Church, touching marriages in degrees of consanguinity and affinity. That they of the reformed religion shall be forced by all due meanes, to pay their Tythes to Clergie-men, or any other to whom they shall belong, according to the custome of the place. That excommunications or deprivations made in hatred of Religion should be void. That all they which made profession of the reformed Religion, should be capable to exercise all estates, dignities, offices, and publike charges, and be indifferently admitted vnto them. That they should haue prouision made in all townes and places of the Realme for the interring of their dead. That the Kings officers should foresee there should be no scandall committed at the same, and should bee bound within fifteene daies (vpon request) to provide them sufficient place for their burials, and not to exact any thing for the conduct of their dead, vpon paine of confiscation. That there should be a Chamber erected in the Court of Parliament at Paris, consisting of one President, and sixteene Councellers, and called the Chamber of the Edict, which should not onely take knowledge of the causes and suits of them of the reformed religion, which shall bee within the iurisdiction of the said Court, but also in the limits of the Parliaments of Normandie, and Britany, vntill there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. That there should be two Chambers erected for the Parliaments of Grenoble and Bourdeaux, as there was at Castres for that of Thoulouze: and for the reception and entertainment of all the Presidents and Councellers of the Religion, which were to be admitted vpon these new erections, there was prouisions made at large by the Edict.

All Sentences, Iudgments, Seizures, Sales and Decrees made against them of the reformed religion, aliuie or dead, since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the said Religion, were reuoked and disannulled, and to be taken out of the Registers of all Courts, and the markes and monuments of the said executions against their persons, memory and posterity to be defaced and taken away: And generally he reuoked all proceedings and informations made for enterprises pretended to bee treason, ordaining that they of the same Religion, and others which had followed their party, and their heires, should retorne into the actual and reall possession of all their goods. That all proceedings, Iudgments and Decrees giuen during the troubles, against them of the

Religion

A Religion which had borne armes, or gone out of the realme, or into other townes and countries held by them, should be void, and they restored to the same estate they were in before, and be put into their possessions, notwithstanding any decree. That all sentenced giuen in Courts of Parliaments in matters whereof the knowledge did belong to the Chambers, appointed by the Edict, since the year one thousand five hundred twenty seuen, in the which the parties haue not proceeded willingly, shall bee void and of no force. In all enquiries for any ciuill cause, if the Inquisitor were a Catholike, the party should be bound to chuse an assistant of the reformed religion, and the like should be practised if the Inquisitor were of the reformed Religion. All foueraigne Courts, and others within the realme, were forbidden to take knowledge of any causes belonging to them of the religion, the which by the Edict, are referred to the said Chambers, if the reuoy be demanded. That all titles, papers, instructions and documents should be restored on either side to them to whom they should belong. That the children of such as had retired themselves out of the realme since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the religion and troubles, although they were borne out of the realme, should be held for naturall Frenchmen and Denizens, and not be bound to sue for any letters of naturality, vpon condition that they should retorne within ten years after this Edict, and liue within the realme. That all townes and places within the Realme should enioy the same liberties, priuiledges, freedome, faieres, markets, iurisdic-tions, and seats of Iustice, which they did before the troubles begun in March one thousand five hundred eighty five, notwithstanding all letters to the contrary. That all prisoners detained by the authority of Iustice or otherwise, yea, in the Gallies by reason of the troubles, or of the said religion, shall be set at liberty. That they of the reformed religion, should not be ouerburthened with any charges, but according to the proportion of their goods and faculties. That they of the said religion, or any other which had followed their party, and which had remained in any townes or places held by them, and had contributed vnto them, should not be pursued for the payment of any taxes, subsidies, or other charges imposed during the troubles, and before the Kings comming to the Crowne.

D That all Commanders, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations and Commonalties, and all others which had assisted them, should bee discharged of all such sums of money as had beene taken and leauied by them and their appointment, as well of the King, as of Townes, Commonalties, and priuate persons, and of all other things, tending to benefit of any other nature, taken by them by reason of the troubles, begun one thousand five hundred eighty five, vntill the Kings comming to the Crowne: And they were also discharged of all acts of hostility, leauies of men, coyning of money, casting of Ordnance, making of Gunpowder, building and demanding of Townes and Castles, enterprised vpon them, burning and ruining of Churches and houses; and generally of all which had beene done and negotiated during the said troubles, since the death of King Henry the second.

That they of the Religion should also be discharged from all generall and prouinciall assemblies held vntill that day, and also of the Councells erected by them throughout the Prouinces, with the orders made in the said assemblies and Councells, touching the maintenance of the war; and generally for all which had beene done, refused and ordained by the said assemblies and Councells. That they of the reformed Religion should presently desist from all practices, negotiations and intelligences, as well within as without the realme: and the said assemblies and Councells made within the Prouinces to be presently dissolved.

That all prizes at Sea during the troubles, and those which had beene made at land vpon the contrary party, should remaine suppressed vnder the benefit of the Edict, and for the which there should be no pursue made. That they of the reformed Religion should not be called in question for any opposition they had made since the troubles, to the execution of any decrees, made for the reestablishment of the Romish religion in diuers parts of the Realme. That all execrable facts should bee exempted out of the general Pardon, as the forcing of Wiues and Virgins, burnings, murders, and robberies, done by treachery, and not in hostile manner, and such like. That crimes committed betwene persons of the same partie, should be punished, if they were not in acts

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command

ned from them. That all houses built vpon land belonging to the Clergie shall be purchased of them. That no Clergie-man, or any other, shall demand any ground which is employed for the fortification and reparation of Townes and places, but when they shall be ruined by the Kings Decree. That they of the Religion may liue in all the townes and places of the Realme without search, vexation or molestation, nor be forced to doe any thing in matter of Religion contrary to their consciences. That Noblemen and Gentlemen hauing high iustice, may haue the exercise of the reformed religion in their houses. That they may continue the exercise of the religion in all townes & places where it had been publickly vied in the years 1566 and 97. That they might not vse the exercise of the reformed Religion, but in few places as were allowed by this present Edict. It was also forbidden in Court, or beyond the mountains, within the Citie of Paris, or within five leagues thereof: notwithstanding they which dwelt there, should not be molested in their houses, nor forced to do any thing contrary to their consciences, carrying themselves modestly according to this Edict. That they should not haue any publicke exercise of the Religion in any army, but in those quarters where the chiefe Commanders were of that profession; except that where the King should be lodged. That they might build houses for the exercise of the religion, in all Townes and places which were granted them. That all Preachers and Readers should carry themselves modestly, and not speake any thing which might tend to sedition. All men of what quality soeuer were forbidden to take any children by force, and against the will of their parents, to haue them baptised or confirmed in the contrary Religion. That they of the reformed Religion should not be molested for any aburation, promises or oaths which they had formerly made. That they should be bound to obserue the Feast, appointed by the Romish Church, and not worke vpon those daies, nor sell or detaile any thing in open shops. That no bookes concerning the reformed religion should be printed or sold, but in those townes where the exercise thereof was allowed. That there should be no distinction in regard of religion to receiue Schollers into Vniuersities, Colledges, and Schooles, and the poore into Hospitals. That they should be bound to obserue the lawes of the Romish Church, touching mariages in degrees of consanguinity and affinity. That they of the reformed religion shall be forced by all due meanes, to pay their Tythes to Clergie-men, or any other to whom they shall belong, according to the custome of the place. That excommunications or deprivations made in hatred of Religion should be void. That all they which made profession of the reformed Religion, should be capable to exercise all estates, dignities, offices, and publicke charges, and be indifferently admitted vnto them. That they should haue prouision made in all townes, and places of the Realme for the interring of their dead. That the Kings officers should see that there should be no scandall committed at the same, and should bee bound within fifteene daies (vpon request) to provide them sufficient place for their burials, and not to exact any thing for the conduct of their dead, vpon paine of confiscation. That there should be a Chamber erected in the Court of Parliament at Paris, consisting of one President, and sixteene Councillers, and called the Chamber of the Edict, which should not onely take knowledge of the causes and suits of them of the reformed religion, which shall bee within the iurisdiction of the said Court, but also in the limits of the Parliaments of Normandie, and Britany, vntill there should be a Chamber erected in either of them. That there should be two Chambers erected for the Parliaments of Grenoble and Bourdeaux, as there was at Castres for that of Thoulouze: and for the reception and entertainment of all the Presidents and Councillors of the Religion, which were to be admitted vpon these new erections, there was prouisions made at large by the Edict.

All Sentences, Iudgments, Seizures, Sales and Decrees made against them of the reformed religion, aliuie or dead, since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the said Religion, were reuoked and disannulled, and to be taken out of the Registers of all Courts, and the markes and monuments of the said executions against their persons, memory and posterity to be defaced and taken away: And generally he reuoked all proceedings and informations made for enterprises pretended to bee treason, ordaining that they of the same Religion, and others which had followed their party, and their heires, should retorne into the actual and reall possession of all their goods. That all proceedings, Iudgments and Decrees given during the troubles, against them of the

Religion

- A Religion which had borne armes, or gone out of the realme, or into other townes and countries held by them, should be void, and they restored to the same estate they were in before, and be put into their possessions, notwithstanding any decree. That all sentenced giuen in Courts of Parliaments in matters whereof the knowledge did belong to the Chambers, appointed by the Edict, since the yeare one thousand five hundred twenty seuen, in the which the parties haue not proceeded willingly, shall bee void and of no force. In all enquiries for any ciuill cause, if the Inquisitor were a Catholicke, the party should be bound to chuse an assistant of the reformed religion, and the like hold be practised if the Inquisitor were of the reformed Religion. All soveraigne Courts, and others within the realme, were forbidden to take knowledge of any causes belonging to them of the religion, the which by the Edict, are referred to the said Chambers, if the renuoy be demanded. That all titles, papers, instructions and documents should be restored on either side to them to whom they should belong. That the children of such as had retired themselves out of the realme since the death of King Henry the second, by reason of the religion and troubles, although they were borne out of the realme, should be held for naturall Frenchmen and Denizens, and not be bound to sue for any letters of naturality, vpon condition that they should retorne within ten years after this Edict, and liue within the realme. That all townes and places within the Realme should enioy the same liberties, priuileges, freedom, faires, markets, iurisdic-tions, and feasts of Iustice, which they did before the troubles begun in March one thousand five hundred eighty five, notwithstanding all letters to the contrary. That all prisoners detained by the authority of Iustice or otherwise, yea, in the Gallies by reason of the troubles, or of the said religion, shall beset at liberty. That they of the reformed religion, should not be ouerburthened with any charges, but according to the proportion of their goods and faculties. That they of the said religion, or any other which had followed their party, and which had remained in any townes or places held by them, and had contributed vnto them, should not be pursued for the payment of any taxes, subsidies, or other charges imposed during the troubles, and before the Kings comming to the Crowne.
- D That all Commanders, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations and Commonalties, and all others which had assisted them, should bee discharged of all such sums of money as had bene taken and leauied by them and their appointment, as well of the King, as of Townes, Commonalties, and priuate persons, and of all other things, tending to benefit of any other nature, taken by them by reason of the troubles, begun one thousand five hundred eighty five, vntill the Kings comming to the Crowne: And they were also discharged of all acts of hostility, leauies of men, coyning of money, casting of Ordnance, making of Gunpowder, building and demanting of Townes and Castles, enterprised vpon them, burning and ruining of Churches and houses; and generally of all which had bene done and negotiated during the said troubles, since the
- E death of King Henry the second.

That they of the Religion should also be discharged from all generall and prouinciall assemblies held vntill that day, and also of the Councils erected by them throughout the Prouinces, with the orders made in the said assemblies and Councils, touching the maintenance of the war; and generally for all which had bene done, resolved and ordained by the said assemblies and Councils. That they of the reformed Religion should presently desist from all practices, negotiations and intelligences, as well within as without the realme: and the said assemblies and Councils made within the Prouinces to be presently dissolved.

That all prizes at Sea during the troubles, and those which had bene made at land vpon the contrary party, should remaine suppressed vnder the benefit of the Edict, and for the which there should be no pursue made. That they of the reformed Religion should not be called in question for any opposition they had made since the troubles, to the execution of any decrees, made for the reestablishment of the Romish religion in diuers parts of the Realme. That all execrable facts should bee exempted out of the general Pardon, as the forcing of Widues and Virgins, burnings, murders, and robberies, done by treachery, and not in hostile manner, and such like. That crimes committed betweene persons of the same partie, should be punished, if they were not in acts

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command

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commanded by the heads of either party, according to necessity, and the order of the war: And that all exactions of money, carrying of armes, and other exploits of warre done by priuate authority, should be prosecuted by course of law. That Townes dismantled during the troubles, might be repaired at the Inhabitants charges. That all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others of what quality soeuer, of the reformed religion, and others which had followed that partie, should effectually enioy all their goods, rights, honours, and actions, declaring all iudgments made to the contrary to be void and of no force.

That all purchases made by them of the reformed religion, by any other authority then of the deceased Kings, his predecessors, or land belonging to the Church should be of no force: and that the said Clergie-men should presently enioy the actual possession of the said lands so alienated, and not be bound to yeeld any value for the same.

That all former Edicts, secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Decrees, and Records made heretofore by himselfe, and the Kings his predecessors, concerning matters of religion, and the troubles past, should be void and of no force, expressly declaring, That this Edict should be inuolubly kept and obserued by all his Officers and Subjects, notwithstanding any thing which might seeme contrary.

And for the better assurance of the obseruation thereof, his pleasure was, That all Gouernours and Lieutenants of Provinces, with other inferior Magistrates and Iudges, should sweare to cause it to be kept and obserued, euery one in his iurisdiction: and that they should cause the chiefe Inhabitants of their Townes, to sweare the obseruation thereof, presently after the publication.

This was the substance of the Edict of Nantes, containing ninety two Articles, besides some other which were secret.

And for the resolution of many other difficulties, for the chiefe government of them of this Religion, by the which many things were granted, whereof it is not lawful for subjects to demand the reason, being most certaine that the Prince doth not any thing but for the good of his people. It sufficeth that they know it which deserue to know it. But the more the secrets of an Estate are lookt into, the more carefully they are to be concealed. This Edict which heretofore had bene the cause of ciuill diuisions, is now the true ciment of peace, the which shall poure forth from all parts streames of heavenly blessings. But as it is made for publike and generall respects, so must it haue priuate effects, in smothering all teeds of partialities and factions: and that we may finde among the French, that which the Emperour Maximine desired vnto the Romans, a forgetfulness of things past, and assurance of loue to come.

The Edict was made at Nants in April 1598, but it was not verified by the Court of Parliament at Paris, vntill February the yeare following.

The Edict was sent, by the care and diligence of the Kings Attorney General, vnto all the Bayliuicks depending vpon Paris: and yet his Maiesty had deputed in euery Province, certaine Commissioners for the execution thereof. The exercise of the Catholike Religion was restored in Rochell, and in aboue a hundred walled Townes, and a thousand Parishes and Monasteries, where the said exercise had bene interdicted aboue fifteene yeares: and in Beaine for the space of one and thirty yeares.

This yeare death strucke a great stroke among men and women, who shewed their generous resolutions against the feare and terrors thereof. Peter de Pinac the last of that name, Primate of France, Archbishop and Earle of Lions, died in the beginning of Ianuary: whose life was so famous, as it deserues to bee briefly set downe in this History. The reputation which he had gotten at the Estates at Blois, made King Henry the third (a great Prince, as well in iudging as in recompensing of good wits) to call him to his Councell, after the death of Antonie Bishop of Valentia: whereas he shewed himselfe to be of that iudgment, as he was in short time employed in the greatest affaires in Councell. At that time the Court was in a manner all Gascon, there was no entry into the Kings fauours, nor bounty, but at the Duke of Elpermons pleasure, who was the Hephestion of our Alexander. Peter de Pinacs heart could not submit it selfe to that of Iohn Lewis of Nogaret, he was too much his owne to be any other mans, and thought, that if he must needs serue, it was enough to serue the Master, and not to submit himselfe to the will of the seruant.

The Death of
M. de Pinac
Archbishop of
Lions.

He

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A He did not affect the tedious seruitude of the Court, nor did much care for that forced kinde of life. Writing vnto his friends, long before the trouble of the League, hee said; That amidst the greatnesse and honour of charges wherein the King did employ him, he did not leaue to desire the content of a happy retreat. But things fell out otherwise then he expected. The League burst forth in Champagne. The King sent him to pacifie the Duke of Guise. In this negotiation he had a quarrell with Elpermon vpon certaine words which blemished both their honours. He had written a Poeme against the Mignons, wherewith the King was offended, commanding him to leaue the Court: so as he retired himselfe to his owne house, after the treaty of peace made at Nemours. But as the Kings blowes were but threats, so knowing well that this Prelate was not to lie idely in a corner of the Realme, and that this great deligne of the League (like vnto a bill of snow) did encrease in many rownes, whereas the Kings obedience was grown cold, and that the Princes enemies to this Crowne, prepared to gather the Flower-de-Luce, he neuer ceased vntill he had called him againe to Court.

Commanded to
leauethe
Court.

Called backe
againe.

This returne was the beginning of his miserie. Many others before him hauing fallen into disgrace with the Prince, haue not bene raised againe but for a greater fall. It is seene in the Courts of all Princes, such Tragedies are vusual. Hee was presently called to the helme of affaires, and was followed and respected more then any other Nobleman in Court. But as we may not iudge of the day by the morning, nor of the felicity of man by the good daies of his life, this happinesse was but the entry to misfortune, which did attend him. He embarked himselfe in the same Ship with the Duke of Guise, the which being broken at the Estates of Blois, he had no other meanes to saue himselfe but through the fauour of the Baron of Lux his Nephew. He was giuen in ranfome to Gas, who kept him seuen or eight moneths in the Castle of Amboise, and then let him at liberty for thirty thousand Crownes. He went to the Duke of Maine, and seeing that the affaires of his party tended too much to confusion, and to a popular government, he perswaded him alwaies to retaine the forme of a Monarchy, to the end he might oppose a kinde of Royalty against the King, and not be blamed to haue broken the bonds of the Estate. So through this aduice, they made Officers of the Crowne, and gaue him the D Seales. He neuer engaged himselfe vpon the promises of Spaine, but said alwaies, that he was a true hearted Frenchman.

Read the ex-
ample of Ber-
nard of Cabre-
n in the life of
Don Pedro
King of Arra-
gon in his
Annals.

The faction of Spaine knowing him to be such, hindred Pope Sixtus the fifth from giuing him a Cardinalls hat: and they disswaded Clement the eight, who had said, That at the first promotion he would remember his meritis. He required them well: when as the Spaniards came to Paris to propound the Coronation and marriage of the Infanta Isabella of Spaine, letting them know that the Flower-de-Luce could not spin. He returned to Lions, leauing the Duke of Mayenne, intending to settle his affaires, and to accommodate himselfe with the peace and generall good of the Realme. At his returne grew that tumult against the D. of Nemours, the which he viewed ill, for his wisdom did not second the occasion. Great vnderstanding failes sometimes in the perfection of iudgment and discourse. He saw himselfe forced to depart the City, and neuer to returne againe, vntill the King made his first entry. The King (who had shewed effects of his bounty and clemency to his greatest enemies) could not loue him, hauing this impression in his soule, that he was the onely instrument to crosse his fortunes. Speaking one day of the peace of Nemours, in the yeare 1586, he said vnto him, That in that negotiation he had giuen good testimony that he loued him not, and that he had done him bad seruice. "My Liege (answered he) I could not doe better for the seruice of the King my Master. I had done otherwise if I had bene your seruant, as I am now. When as the Duke of Elpermon returning out of Prouence, went to visit him at his Palace, amongst other speeches of the remembrance of things past, he said vnto him, That he did not thinke there was any one in France whose Fortunes had bene so crost as theirs: the Archbishop answered him, As for mine, it was neuer crost but by you.

He was made
keeper of the
seales vnder the
Cardinall of
Bourbon, who
they called
charle the tenth.

Burricadoes at
Lions against
the Duke of
Nemours.

He grows
discontented
to be no
more em-
ployed.

After the reduction of the City of Lions to the Kings obedience, this great spirit borne to action, grew discontented to see himselfe no more in the honour and reputation that hee had bene. Hee then resolved to apply his minde onely to the affaires of his charge, to chooseth the time most conuenient for the tranquillitie of the haueu whereunto hee approached. When as the Duke of Nemours had made his escape out of

Kkkk 3

Pierre.

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Pierre-anize, he said, that he would not use his liberty well: he writes vnto his friend A in this manner.

Remember that I haue alwaies said vnto you, that *Monsieur de Nemours* will find himselfe much entangled with the Spaniards, who haue led *Monsieur de Maine* into an inextricable Labyrinth, and will bring *Monsieur de Nemours* vnto a miserable Estate: and I dare in a manner prophesie, That in the end the Duke of Sauoy will finde himselfe deceived as well as the rest. The Spaniards thirst is nearer vnto him than his doubler, and hee will rather seeke to preferue his owne, then to vsurpe an other mans estate for an other.

The King sent for him to the Estates of Roan: but the necessity of his affaires would B not suffer him to goe. He said, That he was not fit for this age, and that hee was like vnto the Adamant, which serues not for all seas. In the end of his last yeare, he complained vnto his friends of the shortnesse of his life, saying, That he was not to liue about ten or twelue yeares, when he liued not twelue daies. His Physicians disagreed vpon the cause of his griefe: he had bene long troubled with the Emoroyds, the which had so emptied his body, as there was no blood found in him when he was opened. His lights were much altered. And for that his Physician said vnto him, that his griefe was the gout, hee replied, Is it possible that any one should die of the gout without a fever? I see well what it is: seeing men vnderstand nothing, wee must haue recourse vnto God. The third day of his sicknesse his body was called to the earth, and his soule to heauen. He withstood C the terrors of death with as great a courage as when it was presented vnto him at the Estates of Blois. Four or five houres before his decease, a Capuchin came to visit him and to comfort him, exhorting him to free his last passage courageously, and to let him know that the issue of this life is equall. Death disrobing man of his titles and dignities, as Stage-players doe their attire: he called him simply by his name: when as hee vnderstood this new manner of complement, and that they called him *Peter de Pinac* without any other ceremony, he lifted vp his head and eyes, to say vnto him that spake, What art thou? They found that this speech did somewhat amaze him, and that he did take it as a watch-word of his departure, which was about midnight.

The D. of Biron did see him in his sicknesse, and assisted at his Funerall. No man li- D uing did better iudge of the nature of men by the consideration of their villages: he did diuine of the Marshall *Birons* fortune by his countenance, and the proportion of his visage, for hauing considered it somewhat curiously, he said vnto his sister after his departure; *He hath the worst Physionomy that euer I obserued in my life, as of a man that would perish miserably.*

The Archbishop of Lions had profited so little by the troubles, as had he liued longer, necessity had forced him to feele great discommodities: his Sisters estate was engaged, the fruits of his benefices were seized on, and yet his table was as sumptuous as in the best daies of his prosperity. The Leagues had cost him fifty thousand crowns, the Doubtles of Spaine had left him nothing but Doubles.

Those which haue read the publicke actions of this Prelate, may iudge of this doctrine, E but no man can represent the grace and force of his action but those which haue seene them. He had in him a concurrence of all things necessary for an eloquent discourse. A graue pleasing countenance, a goodly personage, a facility of words, and an action that did charme his Auditors. The Duke *Ioyeuse* Marshall of France, being at Paris in March, hauing heard father *Lawrence* Sermons in Saint *Germain L'Auxerrois*, being moued in conscience, after that he had taken his leaue of the Ladies and some other friends, he returned againe to the Capuchins: where being received by the fathers he did a hard penance, and submitted himselfe to all the duties of a religious man. All men were amazed to see him returne the second time to his couent, being plunged (in shew) vp to the eares F in the delights of the world: but his conscience tied him to returne by the bond of his vow, perswading him, that it were better not to vow, then not to keepe a vow made freely, & without constraint or compulsion in his maiory. The first motiue of being a Capuchin came into his heart by inspiration, when as the deceased King *Henry the 3* went on foot in procession to Chartres to haue issue, if it pleased God. He was then called Earl of Bouchages, he made choise of this order among all others, the better to doe his penance. And the rather, for that hee vnderstood that he was dedicated by his deceased father, to

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A to be of the Church. When he was first a Nouice, hee applied his study with so great a courage, as he was blamed for his great diligence, wearing the haire continually. Hee had his shoulders all torne with wounds.

In this Estate he continued vntill the hottest of the late miserable warre: when as after the death of his father, his yonger brother, who was a Knight of Malta, and Grand-Prior of Languedoc was called Duke of Ioyeuz (for the Duke of Ioyeuz, brother-in-law to King *Henry the 3* deceased, his eldest brother, who was slaine at the battell of Coutras with Saint *Sauour* his yongest brother, died without children) the said Duke of Ioyeuz being acknowledged by them of Tholouze, Narbone & others of the league, B for their head, he made an enterprize vpon the towne of Villemaur in Lauragais, where hauing planted the siege, for that it was held by the Royalists, even as he thought to haue forced the towne, the Lords of Themines, *Chambaut* and *Misillac* came to relieue it, who charged him with such aduantage, as they put all his army to rout, so as the said Duke retrying to the passage of a riuer, he was drowned with many others. By this meanes the house of Ioyeuz was reduced to the Cardinall of Ioyeuz his brother and to the Earle of Bouchage a Capuchin (whom then they called father *Angelo*) the Tholousians and Nobility of their party being much amazed, had recourse vnto the Cardinall, whom they intreated often to take the charge of leading them: the which hee would neuer accept. And in the end, at their instant sute, that in raising his house, hee would succour them by the means of the Earle of Bouchages his brother, who was then more then capable of such a charge: but he was a Capuchin. This difficulty was propounded to the counsell C of the Diuines, who concluded that by reason of the vrgent necessity they should withdraw him from thence: the which was propounded vnto himselfe, and he refused it. But after they had layed before him the example of his owne father, who being Grand Prior of Languedoc was yet dispenced withall to marry and to raise his house, the which remained onely in him, and whereof God had approved his blessing by the effect, so many braue Noblemen being borne of that marriage, hee consented to returne vnto the world, vpon two conditions. The one was, that it should be with the consent and leaue of the General of the Order. The other by the dispensation of the Holy Sea, and that he might D returne againe when God should send rest to the Church and State. This obtained from the Pope and his Generall father *Angelo* is againe of the world, and doth all acts of a worldling, of a Capaine and of a souldier, applying himselfe to the humours of the time. After that he had pacified many popular seditions in Tholouza, and bene a meanes to reduce it to the Kings obedience, being at Paris, hauing with the Kings good liking and pleasure married his only Daughter to the Duke of Monpensier a Prince of the blood, hee be thought himselfe of his bond contained in his dispence, and went and yielded his obedience vnto the Holy Sea and Order, whereas hee is now one of the chiefe conductors, hauing referred all his domestick affaires to the Cardinall his brother, and to the Duke his sonne-in-law.

E His mothers teares preuailed much for his returne. Shee was more afflicted for this change, then for the death of all her other children, and neuer ceased vntill he had drawn Friar *Angelo* (for so the still called him) out of the deserts of Egypt, to Mount Caluarie, and that hee had seene him in the habit which he had left. These bee mighty effects of grace, which reforms that which is deformed, and conformes that which is reformed, confirms that which is conformed, transforms that which is confirmed, and makes the soule to liue more in Heauen, whither it aspires, then in the body, where it breathes. The King went to visit him, and commended his resolution, saying that hee did sometimes thinke to speake vnto him of it: and had done it, but he doubted that hee would mistake his meaning, and thinke he did it to berid of him. Dying one day in a place whereas there F was only his Majesty & three other Noblemen, hee sayd vnto them, that in the world there were men of all conditions & qualities to be found, but they should hardly assemble foure so different, and that in these foure whereof he was one, there was a sinner conuerted, a Leaguer repented, a Capuchin diuerted, and a Huguenot peruerred.

This amazement in Court for the Duke of Ioyeuz, was increased by the sudden death of *Schomberg*, who was taken with an Apoplexie returning from Consians, whereas *Villeroi* had feasted the King and all his Counsell. It gaue him no respite to speake French nor Dutch. Warre dying, had left no quarrell in France, but for the Marquise of Salusses, which

dequid omni
bus impio-
ribus, paret
morsum. Se-
net. Epist. 59.

A Double is the
fit part of a
peny.

The D. Ioyeuse
returns to the
Capuchin.

Motius why he
became a Ca-
puchin.

The second of
Ioyeuz drown-
ed at Ville-
maur.

He leaues the
Capuchins ha-
ving by e
Popes dispen-
sation an lea-
ue of his Generall.
He mediates
the reduction
of Tholouze to
the Kings obe-
dience.

His Mother de-
sires his returne
to the Capu-
chins.

The King com-
mends his re-
solution.

That is to say,
the King, the
Duke of May-
enne, the Duke
Ioyeuse, and
L'Esquiqueres.

Schomberg died
the 17 of
March, 1599.

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which the King demanded as depending vpon Dauphine, and the Duke of Sauoy A sought to vnterit vnto his house, from the which he pretends the Dauphines had wrested it. The difference of this restitution must bee determined by the Pope, who was named Arbitrator, by the treaty of Veruins. It is the most important sute that hath bene long time in Rome. The parties send their Ambassadors to Rome, to sue vnto the Arbitrator for Iudgement. President *Burlet* goes for the King, and the Count *d'Arconas* for the Duke of Sauoy, and they come to Rome in the beginning of the yeare. In the meane time the Duke beseecheth his Maiesty, that he will giue him leaue to visit him. The King answered, that he would gladly see him: but resolving to accompany his sister when she should goe into Lorraine, he should not make any long abroad in any one place during the B rest of the winter, and therefore hee desired him that hee would deferre his voyage vnto the spring, thinking that hee should not bee troubled to seeke him any farther, then in the City of Lions, where he meant to be about the same time. They pursue the Arbitrement at Rome: the Arbitrator (the best of good Popes) shewes as great integrity, as the parties did passion.

He was free from all affection that was contrary to Iustice, and would do nothing contrary to his conscience. He was carefully instructed by either party, concerning this controuersie. You may read the whole processe at large in the Originall. The Duke of Sauoy (having kept the Marquise of Salusses some yeeres, whilst that France had turned her own armes against her selfe) considered, that so soon as the King should overcome his other affaires, the recovery thereof would not be the last of his enterprises, for the restitution of that to his Crowne. He was therefore one of the first that sought to reconcile himselfe vnto the King: and the first propositions were made by *Sebastian Zamet*. The King could hardly beleue that the Duke of Sauoy would separate himselfe from the designs and counsels of the King of Spaine (who had a vaies a body of an army in France) being so strictly tied vnto him. He therefore sends to *Sillery*, his Ambassador in Switzerland, to enter into conference vpon this matter with the Dukes Ambassador there, and to sound his intention. The Duke had sent the Marquis of Aix into Spaine, to know how he should treat with the King. At the same time they surprized a Pacquet comming from Spaine, the which being deciphered, they found the Duke desired to treat in good earnest: for his Ambassador writing from Madrid, sent him word, that touching the forme of the accord, for the which he desired to haue counsell, the King of Spaines Ministers would neuer tell it, but with many conditions, and secretly, although it were a thing which they desired, that they might retire their forces, and in-employ them in Flanders, where as all things went to wracke. That if his Highnesse, whom it did import, could find the means to effect it, he was assured in the end they would find it good, as they had done many other designs, reiected by them in the beginning, and afterwards allowed, according to the success, many conferences were made concerning this cause, before the peace of Veruins, but nothing could bee concluded. His Holinesse being made Iudge and Arbitrator of all controuersies, betwixt his Maiesty and the Duke, the parties produce all their E pretensions. The Ambassador of France demanded restitution of the possession, saying: That it ought to bee iudged before the Propriety, and that the possession of above a hundred yeeres, should serue for a good title to France, if they had nothing else. The Dukes Ambassador answered, That power may giue possession without right, and that his Master had preferred his interest with the possession.

After many difficulties and much dispute, the French that were resident within Rome, gaue it out, that they had pleaded too much: that there was no reason the Pope should ouerthrow the right of a great King, to please a petty Prince: that they must end this quarrell with the Cannon in the plains of Piedmont. As these men braued it in words, the others published their reasons in writing, shewing that the rule of the law which will haue the dispossessed restored to his possession, is not practised among Princes, nor for principalities. The French insist vpon the contrary, and vige an end of this businesse with great vehemency, desiring rather to be presently dispatched, then to languish in the tediousnesse of the remedy. The Spaniards delayed the decision of this processe all they could, holding the dispute more auailable to them then the resolution, & the disease more profitable then the cure.

The time appointed for the Arbitrement was almost spent in tedious difficulties, as vnpleasing

The Duke of
Sauoy seeks to
be reconciled
to the King.

Stralsburg
Ambassador
sues for
Zamet.

Enuery of the
French.

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A pleading vnto the Pope as to the French. And although hee had no lesse zeale to main-
taine concord, then he had shewed affection and care to suppress discord, yet would he
gladly haue bene freed of this iudgment, for the bad effects which he did apprehend, and
whereof the coniectures were easie by the consideration of things past. Hee desired not
that the Iudgment which he should pronounce, should giue any cause to the one or the
other, to complaine of his Iustice, being troubled what hee should pronounce, for that it
was a thing without example, and was dangerous to determine of that which had bene
decided. In these two extreames, either to iudge the possession of the Marquise to the
King, or to ioyne to the Petitory to content the Duke: he finds a means to haue the Mar-
B quise sequestered into his hands as a Newer, to remaine in *deposito*, vntill it should be ad-
judged vnto the one or the other. To this end *F. Bonaventure Calatagiron*, Generall of the
Friars, and newly made Patriarch of Constantinople, was sent into France with *Roncas*
the Dukes Secretary: vnto whom the King not onely granted (against the aduise of his
C Council) that the Marquise should remaine in *deposito* in the Popes power, as one who
had no pretension nor title vnto it: but also a prolongation of the Arbitrement for two
moneths. The Duke was well pleased, that this sequestration should maintaine the hope
of his possession. The French desired rather a definitive sentence, then a sequestration: for
although they had no cause to doubt of the Depositors fidelity: yet through too much
trust, men do often fall into great inconueniences. The Kings Ambassador freed them of
those apprehensions, and managed this Sequestration so politickly, as they found it in better
estate, then the Kings Council did expect. He caryed himselfe herein like a man of
great Iudgment, neither could he serue his Master meanelly, in a subject of so great import.
The Duke grew in some ieaiousie of *Arconas*, for that he was a Milanese, beleeuing that he
did rather follow the Spaniards intention, then his: whereupon he called him back to Tu-
rin, vnder colour to send him into Spaine. He that succeeded *Arconas* in that charge, mar-
red all, receiuing the Instructions that were giuen him too lightly, and deliuering them
too indifferently: for visiting the Cardinals, which he thought did fauour the intentions of
the King of Spaine, and the Duke his Master, he drew nothing from them, but that the issue
of this businesse would not be as he expected. The rest of the Cardinals which had other
D designs, blamed the Dukes counsell, who had engaged him in the expectation of a iudg-
ment both doubtfull and of small honor: that the best he could hope for, was the haire
of a great Prince, who would alwaies remember this iniury: and that they had caused him
to plead so long for his owne. The French vsed other subtilities, to make them counsell
the Duke to breake off the Arbitrement. And for that this engagement in anothers hands,
was not pleasing vnto them, they held it little for the reputation of France, to follow such
tedious formes by the way of Iustice, seeing there was a more speedy course by the way
of armes.

They gaue it out, that the Depository would hold things in that Estate, as when it pleased
him he would make it knowne, that the thing engaged belonged vnto himselfe: that
E he had good correspondency with the King, and that his intention was to make one of
his Nephewes Marquis of Salusses, and Feudatary of France. This feare, or rather in-
differention of the Ambassador, imbarqued him to saile in this ieaiousie, as hee holds
the Iudge for suspect, and sends to his Master, that hee should dislike of the Depository,
as much as of the King. And although the Popes intention was not to bee corrupted,
yet he beleueed it to bee true by the Popes coldnesse, and hee did not onely beleuee it,
but thinking it a vainesse to dissemble it, and treason not to speake it, hee told the Pope.
That his Masters Highnesse did expect an assured Iudgment from his Holinesse,
to bee maintained in possession of the Marquise, as a thing which he held of his Predecessors,
whereof he had bene spoiled by the violence of the stronger, and had recovered it
F by the good hap of an occasion. The Pope said vnto him, that hee desired not to leaue
these two Princes long in this dispute, nor to breake the course of happinesse which their
subiects promised themselves by the continuance of the peace. But the Ambassador,
who was transported, added: That if his Holinesse gaue sentence in fauor of his Master,
hee should dispose of the thing adiudged, and finde him as full of affection as any other,
to second his intentions, when it should please him to haue the Marquise for one of his
Nephewes. The Pope who marcht vprightly, being offended at an offer so contrary
to the integrity of his intention, said vnto the Ambassador, that hee neuer had any
such

A Propositor
of the cause.

Indifferention
confinous, as an
it troubles it
selfe.

1599

The King of
Spain re-
pairs all.The Duke e.m.
plains of the
Spaniards.Gabrielle de
Ester, Marquis
of Montecary,
and Duchesse
of Beaufort.Desire of the
Duchesse of
Beaufort.

such thought, and to free him from all feare, hee would desist from the Iudgement, and A
deale no more neither with the Arbitrement nor Sequstration.

All men thought at Rome, that the Arbitrement was broken, and the consent for the
Sequestration revoked: the French cared not, & the Duke was content that things should
passe by other formes then those of the Consistory. The Ambassador of Spaine residing
at Rome would not have the duke of Sauoy doe his businesse alone, nor the controuersie
for the Marquitate of Salusses, to remaine at his disposition: the King his Master was in-
terested therein, it was reasonable he should be the first Mouer of all his motions. Hee
therefore intreated the Pope, not to leaue things imperfect, and not to refuse to end a
worke so happily begun for the general good of all Christendome, greatly interested in B
the concord of two Kings, who could not long continue, if all occasions of warre, that
might grow vpon this question for the Marquitate of Salusses, were not taken away. The
Duke had already found in many occasions, that the counsels of Spaine were not alwaies
put in execution to his content: that he fastened his hopes to a rotten cable, trusting to
their resolutions: and that their deceipts (though covered with goodly shewes of loue
and affection) were so much the more odious vnto him, for that he which deceiues vnder
the name of friendship, is more to be blamed, then he that is deceiued. He therefore
propounded to do his busines without them, and from many great discontents, he tooke
a resolution to goe into France: so as from that time he neuer slept quietly, vntill hee was
assured of the Kings word.

The Duchesse of Beaufort had alwaies fauored his intensions, and desired to assure her-
selfe of such a Prince, who offered vnto her all his meanes to support her fortune, hauing
sent vnto her the goodliest Iewell that was in the cabinet of Madam Marguerite his Mo-
ther. She also considering, that whatsoeuer is done by men, may be vndone by them a-
gain: that Princes fauours are inconstant, and that humane things haue nothing firme
nor constant, no more then the Sea; she willingly gaue eare to the promises which hee
made her for the good of her hopes. Hee could not haue found a better solicitor: but
death tooke her away. She parted from Fontainebleau in the beginning of the week before
Easter, to come to Paris, and there to passe the feasts. The Disiners, whom idleness and
curiosity entertaines commonly at the Court, said, that a child should hinder her from at-
taining to that whereunto she did aspire. She had heard something, and in this appre-
hension, she tooke her leaue of the King at her departure, as if she had been assured neuer
to see him more, recommending her children vnto him, the finishing of her house at Mon-
ceaux, and the rewarding of her seruants. This recommendation of her children did
chiefly concerne the Duke of Vendosme, whom she loued dearly, and whom she intended
to bring vp in the most perfect imitation of vertue.

Being at Paris, she went on the Wednesday to S. Anthonies Church to heare the Mus-
tick, where she was seized with extreame paines, which neuer left her vntill that life had
left her. They killed the Infant in her, and tormented her with such cruell convulsions,
as they drew her mouth to the nape of her necke. She was first lodged at Zamets house, E
neere Saint Anthonies gate: but being fallen into this extremity, she was carried to the
lodging of Madam de Sourdis her Aunt, in the cloister of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, where
on the Saturday she ended her life. Vpon the first aduertisement of her sicknesse, the King
went from Fontainebleau to see her. The Marshall d'Ornano met him, and beseeched him
to returne, for that sight could not prolong the life of the sicke, and would but increase his
griefe. Presently after arriued Belieure, who brought the newes of her death, into whose
Carrosse the King went, to euaporate more at ease his sighes, the which hope of recovery
had somewhat restrained. Words are not able to charme such sensible blowes: and it is
an error to thinke, that griefe is driuen away by exorcismes, that it regards words, or is
slayed by discourse. Yet this first violence of the Kings affliction, was calmed by the wife
and graue admonitions of this Nestor, who said, that France had acknowledged him for
her Hercules, and as he had bene like vnto him in many labours equally glorious and ad-
mirable, so now hee should be vnlike him in that hee did abandon the Argonautes, for the
griefe hee had for the death of Hilas whom hee loued.

This death did much trouble the Court, for the sorrow and lamentation which the
King made for her. Her beauty and good behaviour had moued the King to loue her,
for the long absence of Queene Marguerite (whose place she was in hope to possesse ab-
solutely)

1599

A (olutely) She left him three children: *Cesar Monsieur* Duke of Vendosme, *Alexander*
Monsieur, who was named Earle of Armagnac, and at this time is appointed Grand
Prior of France: and one Daughter. She was more lamented of priuate persons, then
of the publike, who found her hopes more insupportable then her cariage. Shee offen-
ded few, and bound many vnto her. A great personage said: That shee was of such an
humor, that seeing the King must needs loue, hee could not loue an obiect, whose loue
would be lesse preiudiciall to himselfe, nor to his people, so as shee continued in the first
condition of her birth.

This great beauty, neare vnto the which the most esteemed beauties had no light, (as
B great bodies seeme small in respect of greater) vanished in an instant. This flower against
the order of others which last vnto the seuenth day, and sometime twice as long, did wi-
ther, dry, and fell downe dead within two or three houres. Shee died too soone for them
that had made triall, that her fauour was a step vnto the Kings: many did write vpon her
death, which shewed that she had offended few, & bound many vnto her. Death took her
at such time when as those that desire to be reputed faire after their death, should desire
to dye, before the failing of their beauty. For when as they dye old, and that there re-
maines nothing in the vessell but lees, they remember no more what they haue been, and
speake no more of them, but as of a torch which fells to ashes, when as all that intertained
it is molten and consumed: or as flowers which the more pleasing, liuely, and well grow.
C ing they be, displease and stinke the more, when they are gathered, withered, and haue lost
their colour. She was one of the three beauties, which being seene together, they said of
the first, that she was faire: of the other, that she had bene: and of the younger, that she
would be.

The Duke of Sauoy was much grieved for her death. But as Domesticall afflictions,
which chance to Princes, although they be separated from the publike, are not lesse feeling
and violent; his griefe to see his affaires to croise on all sides, was augmented by the death
of D. *Philippin* his bastard brother, whom *Creguy* due in combat: It is a great paine
to purchase honor, a greater to preferue it, but greatest of all to recouer it when it is lost.
Speaking of honour, I meane the reputation of goodly and vertuous actions, whereof
D honour is the recompence, and the sweetest nourishment. Of those things which doe
blemish the lustre of honour, the first and most base is, to speake or doe any thing for
feare of death. The second is, to endure and suffer a word of contempt, iniury or af-
front. The third is a lye. This rigorous obseruation of the point of Honour, doth now
countenance a Combat, as memorable for the condition of the persons, the forme and
circumstance of the combat, and the cause of the quarrell, or any other of this age. Quar-
rels haue not alwaies reasonable grounds: this had nothing but despight, which D. *Phi-*
lippin had conceiued, being told him that *Creguy* had wanted hee had gotten his scarfe, at
the taking of the little Fort, built by the Duke of Sauoy, neere vnto Chamouffier, to fa-
uour the passage of his army. D. *Philippin* some moneths after, thinking that this was
E spoken to the preiudice of his honour, sent him a Challenge. *Creguy* comes to the place
appointed by the appeale: but the appellant was kept backe by the Dukes commande-
ment. The Earle of Brancix (who seemed also to haue a desire to fight) sent word to
Des Diguieres General of the army, that if hee had any minde to see the combat betwixt
D. *Philippin* and *Creguy* his sonne in-law, hee should not returne without his part of the
sport, but he should find one to exchange a thrust with him. Hereupon *Creguy* was ta-
ken prisoner going to succour Charbonniers. During his imprisonment the quarrell
grew that point, as if he had bene at liberty, it had bene ended in Turin. After that
the Treaty of peace had sent him home into Dauphine, D. *Philippin* sent to challenge
him at Grenoble, and they met neere vnto the Fort at Barrault, where the appellant was
F thrust through the thigh. This combat, which had bene sufficient to haue ended this
quarrell, was the cause of another, for it was told the Duke, that *Creguy* had wanted, that
he had of the blood of Sauoy. Wherewith hee was offended, and gaue D. *Philippin* to
vnderstand, that he would esteeme him no more as hee had done, nor euer see him more,
if he were not auenged of those words. Whereupon, another challenge was sent, the
which was accepted as cheerfully as the first.

The prohibition which the King had made of single combats, vpon paines not onely
preiudiciall to their Estates, but shamefull to their reputations, would not suffer them to
fight

The little Fort
of Chamouffier
was taken by
Des D. *saurs*
in July, 1597.This challenge
of the Earle of
Brancix was
held very rash.One writes that
he was thrust
through the body,
and begged his
life of *Creguy*.The second
Combat.

1599

The conditions
of the combat.

fight in Dauphine: that the example of the Gouvernours son-in-law should not draw others to the contempt of the Law. It was therefore resolved, that they should fight in the Duke of Sauoy's Country, vnder *S. Andrew*, a place belonging vnto the Countesse of Antremont, vpon the banke of the riuer of Rhofne, on foot, and in their shirts, which is the most resolute kind of combat. That they should fight with Rapier and Dagger: That the Baron of Attignac should second *D. Philippin*, and *la Buiffe* should second *Creguy*. That none but they should come into the field, and they should not part the combatants, vntill that one of their deaths had ended the combat. That there should be 12 Gentlemen on *Dauphine* side, and as many on that of *Sauoy*, who should be ready to receive the body of the vanquished, or to resist any violence that should be offered vnto the victor. That the 12 of *Sauoy* should be so farre from the place of combat, as they of *Dauphine* might passe the water, and come at the same instant to the place of fight. It was long disputed whether the Seconds should fight: for *la Buiffe* said, that he would not be one, vnlesse he might giue or take, and that he which goes in such actions to be a simple spectator, wants affection or courage. But the Combatants thought it good that the Seconds should not meddle with the decision of their fortunes.

The day appointed being come, all came vnto the place. *De Morge* passed the Rhofne, and scoured vp and downe the fields, to see if there were no ambush nor greater assembly then was set downe in the Accord. The Seconds visited the armes of the two Champions, and searched them, if they had any Charmes or Inchantments about them. *La Buiffe* did importune *D. Philippin* much to part, saying, that he had a desire either to drue it off till night, or to defer the triall till the next day. He told *D. Philippin* by the way, all the brauities he could of *Creguy's* valor, to the end he might dant him: and seeing *Creguy* a far off in the meadow, he cryed vnto him, *he is ours*: but *Philippin* carying an eye without trouble, and a heart without teare, said vnto him, *why haue you so bad an opinion of me?* Not so, replied *la Buiffe*, I know you are braue and generous, but you haue to doe with one of the most furious men at armes in France, and that makes me foretell you losse. *La Buiffe* forgot nothing in this action, that might shew the office of a friend. And it is well known, that if *Creguy* had not returned, *la Buiffe* would haue stayed to haue slaine *D. Philippin* and *D'Attignac*, or to haue bene slaine by them. *Du Belier* his brother, knowing his humor, and that hee had too much courage and honour, to returne without his friend, was vpon the banke of Rhofne, attending the issue of the combat, meaning to passe through the riuer on horse back, and to haue had his part of the glory or perill of this action. When as *D. Philippin* entred the field, he had his iudgment so cleare, as obseruing his enemies guard, and the aduantage which he had, turning his backe to the Sun, hee said *Monsieur de la Buiffe* divide the Sunne: and seeking himselfe to make the partition, he thrust at *Creguy* with such violence, as the lookers on doubted of the issue of the combat, seeing him still in his danger. This first fury did but thrust *Creguy* out of the meadow, and *Philippin* out of breath. *Creguy* being resolved to thrust, not according vnto the iudgment of choller, but of occasion, attended vntill this fury were past, thrusting him into the body with such force, as he ouerthrew him, and nayed him to the ground. He then willed him to aske his life of him: but he was not in case to humble himselfe to that demand, neither was it in *Creguy's* power to giue it him: for his wounds were mortall, and all those that were of his side cryed to him: *Dispatch him*; neither did *Attignac's* request preuaile any thing. *Creguy* repassed the Rhofne with the twelue Gentlemen which came to fetch him, leauing *D. Philippin* vpon the place. The Duke repented of the commandement which hee had giuen, or it may be his religion (by the aduice of his Confessor) counselled him to reuoke a commandement, in the execution whereof there was hazard of two liues, and the losse of two soules. He sent a post to forbid them to fight, but hee arriued two houres too late. *Creguy* thanked God for his victorie, and would not suffer his friends to vife their accustomed congratulations, intreating them to speake no more of it, although the glory were great, to haue vanquished his enemy in a foraigne Country. *D. Philippin* was caryed to his lodging. The Religious of *Pierre-Chastell* refused to bury him according to the holy Constitutions of the Church-gouernment, which holds them that dye in this sort desperate, and murderers of themselves, and makes the paine to continue after death, that the flame which follows them to the graue, might diuert them from this liberty.

The difficulties
which D. Philippin
found in this
Conditions,
stayed them 2
or 3 houres.Resolution of
two brethren.
The second
combat betwixt
D. Philippin
knight of Sauoy,
& Creguy,
these of Iulny,
1599.Attignac de-
mands of Phil-
ippin's life.

A As the Kings enemies at Rome laboured that he could haue no reason of the Marquise of Salaffis, so there wanted no practices to hinder his affaires in Suisseerland. It is a long time since the King of Spain discovered his ielousie for the generall alliance of the crown of France with the thirteene Cantons, hauing long practised to haue his share. Our Kings hauing alwayes hindered it, he could neuer get any footing there, as King of Spaine, but hee hath had an hereditary alliance for the reuenues of the House of Austria. So in the reigne of King *Charles* the ninth, when as the King of Spaine demanded to bee receiued into alliance, *Belieure* Ambassador of France, seeing the Catholike Cantons almost perswaded to prefer new amities before ancient, laid before them the great succors they had receiued of the Crowne of France for the feeding of their libertie: whereas contrariwise the House of Austria had done all they could to suppress them. That they should be wary not to trust in the alliance of a House offended, in the which the wounded did yet bleed, by the death of three Princes defeated by their armes. That hee was not ignorant, that the K. of Spain, as descended from the House of Austria, had hereditary designs vpon them, by reason whereof, the greatness and prosperity of his affaires should bee suspected vnto them: for as we ought neuer to feare nor suspect the prosperity of friends, so must we alwayes doubt that of enemies. These admonitions were of such force, as for that time the Ambassadors of Spaine returned as they came.

B But since the troubles of the last ciuill warre in France, the King found himselfe charged with so many affaires within the Realme, as he could not possibly prouide for all abroad. His owne subiects did so trouble him, as he could not answer the hopes of his allies. This was a goodly occasion for the King of Spaine to worke his will with the Suisses, and to winne the game, seeing that no man played against him. And as mercenary friendship vanishest, when as money failes, the French Crownes appearing no more in Suisse, the enemy caught his ducats to be dispersed among the petty Cantons, so as they choaked all the first seedes of the Flower-de-luce. Then might you see in France, Suisses against Suisses, and Cantons against Cantons, the one shewing their duties vnto the King as his allies, the other armed against his seruice, as hirelings to the King of Spaine. When as they see that they were not payed their pensions, and that their Captaines and Colonels receiued no

D thing of that which was due vnto them, the few petty Cantons tyed themselves more straitly to the King of Spaine: and Colonell *Pfister*, who had great credit among them, taught them not to cast their eies but vpon the Sunne which riseth at the Indies. The greater Cantons continued still firme in the Kings friendship. The wisdom of *Brulart* shewed it selfe in this bad season, as good Pilots are best knowne in the greatest tempests: for hee entertained the Kings seruice beyond all hope, in the greatest of his troubles, when as the King had for his Scepter a Lance, for his Loure a Tent, and for his credit, hope, and the lawfull right of a Kingdome. It may iustly be sayd, that he did great seruice to France in this charge, and the wisest haue wondered, how he could maintaine the affections of this people, when they were entertained onely with the words of his wisdom, and how he could so long continue this hope amidst the common despaire of the affaires of France.

E But when as the Suisses did see that all France was reduced vnder the Kings obedience, their patience was turned into complaints, and they gaue it out, that if they had not effects for words, wherewith they had bene fed so long, as they saw the King could giue them nothing else, they had courage enough to come and demand it themselves. During the siege of Amiens, there was a Captaine of one of the petty Cantons, who seeking to make his profit of the time, and of the extremity of the Kings affaires, propounded a bold counsell to get their pay.

F The Realme was yet so full of trechery, the King so ill serued of part of his subiects, the forces of Spaine so great, and so farre entred into France, as if they had done what he propounded, our *Cesar* had not sent them backe with so good a composition as in former times: he had done what he could to giue them money. The Court of Parliament had confirmed certaine Edicts, the profit whereof was appointed to content them: as that of reuision of the Registers to the Reuenues, that of the sealing of Lether, and the Companies of Handicrafts men. Whilest that the Captaines and Colonels laboured for the execution, the Ambassador entertained the rest with good words and great hopes, which serues much to temper the impatency of the most violent, and the languishing weariness of attendants.

LIII

dants.

1599

The effare of
the Kings at-
tack on Suisse.The Princes of
the House of
Austria de-
feated by the
Suisses.The petty Ca-
tholike Can-
tons allied to
S. spaine.Monsieur de Sil-
lery An ambas-
sador in Suisse.

1599

The King sent
money into
Suille the first
of June, 1599.

dants. He imparted vnto them the Kings counsels for the re-establisment of his affaires, A and the payment of that which was due vnto them.

The King sent them money: but as there was not so much as they expected, and that the greatest part was appointed for such as had served in the last occasions: so it did but increase their discontentes and complaints of the rest; so as in the beginning of this year, *Morfontaine* the Kings Ambassador left his charge to come into France. Such as thought to make their profit of this retreat, gaue it out, that it was forced: but it was freely of himselfe, who thought it expedient for the Kings affaires to make offer of this voyage, and to charge himselfe with their demands: but the Suilles stayed not long to demand his returne, after the which he died, and was solemnly buried at Solleure in a rich tombe. The King doth husband the peace well. He employs all his thoughts for the profit of his subjects, to restore them to those commodities whereof war had deprived them. And therefore considering that a great multitude of his people remained vnprofitable, for that they were not employed in trades and occupations most necessary for trafficke: for that the workes which should be made within the Realme by Frenchmen, were bought and sold by strangers, namely, silkes, and cloths of gold and siluer: hee did therefore forbid by an Edict, the entry into his Realme of all stufes, made of silke, gold, or siluer, pure or mixt, vpon paine of confiscation: to the end the French might be employed in the making of all those merchandizes which were forbidden to be brought in.

As the Merchants of Tours did sollicite these prohibitions, so they of Lions made great C sure to hinder it. They alledged, that prohibiting the entry of Merchandize made by hand, they must of necessity be made in France, the which being well planted, would yeeld sufficient commodity to nourish 1000000 Frenchmen, and the gold and siluer which goes out of the Realme *in specie*, in great abundance, should continue there still. Those of Lions did shew, that this prohibition made the King to lose halfe of his Custome at Lions: that it would ruine the *Fayres*, and this ruine would draw after it the ruine of the City, the which had bene built for the commerce and trafficke of all Europe, and was neuer seene more flourishing then since strangers frequented it, by means whereof, it did for a time so abound with money, as our Kings haue found great succours in the necessity of their affaires, and sometimes were indebted six or seuen millions of gold, as well to the inhabitants, as to Merchant strangers. That the whole State was interested in her preservation, being one of the bulwarks of the weakest part, and lying open to the enterprises of his enemies. That many strangers, being ready since the peace, to come and make their bank at Lyons, were held back vpon the brute of the prohibition of strange wares, and if the citie should continue dis-inhabited of Merchants of that quality, it would be dangerous to leaue it in the hands of poore Artisans, who are insolent in the time of peace, impatient in troubles, and alwayes desirous of innovations: hauing nothing more vnpleasing vnto them then the present. Notwithstanding all these reasons, the King would haue the Edict passe, and the Duchesse of Beaufort was greatly affected to it. The deceased King would haue done it; and it was found reasonable by his Council: but in the end, time did let E him know, that it was no time to vse such prohibitions, and that before they hinder the entry of foraine stufes made of silke; they must haue where-withall to make it within the Realme. And therefore this Edict was reuoked at the Quenes entry into Lions.

This year there was a notable imposture, which ministred matter of discourse to the Kings Council, to Preachers in their Pulpits, and to the Court of Parliament. A young Maid of Romorantin, named *Martha Brosier*, hauing curiously read ouer the Discourse of the deuill of Laon, she was so transported with the imagination of that which he read, as imitating the motions of her folly, she seemed to haue the fits and passions of one that were possessed with the deuill, although nothing be so hard to counterfeit as the deuill. F *James Brosier* her father, a man of himselfe buisie and factious, desirous of new things, hauing obserued in his daughter furious motions, with such a stupidity and feare, as it did moue commiseration and dread in the most resolute, and feare in the weaker, hee seemed to beleuee that which he would haue the people beleuee, who came running to see this new deuill, publishing euery where, that his daughter was possessed with an euill spirit. He presented her to the Theologall of Orleans, who beleueed something: & seeing that his designe grew into credit, he led her to the most famous places of all the Dioecesse for deuotion: so all the people beleueed certainly that she was possessed: which must be verified by

the

1599

M. Maro B.
shop of Angi-
ers discouers
Martha to be a
counterfeit.

A the iudgement of the Church. But the Bishop of Angiers, a graue and wise man, disco- uered her to be a counterfeit, and sent her away, threatening to punish her, if she returned into his Dioecesse. The Official of Orleans did also find out her imposture, forbidding the Clergy of the Dioecesse to exorcise her, vpon paine of suspension. After that she had runne fiftene moneths vp and downe the Country, and being growne perfect in her counterfeit trickes and deuillish motions, her father thinking fhee knew enough, and that it was now time to present her vpon the great Theater of France, he conducts her to Paris, and leads her to all the Churches to gather almes: the people cry out presently to haue the deuill conuired, holding it an impiety to suffer one of Gods creatures to be so tyrannically tormented by the Deuill. The Bishop assembles the learned Diuines and Physitians of the Vniuersity of Paris, to haue their aduice about the continuing of this deuill: the Physitians say plainly, that it was but counterfeit. A Capuchin grieved to see the incredulity of the Physitians, said with some passion, *if any one beleuee not: if he will but stay the deuill will cary him away.* *Marces* fearing not to be caried away by this kind of deuill, answered, that he would abide the hazard: and setting his knee vpon *Martha's* breast, and his hand to her necke, he commanded her to be quiet, whereupon she stired not, saying, that her deuill was gone.

The Court of Parliament seeing that all the people did runne after *Martha*, and fearing that superstition (which goes before, and is alwayes the forerunner of impiety) C should diuide their opinions and affections, and cause some dangerous sedition, they commanded that *Martha* should be deliuered into the hands of the Lieutenant Criminal. The Clergy sayd, that those that were possessed, did not belong vnto the temporall iurisdiction, and that the Church had power to iudge thereof. Yet she is committed to prison. They haue recourse vnto the King, who commands that the Parliament be obeyed. So as by a decree of the great Chamber, and the Tournelle, the Lieutenant of the short Robe was in- ioynted to conduct *Martha* with her sisters, and *James Brosier* his father to Romorantin, forbidding her to depart out of the towne, without leaue from the Iudge of the place. And so the deuill was condemned by a sentence.

Another deuill possessed the soule of a miserable wretch, who made an execrable attempt D against the Kings person. A Capuchin of Milan, called *Father Honorio*, gaue intelligence thereof, and the party that was described in his letter, was found and apprehended at Paris. The King did thank this good religious man by expresse Letters, and did witnesse by his Ambassador resident at Rome, that he would preserue the remembrance of so good a turne, to make it knowne vnto all his Order, that he had bound him vnto him. God would not call a Prince so necessary for the earth, so soone into heauen, before hee had settled his people in that rest which their long paines and calamities had deserued. It was the Kings only care to settle euery thing in his order, with the aduice of the Princes of his Houe, and the Lords of his Council. They found that the subjects could not fully enjoy the benefit of the peace, nor be eased of their charges, so long as the Crowne was indebted, E and that that which should serue to maintaine his royall Estate, was not sufficient to pay the rents and pensions, which amounted to two millions of gold: the fees of Officers came to eightene thousand crownes, and many other charges, which were not discharged for lesse. This extreme necessity made them to seeke out many rights and duties belonging to the crowne, the which had bene morgaged and aliened during the last troubles, which suffered all that could not be amended.

This was most apparent in Languedoc, whither the King sent *de Maissi*, one of his Council of State, and *Refugea* Councillor of the Court of Parliament of Paris. And although it be a hard thing to draw a multitude compounded of mutinies and factions vnto reason, yet through their perswasions, the country did grant vnto the King the summe of F two hundred thousand crownes, to be payd in foure years, with an increase of the Gabelle or Custome vpon Salt vnto two Crownes, which came to fifty thousand crownes a year at least, more then the King received. So as the assured succours from that part, encreased the Kings treasure a hundred and fifty thousand crownes yearly. But it encreased much more by the continuance of the imposition of a Solz vpon the Liver, the onely remedy to supply the Kings affaires, the ground whereof is necessity, which makes that seeme iust which is profitable to the Common-weale. The Commissioners appointed to establish this leuy of a Solz vpon the poore French, were not received without opposition,

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nor

They of Lions
hinder the pay-
ment of them
of Tours.

The King in
favour: this
Quene reuok-
ed the forbid-
ding of the en-
try of silkes.

Martha Brosier traf-
fer possit with
a deuill.

Marces said,
if any one dem-
ne, multa pite,
a m. ro. pauca.

A Decree of the
Court: e 24 of
May, 1599.

An attempt
against the King
discouered.

The Kings de-
sire to settle
his affaires.

Rents, fees of
officers, pen-
sions, gualties,
and men at
armes, cost the
King yearly al-
most two mil-
lions of crowns.

A Liver is two
fillings.

1599

Disability caus-
ed by complaints
against imposi-
tions.The Merchants
of Lyons com-
plaints of a new
Customs.Peace is uni-
versally good.

nor executed without murmuring, vsuall in such innouations. There was no towne which found not it selfe ouer-burthened, to shew that they were not able to beare any more. This body was growne so weake with this long disease, as euery little thing, how light soeuer, did seeme to oppresse it. But they complained not alone of this imposition: other Subsidies were the cause of more ordinary grieuances, and grounded vpon more reason. Traffike is one of the Elements of a Realme: when that crafter, the subiect fees it presently: nothing hath so much hurt it, as the augmentation of Customes and Imposts, nothing hath made it so contemptible, as the couetousnesse of such as had the charge to gather it, and no man hath more felt the difcommoditie of it, then the Merchants of Lyons, who complained chiefly, for that they had erected a new Customs-house in the towne of Vienne, B which stayed all Merchandize that came out of the Leuant. These complaints were so common, and so often reiterated to the Gouernor of Lyons, as hee thought it good to send some one, when as the twelue townes in Dauphine should assemble their Estates, to intreat them to take away this Customs, which made the Merchants to keepe from Lyons, lest they should come nere vnto these Gulphes. The Deputy made an excellent speech vnto the States of the Prouince assembled at Grenoble: The which I haue thought good to insert.

If things (said he) which are vniuersally good, are better and more perfect then those which are good but to some, this good of peace must bee esteemed so much the better, and the more perfect, for that it is common and generall to all men, for that it hath restored to France her soule, and made it a new body. But this good is not so dispersed ouer the whole body, but there remaines some members tied, the which during the fainting and generall conuulsion, did not feeble the mischief so violently as at this present. For although the Prouinces be discharged of souldiers, and that euery one finds both in Towne and Countrey that order and safety which he desired, yet the liberty of traffike being not restored, and merchandize likewise fauoured in peace, then in the violence of iniustice, and the liberty of warre, this good remains vnperfect, if it may not yet vnprofitable. Wherefore the towne of Lyons finding it selfe deuiued of the fruits of this peace, by continually les in the liberty of their traffike, would not let passe the Assembly of your Estates, without coniuering you by the inseparable interest to the good of both Prouinces, to seeke with her the perfection thereof. She hath giuen you heretofore to vnderstand the increase of this mischief, you know the exccesse, I am now onely come to intreat you to seeke for the remedy. This mischief is the continuation of a Subsidie imposed vpon the riuer of Rhosne, and the passage by land from Vienne. The cause was first the publike good, which since hath degenerated into a priuate interest; the effects, the ruine of traffike; the remedy, to obtaine abolition from the King.

This Impost was first erected for the reduction of the Towne of Vienne, and for the considerations which were so much the more iust, because they regarded the Kings seruice, the which precedeth all others, and for the common good of either Prouince. And although the towne of Lyons did then foresee the dangerous consequence of this erection, E with the ruines and difcommodities of the leauy, yet did shee the more willingly consent therunto, for that she thought the yeares whereunto the continuance thereof was limited, would passe insensibly, and that they should sooner see the end, then any occasion to complain. Moreover, the Princes will, being a Soueraigne Law, they could not take that ill which pleased that great King, whose valour exceeds admiration, and admiration furmounts all praise, hauing drawne France out of the bonds of tyranny, as *Perseus* did *Andromeda*, and had in his heroical actions made vse of his seruants goods to assure them the possession, as *Scipio* in opening the publike treasures, was the cause they were shut againe.

Times arguments
or diminisheth
every thing.

But as things which in the beginning seeme sweet and easie, in time grow sharpe and F intolerable: this Impost passing from one extreame to another, is growne a selfe against the which no man strikes but he suffers shipwracke. It hath had its birth growing like vnto that of the Crocodile, and in few dayes is growne a terror to them that goe by water, and the ruine of Merchants which trauell by land. The yeares of her continuance are past, and now it begins to grow perpetuall, hauing like vnto the ancient customes, her Farmers and Committees, and retaines nothing of the cause of her first institution and ordinance, but the pretext and the apparent semblance.

The

A The Farmers are so rough and seuer, in exacting, not that which is ordained, but many times what please them: that as it is the nature of men to loue that which profits them, and to abhorre that which hurts them, the Merchants flee from it as from a shelle, and speak of it as of a snare which strangles them. They cause them to languish whole weekes before they compound for the paiement, and cease not vntill they haue scene the bottom of their packes and purses, so as that which in a lesse corrupted age, and not so couetous as ours is, was giuen rather by way of a gift or present, then of a duty of necessity, in acknowledgement of the publike protection, and the safety of the passage, is now exacted by heretofore vnheard of extortions, and punishable concussion.

B Thus the towne of Lyons sees it selfe bereaued of the benefit and commoditie of trading, in the preservation whereof Dauphine hath a sensible interest, these two Prouinces being like two neighbours which are not diuided but by a gutter which runneth through the middest of the street. And this commerce is the chiefest support of this towne, from whence as from a Spring, which long peace may make perpetuall, flow infinit benefits to all other Prouinces, but most abundantly to her neighbours, wherefore those which haue considered the situation thereof, as in the center of Europe, that for seuen leagues crossing the Ocean and Mediterranean seas, impart vnto it all the Merchandize which may be brought from any part which hath bene discovered by man, to distribute them to other Prouinces, they haue reason to call it the Magazin and Store-house of Europe, as *Strabo* C saith, that it is seated in the middest of Gaule like vnto a Citadell.

But since that the passage of Rhosne hath bene decreed, and that the Merchants had rather adventure any other hazard then to passe by this iniustice, hauing bene so famous and flourishing, we shall see her become a desert, if the liberty of traffike be not restored. All Merchants that were wont to come from the Leuant to Marseilles, haue abandoned their ancient passage, and sought other longer courses but more safe, as by the Countie of Auignon, Sauiy, Bresse, Geneva, and the Franche Countie, to passe into Germany: and others by Languedoc, Viaretz, Forets, Auergne, Maringues, to passe by the riuer of Allier, into that of Loire, and from thence to Orleans, and so forward. So as breaking (as they doe) the ordinary course of the Leuant trade, they cut the veins which bring blood D to nourish the body, the which in short time we shall see consumed to skinn and bones, and the calamities so to increase, as besides the grieue, to be no more the eye of Gaule, as Athens was of Greece, she shall haue nothing perfect remaining, but the remembrance of her first felicity, and the cogitation of her by-past flourishing estate.

Wherefore she coniuers you to ioyne your prayers and pursuits with hers: to beseech the King to pull this thorne out of the foot of Lyons, and this moar out of the eie of Dauphine: she hopes to obtaine it by the wise resolutions of this Assembly, consisting of men who can iudge of the importance of this petition, and are not ignorant, that as publike buildings are made of the best stufte, and erected of another forme and fashion then private edifices, so publike pursuits for a generality, require different and contrarious resolutions E to those which are necessary and commodious for priuate affaires.

Think not, my masters, that Lyons is so badly instructed in the knowledge of obedience (which is the best and most happy possession of the subiects) that shee means to contradict the Kings intentions, or to diminish his tributes. She knows well that in an obedient Estate, whereas the iust commandements of a good Prince make the subiects prompt to obedience, such thoughts are criminall. The burthens which the people beare, although they be grievous & insupportable, are called holy, & alwayes reputed iust. They are in the Estate as sayles in a ship, not to charge & overload it, but to conduct and assure it. Tributes are the sinewes of an Empire, we must beware that in leauing them it fall not in pieces. But that which we demand doth not prejudice the Kings reuenues, which draweth no F thing from this customs.

Priuate men onely should lose by it, and should learn, that they must not make their profit of publike difcommodities. The interested are such good men, as they will neuer hinder the lesser good from yielding to the greater. They be Noblemen which haue neuer preferred their priuate considerations before the publike profit: They enter into the Kings Council as the Ancients did into Temples, and whose interest are like vnto Rivers, they which haue not one and the selfe same Spring, and the same course, and yet in the end they come into that great sea of publike profit, whereas they lose their name, and haue

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the same taste and favour with the same sea. They themselves which have means to find more lawful assignments to recompence their services, will not only excuse, but commend this pursuit, which informs them of the abuse which is committed vnder the title of the Kings commandments, and they shall see that we haue had the courage not to suffer our selues to be drawne head-long into this seruitude, from the which there is no issue, for that it is a violent prejudice to suffer things which are established, and get footing more by sufferance and permission, then by reason, and that the posterity of Princes is but too constant to maintain these ruinous inuentions.

The Kings bounty and iustice shall make vs hope well of this pursuit, and beleue that as he is full of piety and clemency (the true Character of that Soueraigne power of Heauen, which hath placed him ouer vs here on earth) so he will not suffer these two Prouinces to be deprived of the fruits which they haue promised vnto themselves, hauing not yet tasted the perfect good of peace, for the purchasing whereof they had as much as any other contributed their goods and affections, and haue not bene the least instruments for the restauration of this Estate.

This discourse full of reason and truth, had not the power to make them of Dauphine redresse the complaints of Lions, but only to beseech his Maiesty to moderate the cause. His affaires would not suffer him to give that ease, which iustice and his Maiesties clemency desired. Whilest that the Commissioners trauell throughout the Prouinces, about the execution of the Kings Edicts, as well for the good of the peace, as to supply the necessity of his Exchequer, he passeth the greatest heat of Summer at Blois. There the King of Spain came him to vnderstand by his Ambassador, that he had great reason to complaine of the French (especially of the Lord *La Noue*) who against the conditions of the treaty of Veruins, were gone to serue Cont *Maurice*, and the States of the Low Countries: and if the public faith did not maintaine these reciprocal bonds, the peace would be more iniurious then war, being impossible to auoid the decits of hostility, of him who shewes himselfe a friend, and is an enemy in effect. The king hauing protested that his intention was to haue the contents of the Treaty truly obserued, he commanded *La Noue* and all his subiects, to returne home within six weeks, vpon paine of losse of life, forbidding others to goe thither vpon the like penalty. The Archduke sent the Prince of Orange to visit the King, and to give him intelligence of their ariall into the Low countries: and *Andrew* the Cardinal hauing resigned vp his charge, takes his way through France, to see the King.

About this time, the yeare granted for the arbitrement of the Marquise of Salusses, was expired, with the prolongation of three moneths: yet would not the King attempt any thing, but commanded his seruants onely to stand vpon their guards, whilest that hee approached neerer to the D. of Suoy, to know what he would say. The brute notwithstanding of an army which the King of Spaine had caused to embarke in Portugal, staid his voyage untill he might see what way it would take. But this great army which had no reputation but as farre off, and was not knowne by reason of the distance, proued in the end but few vessels, the which were encountered by the States, and beaten neere vnto Dunkerke. Nothing did hinder the Kings exercises and sports at Blois and Males-herbes, where hee spent his time with the Marquis of Vernueil: in the meane time, his good seruants watched both within and without the Realme, for the good of his affaires: all laboured in diuers actions, but with one will, and to one end, to make the State as flourishing as it had bene, and the Maiesty of the Prince to be respected as it is, sacred and holy. Out of this number of good seruants, and officers of the Crowne, Death tooke away *Philip de Hurault*, Earle of Chienury, and Chancellor of France. He had bene at the first Comptroller of King *Henry* the thirds house, being Duke of Anjou, and King of Poland, and by him made Keeper of the Seales, in the life of the Cardinal of Birague, and after his death Chancellor, and by him dismissed to his house at the States of Blois, when as the Seales were giuen to *Monthieu* Aduocate in the Court of Parliament. In this change he made triall, that Princes officers are in his hands, as Counters bee in an Auditors, who raise them to the greatest and highest number, and suddenly brings them downe to the lowest. And although it bee not spoken why the King commanded him to retire, yet as soone as they saw him disgraced, the friends of his fortune, and the seruants of his fauours, abandoned him. He continued a while like an old cast ship which lies in the harbor, & serues to no vsc. He returned to his charge, and serued the King stoutly in the most troublesome time of his affaires.

After-

Complaints of the King of Spaine.

An army defeated at Dunkerke.

The death of the Chancellor of Chienury.

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A Afterwards hee had many crosses. There were so great complaints exhibited against him in the Assembly at Roan, as he was in danger to haue lost the keeping of the Seales, or not to haue a Cardinals Hat demanded of the Pope for him. He did not affect the second, and the first hee prevented, considering that they could not take away any thing, nor diminish his great dignities, but with shame and disgrace.

Pompe de Bellieure succeeded him after his death, he restored the Seales (the sacred instruments of Soueraigne Iustice) to their honour. All corrupt practices which made friends to the prejudice of the Common-weale, were banished. There is no other fauour then that of Iustice; no other expedition but in publique, and by order. Nothing is seized extraordinarily but by the Kings expresse commandement, or for the good of his service, which may not be deferred vnto the scaling day, and that in the view of all the Officers of the Chancery. Nothing is presented which hath not bene examined and held iust by the Masters of Requests that were present. The King hauing receiued newes of the Chancellors death, he commanded *Villeroy* to dispatch his Letters before he demanded the place: which done, he presented himselfe to take his oath betwixt his Maiesties hands, kneeling vpon a cushion of Veluet, the which the Chancellor and Constable onely doe, and no other Officers of the Crowne. His Maiesty would not binde him, but to doe what hee had alwayes done, for the good of his service and of his Crowne. To conclude, hee was not preferred to this high dignity before any one that exceeded him in the ranke of seruite, or in merit or experience, hauing vndergone the chiefe charges within the Realme, and happily performed abroad important and weighty Ambassages for the King.

This yeare tooke away some Princeesses in France: amongst others *Madamoiselle* the onely daughter of the Prince of Conde, the which hee had by his first wife the Princeesse of Neuers, and Marques of Lisle. Her obsequies were made at *Saint Germain des Prez* with great pompe, as it was fit for a Princeesse of the blood. *Loyse de Budois*, the Constables wife dyed also (a little before the Duchesse of Beaufort) hauing left one sonne and one daughter, whereby the famous house of Montmorency is renewed, the which was like to fall to the distaffe. The Marques of Belle-Ile (widow to the Marquis the eldest sonne to the Duke and Marshall of Raiz, a younger daughter of the house of Longueuille, hauing passed five yeares of her widowhood, and brought vp her sonne in all vertue and piety) departed secretly out of Britany, not quertifying any one of her kindred, and went to professe her selfe a Nun, in the Monastery of the Feuillantines at Tholoufa. Her brother and her husbands brethren posted after to diuert her, but she was already in the Couent, and refused to end her dayes there. A generous resolution of a Lady, issued from that noble house of Longueuille, which holds one of the first places in France: It is Soueraigne of the Countrey of Neuf-chastel in Suisse, and allied to the House of Bourbon in diuers branches.

The Commissioners which were employed for the execution of the Edict of pacification, found some difficulties in those places, whereas the Bishops and Pastors of the Catholike Church, had neither Temple nor place of retreat: yet the Masse was restored in those places where it had bene banished fiftene or twenty yeares: and the preaching appointed onely in those places that were allowed by the Edict. They found in all places aduice and violent spirits, very hard to be dealt withall, which inuited idle quarels, when as they wanted iust cause of complaint. The Commissioners exhort either party as well to concord as to piety, and alwayes to contain their wils within the bounds of obedience, and not of rebellion, and to forget the factious names of Papists and Huguenots, the which hath bene no lesse fatal to France, then those of Guelphes and Gibellins in Italy. They aduised the Preachers to take heed that their discourses were not streames of sedition, as they are sometimes of Eloquence: for they that make profession to teach the Word of God, may doe as much harme in fauouring a Sedition, as they shall gather profit of his Ministry when he shall preach Peace. The Commissioners did admonish the Magistrates and chiefe of Iustice, to prevent the first motiues of Sedition: which getting credit with the simple, is the cause of great disorders.

So the Edict was executed throughout the Realme, and the most sauage began to liue louingly together, burying the remembrance of things past. Things done cannot be recalled. We must grow more wise hereafter by the consideration of what is past: we must haue

Pompe de Bellieure Chancellor of France.

Death of the Princeesse of Conde.

Execution of the Edict of Pacification.

1599

Wane ruines
both State and
Religion.

Obedience is
the Eye and
Heart of an
Estate.

The Duke of
Lorraine
is married her
the Daughter
of the Duke of
Lorraine.

have our eyes open, to distinguish the causes from the pretexis, and discover the cuill A which is hidden vnder a shew of good, holding for an infallible Maxime, that there is no iust occasion to arme against his Prince, nor to trouble the quiet of his country: wee have beene so abused, as wee have taken the maske for the face; slander for innocence, and falsehood for truth: and vnder these false impressions, we have left an assured peace for a doubtfull: we have beleueed those Empericks of State, who desirous to continue our languishing, and to prolong our diseases, haue fro that Principle of truth, *that civil war ruines both Estate and Religion*, drawn this Proposition: *That France cannot line in peace with two Religions*. The which hath cost the lues of those that haue maintained it, and the ruine of others that haue beleueed it. Being then reconciled for that which is past, and well aduised B for that which is to come, haue escaped shipwracke beyond our owne hopes, let vs remaine in the port of this concord, where the King doth guide vs, after so many stormes and tempests, we shall be there assured. The sea doth no harme to ships that haue good anchors: Obedience is the anchor which doth assure our Ship against the fury of winde and waues. It is that which giues life and motion to all the members of the body: and there is not a more certaine signe of the life of an Estate, then obedience. It is the eye of the body, which liues last, and dies first: it should bee the heart, which liues first, and dies last.

This yeare the Princeesse of Antoinette, daughter to the Duke of Lorraine, was conducted by the Earle of Vaudemont her brother, to the Duke of Luilliers, who had C married her: shee was attended with a goodly traine, and came to Collen, where shee was honorably receiued by the Senate: and after some dayes, she went downe to the riuier to Duisseldorp. The nuptiall ioy was great and stately, although it were somewhat disturbed by the infoleny of the armies, as well of the States, as of the Admirall. The marriage of Sibille, Sister to the Duke of Luilliers, and of the Marquis of Bourgondy, brother to Andrew of Austria the Cardinall, caused a peace in the country of Cleues, and all the Spanish pretensions went to smooke.

When as after the death of the Duchesse of Beaufort, they saw the King falling into a new shipwracke, from the which he was lately escaped, and that loue (mourning yet for his first *Venus*) led him to another, you might heare the sighs of the most modest; D the murmuring of the most turbulent, and generally, prelates of some approaching storme. This was the onely droppe of oyle which did pierce through the glorious actions of this Prince: who superiour to all other in courage and valour, and alwayes equal to himselfe, made himselfe subiect to this passion. Truth will not suffer mee to suppress that which cannot be hidden. It is good to coneele that which is doubtfull in his actions that hath no other Iudge but God: but to keepe secret that which is knowne and seene of all men, is a basenesse. It imports to know things truly, which not being written, shall passe to posterity according to their passions, which shall begin and continue the tradition. Ancient Histories (as full of simple truth, as void of affectation) haue not coneealed the loues of Princes, whose vertues they haue written. Of all the follies of men, there is none more E excusable, nor of the which fewer doe excuse themselves, then of loue. All fight vnder this banner. If then it was necessarie for the King to loue, hee could not loue any thing more worthy of his loue. But when as death did see that the lower grew blind in the thing loved, & that this blindness had brought France into confused darknes, he separated them.

Vpon this consideration, the Court of Parliament finding, that there is nothing that doth more preserve France from falling into fore-past miseries, or more assure the present, and continues their prosperities hereafter, then the Kings issue: therefore they beseeched his Maiesty to marry, and to giue to himselfe a Sonne and a Successour to his Realme, there being no army more powerfull, either by sea or land, to assure an Empire, F then many children. *La Guesle* the Kings Attorney Generall, made the Speech. He represented vnto his Maiesty, how much he was bound to God. He discovered the publike difficulties of his Estate: shewed the remedies: and in the end let him see, that the enioying of all the felicities which peace (purchased by his victorious armes) could promise him, was weakly grounded: France was not assured to see it durable, the which depended on the lawfull birth of a Dauphin. That although by the law of State (a sacred and immutable law, and an originarie law of the Crowne) the succession belongs to the nearest kinsman, yet France is too full of those turbulent spirits, which in the calme of peace, watch carefully

At De la
Guesle
Speech vnto
the King

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A fully for occasions of warre, which in the midst of rest, breathe after troubles: and freed from the perill of armes, hold still (like mad-men) their hearts and their courages armed to moue new contentions another day against the law and order of the Realme: whereof the King himselfe had made such tryall of their bad intentions, as without the verue of heaven infused into him, his Right had bene vanquished by force.

That although his Maiesty by his wifedome, accompanied with a singular bounty and charitable affection to the quiet of his subiects, hath declared his successour to the Crowne, yet France hath alwayes obserued, that when the Crowne did leape from one branch of a Family vnto another, and that the Sonne did not succeed the Father, it was disquieted B with new factions, and the fields bathed with the blood of her Citizens, and the fire of civil warre so kindled, as two ages was scarce able to quench it.

That to take away these iust feares and apprehensions of these publike calamities, the succession must not change the branch, for where there is no change, there is no strife, and the children succeeding in the fathers Realme, it seems that hee that reigned, is rather C growne yong againe then changed: there is nothing new, the Crowne continues in the same house, the fathers face is noted in that of his Sonne. That the shining of the Sunne is pleasing, as a calme sea, or the earth couered with his greene tapistry. But there is nothing so goodly, nor so delightfull to the eye, as the sight of children newly borne in a family that wanted this aduantage. That to attaine vnto this happinesse, they must begin by the dissolution of the marriage betwixt his Maiesty and the Queene, Duchesse of Valois, being no lesse easie then that of *Charlemagne* with *Irmengarde*, and *Theodora* daughter and sister to *Didier*, King of Lombards, for indisposition and sterility: of *Lewis* the 7, with *Eleanor* Duchesse of Guienne for some discontentments set downe in the History, and couered with the pretext of Consanguinity: of *Lewis* the 12, with *Isane* of France daughter to K. *Lewis* the 11 constrained by force, and want of consent.

That they should not be troubled to seek lawfull causes of this dissolution: for besides the want of issue, in the which consists the second end of matrimony, and the preservation of the State, they should not need to inuent the degree of consanguinity, being knowne to all men, that the King and Queene are in the third degree, a blemish which hath alwayes D accompanied the marriage since the solemnization thereof, and the which was not taken away by the brieve of Pope *Gregory* the 13, for that the necessary and essentiall formes were not obserued. After that he had shewed the necessitie and profit of this separation, he beseecheth the King to chooseth his second wife, in a chiefe and Soueraigne Family, and which had bene heretofore honoured with the like happinesse, and to consider that so great a Realme flourishing in Princes and many Noblemen, and ancient houses, cannot easily submit themselves to the command of those which by both sides shall not bee of the blood Royall or Soueraigne, halfe Princes, halfe simple Gentlemen. And if at any time we must respect the distinction of births and races, it must be when as they that come, are born to command our others.

E That they could not giue Heires to a Realme of too worthy a House: and if hee be not equal by the fathers side, yet at the least, that he come neere vnto it: for men being by nature high-minded, doe not willingly submit themselves to them whom they thinke to be inferiour to their fathers, vnto whose command they haue bene inured.

The King was well pleased with this discourse, and aduertised Queene *Marguerite* thereof by *L'Anglois*, one of the Masters of Requests of his Maiesties household, to vnderstand her resolution touching the nullity of her marriage. Shee (who vpon the like demand during the life of the Duchesse of Beaufort had made request for some reasons) returned him answer, that she would deliuer her minde vnto *Berthier*, Agent for the Clergy, and Intendant of her affaires. The Kings intentions were imparted vnto him, and he sent vnto her, who returned with this answer vnto the King and his Council: *That she desired nothing more then the Kings contentment, and the quiet of the Realme: and withall, she sent a priuate Letter vnto his Maiesty, beseeching him, To grace her with his protection, vnder the shadow whereof she would passe the remainder of her yeares.* The said Queene sent a petition vnto the Pope, containing, *That her brother King Charles the 9, and the Queene her Mother had married her against her will, to which marriage her heart had neuer consented: That the King and shee being in the third degree of consanguinitie, shee beseecheth his Holinesse to declare the marriage void.* The King made the like request. This businesse was managed very seriously by

A Letter from
Q^{ueene} *Marguerite*
vnto the King.

1599

Pope Gregory
dispensation
was after the
marriage.

The King was
born the 13
of December
1551, and bap-
tized at Pau by
the Cardinal
of Bourbon for
Henry the 2.

by the Cardinall of Oſſat, and by the Lord of Silery, the Kings Ambaſſadour at Rome A (who at the ſame time purſued the Iudgement for the Marquieſſe of Saluſſes:) they be- ſeeched his Holineſſe in his Maieſties name: *That for that which ſhould concerne the nullity of the ſaid marriage, he deſired no other ſauour then that of Juſtice.*

This buſineſſes was imparted by the Pope to the Conſistory, and many reaſons ſet down to proue the nullity of the marriage. All the difficulty was, that Pope Clement the eight thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould declare that marriage void, which Pope Gregory the thirteenth had approued, and who by his abſolute authoritie had taken away all lets and hindrances. All which was answered at large. And although it were true, that Queene Marguerite had continued long with the King: yet this cohabitation was alwaies B forced, and the fame feare which was in the beginning of the marriage, had continued during the life of her brethren, and the Queene her Mother: and the time was to bee regarded ſo long as the feare continued: for mariages contracted by force and conſtraint, without conſent are void, and time doth not extinguiſh the nullity, if hee that is forced hath not liberty to doe that freely, which they have made him to doe by force.

In the end, it was reſolved on in the Conſistory, that a Commiſſion ſhould be granted to certaine Prelates, to take iuſt conſideration of the cauſe vpon the place, and to iudge of the nullity of the ſaid marriage. His Holineſſe ſent his Commiſſion vnto the Cardinall Ioy- ceuze, to the Biſhop of Modena, his Nuncio in France, and to the Archbiſhop of Arles, a learned Italian Prelate, and well praſticed in thoſe affaires, who being aſſembled at Paris, C after that they had obſerved all ſolemnnities that were requiſite, and cauſed information to be taken of his Maieſties age, hauing viewed the requiſition of the three Eſtates of France, containing the great intereſt they had therein. All being well examined and conſidered, they declared the ſaid marriage void, and ſet the parties at liberty to marry where they pleaſed.

The King ſent d'Alincourt, Gouverneur of Pontoife, and Knight of his Orders, to to thank the Pope for his good iuſtice: and the Earle of Beaumont to Queene Margue- ritte, to let her vnderſtand, that the Popes Delegates had giuen vp their ſentence. And ſeeing that God had ſuffered that the bond of their coniunction was diſſolued, the which his diuine Juſtice had done as well for their particular quiet, as for the publike good of the Realme, he deſired no leſſe to cheriſh and loue her then before, reſolving to haue more care of that which did concern him, then he had had, & to let her vnderſtand, that hereafter he would not be a brother to her onely in name, but ſhe ſhould find effects worthy of the truſt which ſhe had repoſed in the ſinceritie of his affection. Shee made anſwer vnto the King. That although it were eaſier to receive comfort for the loſſe of any worldly thing, yet the onely reſpect of the merit of ſo perfect a King and ſo valiant, did by the priuation thereof cut off all conſolation, being the marke of the generoſitie of ſuch a ſpirit, to make her griefe immortal as hers ſhould be, if the fauour which it pleaſed his Maieſtie to doe her by the aſſurance of countenance and protection, did not baniſh it.

At the ſame time ſhee taſted the effects of the Kings liberalitie by the encrease of her penſions, living happily at Veſſon neere to Autillac, in the tranquillitie and ſilence of her fortune. This change is no leſt, but ſhe ſhal be alwaies one of the firſt Princeſſes of Europe. No man can take from her that which Heauen and Nature haue giuen her. It is a Theater, which although it hath been beaten with lightning, is ſtill admired. And to ſpeake the truth without affection or flattery, ſhe her ſelfe hath ruined the greatneſſe of her fortune, in that ſhe would be what ſhe is.

This marriage is no ſooner diſſolued, but they treat of another. In the bleſſings whereof the French promiſe vnto themſelues the increaſe and continuance of thoſe of Heauen. The great Duke of Tuluſe did carefully keep Mary of Medicis his Nece to increaſe the honour of his houſe by ſome great alliance. It was in a ſeaſon when as the Soueraigne houſes of Europe had no daughters ready to marry, or there was ſome diſparity for their Age, or Religion. Great and important conſiderations, which Princes ſhould not paſſe over lightly. It ſeemes, that the eternall wiſdomde, which concludes the mariages of Princes in Heauen, and bleſſeth them on earth, would not marry this Princeſſe vnto the Empe- F rour, but reſerued her for the good of greater Empire, not being pleaſed that France ſhould ſeek the meanes to continue the Crowne in the Kings poſterity, any where elſe but at Florence, one of the eyes of Italy, and in the houſe of Medicis, which goeth equally with

Mary of Medi-
cis the Duke of
Florence
Daughter.

1599

A with the firſt in Italy. The hiſtory of which houſe you may read at large in the Originall. Coſmo furnaſhed by Pius the 5, the great Duke of Tuſcane, had by Madam Eleonor of To- ledo, daughter to the Viceroy of Naples, Francis, Ferdinand, Peter, Garcia, Iſabella and E- leonor. Francis married Ioane of Auſtria, daughter to the Emperour Ferdinand. Of this marriage came two daughters, Eleonor and Mary: the firſt is married to bee D. of Montoua, the happineſſe and good fortune of the other is referred to the Queene of France. And the King being now ſet at liberty, fixt all his thoughts vpon her marriage.

The D. of Sauoy had ſent many of his Miniſters into France, to treat vpon the difference for the Marquieſſe of Saluces, without expecting the Popes ſentence. All the voyages B which Iacob, the Preſident Rochette, the Marquis of Lullins, the Cheualier Breton and Ron- cas his Secretary had made, brought him no other fruit then to haue obſcured the State of the Court, pierced a little into the Kings deſignes, the which is alwaies the firſt of an Ambaſſadors inſtructions, & noted the countenance of ſome ſpirits impatient of reſt, and deſirous of change. And although the Patriarke of Conſtantinople had by his perſwaſions drawne more from the King then the Duke of Sauoy hoped for, and made knowne how much a diſcourſe full of affection and perſwaſion may preuaile, there being nothing that doth more ſubtilly ſteale away the opinions of men, then the eloquence of Mercury, yet could he neuer change the reſolution which the King had taken to haue the Marquieſſe againe. He was at Lyons whereas ſickneſſe ſtayed him for a time: the King hauing com- manded the Gouverneur of Lyons to lodge him, feaſt him, and ſupply all his wants: Ronsas attended vntill he was recouered, to conduct and accompany him according to the order which the Duke had giuen him. But as things went on more ſlowly then hee deſired, hee thought that this purſuit required a greater preſence and action: that hee himſelfe muſt doe his owne Ambaſſage, promiſing more vnto himſelfe by his onely ſhadow, then by all the ſoliciting of ſeruants. Hee therefore prepared himſelfe to goe to the King, although the chiefe of his Councell diſſwaded him.

The onely thought of this voyage made him irreconcilable to the King of Spaine, although it had not paſt the tearmes of a ſimple poſſeſſion, ſo did hee make ſhew to bee deſirous to breake wholly with him: hee had in ſhew great occaſions to complaine of his D friendſhip and ſuccours, who did but entertaine his griefe, and made the cure deſperate. It is good for a Prince to know the humour of many Nations. Hee knew the Spaniards well: their manner of liuing, the ruinous conditions which they lay vpon them whom they aſſiſt: the length and languiſhing of their promiſes were odious vnto him. Hee did conſider the iniuſtice, & inequality in the portion of the Infanta his wife, who of ſo many Scepters and Crownes which the King her Father had, receiued but ſixſcore thouſand Crownes of yearly penſion, whereas the eldeſt had the Low-countries, and the Franche country in marriage. Hee could not forget, that at the treaty of Veruins, hee had bene in a manner forgotten, and that a Peace was almoſt concluded before they thought of him. Hee beſeaged that if the Spaniard would, the queſtion for the Marquieſſe of Saluces had E been ended, the which might haue been left to him in exchange of Calais, Dôlans, Ar- dres, and other places. That the King of Spaine did thinke (that to prevent that all theſe diſcontentments ſhould not cary this Prince to ſome dangerous party) it was neceſſary to tie him vnto the Crowne of Spaine by ſome ſtrong bond. They therefore demand the firſt Prince, and the firſt Infanta, vnder colour to bring them vp after a royaſt manner, and in a Court whereas they might one day hope to raigne.

The Duke was diſcontented with this demand, perceiving well that it proceeded more from diſtruſt, then affection. His Councell aduiſed him to giue this content vnto the King of Spaine, that he could not lodge his children better, and that that was the vaiting and very cymment of perfect friendſhip. Yet he reſolved to keepe his children, and to ſend the F Count La Motte to make his excuſe, that the preſent eſtate of his affaires would not ſuffer him to ſend them, nor to provide them a traine and furniture fit for the voyage.

The King of Spaine to take away all excuſe, giues order to haue money provided for him at Milan, and perſwades the Duke to ſend the Count La Motte as Gouverneur and conductor of the Prince. The D. takes the money, and keeps the ware, ſaying that the ayre of Spaine was not proper for his children, that their indiſpoſition and the tendreſſe of their age, would not ſuffer them to hazard them ſo ſoone in ſo long a voyage.

This reſuſall offended the King of Spaine, and makes the Duke to reſolue vpon that which

The Dukes
diſcontents, but
counterfeits.

The counsell of
Spain demands
the Dukes
children.

The K of Spain
offended with
the Duke.

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which he held most profitable. From that time he could no more looke on a Spaniard. He then left the Spanish Ambassador at Turin, and came to Chambery : when as hee did see any one as farre off in his Councell of the Spanish Faction, hee lookes on him with such a disdainfull eye, he shewes himselfe no more in his presence : hee scornes the Spanish fashion, and commends the French, saying, *That there is no such felicitie as to conquer ones selfe, and to yeeld himselfe absolutely vnto himselfe.*

The King was long before he would yeeld vnto the Dukes comming into France, saying, *That it was not necessary he should passe the mountaines without the Marquisate of Saluces.* But the Cheualier Breton and Roncas did presse the King, that he would be pleased to give their Master leave to see him assuring him that he would giue him all content. The first was framed to the fashion of that Court, and did beleue that when they should see a Prince great in Iudgement, admirable in liberallitie, and indued with many excellent qualities, they would grant him all without any difficulty. Many dissuaded the Duke from this voyage, laying before him the dangers in trusting a great enemy, wanting no examples, whereof one in such remarkable accidents were sufficient to make him to change his minde, and to ground his iudgement vpon experience.

Roncas returned from the Court, he found the Duke at Hautecombe, and brings him Letters from the King, fuller of desire to see him, then of any hope that this enuie should yeeld him any great profit. This Letter well considered, was not sufficient to make the way for such a passage, shewing that although the King desired his comming, it was always without prejudice, to haue reason of the Marquisate. It was imparted to the Councell: whereof some said, that this voyage would giue an offence which Spain would neuer pardon: others said, that the end of this game would be the losse of friendship of the K. of Spaine, which would be profitable to the Duke, and necessary for his children. The Duke answers, that the Mariner is ill aduised that strikes often against the same rock where he hath many times suffered shipwreck. That the hatred of Spaine would make the conditions of the treaty more easie and beneficiall, and would lay open that which none but himselfe could expresse, carying in his brest certain designs which hee could not trust to any but himselfe. There was no reason of force to make him change this opinion. He said, that as soone as he had seene the King he should be content. They had much adoe to persuade him to send (not an Ambassador, but a simple Post) vnto the King of Spaine, not to aske his aduice, but to cary him assurance of his going into France: the which he undertook when as they could not beleue it in Court, thinking that he had changed his resolution.

When as all doubts were taken away, the King gaue order for his receiuing, commanding the Governour of Lions to prepare the Archbishops lodging for his owne person, and the nearest houses for the Noblemen of his Court : That hee should accompany him in the best sort he could to doe any thing that he desired to see within the towne. That he should goe and meet him in the mid way of the last post, with all the Nobility of his gouernment. That they of the towne should attend him at the gate when hee should enter, and that the Prouost of Merchants should tell him, that he had commandement to do him the same honour that was to be done to his Maiesty, and visiting him in his lodging, to present vnto him the goodliest & rarest fruits that might be found in the country, and that they should feast him, and deffray him with all his traine. This was executed with such order and state, as the Duke hath said often since, that this entertainment had bound him. The Earles of the great Church of Lions were in doubt whether they should receiue this Prince as they had done the Duke *Emanuel Philibert* his father. The Dukes of Sauoy, as Earles of Villards and Soueraignes of that county in the country of Brefre, haue had place as Chanoin of Honour in that Church, the which is represented vnto them the first time they enter. The same honour should haue beene offered vnto the Duke passing by Lions, as had beene giuen vnto his father when he came after the peace in the year 1559, if things had beene in the same estate, or if they had not found a greater difference. The Chapter of this Church had great reason to intreat the Prince as they had done his predecessors, seeing the King would haue him receiued like vnto his Maiesty, and giue him that testimonie of honour, the effect whereof did honor them as much that gave it, as he could find himselfe honored that receiued it. But for that through the Kings conquest the country of Villards was no more vnder his obedience ; that things were yet in suspence of war or peace ; that Princes are alwayes offended with the communication of such honours ; they

1599

La Guide Governour of Lions, adu. telch the King of the Duke of Sauoy reception. The King demands what a Chanoin of Honour is.

A they resolued not to doe any thing therein, but what it should please the King to appoint. They aske the Governours aduice : whereupon *La Faye*, one of the Earles of that Church, was sent to Court, to know the Kings pleasure touching this difficulty.

The King demanded of him, what a Chanoin of honour was, and if the Duke of Sauoy reception had beene like vnto his. *La Faye* answered, that the great and famous Churches of Europe had Chanoinnes of honour, who were either Soueraine Princes, (in whose dominions they were founded) or foraigne Princes, who by their piety haue bound the Church to this acknowledgement of honor. That the place of a Chanoin of honour, is neither for the office, nor for the charge, but onely for reuerence and priuiledge : for as the Prince who is a Chanoin of honour, is not bound to any other thing, but to sweare the protection and preseruacion of the rights of the Church, so he reapes no other profit, but is partaker of their praies which they make there.

That this honour should bee of small import, if the greatnesse of Princes which had desired it, did not make it great in a great Church, the which being one of the chiefe of France as well in Antiquity as in Dignity, the reputation thereof hath beene spread in farre nations, who haue founded their Churches after this modell. That this honour had beene giuen in ancient time to the most Christian Kings, to the Dukes of Sauoy Earles of Villards, to the Dukes of Bourgundy, Dukes of Berry, and Dauphines of Viennois, which haue beene receiued Chanoinnes of Honor in that Church, but those receptiones did differ from that of the Kings.

The King asked the opinion of his Councell in that case, and by their aduice hee answered, that the Duke of Sauoy holding no more the County of Villards, should not pretend the rights that depended thereon : that comming into France, to reconcile himselfe vnto his Maiesty, hee would make so small an aboad in Lions as hee did not thinke that hee would stay for so simple a ceremonie. That if hee should demand that place of a Chanoin of Honour as they had giuen it to his deceased father, the Chapter should excuse themselves, vntill they knew the Kings pleasure, to doe their duties at his returne.

The Duke was much offended with the refusal of that was due to him, and the which D they had giuen vnto his deceased father. Neither did he dissemble his discontent, for he would not goe into this Church, although he were lodged in the Archbishops palace, nor passe ouer the place, which is before the principall doore : and when as the Deane with the whole body of the Church went to salute him, hee said that hee had alwayes honoured that companay, as hauing the Honour to be of it. Being receiued into Lions according to the Kings order and command, hee had many presages of discontentment in his voyage. His seruants in Court aduertised him that if hee came without other designe then to offer the Marquisate of Saluces, hee would repent his comming. One sayd vnto him that hee should not get any great matter of the King, seeing hee was not pleased that the Cathedrall Church at Lions should afford him a little honour and E ceremony. A man at armes of the company of the Marquis *d'Yrfe*, was put in prison vpon a false aduice that came from Geneva, that he followed the Duke with an intent to doe a bad act at Paris. It was strange in Court that the King had not sent any other vnto him then the Controuler generall of the Postes. But nothing troubled him more, then when as *Varenne* (among other discourses which the Duke offered, to found their opinions touching his voyage) sayd vnto him, hee should be welcome so as hee restored the Marquisate. A speech which toucht the Duke vnto the quicke, who esteemed not all the Estates of his patrimony, as the Marquisate alone. It is true that they loue that better which they haue gotten, then that which hath beene purchased by their Predecessors. He went by post from Lions to Roane : from thence hee went by water to Orleans, whither the King sent the Duke of Nemours to receiue him. Betwixt Orleans and Fontainebleau he was met first by the Marshall *Biron*, and then by the Duke *Montpensier*, being followed by many Noblemen.

The 13 of December at night (a memorable day for the Kings birth) hee arose when hee knew his traine to bee asleepe, and departs secretly to get to Fontainebleau before his people were awake. *Varenne* who had commandement from the King to come before and aduertise him, had much adoe to follow him, and if the Duke had found horses ready at the first post, they had not caried the first newes of his arrival.

M m m m

Hee

1599

The King and his Nobles were stirred in red, the Duke and his traine in blacke.

The Dukes prauiſes.

Duke of Mercœur's voyage into Hungary in October. 1599.

He found the King coming from Maſſe, with all the Noblemen of his Court, attended in red, and ready to goe to horſe backe to meet him: they did walke long together after their first embracings and excuses. Then the Duke told him the occasions of his voyage, the which hee had kept ſecret from his Councell: but hee could draw nothing from the King by this first parlee, but hee should haue him his friend in yielding him his Marquifate. It is a difficult thing to feed a King that hath a white beard with words. The King said alwaies that hee desired nothing but his owne. And the Duke of Sauoy being in the Louvre spake as boldly as if he had bene in the Citadell at Turin, that no power in the world should euer make him yeeld to this restitution. A free and courageous speech in another Country, not amongst his owne people, but to Villersy the Kings chiefest and most confident Secretary of State. From Fontainebleau hee went to Paris with a goodly traine, hee was lodged in the Louvre, and spent the Christmas in Nemours house. He admired this great Court, where hee fees the chiefest Noblemen of the Realme, and noted that *L'Escligueres* who had so much troubled him, was not so great in Court as in Dauphine. The Dukes presence did increase his reputation, he gouerned his actions in such sort, as he freed them from the scorn and mockery of the Court. His wisdom, his discretion, and his courtie, made them to forget the tales which were yet told of the good Duke Charles his grandfather. They did obserue in his actions courtie and courage, bounty, discretion and policy. This yeare ended with all sorts of pleasures and sports, familiarities and proofes of true friendship, so as many beleued that the two hearts and the two Courts of these Princes were but one, but there was alwaies some mark of constraint, and amidst these embracings there alwaies past some gird or quip. The King who is sudden in his answers, gaue him alwaies some touch to thinke on. There was too great difference betwixt their humours to make a long and good harmony. But whilst the Court abounds in pleasure and delights, the Duke Mercœur is in Hungary, in the midst of many discomforts, which hee holds pleasing for Gods cause: but before hee goes hee giues them occasion to talke off him in the Court of Parliament. Hee had a cause plaied there, and his Advocate gaue him the quality of a Prince: *Seruin* the Kings Advocate (holding it a base preuarication to bee silent at that which ought to be spoken for the Kings seruice and the Law of State) did shew that that quality did not belong to any, but to Princes of the blood. The Duchesse of Mercœur (who was then in presence) said that they could not take from her husband a quality that was due vnto him by the right of his birth, and that the King held him so.

The Duke Mercœur, holding that which the Kings Advocate had sayd, in discharge of his duty for a brauado and a contempt, went the same day vnto his house, and gaue him iniurious words. The King being aduertised thereof, held it a bold act. The Court esteemed the injury done vnto them, and desired the more to repaire it, for that the honour of the Kings seruice was wronged, and that it had bene done in sight of the Parliament of the capitall City of the Reame, and in his house that was wronged, the which should bee to euery man an inuoluable Sanctuary. The Court decreed that hee should bee personally adorned, and had proceeded further if the Kings commandment had not stayed them. It was a great vertue in the President *Lizer*, when hee decreed that the quality of a Prince (which the Cardinall of Lorraine tooke) should bee razed out of his Advocates pleadings. The Cardinall complained vnto the King: but the President *Lizer* answered with such courage and constancy before the King, being in councell, that the Cardinall was no Prince nor equall to Princes, and if you will faith hee vnto it, shew vs the place of your Principality. A free speech which purchased the old man much reputation, and yet within two yeares after hee made him resigne his place vnder another pretext. There was no Nobleman in France that vied the benefit of the peace more worthily then the Duke Mercœur, for disdaining the idleness of the Court and the ease of his house, hee employed himselfe to succour the Christians, against the greatest enemy of their Religion. Hee leads with him the Count of Chaligny his brother, with some Gentlemen at his owne charge, resolving to imploy his goods as well as his life in this holy warre, hauing vowed to serue Christendome two yeares at his owne charge. He shewed himselfe a great Captaine as well to defend as to assaile, hauing kept the enemy with an Army of a hundred and fifty thousand men from

1599

A from besieging of Strigonia: this was in his first voyage before whose returne the Emperor desired to see him, and intreated him to take his way by Prague.

In the beginning of the yeare, the Duke of Sauoy sent the King two great Bafins, and two Ewers of Chryſtal, the rarest peeces of the Cabinet of *Beatrice* of Portugal his grandmother, and of Lady *Katherine* the Infanta of Spaine and his wife, the which could not bee valued neither for the matter, nor for the workemanship: and the King returned vnto the Duke alewell of Diamonds, in the midst whereof there was one Diamond Transparent, which discovered his Maiesties portrait, the which hee esteemed so much, as hauing lost it once in dancing, he gaue five hundred Crownes to him that found it. The Duke was not to bee imitated in his bounty, and when as they thought that hee had giuen all, hee invited the King and the Court to a dancing, where he shewed himselfe in Jewels, as they were esteemed to bee worth about six hundred thousand Crownes. Hee gaue Presents to all the Court, who accepted them with the Kings permission: Only the Duke of Biron refused the horses that hee sent vnto him: but the King had nothing the better opinion of their intelligences, nor the Duke lesse assurance of his affection by this refusal, for it was chiefly for his sake, that the Duke of Sauoy had made his voyage, to draw him wholly from the Kings seruice. It was that great occasion which hee carryed secret in his breast, and would not reueale vnto his Councell, when they dissuaded his going into France: the Marquifate of Saluces was the pretext of his voyage, but the finishing of this great conspiracy was the true cause. It was a goodly foyle well set out, but covered with a false stone.

La Fin was employed as a Truchman of the Wills of the Conspirators and Confederates. The first time that hee had any speech with the Duke of Sauoy, was the night after the feasts of Christmas, when he was brought into the Dukes Chamber in Nemours house, by Seigneur *Jacob*, without the priuity of any other. The Duke of Nemours (coming to giue the Duke the good night) was intreated not to enter, for that the Duke would take his rest. They would not haue him acquainted with any thing, fearing lest he should aduertise the King, hauing obserued what hee sayd the first day of the Dukes arrival, that nothing should draw him from the Kings seruice, and that excepted, hee would doe any thing for his Highnesse. There was not any night but *La Fin* spent a good part of it, to acquaint him with the State of the faction. Those that were of this intelligence, met at the most remote Churches, to acquaint one another with that which past. Nothing was said in the Kings Councell, but the Duke of Sauoy was presently aduertised thereof, by them that were at his deuotion. But he had not yet spoken with the Duke of Biron of their designe, but by a third person: it was necessary they should ioyne to knit the knot of their vniou. They had both sought the occasion, but there was still some obstacle, or some spie that hindred them. They encountered a fit opportunity at Conflans, being all alone, the King hauing commanded the Duke of Biron to entertaine the Duke of Sauoy vntill his returne: they left no time, in plying it but in three or foure words of trust, and assured intelligence, referring the rest to the mediation of *La Fin*. Their discourse was broken off, by the coming of the Count Solfons, and the Duke of Montpensier.

The Dukes proceeding therein, was very cunning and iudicious, for often-times hee would begin a discourse of the valour and courage of the Duke of Biron, to found the Kings opinion, who did not alwayes giue him the glory of those goodly executions, whereof hee wanted. The Duke did still aduertise the Duke of Biron of any thing the King had sayd of him, that might any way alter him, which made him to breake forth in the bitterest words hee could, against all respect of the Kings seruice, being very sensible of any thing that was spoken against the reputation of his valour, in regard whereof he esteemed nothing: and when hee entered into the History of his life, hee would speake contemptibly of all the world, not sparing the King himselfe, whose valour and experience in military actions, hath obscured others, and forced them to confesse, that hee hath not bene advanced to the Royall Throne by the benefit of Fortune, but by the merit of his vertue. The Duke of Biron committed great errors against the rules of such as desire to raise and aduance their fortunes. No man must euer enter into comparision of valour and sufficiency with his Prince: hee may not dispute of his aduice, contradict his opinion, nor affect to seeme more

M m m m 2

advised,

The New years gifts of the Duke and King.

The Duke of Biron refuseth the Duke of Sauoy's presents.

The discourse in the Dukes voyage into France.

The Duke of Nemours disposition to the Kings seruice.

The Duke of Sauoy's policy.

The Duke of Biron could not endure a noticers prauiſes.

1600

This words
were spoken
with loud
voice of
Poets.

advised, more iudicious, nor more capable. Many haue bene cast away vpon this shelve. A The Duke of Biron was of this humor. The excess of his courage made him to disallow with disaine, all that was not done or inuented by himselfe. He sayd sometimes vnto the King, that he would not haue them write in the History of France, that other then he had done such and such a thing.

The second day of the yeere, the King went to Saint Germaine in Lay, leading the Duke with him, to shew him his buildings, his Grots or Caves and his Chafes, and with all hee shewed him his other houles, and all the goodliest places about Paris. In the meane time hee dissembled his discontent, with so great wisdom, as hee seemed alwaies one, at the table, at hunting, at play, and at dancing: the King though he refused what he demanded, yet did he still shew him new sights, to recompence the fained repentance his voyage.

The king leads
the Duke to the
Court of Parli-
ment.

After that he had seene all that was rare about Paris, the King would shew him his Court of Parliament, for all that hee had seene was nothing in respect of the admirable greatness of that reuerent Court, whereof in former times, many Emperours, Kings, and Princes, coming to Paris, had more admired the Iustice that was administered there, then any thing else that they had seene. The King aduertised the chiefe President *Achilles de Harley*, that hee would goe see and heare them. They prepared the lodging of the golden Chamber, whereas the King and Duke might see and bee seene. There was a most tragical cause pleaded, whereof the first President made choise: The subiect C was a of one *Iohn Prost* a practitioner of the Law, who had bene murdered at Paris, and the authors could not be discouered. His mother accused a Baker where he was lodged, vpon some apparant presumptions of certaine money which shee had lent vnto him. Whereupon the Baker was condemned to be rackt with all extremity, after the which hee was enlarged for a time, putting in Caution for his appearance againe in Court.

It happened afterwards that three Gallions were taken for robbing of a house, and condemned the next day to be hanged. At their execution, the last of the three said, that the Baker was innocent for that whereof hee had bene accused, for the murder of *Iohn Prost*, and that it was he with his companion *La Sale* that had slaine him, thinking that he had money: and that after they had slaine him, they did cast him into the Priuy, whereas D he was yet. The which was found true. Whereupon the Baker being declared innocent, hee presents his petition vnto the Court, and demands reparation of honor; with his charges, damage and interest against the mother. The mother defends her selfe, and saith, that her accusations were not calumnious. Master *Anne Robert* pleaded for the Baker, and for the mother Master *Anthony Arnault*, and for the Kings interest Master *Seruin* his Maiesties Aduocate Generall.

Anne Robert Aduocate in the Court, pleading for the Baker being Plaintiffe, said thus:

May it please yee:

THE ancient Poets taking pleasure to discourse of many combats happened at the battell of Troy, report that *Telexphus* (the sonne of *Hercules*) received in an encounter a fore wound with a Lance by *Achilles*: who seeing his paine to encrease dayly, fled to *Apollones* Oracle for Counsell, who answered, that nothing could giue him cure or cure, but the same Lance wherewith hee had bene wounded. A Lance called *Pelias* of Mount *Pelion* in the top whereof *Chiron* gathered it, to present to *Achilles*: so as in *Telexphus* accident, the remedy and the cure, came from the same Lance, which gaue the wound and did the harme.

A wound giuen
by Intence,
cannot be cure
red but by fen-
cence.

The Plaintiffe with some like consideration, hath reason to say, that hauing bene by the authority of a sentence miserably tormented, and exposed to the rigour of the racke and torture, by the wilfull slander and importune rafhnesse of a woman, hee hath recourse vnto the same Lance of *Achilles* which did wound him: seeing that he doth now appeale vnto the Authority and Iustice of the same Court, which hath heretofore giuen the first sentence of condemnation against him, hoping that by the exemplary punishment of the rafhnesse and slander of this woman, the soueraigne

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Refuting to the
name of the
Iudge which
was *Achilles De*
Iudex.

A soueraigne Iustice of this Parliament, guided by the conduct of an *Achilles*, which doth preface and hold the chiefe place, shall giue cure to his wounds, and bring consolation to his griefes.

The estate of the cause that is now in question, and to bee iudged, is not whether the Plaintiffe were falsely and slanderously accused or no: for the accident of two murderers hath auerred and discouered the slander without any doubt. But the question is, if this Defendresse (after so false and calumnious an accusation) shall passe unpunished: and whether her pretended excuses shall be receiued and countenanced by Iustice. For one of the chiefe points which shee pleads for her excuse is, that the criminall Proccesse hauing past through the hands of the most famous Iudges of Europe, if they haue bene deceived, (saith this woman) if by presumptions and probable coniectures, they haue found cause to condemne this man vnto the racke, if so many worthy Iudges haue bene surprised, will you not excuse the simplicity of a woman, and the extreme sorrow of an afflicted mother for the death of her sonne, hauing had no hatred nor malice, in this accusation. It is a great abuse to measure the action of Iudges, with the actions of parties: the pursuit and proceeding of parties is meere voluntury: no man is forced to plead or accuse: the Plaintiffe should be well aduised before he begin, and not to draw any man into the danger of a capitall condemnation, if hee bee not first assured, that he whom hee calls into question hath done the deed and is Author of the crime: but the charge of a Iudge is tyed to a necessary duty, bound to certaine Maxims, and subiect C to rules, established by the Lawes to condemne necessarily vpon presumptions and proofes, and vpon the testimony of witnesses, examined at the instance of the party. Antiquity doth teach vs, that *Tirestias* that great Sooth-sayer, foretold things to come by the flying of birds, not that hee did see the birds, for hee was blind, but (say the Poets) hee had alwaies his daughter *Manto* neere vnto him, who told him in what manner the birds did fly, and thereby hee diuined. Iustice may rightly bee compared to this excellent blinde man, and the comparifon cannot seeme bad, seeing that the Egyptians thought good to paint their Iudges with their eyes blind-fold. For Iudges cannot rightly see nor know what doth passe. Iustice deceites nothing but according to the report and testimonie of parties and witnesses. If any inconuenience happen in the condemnation, the mischiefe is to bee imputed to the parties, and not to the Iudges or Iustice.

Iustice doth
induce of that
which ap-
peareth.

They report that the Greekes hauing put *Palamedes* to death, his father *Nauplius* to bee reuenged, obserued the time when as the Greekes after the sacke of Troy, returned by sea, in a great tempest. *Nauplius* being vpon a Rocke in full sea, held a burning torch in his hand, as if that place had bene a safe Port for the descent of ships: the Greekes abused with this light, ranne against the Rocke, and suffered shipwracke. In this misfortune if there were cause to complaine, it was against the malicious inuention of *Nauplius*: but as for the Pilots and such as gouerned the ships, they were not to bee blamed, in following the direction of a Lanthorne in a darke night, being usually set at safe E Ports. So in accidents like vnto this in question, all the harme, all the complaints, and all the wrong, is to bee imputed to the accused, which kindles the fire of slander, and from whom proceedes the practices and subornation of witnesses, and the search and disguising of presumptions and circumstances. Who doubts but the complaints and malicious teares of this woman were false directions, and sufficient inductions to circumsent the wisdom of the best Iudges, who in the midst of the night, that is to say, in the darknesse of hidden crimes, haue followed the ordinary formes of Iustice.

Slander is the
cause of false
iudgement.

It was with reason that a Greeke Author discoursing of the criminall proccesse of *Orestes*, who to reuenge the death of his father, slew *Chremys* his mother: said, that F when hee was brought before the Parliament of Arrispage, *Minerva* Goddess of wisdom was President in Iudgment. The Ancients by such fictions would teach vs, that in the iudgment of criminall causes, if a celestiall power doth not assist, there doth many times inconueniences happen, but the fault must then bee imputed to accuse, who giues the first cause, by an information framed expressly to afflict and condemne an innocent. *Appian* in his History reports of *Julius Caesar*, that seeing a mutiny in his campe, he commanded the authors thereof to be apprehended. A souldier was brought before

M m m m ; him

1600

Attainder con-
demned vpon
espionage.

him as one of these mutines, and yet it was presently auerred that hee was none. *Caesar* A caused him that brought him to be severely punished, iudging that although hee did it not maliciously, yet hee defected punishment, for that he had drawne an innocent souldier in danger of his life. We read that *Martian* hauing found a dead body in the night, and through piety (which was then greatly recommended among Christians) seeking to bury him, was taken, led before the Iustice, and condemned vpon suspition: but at the same instant, when as they caried him to execution, it chanced happily that the murderer was taken and executed, hauing confessed the fact, to the great happinesse of *Martian*, who was deliuered, and within few yeeres after chosen Emperor. As also the Ecclesiasticall History doth teach vs, that Saint *Athanasius* was accused to haue slaine *Arsenius*, B and was ready to be condemned, if by good hap *Arsenius* had not beene found, being hidden by the enemies of *Athanasius*. A late writer curious in the search of the singularities of the History of Venice, reports an aduerture somewhat like vnto this: *Fuscarius* sonne to the Duke of Venice, had a capitall quarrell with another Venetian Gentleman called *Hermolus Donat*. This Gentleman was found dead, and the Author of this murder not knowne. *Fuscarius* vpon suspition of their quarrell, was called in question, condemned, and sent into exile, where hee dyed for griefe to see himselfe banished from his Country. Within three months after his death, a thiefe was executed, who amongst other crimes, confessed, that it was hee and not *Fuscarius*, which had slaine that Venetian Gentleman.

The punishment of talic
accusations.

In such and the like inconueniences, were it reason to giue absolute impunity to him that was the calumniator, be it that malice or indiscretion hath drawne him to this slander? *Scipio* sayd, that a Generall of an Army must be well aduised what he doth, for in matters of warres there is no meanes to erre twise, the first fault being sufficient to ruine an army. Euen so in Iustice, it must be very exact, when there is any question of a capitall accusation, for seeing that the life depends thereon, there is no meanes to erre twice, the first being irreparable. It is an approved distinction of all those that haue treated of the punishment of false accusations, whether a informer bee induced to accuse slanderously and wickedly, or by indiscretion and without malice.

The one differs from the other, so haue they diuers effects: the one hath some excuse, the other is punished severely: the one ciuilly, the other criminally: for where there is malice and slander, the Law of God doth punish the calumniator with the like paine, *Lege Talionis*: and at Rome the calumniator in crimes that were not capitall, was beaten with a hot iron, and branded in the fore-head, for a signe and perpetuall marke of his slander. And the Emperour *Macrinus* did punish those accusers which did faile in their proofes with death. *Pliny* speaking of such men, called them abominable sacrifices, which should bee offered vp to the publike quiet. And the good Emperour *Traian* did so detest calumniators, as hee caused them to bee put into a ship without sayle or tackling, abandoning them to the mercy of that mercilesse element, which would haue no pity of them, no more then they had had of many poore innocents.

But as for the slander which proceeds from indiscretion without malice, the severity in truth should not bee so great, yet is it fit there should be some punishment. No severe or capitall punishment, but at the least pecuniary and ciuill, of damages and fine. If thee were not excusable as a mother, forced to accuse by extreme griefe without malice: what racke? what punishment? what torments were sufficient to punish her, which hath drawne an innocent man in question, and in danger to be broken vpon the wheele? The Poets saie, that the Goddess *Ceres* by the supposition of *Tantalus*, did eate *Pelops* shoulder. This Goddess finding her owne error, although vnadvisedly, condemned herselfe to make *Pelops* shoulder of Yuory. You are the cause of the cruell torments which the Plaintiff hath suffered vpon theracke, but you say it was by indiscretion, and without malice. At the least by an award of damages and fine, make some pecuniary recompence, to releue the misery of this poore man, and to helpe him to finish the remainder of his dayes, languishing after so many torments. And if this woman represents vnto you the pity and griefe of a mother, imagine I pray you the miserable sighes of this innocent, in the midst of the cruelty of most violent tortures, hauing no other feeling but his paine and griefe,

In

1599

A In one houre a thousand deaths without dying, a body tormented, stretched, halfe torne in peeces, his sinewes dried and strained, his members broken, and his whole body in a pittifull estate, being bound, and miserably rackt. And to speake truth, it had beene a great happinesse for this poore man to haue died, for what remains is no more a perfect body, but peeces displaced and disioyned, members broken, lame and feeble, hauing his body reduced to that miserable estate, as hereafter he shall hardly by his labour get a lining for himselfe, his wife and five children. It is the clamor and sighs of these poore young Infants, whose cry pierceth vp to heauen, and their complaints come vnto you, to moue you vnto pity. He in the meane time seeing himselfe miserable in his body, and his family reduced to beggery, liues and dies altogether. It is a paine which still encreaseth, a griefe which euer doubles, and a death which hath neuer end.

That great Painter *Apelles* meaning to paint Slander, set him forth in a mourning weed, The pictured Slander. hauing two wiues, one of either side, Ignorance and Suspition: what reason were there to take for paiement and available satisfaction the indifferencie of the Defendresse, and the excuse of Ignorance (an ordinary companion to Slander) and to pardon so notable a fault, vnder pretext of an afflicted mothers griefe, for the death of her son: and hereafter when any murder is committed, shall it be lawful for a Father, a Brother, or a neare kinsman, with all impunity, vnder a pretext of Iustice, to accuse whom he pleaseth, and to bring in question of his life, or of some cruell torments, and in the end to be quiet, excusing himselfe vpon his griefe or ignorance? The rules of Iustice and Law doe not allow it. *Titus Livius* said excellently, that the Law was inexorable, deafe, without pity, and without passion. Why doth that worthy Author say, *That the Law is deafe*, but for that it doth neuer giue eare vnto the vaine discourse of pity and commiseration? The property of Iustice is to be strict and severe. The Surgion that is pittifull and doth not lanch deepe, makes the wound incurable. An indulgent and ouer mild father, makes the child incorrigible: So a mercifull Iudge doth nourish and increase vice, and betraies the lawes and maiesty of Iustice.

The Law inex-
orable.

This cause doth therefore import the publike, for examples sake: for although the Plaintiff hath no other quality but of a simple Bourges and handy-crafts-man, yet to ob- D taine reason in Iustice, and to hope for reparation of the wrong which hath bene done him, he thinks himselfe great enough, seeing he hath the happinesse to liue vnder the peacefull government of the best King in the world, who hauing heaped all happinesse vpon France, maintaines equally in his protection, and vnder the safeguard of his Maiesty, the life and health of all his subiects, poore and rich, great and small. The Ancients held, that *Themis*, which is the Goddess of Iustice, was the daughter of the Sun: and as the Sunne may be seene in a glasse by them which cannot behold his beames; So the Maiesty of our great King, the true and comfortable Sunne of this Monarchy, the eye and heart of France, would giue authority to this famous Parliament, as the true seat of his greatnesse, to the end that therein, as in a Looking-glasse, wee might admire the beauty, light, and beames of his iustice. An Historian saith, That the Emperour *Augustus* had fiery eyes, *Ignis oculos*, inferring thereby, that he had such glistering eyes, and such a piercing sight as it was impossible or very hard to looke stedfastly on him.

And we in like sort must content our selues that it is lawfull for vs to admire the beauty of this soueraine Court, and to beleue that our weak sight is not strong enough to enioy fully the presence of our great Prince, sitting in his seat of iustice, nor to endure the glistering beames of the Maiesty of our great French *Augustus*, whom God hath leading through so many dangers, as it were by the hand, to the height of all greatness, and hauing endued him with the valour of *Caesar*, the fortune of *Alexander*, the bounty of *Traian*, wee can with no more vnto him but the happinesse, the many yeares, and the continuall prosperity of *Augustus*, to the end that all wee his subiects may liue happy and content vnder the raigne of so great a King, and the assured iustice of this famous Parliament.

So the Plaintiff hauing recourse to this soueraine Iustice, as to the last Port of health, beseeching the Court to allow of his request, and that hee may be absolved of the slanderous accusation laid against him, that the enrolement of his imprisonment may be razed, and hee discharged of all condemnations which heretofore haue

1600 haue bene giuen; and moreover, that the defendresse may be condemned to a pecuniary reparation, such as it shall please the Court to decree, and to all charges, dammages, and interest.

Anthony Arnaud for the Defendresse, said:

May it please yee,
Violations
free of earth in
solaces.

YOV shall vnderstand in this cause, how true it is; *That ordinary afflictions speake with indignement, and that extreame calamities doe quench or confound the spirit.* The Plaintiffe hath represented his griefes vnto you in an eloquent discourse, full of Art and the force of eloquence: and contrariwise of our part, you shall heare nothing but the sobes and sighes of a mother, transported with griefe, and reduced to all sorts of despair. I would to God the torments wherof you speake, and all the cruelties that may be imagined, had bene executed vpon me poore mother, who haue one foot already in the graue; and that the death of my son (and the kind of death more miserable then the death it selfe) had not minished the mournfull subiect of this miserable cause: so as on what side sooner you turne, there is nothing to be seene but teares and defolation: But there is this great difference: that the griefe of the aduerser party (if there yet remains any) may be mollified in time, by a thousand remedies which excellent wits haue inuented during many ages, to ease the discomforts of the body. But contrariwise, the extreame affliction (which finds no words of force to represent it) for the losse of a sonne, of an onely sonne, the only support and comfort of the trembling age of an old mother, hath neuer found consolation in all the most excellent discourses in the world, being the most excellent Physicke of the minde. The griefe is so violent as it exceeds all remedy, and bleeds afresh every day. The older it grows, the more grievous it is. It doth hourly master the resistance which it found in the beginning, and doth continually vanquish the forces of the body with them of the minde.

It is a strange thing, that my poore sonne hauing bene thus cruelly massacred, you who see him returne no more into your house, instead of aduertising me thereof, went into his chamber to take his money, you transported it out of your owne house, and hid it in your brother-in-lawes. And which is worse, being examined by the Iustice, you denied it constantly, and often, vntill that your sonne (too young to conceale the truth) discovered the place where you had laid it. All this is iustified by the processe, the which remains in the hands of the Kings Council.

So as it was not in you that these murderers were not vn timerely, but the peering eye of diuine Iustice, which neuer sleeps: for a robbery committed two moneths after hath brought them to the execution. It appeares by the informations, that the very day of the murder, these two murderers went vnto your lodging and brake open my sons cofer, if you had fled vnto Iustice they might haue bene instantly apprehended. Alas! peradventure my poore child was not then fully dead. How many are left for dead which are not so? How many haue bene taken out of the coffin, yea, out of the graue, which haue suruiued their fune all fifty yeeres?

At the least, you cannot deny but you were the cause to moderate their punishment: What know I what they would haue said vpon the wheele? You neuer attempted any thing against mee, but when as they which slue my sonne could no more accuse you: What did then hinder you, why you did not speedily aduertise the Iustices? At the least it was faine to restore the money which you had taken, in committing a dishonestie theft, the which was alwaies punished with death: and wherein the lawes of hospitality (the which are holy among all nations) were also violated. Whom should I sooner challenge for the death of my sonne, then him who had his spoiles? Nature hath hidden in the earth both gold, silver, and iron, but the malice of man hath drawn them all forth, that it might want no instruments for murders, nor reward for Murderers. No man sheds blood to die his hands therein; there must be some other violent passion to thrust him on: Couetousnesse is the most ordinary. All coniectures, all presumptions were and are found true, that my Sonne had bene slaine by some one that desired his money, whom then might I better call in question then him who was found seized thereon?

Desire and covetousnesse the cause of murders.

If

A If treading vnder foot the murder of my sonne (as some mothers doe) I had onely demanded his goods of you, you could not haue auoided an infamous and rigorous condemnation. But for that I haue sought reuenge of the murder, I am this day in danger to be condemned, what recompence? *Caius Antonius* was accused for the conspiracy of *Caeselin*: wherof he was found innocent, but his arraignment was intermixt with other thefts, which he had in former times committed in Macedonia, for the which he was condemned. And yet the one of his accusations had nothing common with the other. In this cause murder and theft haue great affinity. How many be there in this great Citie, which being murdered like to this poore young man, should remain three months vnknown, if their Host wanting them did not presently aduertise the Iustice. Suffer them to take their money without punishment, that is to say, declare him innocent that hath hidden it, and you shall helpe to hide the murderers.

It is a strange thing, that in the head City of this Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, there should be such furious Tigers found, to murder men as boldly as in the most hidious Forest in the world. The more these wicked spirits are determined to contemne the Lawes, the more must you endeavour to force them to feare them. All that may serue to punish such detestable crimes, must be earnestly embraced, nothing can so much aduance it, as to aduertise the Iustice speedily: whilst it is fresh these wicked spirits are terrified and amazed. If all be like vnto the Plaintiffe, a poore man may be rotten before they know he is dead. There be some that are incident to the suspicion of a crime although they be very innocent, as he that is found neare vnto a man that is newly murdered, he may happily be put to the Racke, this is a meere mischance, or rather (laying aside all fatality obserued in this case by the heathen Lawyers) lets say with the Doctors of the Church, that it is a secret iudgment of God, the which we must admire, and not curiously search into. The thunder is worshipped even by them that are stricken with it: punishments ordained by Iustice are the chastisements of Gods hand, whose power is represented here below by the Prince, and his, by his Magistrates. The Philosopher *Crator* said, That he which suffers ill without desert, is much eased in this accident of fortune: but in this fact which is now in question, the Plaintiffes theft, and not his misfortune, hath with great reason, made this suspicion to fall vpon him. Doe you not consider that the paine which you haue suffered, is the cause you shall bee this day absolved? Without it your theft could not remaine vn timerely: your demand of damage and interest, belongs onely to them that are meere innocent: if you be accused of two faults, and are found guilty of one, you must implore the mercy of the Iudge, and not blame his rigor. It was then impossible to free you from the Racke, by all the Maximes of Lawyers and their Interpreters, followed by a decree which needs no other defence then reason. And not to stray from this cause, shall I let you plainly see, that you need not bee so fearefull to come to the Racke. If these Murderers had not bene tortured for the robbery for the which they were executed, they could not haue bene condemned, for want of proofe. The one of them confessed it vpon the Racke. As the Racke tormented you, so the Racke relieved you, hauing discovered your innocency in regard of the murder. And in easing you, it hath brought before mine eyes my murdered son, who presents himselfe euery night vnto me with stretched out armes, whilst the murderers kill him.

So as one and the selfe same thing hath filled me with heauinesse and with ioy. Content your selfe then with your good fortune, and insult no more ouer my misery: do you not feare that they will lesse pittie you, and the paine you haue endured, when they shall see you haue none of me, nor of my distresse. I will not say vnto my Masters, that it is cruell and barbarous, to adde afflictions to the afflicted, why should I say so? seeing that all the condemnations which my aduerser party demands against me, can adde no more calamity, then small brookes doe vnto the sea? It is the onely comfort which remains in my misery, that it can haue no encrease. I will not therefore spend any time to cite the texts of Lawyers, which hold the violent passions of so miserable a mother excusable. They be lawes which are borne with vs, wherof no man can be ignorant, seeing we haue sucked it with our mothers milke, and which we cannot abrogate but in spoiling our humanity. I will not strue to represent vnto you that affection to the children, or to the Parents, (euen as the loue of good subiects to their Prince) consists not in any mediocrity or temper, but in excessse, that excessse which in other motives of the minde is vicious, is here-

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A mothers passion excusable.

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in the full of all perfection. Why should I come to these excuses, seeing that if I were to A begin my accusation, I would doe no less then I haue done? I had rather be condemned to all sorts of damages, interests, and reparations, then to repent me of the pursuit I haue made for the death of my sonne.

A goodly pretext for those mothers, which doe euery day sell the deare blood of their children, when they shall heare that I haue bene condemned, shall they not then haue reason to say that they feare damage and interest, if they open their mouths? *Dion* observes, that they were reduced to that point at Rome, hauing so much discontented accusations, as they were forced to promise impunity to him that should conuict another of a greater crime then his owne. Columniators and false accusers are to be feared vnder bad Princes, which enrich themselves with the confiscations of their subiects, and not vnder the iust and flourishing government of our great King, which hath erected so many euerm-lasting trophies of his clemency and bounty, equalling at this time by the glorious effects of iustice (which shines throughout all this great and mighty Estate) the victories and the statly triumphs of fearful war: shewing by the effects, that the same vertue, and the same magnanimity carries great Princes, and excellent Captaines into the midst of the most bloody and furious battels, and doth conduct them also to the holy and sacred actions of most happy and blessed peace.

Talio is law
wholly abrogat-
ed.

We haue then no neede amongst vs of these *Talio* punishments, the which were as soone abrogated as they were enacted. If they were in force, not two crimes among an hundred should be punished: at the beginning wee must necessarily follow coniectures C and presumptions: if they may lead vs to the certaine knowledge of the truth, they condemn the culpable: if not, they forbear: *God onely walkes in light, and men in darkness*. But I beseech you to consider what power I haue had in all this criminall proceeding. The Plaintiff begins his action against me, because I am the most weak. If he durst challenge the Iudges he would do it much more willingly, all the instructions of the Proccesse comes from the criminall party. It is not I but the Kings Atturney generall. Alas! I brought nothing but my sighs, therein consists my crime. Oh I may well double my tears, seeing it is not lawfull for me to weep: it were more then a second losse of my sonne to lose my teares.

The Plaintiffs intent is, to haue a gaine for his damage and interest: the money which Iustice hath forced him to yeeld, I haue it not, I haue employed it in praying vnto God for my sonne, who was murdered, and had no time to thinke of his soule, which was a double cruelty. Houses shake before they fall. The smoake forerelt the fire that will consume vs. A tempest is discouraged a farre off, but the murdering hand of man strikes suddenly, when we least thinke of it. If you condemne me in damages and interests, you may iudge, that remembering his paines, how rigorously he will entreat me. I haue nothing left to pay it: that little which I had was employed in the education of my son, holding it to be the richest and chiefest treasure that I could desire: *O deceitfull hope!* By vertue of your sentence he will confine me into a prison; but I regard it not, so as he make choise of a darke and an hidious one, that it may soone shorten my miserable life, the which shall neuer finde ease but in death: for I am resolu'd to passe the remainder of my daies, like vnto those mothers which accompany their children vnto the graue. All that makes me desire liberty, is to the end that I might liue among the Rocks, in deserts, and the most solitary woods, and that I might neuer see mothers that make much of their children. Alas, my son, my poore son! I shall call on thee night and day, although thou answerest me not. If this extreme misery doth not satisfie the Plaintiff, let him feare and apprehend the wrath of God, and a second punishment. Let him not abuse the grace which he hath done him, in making manifest the gruth of this murder. Let him liue happily to see his innocency knowne, and I alwaies vnhappy to haue lost my poore child. F I conclude, that it would please the Court to absolve me from his request.

The Defen-
dents conclu-
sion.

After this the Kings Solicitor generall, Master *Seruin*, did rise to plead and conclude for the Atturney generall, vpon that which the Aduocates had deliuered for the parties: the opinions of the hearers were in such suspence, as they knew not which way to incline. Hee that had first heard the Plaintiff, said, that he had reason: but as Iudges must alwaies reserve one eare for the defender, being vnpossible to iudge definitively vpon the discourse of one party: when the second had pleaded, there was such an equality and concurrence of

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A both a good cause. The Kings Solicitors discourse, was the powder to separate the truth from that which had some apparance of truth: but let vs heare this other *Demonstration* of France, whose pleading followeth.

L. Seruin, the Kings Atturney Generall, said thus:

May it please yee;

IF it be true, according to the worthy saying of *Statius Caelius* (vled by *Apuleius*) de- B tending himselfe against an accusation of impiety: *That innocencie is the true eloquence*. It might satisfie the intention of the poore Plaintiffs, and might promise them an honourable issue, for that a poore and vntainted life speaking for them, surmounts in the opinion of good men, the richest eloquence of them that are guilty. For he may well defend, that can purge himselfe from crimes, hauing done nothing but what he dare publicly auow. But if it be more true, that the art of speaking be vertue and wisdom, as the Stoickes haue defined it: signifying thereby, that the vertuous and wife haue subiect enough to talke. It is most certaine, that God which giueth wisdom, and out of whose mouth proceeds all knowledge and vnderstanding, hauing not endued the Plaintiffs with such graces, seeing they haue neither the knowledge nor word, which is drawne out C of the holy Scriptures, nor the perswasive speech of humane wisdom, hauing not the refined discourse of reason, they had great need of the assistance of their Aduocate: who as he doth not yeeld in eloquence and knowledge to any one of his profession, hath made prooff by this present action, how well he can defend the innocent, the which is so much the more commendable, for that *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (a great Iudge of Orators) did hold *Plato* worthy to be blamed, for that he had written the Apologie of *Socrates* in a flat and cold stile.

On the one side, Master *Anne Robert* hath liuely represented vnto you, the miserable estate of the Baker and his wife, lately accused, and now Plaintiffs: how they haue bene pursued in the Chafselet, iudged, appealed, and condemned by sentence, the husband put D to the torture: and the Racke presented to the wife and to the maide: and to conclude, all the family in distresse, by the accusation of a horrible murder, pretended to be committed vpon the person of his guest: a crime which God hath made knowne by the reuelation of the murder, that the hearts and hands of these poore people were innocent. By reason whereof they demand reparation of honour, with damage and interest against the accuser. You haue on the other side, heard Master *Anthony Arnaud*, for the mother of the deceased *Iohn Proff*, miserably murdered, being before Plaintiffe, and now accused of slander, who may well defend her selfe by the simple colour of piety, which cries and is intercessor for her, for her, I say: A mother whose affliction is such, as there is no tongue but the mothers, or rather the voice of God that can well expresse it: neither E can any Aduocate or Orator how excellent foeuer, vnlesse he be possessed with a diuine spirit, represent the passions of a mother: witness the Prophet when hee deliuiers what God had said: *Can the mother forget her child, but she must haue pittie of the fruit of her wombe? and if she should forget it, I will not forsake him, saith the Lord*. It is God, our common father, God, who is charity it selfe: for so he is called by one of his Apottles: God, of whom the Greeke Poet *Aratus* (honoured by the allegation of *S. Paul*) said, *That we are his offspring*. God, of whom the same Apottle doth teach vs, *That he is father of heauen and earth*. It is he by whom all mothers haue their affection to their Children: it is he by whom the Defendresse (a miserable mother) was encouraged to seeke and pursue reuenge for the blood of her child. Behold persons of diuers qualities in our cause, who F pretend their innocencies by different reasons. The Baker and his wife demand reparation, being ignorant of the murder of *Proff*: and the mother (of *Proff* murdered) seeks to be freed from the imputation of slander. But there is yet an encounter in this controuersie, which regards the authority of things iudged, wherein the publicke hath an interest. To deliuer what is fit vpon euery one of these qualities, it seemes expedient to obserue what hath past in the accusation and proceeding: the first iudgment in the decree, the execution, and what followed since.

That

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That which appeares by the proceſſe iudged, is, that the deceased *Iohn Proſt*, ſonne to A the Accuſer, hauing beene lodged for a time in the Bakers houſe : about the beginning of February 1599, *Katherine Cordier* the wife of the Baker, ſent for a Lock-Smith by her husbands ſonne, and cauſed him to open the chamber of *Proſt*, being abſent, the which ſhee hath confeſſed after much diſguiſing of the boyes name, whom ſince ſhee knew to bee her ſonne-in-law. After this ouerture, there was another maide in the view of two vnknown men, who brought the keyes which the ſaid *Proſt* had giuen them; the which is a ſecond charge: for theſe two men entred into the chamber in the preſence of the hoſteſſe, and tooke what they pleaſed of that which *Proſt* had left: and yet afterwards there was a third opening made by the Lock-Smith, which was brought by the ſonne of the Baker, and by B his wifes commendement. This being thus aduowed and iuſtified by the ſon, the chamber being opened the fourth time by a Commiſſary of the Chatelet, there was ſome money found belonging to *Proſt*, but not all, for that the Baker and his wife had taken, and promiſed ſome to their maide, if ſhe ſaid nothing. Moreouer, *Proſts* apparell being in his coffer, and among the reſt a doublet, the hoſteſſe being examined, ſaid that *Proſt* had none other. In the end, the proceſſe hauing beene made perfect by interrogatories and confrontations: One of the chief allegations made by the husband and the wife for their iuſtification, was, that the accuſer, although a mother, did not loue *Proſt* her ſonne, whereof he had oftentimes complained. By a ſentence giuen by the Prouoſt of Paris, it was decreed, that the Baker, his wife, and ſeruant ſhould be put to the Racke. They appeale. C There followed a ſecond decree in regard of the Baker: and as for his wife and ſeruant, it was ordained they ſhould haue the Racke preſented vnto them, the which was done. And after the demaill of the Baker, his wife and maide, there followed another ſentence, allowing the reception of the ordinary Proceſſe, and yet reſtrained that in caſe no greater proofes being found on the ordinary Racke, the accuſed ſhould preuaile, yet they ſhould haue no charges, damages, nor intereſt adiudged vnto them. In Iune following, God hauing ſuffered that two theues, whereof the one called *Iohn Baſana* had murdered this *Proſt*, were apprehended by the Juſtice, and by the teſtimony of *Baſana* the act was confeſſed. So as the Baker and his wife pretend themſelues freed by this teſtimony, and demand an honourable reparation, with ſome recompence from the mother of him that D was murdered, ſaying, That the accuſation being falſe, ſhe ought to be iudged a Slanderer. Wherein it ſeemes, that innocency preſents it ſelfe at the feet of Juſtice, and cries out for them, as *Dauid* in the ſeuenth Pſalme, entituled *Siggaion*, that is to ſay: *The ignorance of Dauid*, the which is his defence againſt the ſlanders of *Semei*, where he exclaimed in denying and forſwearing the Impoſtures of his aduerſarie, and in ſaying, that he knew not what it was, he ſpoke theſe words: *If I haue committed ſuch a fact, if there be iniquity in my hands, that I may fall before mine enemies.* Excellent words, and deliuered in the kinde of an oath. In like caſe a poore Hoſt Plaintiffe complains, and may ſay with *Azur* the Sonne of *Iake*, Truly I am more brutiſh then any man whatſoeuer, I haue no vnderſtanding, neither haue I learned any wiſdome, nor attained to the knowledge of holy things. The wit of man will maintaine the inſimity thereof, but who will ſupport a grieved mind? E The Accuſer at the firſt ſeemed iuſt in her cauſe, but the Accuſed came to purge themſelues, and haue found out the truth. The words of Slanderers (ſaith the wife King) are ambuſhes of blood, but the mouth of truth ſhall deliuer them. You ſee an Hoſt and Hoſteſſe accuſed of inhospitality, of infidelity, and of the murder of their Gueſt, a crime to farre from the manners and hearts of the French, as if *Euripides* ſaid among the Grecians:

That it was not for the Achæans to murder their Gueſts.

Wee may ſay with the Plaintiffs, with as much or more reaſon, That it is not vſuall among the French to murder their gueſts: for among ciuill people, our Celticke Nation hath beene moſt renowned for hospitality, a vertue proper to the French, and recommended by many Strangers; yea by *Parthenius* a Greeke Author in his booke of the Affections of Love, where he ſaith in the Hiſtory of *Eurippus*, that at what time the Gauls made roads into Ionia, the Celtes receiued their gueſts willingly, and entreated them courteouſly. The which is confirmed by *Saluſtius* a Prieſt of Marſeilles, in his

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A his booke of the prouidence of God, where among the vertues of our Nation, hee tearmes them *Francos hospitales*. It was therefore a great crime, vnſit for the Plaintiffs: a crime for Barbarians, Pagans, and Infidels, worthy of extraordinary puniſhment, and ſo much the more puniſhable, for that it had beene committed in Paris, the chiefe City of the Realme, the ſeat of our Kings, the place of Soueraigne Juſtice, whereas the moſt holy and reuerend Senate of the world is reſident: the Court of Peeres, and the great Parliament of our great King.

The Husband accuſed in this Parliament, and not only accuſed, but iudged and tormented in body and mind, comes this day in Iudgement as a man reuiued againe by his innocency, he brings his wife with him, and ſaith againſt the Accuſer, That he which ſlandereth his neighbour, is like vnto a falſe witneſſe, which is as a hammer, a ſword, and a ſpeare arrow. Although he be borne poore and miſerable, yet is he of a pure and innocent life. That his ſoule and that of his Wiues are no leſſe precious before God then the richſt: that they haue not wronged any man: that they haue liued content in their pouerty (Pouerty which is a ſingular gift of God, and vnknowne of men) and yet they being poore and innocent haue beene afflicted: a thouſand feares haue ſeized on them, and the life both of the husband and wife haue beene in danger. The Sonne hath been heard againſt the Father, all the family deſamed, fearing to loſe their credite, and to ſee no more good dayes: to haue no meanes to get their liuing, nor to ſhew themſelues. The troubleſome griefe of a mourningfull priſon, deſtroyed of light, and caſt into an obſcure dungeon ſit for Murderers: to liue offeſtences, and to dye as often. The Racke giuen vnto the husband, and preſented to the wife: all danger, all grieſe: their eyes dried vp, their minds oppreſſed, apprehenſion of Nakedneſſe, Hunger, and death, yea and of an ignominious death. They demand this day, that which the men vniuſtly tormented in the Juſtice of Athens demanded: that the Altar of mercy might be adorned with a Monument, carrying a declaration of their innocency. They doe moreover pretend reparation againſt the Accuſer, and this demand is not new nor ſtrange, there are many Preſidents of the like, among the which there is one very famous in the Declamations of *Marcus Seneca* the Rhetorician.

A Father hauing two Sonnes, goes into a farre country with one of them, the ſonne D returns alone: his brother accuſeth him of Parricide: he is condemned, but by reaſon of ſome ſeſſiuall dayes the execution is deſerred: the Father returns, the brother condemned accuſeth his brother of falſe witneſſe, obtaines iudgement, cauſeth him to bee bound, and detaines him according vnto the Law, which ſaid, that a falſe witneſſe ſhould bee priſoner to him whom he had falſely accuſed. The innocent Brother ſaid, that the Accuſer was the cauſe of Parricide in the perſon of his Father, and had committed one in that of his brother: the Miniſter of Juſtice had giuen notice vnto the condemned Brother of the comming of his Father: the expected puniſhment was more grieuous then death. It was more troubleſome for the condemned man to apprehend it, then to endure it: he laid before his eyes all kinds of Death. And what can I leſſe doe (ſaid the innocent) then keep him in E my bonds, that might haue taken away my life? In another famous example, we ſee another controuerſie in the ſame Author. A Father hauing two Sonnes, deliuereth the one into the others hands, vpon ſuſpition of Parricide, whereof his Mother-in-law accuſed him. The accuſed Brother is caſt into an vnrig d ſhip: God preſerues him from danger: he ſals into the hands of Pyrats, and is made their Captaine. The Father makes a voyage by ſea; he is taken by the Sonne, whom he had ſo ill intreated, and the Sonne ſends him home into his country. *Ceſtius Pius* an eloquent man ſaith for the innocent brother: That innocency is a ſtrong fort, and a faithfull ſaueguard in danger. The Sea compaſſed in the ſhip, the waues toſt it, the tempeſt draue it, yet innocency did aſſure him: O Sea more iuſt then their Iudgement! O waues more mild then the Father! what a ſoule haue you caſt into the Port! and you haue not only ſaued the Son, but you haue deliuered him into the hands of Pyrats: it was diuinely decreed that the Father ſhould undertake a voyage; that the Iudge ſhould be taken to repent him of his iudgement. A Mother-in-law might accuſe, yea and cauſe her husbands ſonne to be condemned of Parricide, but ſhee could not make him a Parricide; no not in condemning him. The Sonne hereupon ſaid vnto the Father; Behold my innocency, O father, in the ſea, which you would not know in your houſe. And then turning vnto the Iudges, he ſaid, I had rather haue mine innocency iuſtified vnto you, then vnto my father. Hereupon *Ariſtotele* ſaith; that by the law of Greece they gaue the right ſide to the accuſed:

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cused : and by the Romane lawes, Iudges are taught to be more inclined to absolue, then A to condemne.

If this be requisite in ciuill causes, how much more in criminall : And the mother which was the Accuser, whom the Demanders say was ill-affected to her sonne when he liued, could the without feare of punishment slander the Complainants, charging them with the vncertaine suspicion of a murder committed vpon the person of her Sonne, so much hated, or at the least not much beloved of her: That if the Demanders bee not exempt from fautes, whereunto all men are subiect: yet they may iustifie themselves free from the crime imposed vpon them by the Accuser, being this day purged by a testimonie which God hath caused to be given by a man, the which is so much the more credible, for that he depose it neare vnto his death, not speaking to discharge himselfe, but accusing himselfe, and confessing the Murther. These (in summe) be the griefes which the Demanders can propound. It being hard, yea impossible in such cases to speake words that may equall the sorrow.

Contrariwise, the Defendresse a poore mother, saith, or cries out in that fort, as it is not well possible to represent her passion : but wee must paint it out, as *Timanthes* did counterfeite *Iphigenia*, with her face covered, a low voice, and a languishing speech. We cannot make you vnderstand what she hath suffered, and doth yet suffer. She hath lamented her absent Sonne, euen when as she accused the Complainants : she thought him to bee dead : her feare was grounded vpon presumptions, the which not onely the first, but the last Iudges haue held to be pregnant. *A voice was heard from an high, the mother weeping for her Sonne, and would not be comforted.* Doubtlesse no kinde of affection of commiseration is like vnto that of a Woman ; but amongst women, none so great as that of a Mother. So as God hath compared the remembrance which he hath of Man to that of a Mother. And in truth, mothers haue more then a fatherly remembrance.

Our Defendresse in this case is assisted by the suffrages of Nature : she sighs vpon earth, and fills Heauen with her complaints: her lamentable cries, and her abundance of teares, are her onely defences : the which are so much the better, for that they are natural. A mother who knows not whither to goe, who finds no place to rest in, who seeks her child as if he were yet liuing : who would haue endured his wounds, and dies twice for that she dyed not before her sonne: she implores heauen in lamenting her misery, and desires her end : her sighs moue all men to compassion. Griefe hath seized vpon her soule, and her vnderstanding is nothing else but sorrow. Nothing is more constant then the loue of the Father to his child, and especially of Fathers that haue the instinct of Nature. But mothers haue their affections more violent. If any thing happen vnto their children, it breeds a great alteration in them. Witnesse the iudgement of *Salomon*, seeking betwixt two women, to know the right Mother. So you may see the passion of *David* when he called his Sonne, *My sonne Absalon, my sonne*: he was much troubled. But mothers are much more, feeling the same paine they suffered at their birth. And that which afflicts the Defendresse much more, is that the Complainants obiect against her, that she loued not her child. That without doubt is insupportable to a Mother. The latter times are miserable, foretold by the Prophets : That Inhumanitie, Inciuillitie, Astorgie (that is to say, want of loue in the Parents vnto their children, and of children vnto their Parents) should enter into the hearts of men. What say I of men, who are no men, seeing they proue inhumane, cruell, brutish, and vnatural.

But can it be, that two such contrary passions should iumpe in our Defendresse : Could she hate her sonne, and not seeing him any more, complain that hee was dead ? Could she accuse his Host and Hostesse, if shee loued him not ? *Iosephus* in his first booke of the Iewish warre, reporting the accusation of *Herod* against his children, saith, that *Saturninus* would not condemn the accused, saying : *That it was not lawfull for him who had no children to give sentence of death against another mans children.* A speech worthy of a graue Romane, but had bene better spoken by one borne in Iudaea : for in former times the Iudges giuen by God vnto the people, were chosen out of the fathers of Families, who had, or had had children, and who by this means knew best the iust affections of fathers loue. The History addes, that an old man at Armes of *Herods* called *Tyron*, was so transported seeing a cruell father, as he became almost mad, going from place to place, exclaiming, that *Iustice was troden vnder foot, Truth was perished, Nature confounded, and all was full*

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A full of iniquitie : with such like speeches as passion made him to vtter. So strange this good old man held this malice, not beleeuing that such neere kinsmen should conspire against their own blood. And therefore it is not to be presumed that our Defendresse being a mother, was otherwise then well affected to her sonne : and what greater prooffe of her loue can be giuen, then her accusation against the Complainants ? And who can represent the tender affection of Fathers and Mothers, which seale the resemblance of bodies & minds, in the little admirable scale of the Infant, the mothers being much more affectionate to that which proceeds from them then the fathers ? What then may be said of the obiection made vnto the Defendresse ? Doubtlesse false allegations must concur with naturall, as *L. confessions. D. de interrog. ad.*

B *Paulus* the Lawyer saith of Confessions : and it is not lawfull for Iudges, especially for such as are Fathers to beleue that a Mother would hate her sonne to the death : especially this poore woman, who making her complaint of the murther, did note one notable circumstance, saying, that her sonne had complained vnto her, that the Demanders were froward Hosts. The which shewes a wit in her complaint, and the loue which she bare to her deare Sonne : remembering the first yeares of his infancy, being young and the onely child of his Mother. A Sonne whom shee (being his Mother) seeing no more, cried out with the Mother of *Lamuel*, *What my Sonne, what the Sonne of my wombe, what the Sonne of my vnombe ?* *Pro. 31.*

This poore mother was perplexed : she sought her sonne, and found him not. A sonne which was but simple, and might easily be wronged, for he went alone: he had money, he left it in his chamber, which was a bait for theecues, his Host and Hostesse laid hand on it, they suffered men to enter into his Chamber : men whom they knew not. What might the mother thinke of this ? Had he not reason to say, that they had slaine him. Truly it was said in the booke of Wisedome, *That the iustice of the righteous shall deliuer them.* It is also written, *That the disloyall shall be taken for their iniustice, and the wicked shall be the ransom of the iust, and the disloyall for their righteous.* May not then this poore woman thinke with reason, that you are not to haue any regard to the demanders, vnder colour of their base condition, seeing that for a piece of bread they would haue committed the deed, hauing taken their guests money who trusted them. These be the reasons by the which the poore Mother may iustifie her selfe, that shee hath not attempted any accusation, for the which she should be charged with slander. *Pro. 28. 22.*

Let vs now come vnto the Iudges. They need no other excuse, nor defence of their Decree, then the authoritie of the soueraine iudgements : yet we may say, for the truth which they had of the proofes, if not full and cleare as the noone day, yet they were such as the presumptions were vehement. If the accused suffered, it came from themselves, for they obserued not the precept which teacheth man : *Above all to keep his heart pure, from whence life proceeds.* They haue applied their hearts to desire an other mans goods, remembering those that erre either through want of instruction, or by their great indifferencie, or hauing their hearts pierced with the dart of conuentionesse. And therefore it is no wonder if they haue not appeared in iudgement with a constant countenance. For blessings are vpon the head of the iust, but extortioners stop the mouth of the guilty. Doe you not see, that God was not with the accused ? they were confounded in their owne speeches. Life and death are in the power of the tongue, he that loues it shall eate the fruits thereof. They haue said too much charging the Mother, of hatred to her Sonne. And who will not beleue but the Iudges (seeing the Proccesse) made their prayers vnto God to open their vnderstandings. The doubt which they had of the circumstances of the charge, hath bene fortified by examples, the which are the first encounters that come vnto the minde. In this City, a Woman dwelling neere to Saint *Opportune*, was slaine with a hammer, which two theecues had taken in a Smiths shop. The Smith being condemned, hee was put to the Racke. Afterwards the theecues were apprehended for other crimes, and freed the Smith who was already executed, Iudges in conicaturall causes, erre against their wils : being bound to follow the probable, for that which may happen, or hath happened. Sometimes there are bad Hosts, and murderers. It is dangerous faine *Phadrus* to beleue, but it is more dangerous not to beleue.

There is no reason then to heare the complaints of the accused, against the Iudges: Witnesse that which that wise King hath written, whose words are like vnto deepe springs which cannot be dried, and from whence we draw profit for all affaires, and especially

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Pro. 17. 15.

Dan 8.

Job 22. 23.

Pro. 27. 19.

Ibid. c16. 10.

Ibid. 194.

Adu. 16. 19.
e. 5. de Christi. dei.
Fid. 25. 17.

Pro. 30. 13.

Ibid. 34. 12.

cially for iudgements. *To condemne the iust is not good, nor to strike Princes that haue caried themselves iustly.* An excellent sentence, and agreeing with our cause. Hee called Iudges, Princes: and in another place they are tearmed Gods. That if God making his iustice to shine, hath since discovered the murder, yet hath not the Baker nor his wife any cause to complaine of the Court. The eye of God insuseth his knowledge into the spirits of men, in such measure as he pleaseth, giuing vnto some a nearer light, and (as Synecius Bishop of Cyrene said) more approaching vnto things which he doth reueale, to others farther off. We take moisture from the water, heat from the Fire: firmesse of the body from the earth, and spirit from the aire: but iustice comes from God, who is the only founaine of all good. We haue not this iustice in vs, be it for the good of our selues, or for the perpetuall and constant duty which wee owe vnto our neighbours, to doe euery man right. God onely knoweth all things, and all is hidden from vs, but what hee pleaseth. There is none but he, which knoweth hidden things. It is he whose admirable name is about all other names. It is he whom Daniel calleth a Certaine, (by the word *Palmoni*), of whom the admirable name of *Iesus* the Sauiour of the world, was not reuealed, before that hee was made man. That Sunne of iustice whose glory is incomprehensible. It is hee, who by his light doth open the Iudges eyes when it pleaseth him: *to the end they should take care of the innocent, and looke vnto his estate.*

It is written in the booke of the wise King: *That euen as in the water one face is opposite to another, so doth the heart of man vnto man, so as oftentimes the Iudge discouereth the truth of a crime, by the countenance, as well as by the mouth of the accused.* And to that purpose the same King saith: *That Counsell in the heart of man is like to a deepe water, the which a wise man shall draw forth.* But this doth not often happen, but vnto the King: of whom the wise man saith: *There is no prophcing but in the Kings lips, and his mouth shall not fray from iustice.* God giues this priuilege to a iust King. There are many thoughts in the heart of man, but the onely Counsell of our Lord God is firme. And therefore Saint Augustine in his booke of the Citie of God in the Chapter which he hath expressly made, touching the errors of humane iudgements, makes a complaint of the perplexities whereunto Iudges are reduced: when to saue an innocent they are forced to condemne the accused vnto the racke, and for an vn certaine fact, they cause him to suffer a certaine paine. The which he excuseth faith: *That a wise Iudge doing not things with a will to hurt, but by necessity to iudge that which he knoweth not, must cry vnto God: deliuer mee from my extremities and cares.* The which hee speaks not to blame the racke: for hee knowes it to be necessary. But if it be not (as wee cannot rightly say) done by malice, yet it is a great misery. And doubtlesse if it be a mischief, yet is it ordained by good lawes, praiged in all countreys, whereas iustice is well administred, whereof there are so many Statutes, not onely in this realme, but in the Estates of Italy, and in the neighbour Countries, as in Piedmont, in Sauioy, and other parts of Christendom, as there is no reason to doubt thereof. Neither is it lawfull to argue the Iudges of rigor in this cause: for besides the presumptions which might moue them, who knowes whether the accused had committed some other crime, whereof God would suffer this accusation, (whereof they now complain) should be the punishment: *There are some generation which thinke to be free, and yet they are not cleansed from their filthinesse.* And what is he that can say, *I haue purged my heart, I am cleansed from my sinne.* If thou sayest, *we did not know it, hee that weighs the heart shall not be vnderstand it: and reward euery man according to his works.* In another place the wise man saith, *that, He which walketh innocently shall be saved, but the peruerse, walking by two ways, shall fall.* Aristotle speaking of the Iudges of Greece, said that they were accustomed before sentence, to sweare that they should iudge, by the best aduice they could conceiue. The which Demosthenes in his Oration against Aristocrates hath said by the most iust aduice In which case although the *Acropagites* did sometimes iudge against the law, yet F could they not bee reprehended to haue gone against the oath taken by them to iudge well, whether it were in the Senate, or in the assembly which they call *Heliea*: no man being able to answer but for his owne conscience. And for this reason by the lawes of Charlemagne, and of Lewis the gentle: *It was not lawfull to blaspheme, that is to say, to accuse of false iudgement, and to blame the Earles, (which was the title of Iudges in France) if it did not appeare that they did iudge either by enuy, or by some bad occasion.* To conclude, the Iudges which those Princes called *Fidels*: were held for good, and without blemish, when

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Capit. lxxviii.
Causa iudicis.
Ibid. cap. p. 22.

Pro. 11. 11.

Pro. 16. 32. 21.
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A when they were onely guided by the zeale of true iustice. So the Demanders do not complaine of the iudges, but of the accuser, against whom if she had framed her accusation maliciously, she were then subiect to that which was decreed by the Capitulary, which saith, *That they which haue accused innocents, either before the Prince, or before the Iudge, if they were spiritual men, they are to be degraded, if they be lay-men, they must bee condemned to the like punishment, which they should haue suffered that were accused.* But this is to bee vnderstood of accusations wherein there is malice, in which case the false Accusers deserue that which the accused suffered: for the slanderer resembles the wicked, which are represented by the wife man: *watching secretly for the innocent, and persecuting him without a cause.* In which case such as slander to vex, and to get money, by the Constitutions of the Roman Emperours, were punished with the same punishments.

It is therefore no reason that the Complainants should trouble the defendresse for the accusation, seeing it was not with any intent of slander: but they must take their troubles as an accident sent of God. We must not vse the inhumanity of *Gneus Piso* although hee were an vpright man; but hauing not the true rule of reason, he tooke rigour for a resolution of feueritie, who being aduertised that two Souldiers going forth together, the one was returned without his companion, he condemned him as a murderer of him that was absent: and as the condemned man was in the hands of the Executioner at the place of Iustice, his companion (whom they held to be dead) returned. This rigorous Iudge hearing that the Officer had prorogated the execution, he caused him to be apprehended, and to be brought vnto the Scaffold, and with him the companion, taking for a pretext that he was the cause of this mischief by his absence, and to him hee added the Officer, iudging him worthy of punishment, for that he had brought backe the first condemned, whom he should haue presently executed according to the sentence. It is not fit in all causes to stand so strictly vpon iudgements, as *Alexander the Great* did, who had rather pay a fine for *Athenodorus* then remit it: for sometimes a tempter of humanity is commendable, as in this case: Imitating the example of Prince *Titus*; the sonne of *Vespasian*, when he deliuered *Iosephus* out of prison, laying vnto the Emperour his father, after that hee had commanded the prisoner to be vnbound: *It is reason, O Father, that with his bonds the dishonor should be taken from Iosephus, for hee shall be as if in the beginning he had not been bound.* But if we vnbind him, we must cut the chaine, for so they vse them that are vnjustly bound. A speech of a worthy Prince, witnessed by the History of *Iosephus*, worthy to be spoken before a great King, and well approued of by the Emperour: *As true lips please Kings, and they loue him that speaks iust things with a pure heart.*

And therefore to make an end of the plaintiffs misery with that of *Iosephus*; the Court if it please, hauing in some sort regard vnto their request, shall set them at Liberty declaring them innocents of the crime of hospitalitie violated, and of the murder whereof they haue bene accused, without adiudging vnto them any Reparation, Charges, Damages, and interest against the Accuser, seeing the hath not, nor cannot be iudged a slanderer. So E either party obtaining what they may hope for by reason, things iudged shall remaine in their authoritie, and God who holds the Kings heart in his hand as little brookes of running water, inclining to his will, shall make him raigne happily, and his posteritie after him, as all good Frenchmen and true Christians doe wish by a happy marriage, so as our great Henry the fourth, sitting in the throne of Iustice, or represented by the Councillors, maintaining his Countreies, shall disperse all danger by his looke: and euery one will say with *Salomon*, the blessed of God: *That the seat of the King iudgeth the poore iustly* Ibid. 34. 14.

The sentence of the Court vpon these pleadings pronounced by the first President, on Monday the 17 of Ianuary, was conformable to the conclusion, taken by the Advocate for the Kings Attourney Generall. The King and the Duke tooke great pleasure to heare them; Both gaue their opinions on them that had best pleaded, but aboue all, they commended the equity of the Court, which dismissed the parties free from further suit. The King at the Dukes request granted a pardon to a poore woman an Adulteresse that was condemned to die, whose Adulterer had bene executed for that hee had abused her being a house-hold seruant, and so had the beene in like sort, but that she was found with Child.

This Pardon was granted by the King vnto the Duke, notwithstanding any opposition

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tion made by the Court and the Kings Council, shewing the Kings consequence thereof. A His Maieſtie would haue it paſſe of his abſolute authoritie: Yet vpon condition that he ſhould liue in perpetuall priſon, and nouiſhed at her husbands charge. All theſe good receptions, all theſe excoſes, all theſe paſſtimes, did not make the Duke forget the care of his affaires, he had ſaid vnto *Monſ. de Villeroi*, *That hee was not come to yeeld vp the Marquiſate*. The King on the other ſide being at Fontainbleau ſaid vnto him, *That hee ſhould bee alwayes his friend, but he would haue his Marquiſate*. The Duke was aduertified that the King had ſaid priuately in his Cabinet, *That the Duke was a brave and gallant Prince, yet he kept his Marquiſate*. Theſe wordes made him preſume that the report which the *Chancelier Breton* and *Roncas* had made vnto him (that the King was deſirous to ſee him, and that B they ſhould agree) was not true, for whenſoeuer the Duke ſpake to the King in priuate touching that buſineſſe, hee deſired him to referre it to their Councils.

And though this was a very important buſineſſe, yet the King had one which did preſſe him neerer, which was his marriage.

Being aduertified (as we haue formerly ſhewed by *Sillery* his Ambaſſador at Rome, that the Pope had granted his deſire touching the nullity of his marriage, hee ſent *Alincour* (gouernour of Pontoife) to thanke him, and to aſke his aduice vpon the alliance hee deſired to contract with the houſe of Florence. Hee came to Lyons, to paſſe to Auignon by the Riuer of Rhosne, and ſo to Antibio whither the ſtate of Genoa ſent him a Galley well appointed to conduct him to their Citie, where hee was receiued withall C the honours, fit for the greatneſſe of the Prince that ſent him, and worthy of the credit and reputation which the name of *Villeroi* carries among the friends of this Crowne. They did caſt lots there where he ſhould be lodged, which fell to the Palace of Grimaldy, where he was deſtayed two dayes at the charges of the ſtate.

The Ambaſſadour of Spaine went to viſit him. Hee went to the Senate, was ſeated in the Dukes place, and ſaw the order they held in their Councils and deliberations, where they granted him libertie for two Gallies ſlaues Frenchmen, that were in the Gallies of the Seigneury; the one was a Pariſian, and the other a Lioniois, which they attempted a ſit fauor to gratifie a Prince. He went on his voyage in poſt to Rome, the Ambaſſador met him with a great number of French Gentlemen: hee lodged him in his houſe, and the ſecond day of his arriual hee had audience of the Pope. Hee continued in Rome vntill Eaſter: during his aboad, hee did ſee the Viceroy of Naples make his entry into Rome, comming to doe homage vnto the Pope for the Realme of Naples, preſenting vnto him a white ſteed, for an acknowledgement of the fee, for the inueſtiture of Naples, for that it is one of the Realmes which holds in fee and doth homage vnto the Church of Rome, and for that reaſon (beſides the eight thouſand Ounces of gold which they owe yearly) they are bound to take armes for the defence of the Church. They had their part alſo of the fruits of the Holy year, during which time many Frenchmen and others of the religion went to ſee for curioſities ſake, without any feare of the Inquiſition, whole inſiſtition doth ceaſe in the year of *l'ublie*: many great perſonages from diuers parts E of Europe went to this *l'ublie*; among the chiefe was the Duke of Bar, who went in a diſguiſed habit, to get abſolution, for that he had bin married againſt the rules of the Church, and without diſpenſation of the degrees of conſanguinitie that were betwixt him and the Kings Siſter; for which cauſe the Biſhop of Lorraine reſuſed him the Holy Sacrament, and held him for excommunicate. The King aſſiſted this Princes humilitie and ſubmiſſion with his Letters of fauour to diuers Cardinals. The Duke of Sauoy was not pleaſed with the long delays of the Court, hee complained that hee was intreated with too great rigour. The Duke thought to finde a King of Complements: And the King a Duke more eaſie to reſtore that which he held. The Duke couered his diſcontent with ſilence and diſcretion. In the end they agree to treat of their affaires and differences by F Deputies: For the King were named the Conſtable, the Chancelor, the Maſſhall *Biron*, the Marquis *Rhoſney* and *Villeroi*. For the Duke, *Bely* his Chancelor, the Marquis of Lullins, *Iacob* the Earle of Morer, and Alimes. The Kings Deputies demand reſtitution of the Marquiſate of Saluces, in the ſame eſtate it was in when the Duke ſurprized it. The Dukes firſt propoſition was to haue the King renounce the protection of Geneva, the which was not (ſaid they) comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, in ſpeciall words, as other townes. This did much offend the King and his Council. The Duke in-

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A treated the Popes Nuncio to make this propoſition who (hauing his ſoule as free from craft and diſſimulation, as it was full of zeale and integrity) found meanes to ſpeake vnto the King without trouble or alteration. He ſaid that there was a meanes to vniue the extremities of their wils: for the ſame reaſon which required the Duke to reſtore the Marquiſate, did not hinder his Maieſtie from the enioying of that which did belong vnto him. It is true (ſaid the King.) There the Nuncio replied: The towne of Geneva belongs to the Duke, and nothing hindres him from ſelling the authority which his Predeceſſors had there, but the power of your protection.

Is it not then reaſon that if you will haue him reſtore the Marquiſate which is yours, B you ſhould ſuffer him to inioy the towne of Geneva which is his? the King to be ſpedily freed of this argument, answered, That things were different, that hee had not made the protection of Geneva. It was a treaty whereunto he was bound by faith, for the reuerence hee did beare vnto his Predeceſſors, who had made themſelues Protectors of that Common-weale, from whom they had receiued ſeruiſe in their neceſſities. And he would neuer oppoſe himſelfe againſt the firmeſſe of their promiſes. The Nuncio ſayes preſently vnto the King. As you will not leaue the protection of Geneva, for that it was made with your Predeceſſors, in like ſort the Duke is not bound to yeeld you the Marquiſate of Saluces, for that hee tooke it not from you, but from the deſceaſed King. Your difference, replied the King, although (for my part) it conſiſts of many points, is reduced only to that C which concerns the Marquiſate of Saluces. The viſtper muſt reſtore: the Duke of Sauoy hath viſtper my Marquiſate, there is nothing that doth free him from reſtitution. I hold nothing of his, and therefore muſt not reſtore him any thing. I will neuer hinder him from hauing reaſon of Geneva, ſo as he get it without armes: for when hee ſhall come thither with force, I will alwayes reſolue of that which I ought. He thinks that if I ſhould abandon that towne, he might force them to acknowledge him: but I ſhould purchaſe in abandoning them much blame, it being againſt the honour of this Crowne, and the firmeſſe of a Kings word.

The Duke had reaſon to affect this place: hee might make a great Bulwarke thereof againſt the Suiffes, to recouer that which they did hold from the ancient Houſe of Sauoy, D and to make all things difficult for the French, among the Cantons: This propoſition of Geneva was razed out of the Dukes articles, and no more ſpoken of in the Aſſembly of the Deputies. They did preſſe the reſtitution of the Marquiſate, or the exchange of the Countries of Breſle, Pignerol, and Sauillon, with ſome valles of the paſſage of Piedmont. The Deputies aſſembled but once. The Duke foreſeeing what the iſſue would be, and hauing vnderſtood that the Chancelor ſpeaking of the reſtitution of exchange, had ſaid that they muſt paſſe that way or by the ſword: he let the King vnderſtand, that too many deale in the buſineſſe, and that it ſhould be ſooner ended, if but one did faithfully report the intentions of either part. The Patriarke of Conſtantinople was employed therein, but the Duke diſliked thereof.

E He reſolued to free himſelfe of theſe difficulties, and to runne the hazard and ſhame of the reſuſall. Then hee preſented his firſt propoſition of the Empire and Duchy of Milan: giuing him very pleaſible meanes, if they had bene as eaſie in the execution as in the diſcouſe: ſhewing, that for all the fruit of the conqueſt, hee deſired nothing but to hold the Marquiſate of Saluces. Whereunto the King answered: That he was neither of that age, nor his affaires in that eſtate that King *Francis* his were, when he aſpired to the Empire. That there was not a Duke of Saxony nor a Landgrauſe priſoner, to giue him the title of Protector of Germany, and of the Princes priſoners, as vnto King *Henry* the ſecond. If a King of France ſhould be ambitious of any thing greater then his Crowne, it might be an Empire, but not in the eſtate that it is now: the title of an Emperour being little more then that of a Duke of Venice, but as it was vnder *Auguſtus* when as Rome (which commands both land and ſea at his command to hinder him. Beſides, it was the nature of adions of warre, ſtill to produce vnexpected difficulties. You alone (added the King) cannot ſuc-

As for the Duchy of Milan, the King ſaid that the enterpriſe was tedious, and the iſſue vnertaine, as of all other deſignes; and for the meanes which the Duke diſcouered vnto him, there was nothing ſo eaſie which the King of Spaine might not make difficult, hauing both land and ſea at his command to hinder him. Beſides, it was the nature of adions of warre, ſtill to produce vnexpected difficulties. You alone (added the King) cannot ſuc-

cour

The Popes Nuncio ſeats the King to leaue the protection of Geneva.

Monſ. de Alincour comeste Geneva.

He comes to Rome on Aſſuſinell the 6 of February.

Eight thouſand ounces of gold comes to ſourſcore thousand Crowns.

The Doſt Bar goes to Rome diſguiſed to the Cardinall Alderbrand and Oſſay, and to Marſe de Silery.

Deputies for the King and Duke.

The Emperour hath little more then the title, the ſoverignity remaining to the States of the Empire.

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cour me, I know not how my men will agree with yours. And if things should succeed according to your desire, I know not what should become of the fruit of the conquest. I have enough to doe in my Realme without thinking of others. The peace is but in the flower, the vent of such a designe would wither it. I will haue no warre with the King of Spaine, vnlesse he be weary of peace. Brother, you haue no need of my counsell, but affection commands vs sometimes to giue it to him that doth not aske it. I would counsell you to liue in good termes with him. If there were any troubles betwixt you, I would not meddle but to reconcile you. I haue too much care of the honour of my word, to breake a peace so iust and so necessary, without a precedent iniury. If I did it, I should make my selfe the argument of all the complaints of Christendome, the discourse of other Princes, the cause of a foraine warre, and the renewing of infinit calamities. It were an indiscretion for me vpon a vaine and imaginary hope, to lose the assurance to recouer mine owne, wherewith I content my selfe without seeking anothers. The desires which are infinit, are vnworthy of a iust Prince, they are proper to tyrants, who reigne without law, and liue without feare: If I had any will to that which you propound, there should not need so many words, but hauing no will to it, it is in vaine for me to speake of it.

None of these words could content the Duke, but dissembling his discontent, he answered: If I should reape no other good by my voyage but to haue seene so great a Prince whose valour and greatnesse is greater then the report, I should not be grieved. True it is, that the estate of my affaires should not haue perswaded me to haue come without the assurance of my Ambassador, that I should recieue more of your Maiesties free will, then I could expect of the Popes sentence, and that you would not so much presse the restitution, but would be satisfied with a more gentle composition. I haue offered you the meanes, which lead to so great and so worthy effects, as the Marquise of Salusses is nothing in comparison of them. You find difficulties therein. There is no great enterprise, can bee without them, but being well resolved, it is halfe executed. A courage like vnto yours finds nothing difficult, and all Europe admires your actions, hauing made that which was impossible possible. And seeing that I must attribute it, not vnto the violence of reason, but to my vnapprehensibility, that I cannot perswade a thing, which in his glory and profit carries his owne perswasion: I beseech your Maiesty to intreat mee, as your most humble seruant and kinsman, who desires no greater happinesse for his then to bee yours. They are already by the lawes of nature, they are by my will; and shall be more by the fauours of your bounty. For one Marquise, you bind many Princes, and by the inuicting of one of my children, all the House of Sauoy shall be bound vnto you: your Maiesty will say, that you make not such large gifts: but you must consider if you please, that many vertues are common to men, but this belongs onely to Kings. As it is more royall to giue then to take: and they wrong the greatnesse of their courage, if they should not giue great things: and to giue a thing that is litigious and doubtfull, you shall purchase an immortal right of Soueraignty.

He added many reasons for the execution of the enterprise, with such vehemency, as he seemed to haue some secret to make mountaines remoue and dry vp riuers. The King considered that there was no profit but for the Duke, and that the fruit which (at the least) he promised himselfe in keeping the Marquise of Salusses, would be more certaine to him, then the conquest of Milan vnto the King. If the Duke of Sauoy could haue engaged the King, he knew well how to crosse him in the execution. All the danger he could apprehend, was the King of Spaines indignation: but hee might as easily returne into fauour without speaking a word, as he came away without bidding him farewell, for what should haue hindered him, when as the French had bin farre engaged in Italy, to haue ioyined with the Spaniards to expell them, and to breake the bridge of his assistance, whereby hee had made them to passe.

The Duke seeing that he could not obtaine any thing of the King, but that he must make a double recompence for the Marquise, he continued a while in doubt of his returne, as he alwayes repented him of his coming. The King desirous to free him of all cause of distrust and apprehension, that should force his will, to promise that which he would neuer hold, sent him word, that he should not trouble himselfe with the resolution of his Council: for he should neuer be forced but by the right of armes, and that hee should alwayes haue time to thinke of it, and to returne to Turin with his will as free, as when he came

The Duke demands the inuictibility of the Marquise for one of his finnes.

The Duke of Sauoy perplexed.

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A came to Paris. The Duke not able to see clearly with his owne eyes, nor to distinguish of these difficulties, aduised thereof in his Councell. But as the eyes troubled with those diseases the Physicians terme *Hypofragma* and *littera*, haue the operation of the sight so troubled as they cannot well iudge of colours, all objects seeming vnto them yellow or red: Euen so when Princes Councells are subject to any passion, they giue counsell accordingly; nothing presenting it selfe vnto them, but through the false sight of opinion and choller, which doth alwayes make the bodies seeme bigger then they are. So in the Councell of this Prince, those which desired warre, sayd: That neither the restitution of the Marquise, nor the exchange of Bresse, might be accepted, and that a good warre should bee more honourable, then a shamefull composition: others hauing no other passion then peace, aduised him vnto it at what price soeuer, fearing, that if the King should not recieue that satisfaction from them which he expected, hee would stay them. The Duke grew into choller, and would haue departed without taking his leave. The most aduised of his Councell told him, that his departure in that sort, would make him a scorn to all the Princes of Italy; Spaine would laugh at him; France would be scandalized, that all Europe would hold him the cause of this warre, and in this war of a world of miseries. That there needed no other Herald to proclaime warre against him; which would be in the midst, and in the foure corners of his Estate, before that he passed the riuier of Rhoeane. That he shewed the greatnesse of his courage to vanquish all these difficulties, and wisdom to dissemble his contents. That wisdom should make the entry to a business, seeing that repentance is fruitlesse in the end. That if he had not foreseene the end of his voyage, he should by his constancie mitigate the feeling, and represent vnto himselfe, that to come into a goodly plaine all couered with flowers, he was forced to passe ouer a narrow and vneuen plancke.

The Duke answered, *I will neuer passe it*. Leaving his Councell in suspence, that he would make as dishonourable a departure, as his arrival had beene honourable, yet through the prayers and perswasions of some of the Kings good seruants, the Duke resolved to depart as he came. But it was not without complaining that they intreated him with too much rigour: that there was no courtesse in France for him: that friendships were rare, finding least in them where he thought it did most abound: that they did force him to formes that were too preiudiciall, and that they had made him to hope for things which they now refused him: and that his Ambassador had deceived him. The King knowing that *Chenaultier Breton* had let the Duke of Sauoy his Master vnderstand that his Maiesty desired he should come vnto him: hee said vnto him, *That hee was mistaken, and that hee did neuer speake it*.

True it is, that he had said, that he hoped the Duke should not return, but they should be agreed. The Duke seeing that wisdom must moderate the rigour of necessity, he tooke another course, and resolues, seeing hee could get nothing else, to make his profit of the time, and of his abode: that he might haue meanes to vnit that which he had disioyned with Spaine. Foreseeing they would soone giue him leave to bee gone, for already they E sayd in iest in the Anti-chamber, *That they must send him away by an Edit*. Hee had therefore found a fauourable pretext for his stay. He was (or made shew to bee) in loue with one of the rarest beautes in the Court, and seemed not to care for all other affaires in respect of her. There were two solemne Feasts at Paris, which followed one another, Saint Germaines fayre, and Shrouetide. It was giuen out, that hee would see them before his departure. In the meane time he makes no haste, although hee did not much aduance in his affaires. There were daily new propositions, and the last were more vnpleasing vnto him then the first.

The Kings seruants were of opinion, that they should giue this Prince as little cause as might be to distrust him of his voyage, and to giue him time to consider whether he should consent to the exchange or the restitution: for that it was a thing (as he sayd) which hee could not doe without conference with his Councell, and the aduice of his Vassalls. The King hauing had the opinion of the Princes of his blood and others, and of the chiefe officers of the Crowne, would no longer forbear to acquaint him with his resolution, commanding *Sebastian Zames* (one of his Maiesties confident seruants) to tell it him: the which he did so artificially, as before he left the Duke, he drew from him a writing of the principal conditions of the Treaty by the which were drawne the Articles of the restitution of the Marquise, or of the exchange. But to the end that the Duke should not thinke that

Passionste Councells.

The Duke would depart without taking his leave.

The Dukes complaints.

The pretext of the Dukes stay.

the

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Articles of the
Treaty of Paris.

the King should precipitate his Councils, he gave him three months time to choose either of the two conditions of the treaty, either by restitution or the exchange. Whereupon the Duke signed the Articles following.

1. That the Duke of Sauoy should restore the Marquise of Salusses vnto his Maiefty by the first day of the month of Iune next following, to vie and enioy it as the Kings his Predecessors had done, when it was in their hands, without any delay or difficulty, grounded vpon any colour or pretext whatsoever.

2. And his said Maiefty doth promise and grant vnto the said Duke, not to giue the Charge and Government of that Country, to any one that he shall haue occasion to hold for enemy.

3. In like sort to employ Suisses in the guard of the Townes and Places thereof, except in the Castles where his Maiefty will place French Captaines and Souldiers, or such as he shall thinke good.

4. Notwithstanding, his Maiefty doth not meane to be bound to continue the Suisses in the said townes, but for the time that the compromise shall continue, made in the person of his Holiness, hereafter declared and specified.

5. Or else the said Duke shall yeeld and deliuer to his Maiefty, for a recompence of the Marquise of Salusses, by the first day of Iune next ensuing, all the country of Bresse, lying from the riuer of Saone vnto that of Dain, which riuer of Dain shall remaine in common betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, either of them to enioy it of his side, comprehending in the said Country the towne and Citadell of Bourg, and other places that depend thereon, Barcelonnette with his Vicariate or Deputiship, vnto Argentiere, the Vale of Sture; that of Perouse, with all that depends thereon; with the towne and castle of Pignerol with his territorie, vpon condition that his Maiefty shall transport vnto him all his right and interest to the said Marquise, provided notwithstanding, that he suffer the inhabitants of the said Marquise, which haue serued his Maiefty, or shall serue him hereafter, to enioy their goods freely and safely. And in like sort, those that haue serued, or shall serue the said Duke, shall in like manner enioy their goods, as well in the said Marquise as in any other places that shall be deliuered to his Maiefty by the said Duke, without any alteration before the said delay nor after, to the preiudice of the one or the other, according to the rule which shall be set downe by his Maiefty and the Duke.

6. Moreover, the towne of Cental, Emont, Rogues, Peruiers, Castle. Dauphin, and others held by the said Duke, belonging vnto his Maiefty, and in like manner those which his Maiefty holds in Bresse, Sauoy, Barcelonnette, & others belonging vnto the said Duke, shall respectively be restored, at such time as the Marquise shall be yeelded vp: and in case of exchange, those of Bresse and Barcelonnette shall remaine to his Maiefty, as hath bin said, and the rest shall be restored on either side.

7. All which places shall be restored in the same estate they are at this present, neither his Maiefty nor the said Duke be bound to pay nor satisfie the charges made of either part, in the fortification and repairing of the said places.

8. In like sort the Fort of Beche-Dauphin built by the said Duke during the warres, shall be dismantled at the same time.

9. The Inventories duly certified of all the peeces of Artillery, Powder, Bullets, and other munitions of warre, which were in the townes and places of the said Marquise, when the Duke entred it, shall be faithfully deliuered vnto his Maiefty when as the Duke shall choose the one or the other of the said two offers, whereupon his Maiefty shall declare his will for the restitution thereof, which shall be performed by the Duke, as well in their kinds, as in money, according to the price, which shall be concluded betwixt his Maiefty and the Duke.

10. All Sutes, Iudgements, and Sentences giuen in iustice, on either side before this present accord (when the parties haue contested voluntary) shall stand and take effect, whether restitution be made or an exchange of the Marquise: yet shall it be lawfull for the parties to relieue themselves by prouision according to the order of the lawes.

11. That no search should be made of any impositions, contributions and leauies of money or victuals in the said Country, against such as had appointed, receiued, or disposed thereof on either part, vnto this present Treaty.

12. And to the end that the inhabitants of the townes and country which are to be restored

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A stored, may not be ouer-charged nor vniuolly vexed, with leauies of money, during the respite granted vnto the said Duke, to make choice of, and to effect one of the said two offers, vnder colour of payment, as well of arerages of the said impositions, imposed before, and since the peace of Veruins, as for the pay and enertainment of Captaines and men of warre, appointed for the guard of the said Marquise. It is decreed, that there shall bee no leauy of money made vpon the inhabitants of the said townes and countries, conformable to that which was agreed vpon, as well by the treatie of Veruins, as by the orders and accords made since, for the payment of the said arerages and money, by the Deputies of his Maiefty and the said Duke, in the beginning of the year, for the ordinary entertainment of garisons, appointed for the guard of the said townes and places, and of officers employed in the estates of the said garisons, without any new impositions of either part. And we declare all that shall be done and attempted to the contrary, subiect to restitution and reparation.

13. And whereas the said Duke hath requested his Maiefty to allow and confirme the feoffment made by him, in the Marquise, in case he shall choose to restore it: his Maiefty doth declare, that being informed of the quality of the feoffments, he would haue that respect to gratifie the Duke, as his seruice would permit him, without being bound to restore that which had bene paid for the said Feoffments, but as it shall stand with his good pleasure.

14. And for as much as the said Duke hath intreated his Maiefty, to giue him time to confer with his vassals and subiects of both parties, before that he accept of the one or the other, his Maiefty desiring to witness vnto him, as well in this, as in all other occasions his good will: doth grant vnto the said Duke his choice, so as he choose and effect the one or the other of the two offers, by the first day of Iune above-named, without diminishing or altering of any thing, or vsing of any euasion, delay, or difficulty grounded vpon any colour or occasion whatsoever.

15. Whereunto the said Duke hath bound his faith and word, and his Maiefty doth the like for accomplishment and execution of all things, granted by these present Articles which depend thereon.

16. In like sort it hath bene agreed betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, that they shall consent, as they doe at this present, after the restitution shall bee really and fully accomplished. If the said Duke makes choice thereof, that our holy Father Pope Clement the eight shall iudge of all Controuersies that are betwixt his Maiefty and the said Duke, according to that which hath bene agreed vpon by the Treaty of Veruins, and that within three years.

17. Promising to accomplish and performe, faithfully on either part, whatsoever shall be decreed by his Holiness within the time prefixed, without any delay or difficulty, for what cause or pretext soeuer, as it is concluded by the Treaty of Veruins.

18. And for the greater assurance of the execution of the Treaty, and euery point and article therein contained, the said King and Duke of Sauoy, humbly beseech his Holiness that as by his good and fatherly exhortations they are entred into this way of accord, that it would please him as a common father, to continue the care which hee hath formerly shewed to nourish peace, and to assure a firme friendship betwixt them, and in all occasions that should be offered to interpose his authority for the full and real execution of things promised of either part, as it is contained in this present Treaty.

Made at Paris, the 27 day of February 1600. Signed Henry and Emanuel, and sealed with his Maiesties seale and the Duke of Sauoyes.

Three or foure dayes after this treaty, the Duke tooke his leaue of the King, who being followed by all the Court conducted him to Pont Charenton, and gaue him the Baron of Lux to attend on him out of the realme, with commandment to the Gouvernors of Champagne and Bourgondy, where he should passe, to receiue him as his Maiefty.

Whilst he was neere the King he shewed such outward content, and concealed his griefe so cunningly, as his owne people did iudge that nothing could better please him, but being retired, his countenance bewrayed his discontent and the repentance of his voyage. The further he went from the King, the nearer he approached to Spaine: being resolute to reconcile himselfe; and to that end he presently dispatched Bely his Chancellor. Being in Carosse, he said sometimes, that he had bene deceiued, that the words which they

The Duke of
Sauoyes de-
parture.The Duke
discontent.

had

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had giuen to perswade him to come into France, were ill interpreted: and that as soone as A
h should come to Chambery, he would send to beseech the King to prolong the time, in
the which he would make choice of the restitution or the exchange.

The Baron of Lux obserued his discourses, and aduerted the King of the Dukes inten-
tion, wholly inclined to warre, rather then to performe any part of the treaty. Being vpon
Saint Iulians bridge, the Baron of Lux, hauing commandement from the King not to go
any further,ooke his leaue of the Duke, and assuring himselfe that his words should be as
pleasing vnto him, as he seemed to haue beene content with his conduct, he beseeched him
not to transport his heart out of France as he did his body, but to cherish the friendship of
so great a King dearly, who loued him as his brother. That hee feared, that such as had B
shewed so great discontent, for the voyage, which his Highnesse had made into France,
would reape the profit which he himselfe might enioy. That he would hold their coun-
sels not onely suspect, but dangerous: as passionate men, whose perswasions were sugred
poison: who being more ialous of his greatnesse, then desirous of his quiet, would not
cease vntill they had diuerted him from the execution of his promises. That if it pleased
him to thinke of what was past, and compare it with the present, hee should find that
peace was the inextinguishable rampier of his Estates: and that it was a great misery for a
Prince to submit himselfe to anothers discretion, beseeching him to beleuee that the coun-
sell which he gaue him, was the same which he would giue him, if it had pleased God that
he had beene borne his vassall, or one of his Councell.

I take (answered the Duke) that which you say vnto me as of a worthy Nobleman, and C
thanke you: I acknowledge my selfe so much bound vnto the King, as I would sacrifice
my life in exchange of the duty which I owe him: and doe promise neuer to giue him any
occasion, to esteeme me other then his most humble seruant and louing kinsman. Men are
knowne by their words, as mettall by the sound, and flowers by the smell: but commonly
Princes words serue but to disguise their inward conceptions, holding dissimulation for a
great vertue. Such was the issue of the Duke of Sauoyes voyage. The yeare shall not passe
before hee taste the fruits. His presence did procure him the condition of exchange, the
which the King would not haue granted to his Ambassadors. But hee continued not long
in this opinion to performe the one or the other. Going out of the Citadell at Bourg, D
they found that sorrow troubled his soule, to leaue a place, esteemed one of the strongest
in Europe. His outward shew bewrayed his inward discontent. This Prince who could
well couer his passions, could not concale the griefe of this exchange, no more then the
discommodity of the restitution. Being arrived at Bourg, he sent one poste vnto the King,
to thanke him for the honour he had receiued in his voyage, and for the good entertain-
ment which *Pradin* had giuen him in Champagne, and the Baron of Lux in Bourgundy.
He wrote by the same Poste to the Gouverneur of Lyons, imparting vnto him the content-
ment which he receiued by the treaty of Paris, and that he went to Chambery, and soone
after the feasts, into Piedmont, there to resolue what the King should expect of him.

But he stayed not long before he gaue care to their perswasions, who sought to deprime E
him of all happinesse, which hee might promise vnto himselfe by this voyage, assuring
him that the coming of the *Cont de Fuentes* would giue him meanes to free himselfe
from the necessity of the exchange and restitution. He dissembled the discontent of his
voyage with great art, yet still he did vent out some vapour which made the most iudi-
cious to beleuee, that he would be glad to preiudice the King in any thing with the hazard
of his owne.

The Commons of France hauing not yet recovered their ruines growne by ciuill wars,
and now groning vnder the heauy burthen of taxes and subsidies, and complaining of the
abuse of officers in the collection thereof: they were humble supors vnto his Maiesty to
set downe a generall order concerning the taxes, and to reforme the abuses: whereupon F
the King made this Edict which follows, for the reliefe of his poore subiects.

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. As soone as it pleased God to settle peace in this
Realme: we haue cast oureyes with pite vpon our people growne poore and almost
ruined by the wounds and calamitie of long warre, and haue employed all our care to find
out the meane, to abate the taxes, and other impositions which are leauiod on them; with
an intent to make them enioy the fruits which peace is accustomed to produce vnder a
good King, when as warre is ended: being more desirous to purchase the name of Father

of

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A of the people doing them good, then to leaue any remembrance vnto posterity of other
more glorious titles which our perils and dangers might make vs merit: but being not
able to effect it so speedily as their miseries required, by reason of the exccesive charges of
this Estate, which could not be diminished but by little and little; nor the ordinary reuen-
ues to furnish it restored to their value, but in giuing some time to the peace established
in the Realme, by the speciall grace and blessing of God, to change the face of this great
delolation which warre hath left: we haue vpon the complaints often made vnto vs in our
Councell, of the abuses in quality, and exactions, which are committed in the leauy and
perception of the said taxes, deputed Commissioners, men of quality and known integri-
tie, to informe and punish the offenders, proceed to the reforming thereof, and to giue vs
aduice of the meanes which they shall thinke most fit and conuenient to suppress these
disorders hereafter, being by their report informed that our subiects haue suffered much
oppression by reason of the said abuses and disorders, namely, that equality had not been
obserued by the *Esleuz* in the diuision of Parishes: and much lesse by the *seffors* in the
taxes of priuate men, whom they haue gratified, surcharged, or exempted at their plea-
sures, according to their passions and interest: and also by reason of the many tedious and
chargeable suites growing amongst them; and the violences, exactions, and thefts, com-
mitted by Sergeants employed for the recovery of the taxes, which desiring to preuent as
well by good orders, as diminution of the charges, vntill that God giue vs grace to make
C them feel more abundantly of our fatherly bounty.

Whereupon there were many articles set downe by his Maiesty, for the reliefe and ease
of his poore subiects vpon these taxations and cessments.

The Lords of Sillery and Alincourt by the Popes aduice, and the Kings commande-
ment, went from Rome to Florence, to treat a mariage betwixt the King and the Noble
Princesse *Mary* of Medicis, the which had beene propounded before. This demand was
so pleasing vnto the great Duke, as he made no difficulty. The Articles of which Treaty
are as followeth.

First, The great Duke doth promise in the name and faith of mariage of the said Prince-
cesse, with her will and consent, as she hath declared vnto the said most Christian King,
D who in like manner doth promise by the said Lord of Sillery, to take for his loyal Spouse
the said Princeesse, as soone as might be, according to the Lawes and holy Constitutions
of the Church, and doth presently promise to appoint some man of quality with suffi-
cient authority in his name, and as Proctor to his said Maiesty, to wed by words of present
the said Princeesse, vntill by the presence of the parties, the mariage might be confirmed
and solemnized in the face of our mother the holy Church. In fauour whereof, the great
Duke, as well for the singular affection which he beares to the Princeesse his Neece, as for
the greatnes and dignity of the House into the which she is receiued, doth promise to giue
in dowry to the said Princeesse, the summe of six hundred thousand crownes of gold, euery
one being seuen Liuers, foure Deniers, of the money of Florence, whereof the said King
E hath already receiued two hundred and fifty thousand crowns payd into the hands of his
Treasurers. And as for the three hundred and fifty thousand Crownes remaining, they
shall also be paid in ready money, in the towne of Marcellle or Lions, when as the said ma-
riage shall be confirmed and solemnized in the Church, as hath beene declared in the
premises.

The said great Duke doth also promise to cause the said Princeesse to bee conducted
and honourably accompanied at his owne cost and charges, and as is befitting a Princeesse
of that quality, honour, and dignity, vnto the towne of Marcellle, and moreover to giue
her jewels and other precious moueables, fit for the dignitie of the said Princeesse, and the
House from which she is descended.

F In regard whereof it hath beene accorded, that the said Princeesse shall renounce the
succession of her father and mother in the best forme that may bee for the contentment
and satisfaction of the said Duke her vncl: and to this end the said Princeesse shall haue
authority, and the said renunciation shall be confirmed by the said King, when it shall bee
required. And at this present the said Princeesse acknowledging freely, that in regard of
the said Dowry and Jewels which shall be giuen her, shee is bountifully satisfied for all
that which might belong vnto her for her portion, in the succession of her father and
mother, and that of her owne free-will shee doth renounce, to the profit and com-

Q o o o

modity

The Duke go-
ing forth of
Bourg had
sears in his
eyes.

Edict concern-
ing taxes.

modity of the said great Duke, and of his descendants males, or of those which shall have interest by reason of the said great Duke, of what degree or quality soever, to all rights, names, reasons, and actions, which he may have, or in any sort pretend, to the said successions, whereof as much as need shall require, the said Princeesse shall make session and transport to the said great Duke and to his descendants.

And to assure the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes given in dowry, bee in case of restitution or otherwise, it hath beene agreed vpon and confirmed, that certaine lands shall be assigned, granted, and given in mortgage, for the assurance, confirmation, and restitution of the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes, which no obligation shall make void : so as by this meanes the said money may be deliuered vnto the said great Duke, or to them that shall have charge from his Highnesse, to bee restored to the said Princeesse or to her heyres, as shall be said hereafter : with the interest after due in the hundred, the which shall begin to haue course, and to stand firme & effectual from the day that the said money shall be restored.

The said most Christian King shall assigne vnto the said Princeesse for her Iointer, twenty thousand crownes by the yeare, which shall be payed out of Lands with iurisdiction, whereof the chiefe place shall haue the title of a Duchy, and the rest next vnto it : which places thus assigned to the said Princeesse, she shall enioy by herselfe or by her officers, with the said iurisdiction : And she shall haue the gift of all offices falling voyd, as the Queenes of France haue accustomed : alwayes provided, that the said offices bee given to naturall Frenchmen. And the said Princeesse shall begin to enter into possession of the said lands, as soone as her dowry or ioynter shall haue place, to enioy it during her life, whether that the remaine within the Realme of France, or retire elsewhere. The said King shall also giue vnto the said Princeesse, iewels befitting the dignitie of the Queenes of France, the which shall remaine proper vnto her selfe, as things belonging vnto her, and not otherwise. And for the entertainment of the said Princeesse, future Queene of France, during her marriage with the said King, there shall be officers and seruants appointed for the seruice of the said Princeesse, in such number and quality as shall bee convenient : and for her charges there shall be a convenient summe appointed, the which shall be payd euery three monthes out of the treasury, according to the order which hath beene obserued by the Queenes. And in case of the dissolution of the said marriage, by the death of the said Princeesse without any children, the said King shall restore vnto the said Duke, or to him that shall haue charge from him, the iewels which haue beene giuen her, according to an inventory that shall bee made, vnto the which she hath otherwise disposed thereof : and withall four hundred thousand crownes, which are two third parts of the six hundred thousand crownes giuen in dowry, vnto the said Maiesty he desirous to enioy the whole summe during his life : In which case the said summe of six hundred thousand crownes shall be fully restored after his Maiesties death. And if the said Princeesse leaue any children, issued of the said marriage, the said children shall succeed in all the goods, moueable and immoueable which shall be left by her, and that may belong vnto her, the which shall be diuided according to the vse and custome of France. But in case of the dissolution of the marriage bee by the death of the King, the said future Queene furnishing him, whether she haue children or not of the said marriage, the said Princeesse shall haue againe all the money, dowry, and iewels brought by her : and moreover, those which shall be giuen her by the said King, excepting alwayes the iewels of the crown, the which are left as it were in guard with the Queenes of France. And in this case the said future Spouse shall also enioy her dowry, and all about mentioned, whether she remaine in France, or make her residence elsewhere at her pleasure.

All which Articles and Conventions haue beene treated and concluded in the name of the said King, by the said Lord of Silery, and by the said Duke as well in his owne name, as for the said Princeesse, the said parties promising faithfully to keepe and obserue them in euery point, without any contradiction directly or indirectly : and they haue promised to furnish all letters, prouisions, and expeditions necessary for the accomplishment thereof. And so they signed,

Silery and Ferdinand Duke of Tuscany.

A greater portion then that of the Lady Elizabeth married into Spaine, who had but 400000 crowns in dowry. The Queen mother had but 30000 crowns of Lewis D. of Vrbain her

A her father: but her mothers inheritance, among the which was the Earldome of Languois, was valued at a million of gold, and the Pope in consideration of the greatnesse of the House, whereunto she matched, gaue her an hundred thousand crowns, and many iewels. She had for her Ioynter but a thousand pounds ayeare.

The Contract was past in the Palace of Pity, the five and twentieth day of April, in the presence of Charles Anthony Putei Archbishop of Pisa, and Virginia Duke of Bracciano. All Florence shewed great ioy thereat, and the Princeesse was presently declared Queene of France. She dined publicly vnder a cloth of Estate, the great Duke sitting far beneath her. The Duke of Bracciano gaue her water, and Silery the Kings Ambassador the towell.

B The rest of the day was spent in all kind of sports. Soone after, Monsieur Alincourt went to cary these good newes vnto the King, with the Queenes picture, which the great Duchesse sent him. The King sent Frontenac to serue the Queene as her chiefe Steward, who presented vnto her his Maiesties first Letter, and withall he sent his Portrait to the great duke. The King refused to effect the promises of marriage, as soone as the Duke of Sauoy had performed his, touching the restitution or the exchange of the Marquise of Salusses, and to goe to Auignon to receive the Queene : but the Duke was much perplexed what he should doe.

After the Duke of Sauoyes departure, the King went to passe the Lent at Fontainebleau, where there was a great conference betwixt the Bishop of Eureux, and Philip de Mornay Lord of Plessis Marly, Gouvernour of Saumur, Intendant of the House and Crowne of Nauarre : in the presence of the King, Princes, & Officers of his Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelates, and other Noblemen of marke. It was touching a booke which Monsieur du Plessis had published of the Institution of the Lords Supper, and against the Masse, wherein the Bishop did taxe him to haue falsified many authorities. Whereupon du Plessis presented a Petition vnto the King, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to appoint Commissioners to examine euery passage of Scripture cited in his booke.

The King yielded to this conference, that the truth might be made cleere against the darknesse of slander, referring the care thereof to his Chancellor. The Commissioners appointed for the Catholikes, were Augustin Thibaut, President of the Court Parliament at Paris : Pithen, Advocate in the Court, and Feure Schoolemaster to the Prince of Conde, in whose absence came Martin the Kings Physitian. And for the other, the President of Calignon, Chancellor of Nauarre, in whose place entred de Fresnes Canay, President of the Chamber of Languedoc, and Casaubon, his Maiesties reader of the Greeke tongue. All singular men in learning and tongues.

This conference beganne the fourth day of May, in the Hal at Fontainebleau. In the midst thereof was a Table of a reasonable length : at the one end sat the King, on his right hand, the Bishop of Eureux, & on the left, right ouer against him, du Plessis Pasquier, Vasfant, and Merier, Secretaries of the conference, were at the lower end of the same Table. Somewhat higher on the Kings right hand, sat the Chancellor and the Commissioners. E Behind the King stood the Archbishop of Lyons, and the Bishops of Neuers, Beauvais and Chastres. On the Kings left hand were the four Secretaries of State. Behind them which conferred, were the Dukes of Vaudemont, of Nemours, of Mercure, of Mayenne, of Neuers, of Elbeuf, of Aiguillon and Joinville, the Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, and other Noblemen of quality. After that all were commanded to keepe silence, his Maiesty hauing said, That the dispute was not betwixt party and party, but particular betwixt the two conferrers ; not for any question of right and doctrine, but for the littell truth of some passages : and that he desired they should treat with all mildnesse and moderation, without any bitterness or passion, but that of the truth. Declaring moreover, that he did not meane that this dispute should in any thing alter or disquiet the peace of his subiects, as the Chancellor did then declare vnto them at large by the Kings commandement.

My Masters, said he, all things worke to worke good in them that are good, if in the businesse which presents it selfe, wee bring spirits of peace and charity, the God of peace and charity, will assist our good intentions with his graces. The question is now vpon that which Monsieur du Plessis hath giuen the Bishop of Eureux to understand that he will verifie before the King, and such Commissioners as he shall please to depute, all the passages quoted in his Bookes. Whereunto the said Bishop had answered, That he

Q o o o o would

The Queenes picture sent this King.

A conference at Fontainebleau.

The manner of their sitting at the conference.

The Chancellors discourse at the conference.

1600

Discourse
of the Bi-
shop of Eu-
reux at the
beginning
of the con-
ference.Discourse
of Monsieur
du Plessis
at the con-
ference.

" would bind himselfe to shew five hundred falsehoods in his booke against the Masse : That A
" his Maiesty hath suffered this conference, which is made betwixt two learned men, not to
" enter into disputation touching points which concerne Doctrine and matter of Religion,
" the which his Maiesty would not endure without permission from the Pope : but only
" to make cleare the literall truth or falsehood of the said Allegations. And as it is not meant
" that there shall be any question made here touching controuersies of religion ; in like
" manner his Maiesty declares vnto you his firme and certaine resolution, for the obserua-
" tion of his Edict of Nantes, made for the preservation of the quiet and publike peace. He
" wills and commands that this conference may be made without contention, and with all
" the moderation that is requisite in a matter of so great importance : so as the good vnion B
" and correspondency which is so necessary for the generall good of this Estate, and for
" euery one of vs in particular, may not be in any thing altered, but rather increased by the
" mildnesse and modesty which shall be vsed on either part, and that we may finish this dis-
" putation with a good resolution to cary our selues and to liue peaceably together, like
" good brethren, friends, & fellow citizens, as his Maiesty now commands vs by his Edict,
" whereof he hath euen now renewed his commandement vnto vs. These words were confir-
" med by the King, who commanded the Bishop of Eureux to speake and to begin the con-
" ference, the which he did in these termes.

" Sir, I present my selfe here to obey your Maiesties commandements, and to appeare at
" the assignation which *Monsieur du Plessis* hath giuen me. The offer which I haue made was C
" to shew him 500 false Allegations in his booke against the Masse. Your Maiesty according
" to your singular wisdome hath very well concluded that this offer might well bee accep-
" ted without offending either spiritual or temporall lawes, which forbid all priuate persons
" to dispute publicly of Religion. For here the question is not to call in doubt the faith of
" the ancient Fathers of the Church, or to examine if they haue written well or ill ; but
" whether *Monsieur du Plessis* hath cited them truly or not. Heretofore *Huneric* King of
" the Vandales hauing called the Catholikes of Africa to enter into disputation with the Ar-
" rians, *Engenius* Archbishop of Carthage answered him, That he might not accept of that
" combat without the consent of other Bishops, and namely of the Church of Rome, which D
" was the head of all the Churches. If I at this day forbear to make the like difficulty, it is
" not that I cary lesse respect to the Apostolike See then that holy Bishop did, about twelue
" hundred yeares since : But for that the question now is for some priuate passages of *Mon-
" sieur du Plessis* booke, and not of the generall doctrine of the Church ; whereunto the mo-
" desty your Maiesty hath pleased to vife in this action hath imboldened me. For you would
" not take the incense as the King of Iuda did, who was stricken with a Leprosie, that is to
" say, you seeke not to vsurpe any Priestly authority, nor to make your selfe a Iudge, or to
" appoint Iudges in Ecclesiasticall causes : But onely to call learned winnes and worthy of
" credit, which may testifie the truth of this conference, and in case of difficulty ; vpon the
" version of words and edition of examples, giue their aduice : imitating therein the piety of
" those good Emperours, *Constantine*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodosius* the first and second, who E
" would neuer attribute vnto themselves the iudgement of controuersies of the faith, but
" alwayes referre the decision to them whom God had appointed Pastors and Rectors of
" his Church. And therefore vnder the authority of his commandements, I will enter
" cheertfully into this conference, hauing first protested that I am not prick forward by any
" spleene against *Monsieur du Plessis*, whom I respect and honour for his good parts, neither
" doe I pretend to charge him with any falsehood in his booke, but onely them vpon whose
" faith and instructions he relied, as shall appeare by the mildnesse and modesty I promi-
" sed your Maiesty to vife towards his person.

" *Du Plessis* declared, That he was come thither, seeing it had so pleased his Maiesty, to F
" answer for his booke, which ambition had not caused him to write, but should rather
" haue diuerted him, to preferre his good fauour : but zeale to serue (during his reigne) for
" a holy reformation in the Church, after which many good men haue so long sighed. If it
" might any way serue, he should hold himselfe happy, though it were with his great losse ;
" if not, that he would haue burnt it, yet with his owne hand. Yet his hope was, that when
" he should be equally examined, all men should find that he had caried himselfe faithfully
" and diligently, although it were not to bee held strange, if in five thousand passages or
" more, they haue found some wherein his eye, his memory, or his iudgement hath waue-
" red :

A red : yet so, as they did not impugn the truth of that whereof hee treated.

Oh said he, that the bookes of the Doctors of the Roman Church, which haue written
within these hundred yeares, were examined with this rigour, how many should you find
that could endure this trial? Finally, he protested with his Maiesties leave, that this act
was particular, and could not prejudice the truth of the doctrine of the reformed Churches
of that Realme, which had bene before him, and should be after him. And so they entred
into the matter.

After the first dayes conference, *Monsieur du Plessis* fell very sick, as they could proceed
no further. The King did write the same day vnto the Duke of Elpemon, what had past in
this Conference, and shewed by his letter what his iudgement was. My friend, the Bi-
shop of *Euireux* hath vanquished that of *Saumur*. Wherewith *Monsieur du Plessis* was discon-
tented ; so as in a discourse which he (or some of his friends) had printed soone after, tou-
ching this conference, he termed this Letter, *A spark of fire*, and that the Bishop of Eu-
reux Fly was made an Elephant.

Some moneths after this conference at Fontainebleau, *Canay*, one of the Commissio-
ners, and President in the Chamber of the Edict at Caftres, a man learned in Physlosophy
and the tongues, and well read in the History of the Church, left his profession of the Re-
formed Religion, and became a Romish Catholike. Many thought that *Cafaubon* the other
Commissioner would haue followed the same course : but hee left not the world long in
this opinion, hauing written vnto the Synod of Ministers assembled at Gargau, that hee
was not so wretchedly instructed in piety, as for want of knowledge of the truth he should
suffr himselfe to be caried away with euery humour of doctrine. As the Synod reioyced
at the constancy of *Cafaubon*, they grew in choller against the exchange of *Canay*, who a-
nswering the first Letter, they added this exclamation against the second: *Oh miserable man,*
who hath purchased with the losse of firme felicity, the disguised wretchednesse of this world,
the which shall hereafter perishe both in his life and sight, vnlesse that in the end of this feeling he
acknowledge that he hath not with reason lost his iudgment, but rather without reason is become
foolish, God of his mercy take pity of him, and giue him grace so to weepe for that which he hath
committed, that he commit no more that which he must weepe for.

The King had particular aduice that the Duke of Sauoy was irresolute what to doe, and
that he had sent vnto the Pope, and to diuers Princes and Common-weales in Italy, to let
them vnderstand that he had bene forced to the Treaty of Paris : and how much it did
import them if this treaty were effected : but he found not their intentions to iumpe with
his, neither had he the answer he expected. His Maiesty had also intelligence of his deepe
dissembling, saying sometimes, *That he would not restore the Marquisate but by force* ; some-
times, *That he had rather deliuer Bresse then the Marquisate* ; and most commonly he would
say, *That he would restore the Marquisate* ; and that with a double designe. The one was
that the King (thinking he proceeded faithfully) would grant him some delay for the re-
stitution of the Marquisate, during the which, and before that the King should leauy an
E army, winter should come, the which would hinder the French from attempting of any
thing against him this yeare. The other was, to the end that the King of Spaine and his
Counsell (who apprehended aboue all, the restitution of the Marquisate, for the neigh-
bourhood of the French to the Duchy of Milan) should grant vnto *Bely* the Dukes Chan-
cellor and his Ambassador in Spaine (whither he had sent him expressly to pacifie the Spa-
niards, who were offended with the Dukes voyage into France) succours of men and mo-
ney, in case the King would force him : or else that he might draw some recompence from
the Spaniard for the exchange of Bresse with the Marquisate. *Bely* complaines to the
Counsell of Spaine, of the little time which there remained for the restitution of the Mar-
quisate to the French. To whom they answered : That armies were not so soone leauied
F in France ; that he should assure the Duke his Master, that the Cont *Fuenter* should bee at
Milan by August (whereas two millions of gold attended him) with so many men and o-
ther prouision, as whosoeuer should seeke to force him, should haue enough to doe to de-
fend himselfe.

The King being well aduertised of all these practises : the first of Iune being past, by
the which the Duke according to the treaty of Paris should restore the Marquisate, his Ma-
iesty came to Lyons, where the Duke intreated him by his letters to giue him some daies of re-
spite, and that he would satisfie him by his Ambassadors. Whereupon the King yielded.

O o o o

Then

1600

Cafaubon's letter
to the MinistersThe Duke of
Sauoyes irra-
tional.The Counsell
of Spaines an-
swer of *Bely*.The King
comes to Ly-
ons the ninth
of Iuly.

1600

The duke
Ambassa-
dors come
to Lions.

**The Kings
answer to
the Ambas-
sadors.**

Monseur De
Sillay and the
President la-
zin Deputies
for the King.

Difficulties in-
vented by the
Duke.

**An attempt to
poison the
King.**

Then the Archbishop Tarantaite, the Marquiss of Lullins and *Roncas* his Ambassadors came to Lyons, the sixteenth of Iuly; who said vnto the King: That the Duke their master did complaine of the Treaty of Paris; That he durst not refuse any thing to his Maieſtie, when as he was in the chiefe City of his Realme; That he might be more blamed for holding of the Accord, then in breaking it, for the great interest of himselfe, his children, and his countries: notwithstanding, he was ready to yeeld the Marquissate, but hee beseeched his Maieſty to grant him the iustifurture thereof for one of his sonnes.

The King answered them : That the Duke had written many Letters vnto him from Chamberly and Thurin, aduertising him that hee was very well pleased with the Accord which he had made at Paris, promising to effect it, as he was bound to doe. As for his demand of the inueſtiture of the Marquitate for one of his ſons, there was no likelihood he ſhould vſe any ſuch bounty, hauing fo ſmall caule. To conclude, he was much diſcontented with the difficulties which the Duke made vpon their accord, the which if he did not performe by the firſt day of Auguſt, hee ſhould prepare to defend himſelfe. *Roncas* the Dukes confident ſeruant returnes to his Highneſſe, to let him vnderſtand the Kings diſcontent and reſolution, but eſpecially to giue him time to thinke of his affaires. At that time *Foffene* returning out of Piedmont, aſſured the King, that he had heard the Duke of Sauoy ſwear, that he would neuer yeeld vpon the Marquitate, and if the King did attempt to make warre againſt him, hee would ſlew him ſpoort for forty yeares, with ſuch like words which were vnplicable to the King. *Roncas* returnes ſpeedily, bringing newes that the Duke was content, ſeeing the King would haue it ſo, to reſtore the Marquitate of Saluſſes, according to the Treaty of Paris. The King ſeemed well pleaſed with this reſolution, giuing the charge to *Brulart* and *Lapin* to treat with the Dukes Ambaſſadors, how the reſtitution of the Marquitate ſhould be made. The Articles were agreed vpon, and being ready to ſigne them, *Roncas* ſaid vnto the Ambaſſadors, that his Maſter might take it ill if they ſhould ſigne them before he had ſeene them : that there were ſtrange humours about his highneſſe, and that it would be more eaſe for him to get him to approve the articles when they were not ſigned. *Roncas* takes vpon him to carie the articles, the King hauing giuen him leaue to goe, and know his maſters laſt reſolution, ſhewing that he was determined not to ſuffer himſelfe to be entertained any longer with words ; but in ſtead of returning, he ſent backe a Letter whereby they found that the Duke did nothing but diſſemble, and entreatine the King with delays, vntill that the Count *uentas* came out of Spaine, and that he had aſſembled his forces and provided for his ſafety.

But the Archbishop of Tarantaise and Lullins entering againe into conference with the sayd President *Sillery* and *Ianin*, they propounded foure difficulties.

- 1 Vpon the restitution of places in the Marquifate by the Duke, and of Pont de Vaux in Breffe by the King at the fame time.
- 2 Vpon the restitution of the Buiwicke of Gex.
- 3 Vpon the restitution of the artillery and munition that was within Carmagnola.
- 4 Vpon the nomination of a Gouvernor in the Marquifate.

All which being refolued, the Dukes Ambaffadors befeech the King to giue them time to aduertife their Mafter thereof: the King answered them, that if by the 16 of Auguft all his places in the Marfquie were not refitted vnto him, he would feek to recouer that by force which he could not haue by reafon. Before the Kings departure from Paris, the deuill had perfwaded a wretched woman called *Micelle Mignon*, to pofion him, who had fome meanes during the forefaid warres, hauing had the fauour to talke priuately with the King who is as full of bounty, as the liberty of armes, in time of warre, giues fuch familiarities: and Princes fometimes frame themfelues vnto it. Being kept backe from the Kings prefence, with whom the would needs fpeake in priuate, being full of indignation, & hauing refolued this cruell attempt againft the King, he addrefseth her felfe to the Count *Soiffons* a Prince of the blood & Lord Steward of France, that he might giue her husband fome place in the Kings kitchen, and fo in going to fee her husband, the fould haue meanes to effeet her damnable enterprife. In the end he had acceffe, and faid vnto him, that fhee was refolued to doe an act, which fould make him the greateft Prince, and her the moft contented woman in the world. He defired to vnderftand of her the meanes in particular, wherat he was much amazed. And for that it was a matter of importance, he wifhed her to come againe the next day, for that it deferred to be well confidered of.

The

A The Count of Soissons goes presently unto the King, and tells him what he had heard of this woman, beseeching him to give him some confident man, who being thus vp in his cabinet might heare the same, when as she should come at the time appointed. The King commanded *Lomeny* Secretary of his Cabinet to goe. She returns full of courage and resolution to effect this wicked designe. She speaks more, and profits to doe worse then she had done the day before. He preit her to tell who had counselled her, and why she attempted so dangerous a thing. He could draw nothing from her but that it proceeded from the diuell, from whom comes all damnable inspirations, and whose actions are murders, sacrileages and impieties. When she had all said, shee was apprehended by the Prouost, and led vnto the Court. Being examined, she denied the accusation and reproached the accuser as audaciously, as she had shewed her selfe furiously resolute to the execution. *Lomeny* was produced against her, and her conscience (although very desperately wicked) could not deny that which she had before time depofed, but confessed the truth, and was condemned to be burned quicke.

She is burn
aliuc.

It is miraculous what hath past in diuers conspiracies against the King, and how diuinely God hath deliuered him. It was one of the causes, which made the Duke of Sauoy seeme so resolute to hold the accord which hee had made with the King at Paris for the Marquise of Saluces, hauing vnderstood that the King had bene so often threatened by the attempts of such murderers, presuming that it was not possible but some one would hit: and about the same time there was one taken, come out of Piedmont to kill the King, whereof there was great rumour and suspition. And three others which had vndertaken to kill him, when as he was in Sauoy, whereof they had certaine intelligence, with their pourtraires, the which were well knowne. And as they would haue taken them, his Maiesty would not suffer them saying: *Let these wicked wretches alone, God will punish them without my doing.*

Four enterprises
against the
king.

The feuenth of Auguft the King was aduertifed, that the Duke had refufed the laft conditions agreed vpon by his Ambaffadors, whereupon he countermanded the Count *Paf- fage*, whom he had lent with five hundred men to command in the Marquifate of Salufes, and to enter the towne and caſtle of Carmagnoles, which the Duke ſhould yeeld vpon the fixteenth of Auguft, according to the laſt accord. And withall the 21 of that month he publiſhed a Declaration how he was forced to take Armes againſt the Duke of Sauoy, to haue reafon for the Marquifate of Salufes, ſurprized by him, and viſperped vpon the Crowne of France, in a time of Peace, during the life of the deceaſed King, *Henry* the third, Predeceſſor to his Maieſty, and a benefactor to the ſaid Dukes father: giuing all men to vnderſtand, that he was unwillingly drawne to this remedy, for the ſingular deſire hee had to raigne in peace, and to loue in loue and friendſhip with all his neighbours, having done as much to auoid it, as his honour, and the duty of a Prince which loues the publicke quiet, and the good of his Eſtate did require: taking into his protection and defence, all Clergy-men, and places, which ſhould not fauour, nor ſerue for a retreat or aſſiſtance vnto the ſaid Dukes armies: and all Inhabitants of townes, which ſhould open their gates vnto his Maieſty and to his ſeruants: Meaning, that no acts of Hoſtilitie ſhould be vſed, but againſt ſuch as ſhould carry armes, and fauour the ſaid Duke of Sauoy and his adherents. Forbidding all ſacrilege, rauifhing all women and maids, and burning of houſes, places and caſtles vpon paine of death. Commanding all Frenchmen his ſubiects, being in ſeruiſe with the ſaid Duke, to retire themſelves, and returne into his Realme within fifteen dayes after this Proclamation made in his armies, vpon paine to bee declared and puniſhed as guilty of high treaſon.

The King finding that all the Dukes temporisings and delays proceeded from a bad intent, was forced at one and the same instant, against the precepts of warre, to proclaim warre, and to prepare for meanes to make it. He gaue out Commissions for the leaueing offoor: in the neighbour Provinces. He sent the Duke of Guise into Prouence, to looke to his Government , having intelligence that the Duke practised some surprisles. The Marshall of Biron had charge to drag downe all his forces out of Bourgundy, he cauled bullets to be made in Niurnois, Dauphine & Bourgundy, and sent out Commissions for to leauey Pioners. The Marquis of Roigny great Master of the Artillery, was sent to Paris, who returned within fiftene dayes to his Maiestie, with incredible speed, fo as in lesse then three weekes, the King had men, money, Cannon and Munition. He sent Monsieur

The D. refused to sign the articles agreed upon by his Ambassadors.

Th. Kings' De
claration vpon
the begin'ing
of the warre,
against the D.
of Sauoy.

The Kings
preparatives
for white.

De

De Vie his Ambassador speedily into Suifferland with money, to prevent and disappoint A the Dukes practices, and to assure a leauy of Suiffes at need.

The King who knows that in warre, nothing doth so much aduance the execution as the presence of the head: being resolute to assaile the Duke on two parts, by Bresse and Sauoy, he parted from Lyons the same day that he proclaimed warre, and came to Grenoble to goe to the enterprize of Montmelian in Sauoy, and to bee ready at all occasions. The Marshall of Biron vnderooke the surprize and taking of Bourg in Bresse, the which was as soone knowne as conceived. The Marquis of Lullins the Dukes Ambassador being at Lyons, aduertised the Count of *Montmaior* Gouverneur of Bresse, and *Bouvens* Capitaine of the Citadell of Bourg of the enterprize, and that they should stand vpon B their guards.

A Gentleman of Bresse which had been amongst the Marshall of Biron's troopes, scene the Petards, and numbred the souldiers in passing the bridge at Macon, went before, to giue notice to *Bouvens* Capitaine of the Citadell, that the Marshall was within a league of him. But neglecting all these aduertisements, and trusting to the force of their walls and gates, they found, that the Marshall of Biron with twelue hundred men onely and two Petards, forced the first and second Port of the towne, and entred it without any resistance, or the losse of one souldier. The troopes entred without disorder, and marched directly to the place before the Citadell, and came not away, till ten of the clocke, whilst that they did capitulate with two hundred Suiffes, which had shut themselves into a Bastion, whom they suffered to depart free with what was theirs: and also to attend if *Bouvens* would fallly out of the Citadell, as he made shew. The Marshall of Biron left the Baron of Lux at Bourg, and went with sixe Cannons to finish the conquest of all that which lyes on this side the Riuier of Roiffe, taking at the same time Pont d'In, Poncin, Saint Denis, Saint Rumbert, Bely and Pierre Chastell. Some yeelded at the reputation of his presence, others would see the Cannon. There was no garison in all the country, but at Seizel. A strange humour of an enemy, not onely to make warre vpon bad grounds, and to imbarke himselfe in a rotten ship, but also to refuse peace, and yet to haue no man in his country to make warre. Those which made any resistance, shewed themselves in the end more valiant in tongue then with the sword. So as the King being at Grenoble, receiued in one day and in lesse then six houres, newes of two memorable exploits: the taking of Bourg with seuen ensignes, and one Cornet, which the Marshall sent him, and the taking of the towne of Montmelian by *Les Dignieres*. *Cregny* offered a scalado to the Curtaine of the towne of Montmelian towards the Castle, and the Petard to the Port of Arban with such fury, as the souldiers retired themselves into the Church, and the Inhabitants into the Citadell, leaving their houses to the discretion of all that warre allows in a towne that is either forced, or surprisid. The King commanded *Grillon* to lodge with the Regiment of his guards in the suburbs of Chambery, all which was done, without any great resistance.

The Souldiers did not defend themselves without feare and amazement, and the people were so lulled asleepe with this opinion of peace, as nothing was more hatefull vnto them then the remembrance of warre, holding all care of armes to be vaine and vnprofitable.

The Duke past his time amongst the Ladies at Thurin, attending the pleasing affects which his Diuines had promised him, as we haue said. He is aduertised that the King is in Armes, his Country in prey, the meanes to defend himselfe farre off, and *Hannibal* at the foot of the Alpes: That onely Montmelian is left him on this side the mountains: That his chiefe towne had acknowledged the King for Soueraigne Lord, and that all his subiects yeelded willingly to his obedience. Yet he continued his sports: And esteeming little the losse of all his Estates, so as he might haue Montmelian, hee holds it but losse of time for his enemies; that hee would make them abandon what they had taken, and of their victories they should carie backe nothing but Trophies of straw: to conclude he seemed for a time (as one would say) to consent to any thing which the King did.

But when he came in the end to consider of the abuses and deceits of his Soothsayers, to whom he had giuen too much credit; that so many proiects laid with the Marshall of Biron tooke no effect; that his Ambassadors had commandment to retire (yet full of griefe that their masters inconstancie had drawne his Estate into apparant ruine, and too much

A much incensed the Kings patience) that his country was in prey, that the great meanes of resistance which were promised him, from beyond the Pirenean mountains were yet farre off: He awakes at the thunder of the Cannon: He casts his eyes and thoughts on all sides, and finds no Mediator capable to repaire that which hee had ruined; no friends to support his quarrell, no neighbours which stirre for him. Euery one blames him, euery one cries out that he is in the wrong, he is the sole instrument and cause of his owne misery, and he alone must seeke the remedy.

The Patriarke of Constantinople is at Turin, a man of a great spirit, and much prazied in affaires of this world. The King sees and heares him willingly. Yea, but the Duke had suspected him at the Treaty of Paris. He had commandment from the Pope not to depart from thence, before his Highnesse had performed his promises. He thought that hee was there onely to obserue his intentions, and to presse the effects of his words. Hee had well obserued that the Duke did not shew him so good a countenance, nor did so willingly see him as when he past for the Treaty of Vertins. He is offended at this contempt, and it may be will be reuenged when opportunitee serues. He knowes also that the Duke did not like of them that did conferre with him; and that hee had encouraged the King to continue the course of his victories, and not to trust vnto the deceits of the Sauoyfid. What likelihood was there then in so urgent a businesse, to imploy a great Prelate incensed, a great spirit offended?

C Yet must hee conuie this French tempest, and by some meanes stay the exploits of so rude an Officer. The Patriarkes quality binds him to mediate the reconciliation of Princes diuided in Christendome; and his presence, to bring water and not Oyle to the combustions which deuoured the Dukes Estates. Hee intreats and conuies him to goe vnto the King. They say that (in despite of the bad reception hee had had at Thurin, or well acquainted with the Dukes intentions) he lent a small note vnto the King, aduising him to continue the course of his Armes, and not to desist for any propositions or offers made by the Duke, who fought but to deceive him, and withall he accepted of the charge.

The Patriarke came vnto Grenoble the fifteenth of August, and spake vnto the King D comming from Euenlong: Hee giues him to vnderstand how much the Pope would be discontented with this warre: hee conuies him in his name to resolute to a peace, and to returne for that effect to the Treaty of Paris: for that in demanding his owne, both the Pope and all the Potentates would fauour his demand: but in seeking to retain the ancient inheritance of the D. of Sauoy, he had no reason to hope for any fauour.

The King answered him, That he was infinitely grieved the Pope should be any way discontented with his taking Armes, the which hee did not vnderake vntill it was apparant to all the world, that the Duke deluded him. That being the person whom his Maiestie did most honour, and to whom hee acknowledged himselfe so much bound, as he could not deny him any thing, yet hee held him so full of Iustice, as he would neuer aduise him to E any thing that should be against reason, and the dignity of his Crowne. That the Duke hauing refused to performe the Articles of the Treaty at Paris, hee was not bound to obserue them.

The Patriarke laid before him the miseries which this warre would bring, the ruine and desolation of the people, and the aduantage which the common enemy of Christendome should get by it. The King answered him in this manner. You exhort me like vnto a great Diuine, and one of the chiefe Prelates of the Church, to desist from this warre, to avoid the mischiefe that may fall vpon Christendome. I know not so much Diuinity as you doe, yet am I not ignorant, that I haue a soule to saue, and that one day I must giue an account of my actions, and that God will impute the miseries that shall happen by this warre, vnto him that giues the occasion. Let the D. of Sauoy lay his hand vpon his heart, and iudge if it be not his obstinacy and couetousnesse to hold that which belongs to another, which is the cause of all the oppression which his poore subiects doe now suffer. He hath presuaded with too great contempt of me, to hold that which is mine, by cunning, against my will. He that detaines an other mans vniustly, may iustly be deprived of his owne. Hee that denies vnto the stronger that which belongs vnto him, abandons vnto him by the same meanes all that he hath: as it is no honour for him to be obstinate to warre, for the desire he hath to hold an other mans Estate, so shall hee reape no other profit then the ruine of

1600 " of his owne. I cannot conceale it reuerend Patriarke, that although I haue euer found all
 " intrigue in your Negotiations, yet am I troubled how I shall cary my selfe with you,
 " touching that which you propound; for in truth I hold you for a very good man, a most
 " vertuous Prelate, and a wise Negotiator.

The Duke
 demands
 two Legats

" On the other side I can let you see in writing how the said Duke hath giuen Authori-
 " tie to *Jacob* and the President *Roche* to treat with mee, with a Declaration that neither
 " you nor his Ambassadors, that are within my Realme, are priny to his intentions. He hath
 " made them propound, that I should moue the Pope to depute two Legats; one of them
 " should cause restitution to be made of that which I hold on this side the Mountaines, and
 " the other should make him restore that which he detaines from me on that side the Alpes. B
 " I finde his manner of proceeding to be very bad. To conclude, reuerend Patriarke, I will
 " beseech the Pope to take my answer in good part, who holds that I cannot be urged by
 " any reason to lay aside those Armes which the Duke hath forced me to take, hauing runne
 " headlong without any necessity into this warre, in the which I am engaged against my
 " will. I meane not to bee irreconcilable to him, but I will tell you that hee hath caried
 " himselfe in such sort towards me, as I will no more rely vpon his words. After so many
 " breaches, he must finde some other meanes to warrant that he saith, or some others then
 " my selfe to beleue him. His former cariage makes mee iudge what the future may be.
 " It is euident that in a full peace, he vsurped the Marquisate of Saluces from the deceased
 " King his benefactor, alledging no other reason, but that hee would keepe it more safely C
 " for him, then the Huguenots, who would vsurpe it, promising to doe as hee pleased. I
 " can shew his Letter written vnto the King. But when there is any question to keepe his
 " promise, hee then no more remembers it. Iudge also how I can be assured of the loue of
 " this Prince, who during the miseries of France, fought to vsurpe Dauphine and Pro-
 " uence, where with his friends hee hath caused infinite ruines, and where hee pretended
 " no other right but neighbourhood and conueniencie, and to make himselfe great with
 " his neighbours losse, so as his Ambassador in Switzerland in an open dier at Bade (excus-
 " ing his matters couetousnesse to the thirteenth Cantons) said that his children which
 " were many, were isfued from Kings and Emperours, and that it was natural for fathers
 " to seeke all meanes to make their children great, and to thinke of it in time, seeing that D
 " no man knowes what time hee hath to thinke of it. The which should giue occasion
 " to all his neighbours, to foresee how they shall keepe their estates vntill his children bee
 " provided for. The warre which I make shall not trouble the quiet of Christendome, I
 " am ready to desist, when hee shall doe mee right, for many iust pretensions which I haue
 " vpon his Estates and Countries, the which hee detaines from me, to the preiudice of my
 " Crowne. Let no man doubt of my resolution to obserue the Treaty of Veruins, but it
 " doth not binde mee to quit mine owne. The Patriarke seeing that hee would allow no
 " other reasons then his owne, beseeched the King to grant a cessation of Armes; but his
 " request was not granted, the King being vnwilling his army should rest, vntill it had ta-
 " ken Montmelian and Bourg, being dangerous to remaine in an enemies country, and not E
 " to bee assured of the chiefe places of strength, the losse whereof strikes terror into the
 " rest. The King sent the Patriarke to Lions, to treat with his Councell more amply of his
 " proposition.

The Spanish Ambassador considered the course of this warre, yet hee made no shew
 that the King his master desired for all this to alter the publicke peace, notwithstanding he
 could not forbear to say, that besides the naturall affection which he bare to the Duke of
 Sauoy and to his children: he held it the duty of a mighty Prince, to lend his helping hand
 to them that were vnjustly oppressed, yet hee made no protestation which might make
 them doubt of the obseruation of the Treaty. The King also said, that hee would cherishe
 the loue of the King of Spaine, so long as he should make account of his, but he would ne-
 uer trouble himselfe with so difficult a thing as to keepe a friend by force. Hee com-
 manded the Marquis of Lullins to retire, for if an Ambassador be alwayes suspected during an
 assured peace, there is no reason to trust him in time of warre.

The King offers
 mercy to the
 inhabitants of
 Chambery

The King being resolute not to lose any time in a season which was so precious, par-
 ted from Grenoble, dined at Baraut, visited his troopes which were at Montmelian, and
 from thence went to the Marches, viewed Chambery, and being come vnto the suburbs,
 he commanded *Villeroy*, to speake vnto *Jacob*, who commanded in the towne; and to lay
 before

A before him the danger whereinto he thrust himselfe with all the Inhabitants, if they at-
 tended force in so weak a place. That the King desirous to prevent the ruine of so many poore
 innocent creatures, offered mercy, and fought to vanquish them by mildnesse, before hee
 employed any other meanes. *Jacob*, accompanied with the President *Roche*, thanked
 the King, and beseeched his Maiestie to suffer them to aduertise his Highnesse in what Es-
 tate they were. The King granted them three dayes to resolue & to send to the Duke, but
 the people not attending his resolution, being desirous to free themselves from the appre-
 hensions of the misery which follows them that are obstinate, forced him to enter into
 parley, so as the town was yielded to the Kings obedience. Those within the Castle pro-
 mised to yeeld within six dayes, if they were not succoured with sufficient forces to raise
 the siege. The King left *La Buisse* a Gentleman of Dauphine there for Governor. Hauing
 effected so great a matter with so small forces, hee was well pleased to see his army aug-
 mented, by the troopes which *La Guiche* Governor of Lions brought vnto him, being a-
 bout three hundred horse, of the Nobility of his government, and of his company of men
 at armes. Being master of the field, he resolved to haue the chiefe fort, he seized vpon the
 two approaches of Tarentaise and Maurienne.

Chambery
 yielded the 27
 of August

He parted from Chambery the 26 of August, lodged at Saint Peter d'Albigny, and the
 next day came to Confians, where he found that *Des Dignieres* had by maine force drawn
 two Cannons to the top of a mountaine, battered a Paullion, and made a small breach in
 C a curtain. The place was sufficient to haue assured women, but they that were within
 shewed not themselves men, being one thousand five hundred in number, amongst the
 which there were a hundred all armed, and three hundred more which caried Cuirasses.
 They had scarce made fifty shot but they yielded through feare, and demanded no other
 composition but their liues, thinking themselves very happy to redeeme their liues with
 the losse of their armes, horses and baggage, the which the King gaue them out of his
 bounty, well satisfied with the place, their enignes, and the promise which they made
 him, not to carie armes for twelue dayes.

The king comes
 to Confians,
 and battert

As *Confians* commands the passage of Tarentaise, so *Charbonniers* holds that of Mauri-
 enne, being seated at the entry of the mountaines, which makes the valley ioyning to
 D Mont-Cenis. This place stands vpon a rocke, at the foot whereof runnes the riuer of Arc,
 inaccessible of all sides, but only a narrow way to goe vnto the Port; This Tower of
 Charbonniers serues them as a dungeon and is all that remains of the first fort and
 retreat of the Earles of Sauoy. *Bernalde* Duke of Saxony, the first Earle of Maunene
 made it his Palace in time of peace, and his fort for the warre. It is also remarkable for
 the birth of *Thomas sonne to Humbert* the third Earle of Sauoy, and Prince of Pied-
 mont. The towne of Aiguebelle is at the foot of this Rocke, the King caused it to be fir-
 mified by the Seigneurs of Creguy and Morges, not giuing them of the Castle any leifure
 to burne it.

The description
 of Charbo-
 niers.

His Maiestie knowing that this place was well furnished to resist an army, caused his
 E troopes to march, and then he battered the tower with nine Canons, and two small pieces,
 from the break of day vntill noone. The besieged (hauing endured six hundred thirty
 and seven Cannon shot, without any hope of succours) did capitulate the 10 of September,
 to depart with their baggage, and their Matches out: the King sent their enignes to the
 Marquesse of Vernuel being then at Lions, the which are now in the great Church of S.
 Iohn, and so they departed to the number of two hundred. The King returned to Greno-
 ble, to purge himselfe by the aduice of his physician, commanding *Des Dignieres* to passe
 with the army into Tarentaise, the which hee did, the enemies quitting the passage of Bri-
 ançon, retiring themselves into a Rocke which was inaccessible of all parts, the which did
 so bridle the passage, as it might stay any force: *Des Dignieres* hauing intelligence that
 F the port being but two foot wide, was not well rampared, and that the place was better fur-
 nished with Pefants then with souldiers, hee planted two Cannons against it, the which in
 six volleys made a breach, the souldiers grappled vp courageously to the top of the Moun-
 taine, to enter in at this hole, the Capitaine within it was hurt with a shot, and all the rest
 were taken prisoners. The army lodged at Montiers the Metropolitan of the whole
 country, hauing conquered the vallies & mountaines of Maurienne and Tarentaise, where
 they found nothing so difficult, as the season, being more troubled with the weather, then
 with men: onely Montmelian remained, which was held impregnable.

The army lo-
 ged at Mon-
 tiers.

The

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The King of Spaine Ambaſſador in Swiſſe commiſſion of the King.

2 Ambaſſador in Swiſſe commiſſion of the King.

A strange impoſture.

The King deſirous to haue the cauſes of this warre knowne to all the world, commanded his Ambaſſadors to aduertise his friends thereof. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador in Swiſſerland was not mute in this occaſion which miniſtered matter for all the world to talke of. His diſcourſe was, that the French King (having taken armes when as euerie one thought to enioy the ſweetneſſe of peace) put all the world in iealouſie, bound thoſe that were neereſt to runne to quench this fire, and in oppoſing themſelues to the oppreſſion of the Duke, preuent the deſignes of the ſeruitude of Italy. That to this end the Count of Fuentes, had commanndement from the King of Spaine his Maſter, to leauey men to aſſure the Duchy of Milan, and to inreat that valiant Nation of the Swiſſes to grant him a leauey of fix thouſand men.

Monſieur de Vie the Kings Ambaſſador, made it knowne in an open aſſembly of all the Cantons, that the King had had more patience, then the injury done vnto his Crowne did permit, being vnwilling to take armes vntill that all Europe had iudged, that the Duke of Sauoy proceeded not ſincerely, and that he vrged his Maieſty to repell by force the injury of the detention of the Marquiſſe of Saluces, yet could he not keepe the petty Cantons from granting a leauey vnto the Duke, the which notwithstanding was by him made vnprofitable. We may not here omit a particular accident. Amongſt the chiefe Gentlemen which *La Guiche* Governor of Lions had drawne out of his gouernment to ſerue the King in his armie of Sauoy, were *Chazent* and *du Bourg*, both well known for their valour and experience in armes. The King made good eſteeme of them, and gaue a Commiſſion to the laſt, to raiſe a regiment of a thouſand men. Being gone to make this leauey, Enuy (which doth alwayes oppoſe it ſelfe to the merits of vertue, and which is inenitable in the beginning of proſperitie) was grieued that a Gentleman which had folowed the League, ſhould be choſen among ſo many others to ſerue the King in this warre, and forged an impoſture ſufficient to ruine him, if it had incountried a Prince as apt to choller as hee is to Iuſtice and Clemencie. They caſt alſo read tickets in the Kings Chamber and withdrawing chamber, that theſe two Gentlemen, having failed in an enterpriſe vpon his Maieſties perſon at the paſſage of the riuier neere vnto Chamouſſet, had referred the execution thereof to *Morliers*, and that his Maieſtie ſhould remember that vpon the way to Chamouſſet, one of them (his courage fainting) drew back from the King to talke with a Knight which marched on the one ſide. This was enough to kindle the Kings choller, and to make it paſſe like vnto a thunder-bolt, which breakes and wounds before wee ſee the lightning, or heare the cracke. But this Prince (who all his life had followed the precept, which the Emperour *Caſilius* gaue vnto his ſonne, not to giue care to ſlanderous and enuious reports) found that this billet proceeded from a wicked and malicious paſſion, for that hee remembered well, that to ſpeake, with *du Bourg*, he had cauſed *Chazent* to change his place, whereof mention was made in the billet. Hee ſhewed it to *La Guiche* gouernour of Lions, who preſently conceiued that it was an impoſture: Hee called *Chazent* vnto him, more to confirme the good opinion hee had of his Loyalty, then to ſhew him that this note were able to giue him any ſigne of iealouſie or diſtruſt. And for that the brute of this treacherie could not be kept ſecret, he cauſed a Letter to be written to *du Bourg*, commanding him not to diſcontinue the leauey of his regiment, for any thing hee ſhould heare ſpoken againſt his Loyalty, whereof hee would haue no other prooff but his courage, and the execution of that which he commanded him. *Du Bourg* being at Lions, and hearing there were things ſpoken of him which he neuer thought, hee takes poſt & comes to the King as hee roſe from dinner, being enuironed by all the chiefe Noblemen of his Court. As ſoone as hee perceived him he asked *why hee was come*. Sir answered *Du Bourg*, *it is ſaid at Lions that Elpinall would kill you, Du Bourg brings you his head*. The King replied, that hee held him too honeſt a man to haue ſuch a thought, and that ſuch as had giuen this intelligence where wicked Impoſters. They did ſee that I meant to imploy you, as I will alwayes when occaſion is offered for my ſeruiſe. They could produce no other effects of their enuy but in writing of this Billet, but they haue not found me ſo tractable and credulous as they thought. Princes Courts were neuer without them, but hee hath ſeuell that doth leaſt beleuee them, I doe not as Kings my Predeceſſors, who kept in minde, while they liued what two or three had told them. No man knowes my Realme better then my ſelfe. I haue found three faſtions. That of the decaſed King hath troubled mee. Of three I haue made one: there is no more any diſtinction. I am King of the one

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A one as well as of the other, and hold them all for my ſubiects. I make no difference among them for their affection to my ſeruiſe, but I know how to make choiſe of them that are capable of charges, and for your regard you ſhall neuer be forgotten when any is offered. *Du Bourg* having thanked the King for the confidence it pleaſed him to haue of his loyalty, ſeemed notwithstanding much afflicted for this ſlander. The King ſaid vnto him, That he had already told *Chazent* that it pitted him to ſee him afflicted for a thing which he had neuer beleueed, and which he held incredible: hee asked him if hee ſuſpected any one, aſſuring him, that if he did name him, hee would of his abſolute power put him to the racke; and if any one ſhould accuſe them, he would alwayes hold the accuſation ſeant. *Du Bourg*, being far from the thought of Gentlemen of their ſort; and if he ſhould beleuee billets, there were no ſafety for good men in his Court. But the King adds (to encreaſe the hearts grieſe of theſe ſightfull ſpirits) goe and raiſe your Regiment, and beleuee me, that if you bring ſpeedily the number of men which you haue promiſed, you ſhall puniſh them more rigorouſly then iuſtice would if they were knowne: for there is no ſuch torment to an enemy as to doe well. That which was ſaid of theſe two was very falſe, but that which was ſaid of two others, was very true. The King had intelligence that two deſperate men, by one motion, and diuers meanes, had an enterpriſe vpon his perſon.

Two deſperate men ſent to kill the King.

The aduſe was accompanied with a deſcription and the portraits of theſe wretches. One of them was knowne, and ſeene two or three times neare vnto the King. One to whom *Villery* had giuen a copy of the portraits to watch and obſerue this villaine, ſeeing him one day neare vnto the King then he ſhould be, wiſhed his Maieſty to take heed. Hee contented this aduſe, ſaying, That his life depended of God, and not of the practiſes of his enemies. He would not ſuffer them to apprehend him, ſaying, *Let him alone, he is a wicked man. Such villaines ſhall not goe unpuniſhed, God will puniſh them without my doing*. The Caſtle of Montmelian was held one of the ſtrongſt places in Chriſtendome, and thoſe which haue ſeene the portrait, with the order of the Kings Campe, and the forme of his battery, haue wonderd that it did ſo ſuddenly yeeld. The King himſelfe ſaid it was impregnable. It is ſeated vpon the top of a mountaine, the ditches be precipices on euerie ſide, the deſences, ſix great battions well flanked: there is but one paſſage to it from the towne, but ſo vnealie as is not to be won, being ditcht, retrencht, and flanked with aduantage: but there is no fortreſſe that may not be learned ſtrong if it be not aſſailed, and they meaſure the ſtrength or weakneſſe of a place more by the quality of him that doth beſiege it, then by her owne forces. The King (whoſe reputation aſſured a happy end) reſolved to beſiege it, being informed of the ſtate of the place, and confirmed in his reſolution by *Des Diguieres*, who ſaid theſe words vnto him: *That he would ſubmit himſelfe to pay the charges of the army, if that ſort were not taken within one month*.

The ſiege of the Caſtle of Montmelian.

It was furniſhed with munition, and many ruines neglected, diſblemiſht that ancient reputation, by the which it was held one of the ſtrongſt in Chriſtendome. The Capitaine and ſouldiers had equally need of courage. It is better to haue ſleepe commanded by a Lion, then Lions commanded by a ſheepe. The Earle of Brandis, of the houſe of the Earles of Montmaior had the gouernment. The execution of a Councell is neuer better performed then by him that giues it. *Des Diguieres* had been the chiefe author to make the army paſſe out of Maurienne into Tarentaiſe. The King therefore iudging that he could not be better ſerued by any other in his armie of Sauoy, he commits the charge vnto him of the execution of that which he had aduſed.

The French army marched to beſiege the Caſtle of Montmelian, which the Lord of Crequy (commanding in the Towne ſince the taking thereof had blockt vp) as well as he could, his Maieſty being aſſured, he ſummoned the Count of Brandis to yeeld, and to receiue his commandements, threatening him with the fury of forty Cannons: the Earle answered, *That he would neuer yeeld the place but to his Sovereigne Lord the Duke of Sauoy, and if they did beſiege him, Montmelian ſhould be the ſtupature of the French*. Some thinke that this answer proceeded onely from feare.

The Caſtle ſummoned to yeeld. The Earle of Brandis answer.

In the meane time the Marquis *Ruſſy*, great maſter of the Artillery, loſt no time to plant his batteries, drawing vp ſeuſen cannons by the force of mens hands, to command the Caſtle, and to batter it at random: then in the ſame plain at the foot of the hill, hee cauſed two batteries to be made by *de Bordes* (Lieutenant General of the Artillery) as

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well against the Bastion of Mauvoisin, as other places which they held easiest to be battered, especially that which was before the Bastion *Bouillars*, the which might also batter an old tower or dongeon, being foure square, and almost ruined, hauing bene battered in former time by the army of King *Francis* the first.

The two batteries on the other side of the water, plaid vpon the bafe Court, and into the portall of the Dongeon at randon, vpon those that should issue forth, or offer themselves to defend the breach, the which did more amaze the besieged then any thing else, who being well furnished with artillery and other munition, spared not their shot, the which notwithstanding could not hinder the lodging of the Kings artillery. Whilest they planted the Cannon, the King went to view the passages of the mountaines, by the which the Duke of Sauoy might enter on this side. He was then at Thurin, and did not bouge, seeming carelesse of the ruine of his Estates: yet sometime some of his most trusty seruants would say: *The King of France takes Townes in Sauoy, but patience: his Highnesse will take as many in France, and better.* These words being reported, made the King suspect some bad designe, considering the aduertisement they had of three murderers, whereof one was come expressly out of Piedmont to murder the King: yet hee feared not them, but rather *La Fin*, who was very inward with the Marshall of Biron, and that they would seeke to effect the designes which they had plotted at Paris, when as the Duke of Sauoy was there, whereof the King had had some intelligence, but he could not beleue it. His Maiesty, who loued the Marshall of Biron well, wished him to dismisse *La Fin*, that his company was dangerous, and that in the end he would deceiue him. But the Marshall was no more capable of counsell: two great and violent passions, Ambition and Reuenge, had so disordered his iudgement, as hee was no more himselfe, the which grew vpon occasions which fell out in this war of Sauoy. The first was despight and ieaousie, to see all the authority of command, all the honour of enterprises, all the conduct of executions giuen to *Des Dignieres*, for that he knew the country, and the enemies forces better then any other. Hee was discontented for that hee was not at the siege of Montmelin, as he had bene at the siege of Amiens. The other was the refusal which the King made vnto him, to dispose of the Citadell of Bourg, when it should be taken, which refusal was grounded vpon great considerations. The first, that it was not reasonable to trust a place of that importance to him that was suspected to haue intelligence with his enemy. The second, that Governours of Prouinces which command in chiefe, ought not to haue the guard of places and fortresses. The third was, that the King meant to commit the place (as one of the Keies of his Realme towards Italy) to one that depended immediatly on his Maiesty. But we must ioyne this discourse to his proceesse, and to the discouery of his conspiracies, the which he thought to be very secret, for that they were not knowne nor divulged.

States in Italy.

All Italy being amazed to see the King at the foot of the Alpes, and the three fortresses which remained in Bresse and Sauoy, so straightly besieged, as they must needs fall into the power of the victorious French, said; *That the Marquisate was the pretext, but Naples and Milan was the cause of the war.* The Duke of Sessa, the King of Spaines Ambassador at Rome, represented vnto the Pope the infinite mines and desolations which would follow by the continuance of this war, & the victorious successe which the Turke had vpon the frontiers of Austria, being ready to make a great breach vpon the Christians, whilest the Princes which he feared most were at war, and the most warlike people of Europe killed one another. He therefore beseecheth him to send his Nephew vnto the King, to stay the course of his armes, and to resume the execution of the treaty of Paris. The Pope to whom the diuision of Christian Princes hath alwaies bene displeasing, desiring more then any of his predecessors to assure the publike quiet, grants this famous Ambassage of Cardinall *Aldobrandino* his Nephew, who young of age, but not of wisdom and iudgment, would not depart out of Rome before the Duke of Sessa had giuen him vnto the Pope, that he would cause the King of Spaine to approve, and the Duke to obserue whatsoever he would treat: with this assurance hee past to Milan, getting the like promise from the Count of Fuentes vnder his hand, being there ready with the King of Spaines forces to succour the Duke of Sauoy, to whom he said: That hee made this voyage for the onely respect of the King of Spaine, and if the Duke of Sauoy onely had bene interested, he would not haue absented himselfe so long

The warning of the Sauoy-ards.

The cause of the Marshall Biron discontented.

The Duke of Sessa request vnto the Pope.

Cardinall Aldobrandino sent Legate vnto the French King.

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A long from the Consistory, he was not therefore resolu'd to proceed any further, if hee did not assure him to make the Duke obserue all that hee did treat, and to retire his forces if he made any difficulty. The Count who fought but to saue that which was on the other side of the Alpes, to serue as a rampier for Milan, promised him, *So as a passage might be reserved for the Spaniards to goe into Flanders.* It was a great wisdom in this young Cardinall not to treat of so important a businesse, but vpon good cautions. The Cardinall being thus assured, leaues his traine at Alexandria, and comes to Thurin, faining his intention to be, to finish his pilgrimage to our Lady at Mont Deuis, and to see him in passing. The Duke enters into complaint of the losse of his Estates, and sweares to seeke all meanes to haue his reuenge. The Legate seemes cold, he represents vnto him the necessity of Peace, and the good of Concord, and he lets him know that hee should desire to keepe his friends which are the true Scepters of Princes. He adds moreover, that he was sorry for the bad estate of his affaires, the which if he might repaire, he would willingly goe to Chambery. The Duke intreats him to take the paine, giues him a blanke, and assures him, that he will neuer haue any will nor resolution to contradict that which he should conclude in this negotiation: with this promise (and an assurance that he should not attempt any thing more then the succouring of Montmelin) hee passed the Alpes. And for that he feared the King in his great aduantage would not hearken to a peace, and much lesse grant any truce, and that this inequality would make all reasons vnequall: he would not aduise the Duke to send his Ambassadors vntill hee first knew the Kings minde. Hee therefore commands *Hermínio* his Secretary to aduertise him of his coming, and of the desire hee had to serue his Maiesty, not for the continuance of the war, but for a confirmation of a peace. The King vpon this aduise staies at Annesly, to giue audience to *Hermínio*, who was presented vnto him by the Patriarke, who said vnto him, That the Legate his Master was sent by the Pope to quench the fire of war. The King excused himselfe vpon the disaduantage he should receiue, and the preiudice it would bring to his affaires, in retiring when he should aduance, and to neglect the commodities and occasions which were offered vnto him in this enterprise. By the consideration of time and place. But he assured him that the Cardinall should be very welcome, for the respect of his Holinesse, for the particular of his person, and for the subiect of his Legation, although his enemies had giuen it out, That it was made in the Dukes fauour. That hee did a tribute all to piety, wisdom, and a fatherly care in his Holinesse, who should alwaies finde as much will in him to maintaine peace, as hee had bin grieued to come to arms, refusing neuer any treaty, so as it might be with honour and safety, being resolute, neuer to endure any iniury from the Duke of Sauoy, nor his adherents. *Hermínio* made some other propositions, the answer whereof the King referred vnto Chambery, whither the King appointed to come within foure or five daies: The King went from Annesly to Beaufort, to view the passage of the mountain, by the which the Duke might come: hee sent the Duke *Biron* to discouer that of our Lady of Gorge, and others altogether inaccessible, but onely for Beares and Camels. The King went vnto the mountain, as far as the pace of Cornet, where hee dined vnto a Rocke, to defend himselfe from snow; after he had viewed the passage which may serue the enemy, he parted from Beaufort, and took his lodging at Gilly neare to Constance, where he was enformed of the true estate of the besieged, who had no hope but in themselves, being impossible for the Duke of Sauoy to succour them. But what doth the Duke whilest the King rules in his Counties, and that *Des Dignieres* spoiles all the Vallies of Morienne and Tarentaise? Hee which had bene the Kings Agent with the Duke, hauing taken his leave, came to his Maiesty at Grenoble, telling him that the Duke talked of nothing but fighting, he answered, *That he should finde him ready to shew him sport.* The Spaniards, who would make him apprehend the voyage of Paris, said, That they might not break the body of their troops, nor diuide their forces appointed for the voyage of Piedmont. The Duke would haue sent three thousand Spaniards to defend the Valley of Tarentaise, but they would not march, not for feare, but by order of their Commander, which kept them backe. *D'Albigni* had much adoe to make them stay at the Fort of little Saint Bernard, on that side of the Valley of Aost, which if they had done, the Duke might haue attempted something in Prouence and Dauphiné to haue diuerred the Kings forces.

But it hath bin alwaies obserued, that such as haue trusted to the succors of Spain, haue

Hee came to Thurin in September and is receiued by the Duke.

The Cardinall sends *Hermínio* his Secretary to the King.

The King passeth the pace of Cornet the 12 of October.

The Duke resolves to fight.

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A Maxime of the Spaniards.

The King returns to Montmelian.

Speech of the Earl of Brissac to his soldiers.

tried to their griefe, that they desire rather to entertaine the disease, then to advance the cure. It is a militarie Maxime among them, to make one body of an army, but especially, not to doe any thing without direction, so as oftentimes great opportunities are lost in attending: for, if the Councells be far off, they come alwaies after the effects. The King having provided for the passages, returns to Montmelian, he sent word to the Earl of Brandis, That if he would forbear to thort that day, he would also cause his battery to cease. They told the King, that the Earle granted it as willingly, as if he had no resolution to refuse any thing to so great a Prince. The King was not ignorant of the estate of the besieged, for besides that at the taking of the towne, hee had taken Notes and Inventories of the munition that was in the Castle, there alwaies escaped some one out of the wall which brought newes, and described the place in as miserable an estate as they could, as well to excuse their flight, as to tell the truth. A Cannon shot from one of the Kings batteries pierced the wall within a foot of the Cause, whereas all the powder and munition of war did lye, the which had ended the battery, if it had gone a little further. The Earl of Brandis seeing that nothing came from without that might entertaine hope, and judging that nothing was lesse beleeving a Capraine then rashnesse, did not contemne the perswasions which necessity and the aduice of his friends gaue him to thinke of the souldiers health, seeing that of the place was desperate. The King summons him againe not to be obstinate: they found him so well disposed thereunto, as presently they did iudge whereunto things would tend. The Earl calls together the Captaines and Gentlemen that were with him, to determine of some wholsome expedient, not to offend the service of their Prince, nor to incense the power of a great King, and to provide for the common health of them all. If he were resolu'd to hold it out, he should not aske counsell but of such as were of the same resolution, being easie to iudge, that amazement will alwaies carry them to opinions contrary to duty, and that from a fearfull man you shall neuer draw good counsell. Euery thing is vnpleasant to a man that feares. Being therefore assembled, he spake vnto them after this manner: " My masters, when I consider that we hold this place for our Prince, to defend it for him with the price and perill of our liues; I doe not finde, that either feare of danger, or despaire of succours, or rigor of afflictions can discharge vs: But when I consider the state wherein we are, the extremities which presse vs, the great distance of our hopes, and the weaknesse of our force, I say, that in the end we must submit our wills to that which may bee, and that it should be an ouer-weening, to will that which is impossible. It is not the custome of a Gouverneur in a place besieged, to publish the wants he finds, for commonly a good shew couers defects, to the end that his waivering daunt not the courage of his souldiers. In like manner I haue concealed as much as I could the necessities which enuiron vs: but seeing you see them and feeble them no lesse then my selfe, iudge what the issue of this siege may be. I coniure you by the duty which binds you to his Highnes, by your Loyalties, honours, and consciences, you consider the choice of two things, wherof if it were possible, I would desire neither the one nor the other, which is; Either to endure all the attempts of the Kings Army, and to yeeld vpon our liues with the place; or to capitulate to yeeld it vpon the longest time we can obtaine. If we follow the first, we cannot auoid our owne ruines, nor the losse of the place: if necessity suffers vs to make vse of the second, we may giue his Highnesse leisure to doe his businesse, or to succour vs. Thinke not that any base apprehension of danger makes me to vse these words. I shall neuer in all my life finde a more glorious death. All that may be done out of this place to saue a mans life, I will doe it to finde death, and in euery thing else that shall be vnfortunate. I will euer remember, that it is not the duty of a Commander to haue care of his own safety, but of the preferuation of his souldiers.

" Take therefore this proposition as I giue it you, and expecting your resolution, I shew vnto your companions neither feare in your courages, nor despaire in your words, and in all your resolutions call your eyes, not so much vpon that which you desire, as vpon necessity, which must giue a law vnto your desires, remembering, that they pitie such as fall into accidents not fore-seene, and mocke at those which fall into apparent dangers.

This proposition was not applauded of them all: some representing, that there is no crime more horrible and detestable, then to yeeld vp a strong place, without extreme and

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A and most apparant violence, remembreing, *That his Highnesse had honoured them with the guard of the onely Bulwarke of his Estates: they should rather all die therein, then yeeld the place to the French King, and that the apparant danger might bee auoided by some favourable accident.* Others of the contrary side maintained, That accidents were doubtfull, that it were better according to the time, to take an assured and easie party. That euery one knew that the most Christian King was well informed of the estate of that place: That they had suffered to the extremity. That they were battered with forty Cannons: That they had receiued many disgraces, and losse of men, burnt by fire which had taken their powder. That since two moneths they had receiued no newes from his Highnesse. B That they wanted all kind of victuall but corne, which with good husbandry could not last to the end of Nouember: That it were better to enter into composition, seeing the King offered it, and take a reasonable rearme to yeeld vp the place, whilst that his Highnesse should giue order to succour them, or to treat of a peace. The most resolute were shaken at these words, and in the end all concluded to make their peace in time, whereunto in the end they had beene forced. The Earle made an ad, the which was signed by all the Captaines and Officers of the Garison, by the which hee demanded a truce of the King for five daies; at the end whereof he did capitulate, to depart, he and his company with liues and goods, Ensignes displayed, Drums sounding, bullet in the mouth, Harquebuzee charged, their matches light, and furnished with what munition of warre they could eary, without search, if the Duke did not succour them within one moneth: the which was granted; and moreover, they had leaue to send a Capraine to the Duke to aduertise him thereof. The Cheualier Bricheras had the charge to carry these newes vnto the Duke, with letters containing this in substance: That hee and his had suffered and did suffer all that humane flesh could endure, besides an infinite number of disgraces, and losse of many men burnt euen by fire which fell among the powder. That the King being informed of the estate of this place, had summoned it three or four times by letters of his owne hands, to yeeld it vp vnto him, being come in person foure times into the towne of Montmelian to heare his answer, the which he had forborne vntill he had seene nine batteries planted about the Castle, consisting of forty Cannons.

The capitulation of the Castle of Montmelian.

The Earle of Brandis letters to the Duke of Sauiy.

D That his highnesse must consider he was besieged by a Royall army, in the which were three Generals, the Duke of Espernon, the Marshall of Biron, and *Des Dignieres*, with many Princes and Noblemen. That hauing receiued no newes from his Highnesse since his Letter of the fiftenth of Augult, he had lost all hope of succours, and had propounded vnto all the Captaines, to try if they could get a sufficient time to giue his Highnesse meanes either to succour them, or to treat of a peace.

That holding a delay of more aduantage then such a sudden losse, he had entred into Treaty, hauing demanded a much longer time then they had granted him, notwithstanding that all prouision of victualls wanted, except corne and Rice, the which with very good husbandry could not last till the end of Nouember.

E That he was much grieved to yeeld the place to any other then to him to whom it did belong, and if he could as well dispose of all them that were with him, as of himself, and of other chiefe Officers, to die when as the place should change his Master, he would rather take that resolution, then present himselfe before his Highnesse after so great a losse, in comparison whereof his owne fortunes and safety seemed nothing vnto him.

That if his Highnesse did not succour them within the moneth, the place was lost, the King hauing giuen it out, That he would not yeeld it againe, notwithstanding any peace.

The same day the Capitulation of Montmelian was made, the King sent the Secretary *Herminio* to goe and meet the Cardinal *Aldebrandino* his Master, with charge to assure him of his Maiesties willingness to peace, & of the desire he had to see him to open his heart, and to represent vnto him the iustice of his Armes, and to let him know that he had not vnder-taken them to trouble Italy or Christendom, as his enemies had maliciously giuen out, after that they had forced him to protract his marriage, and to take the way of Sauiy, the which was not greatly pleasing vnto him in this season, intreating him to take it in good part, if he did not answer to the particular propositions, propounded ded vnto him by *Herminio* vntill his arrival, assuring himselfe, that hee would come with sufficient power, to conclude a good accord, without any more trouble of doing it twice. But his Maiesty excused himself from any surceasing. It being vnreasonable to lye

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The Duke
writes to
the Earle of
Brandis
the 30 of
October.

idly in an enemies Country, whereas the entertainment of his army cost him two thousand Crownes a moneth, and that he should attend the winter, and giue the enemy leysure to prepare himselfe. The Duke held this Treaty of Montmelian to be sudden and rash, some braue spirits about him imputed it to cowardlinesse, rather then to treason. He made answer by *Bricheras*, & assured the besieged to succor them, and presently after, he sent another letter in these termes: "*Monfieur Brandis*, for the execution of that which I haue signified vnto you, by the Cheualier *Bricheras*, behold, I am on horse-backe ready to passe the Alpes with 10 mighty an army, as if you will giue me some little time, more then is specified in the capitulation, you shall see the sport, and bind me, mine, and all Sauoy for euer, to acknowledge you for the most faithful, the most profitable, and the worthiest subiect in my Estates; you shall be noted throughout all Christendome, which now attends your resolution, and you shall free your selfe from the ignominy and reproch which you should incur by your Capitulation. Shew your selfe (I pray you) a Knight worthy of the house from whence you are defended, and of the loue I haue borne you: regard herein your honor chiefly, and the consequence which shall grow by your resolution, it is but for a few daies, if I come not by the time limited, and the Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, who is generally ther ward, effects not what he doth expect, you must not respect your hostages, it is not likely they shall miscary, and if the worst happen, they cannot import so much as the losse of that place. Write vnto me (if it be possible) in my hope from you, depends all that I am to doe with these goodly forces. If I were not assured to succor you speedily, I would not periwade you to breake the Capitulation. But this assurance makes me say vnto you, that you ought not to doubt, for these reasons and infinite others which you should lay before you. The Duke hath added in the end of his letter, these words with his own hand. *I thinke that Bricheras is already come vnto you, shew mee now the proofe of so many promises which you haue made mee, and giue mee the time that I haue set downe, and you shall see the sport where you are.*

The
earles
speech
vnto
the
King.

By this letter it seemed the Duke cared not much for the life of his Hostages: The Duke of Epsernon went by the Kings commandment and acquainted the Earle of Brandis with this Letter, who answered, *You may say vnto his Maiesty, that I will keepe my word, in the assurance whereof I hold my life and honour.* The King tooke a new assurance in writing, signed by him and the other Captaines, which had signed the Capitulation. Five daies after this confirmation, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* past by Montmelian, the army standing in battell, where hee was saluted by the Kings artillery, and that of the Castle. The Duke of Epsernon met him first vpon the bridge of Montmelian, and then all the Princes and Noblemen encountered him vpon the way, and accompanied him to Chambery, whereas the King receiued him with great honour; who in his first audience at the Capuchins, said vnto him: "That he doubted not of the iustice of his armes, and of the aduantage which his valour had gotten him ouer the D. of Sauoy, but he held him for a Prince so full of affection to the good and quiet of Christendome, as he would neuer vse the fruits of his victory to the ruine of the peace and publik tranquillity, but would suffer the Popes earnest motion vnto him to desire peace, to be of more force then the persuasions of such as inuited him to continue this war: a war which was neither worthy the greatness of his courage, nor the fruits of his armes; for if it were made to enlarge his Empire, the Estate of Sauoy is a small thing, and if it were for the reuenge of some wrong, he should consider, that the reuenge which is not betwixt equal parties is alwaies vnjust, and hath no sparke of generosity in it. That war is vnertaine, and the end is not alwaies answerable to the beginning; and there was no Prince that for the most assured opinions of victory, was to be commended in refusing the conditions of an honourable peace. A peace which the Pope desired for the good of Christendome: for the consolation of those which trembled at the Turkes approaches: who feared that this diuision would engage France in the fore passed miseries. A peace which the D. of Sauoy desired, and for the which he promised to yeeld himselfe more tractable then euer he had bene. A peace which would bring forth means to succor the Christians affaires in Hungary, to roote the memory of the Turke out of the world, and free Europe from his fury. The King answered him, That hee had alwaies held it for a rule of conscience to content himselfe with his own, as well as not to suffer an vsurpation. But he could not hope for any reason from the D. of Sauoy but by arms, the which he was forced

to

1600

A to vse to reuenge the vsurpation of his Marquifate, seeing neither the feeling of his owne conscience, nor the iudgement of his Holinesse, nor the assurance of his promises made at Paris, could moue him to doe that which he ought. That if his army did passe the Alpes, he should find good seruants in Piedmont, and that the soile was as fertile as cuer it was to plant the Flower-de-luce there, and make it flourish, but when he should haue gotten all that the Duke holds on this and the other side of the mountains, hee would alwaies leaue it in yeelding vp his Marquifate. The effect of this Ambassage was, that *Hermio* went to informe the Duke, that the Cardinall his master had disposed the King to a peace; the Duke receiued these news with ioy, and made choice of the Count *d'Arconas*, and the B. Siegnour *d'Almes* for this negotiation, commanding them to doe all the Legat should command touching the peace. The King notwithstanding sayd, that hee would not thinke of any peace vntill that Montmelian were yeilded. And that his Councell was not neerer him, the Constable and Chancellor being sent to Marfeilles to receive the Queene. And the Duke was not so much inclined to a peace, but he did his endeavour to succor Montmelian. The twelfth of Nouember he came to the valley of Aost, with ten thousand foot, foure thousand Hargebuziers on horse-backe, and eight hundred men at armes: hauing past the Mount Saint Bernard, hee lodged at Ema being himselfe in person.

The King commanded the Count *Soissons* to goe to Moutiers, where as *Des Diquieres* attended the enemy, and his Maiesty went from Chambery to Montmelian, to expect the yeelding vp of the place, the which was deliuered vp the sixteenth of Nouember according to the capitulation by the Count *Brandis*, with great store of artillery, bullets, and powder to shoot about 20000 Cannon shot: the Marquis of Rhosny, and *Cregny* (who was appointed Governor by the King) entred into it with 300 men. His Maiesty hauing giuen order for Montmelian, departed the next day (without entering into the Castle) to visit his army.

He had his thoughts turned to peace, not so much for his owne inclination, nor for the consideration of his affaires, as for the reuerence he bare vnto the Popes aduice: in his zeale to the publike good, and knowledge hee had of the disloyalty of his chiefe seruants. D But hee was sorry the Duke of Sauoy should take the paines to come so neare him and not see him, for hee lay still at Ema, at the foot of the Mount Saint Bernard, two leagues onely distant from Moutiers, whither hee had sent the Earle of Soissons and *Des Diquieres*. He came thither himselfe in person to view the feat of the Dukes lodging, and the countenance of his army, vnto a village called Vilette, and caused a skirmish to bee giuen to five hundred men which were there for the guard of a bridge which they must passe to goe to Ema, it was so faintly defended, as they thought they would stand vpon their aduantage, and not abandon the river which serued them as a trench and ditch. The King returned the same day to Moutiers, and went to lodge at Villars neere to the Towne of Beaufort, whereas the Dukes of Montpensier and Epsernon were lodged. Hee E commanded *Nestran* to goe and discouer the passage of Cornet, and to see if there were any means to enter that way into the enemies lodging, the which hee performed happily, for he charged and defeated a Corps-de-guard of Milanois, which the Duke had placed vpon the descent of the passage, and presented some prisoners vnto the King. Hereupon his Maiesty resolved to charge the enemy by two wayes at one instant, meaning to enter by the passage of Cornet, and commanding the Earle of Soissons to charge by that of Tarentaise: but there are accidents, though naturall and ordinarie, which cannot bee foreseene, and yet stay great executions: for the same night the Dukes army was so barricaded with Snow, as there was no means nor deuice possible to approach.

F The King stayed three dayes to see if the weather would alter, and make the passages accessible, but it fell out otherwise, for the Snow increased. Hee returned to Chambery, from whence he sent the Earle of Soissons to S. Katherine's Fort, with an intent to follow him speedily, hauing caused two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, to passe along the Marquifate of Saluces by the valley of Maire, vnder the conduct of *Dauriac*, who tooke the Fort of Affel by Petard.

His Maiesty comming to Chambery, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* presented vnto him *Arconas* and *d'Almes*, the Dukes Deputies for the Peace, to whom he sayd, *Tout Ma-*

The Dukes
Ambassadors
presented to
the King.

Skirmish neere
to Vilette.

1601

The Garrison
of S. Katherines
Fort.The capitulation
of S. Katherines
Fort.Alemie of
Suiffes vnprofit-
able.S. Katherines
Fort yielded.

for hath nothing but words, and I shew the effects: I sayd vnto you at Paris (speaking to Al-
mes) that you were welcome, so I say now, but I meane not to treat, but with this Reuerend per-
sonage, speaking of the Legate. Two dayes after this, the King went to take horse (haui-
ing referred the Treaty of peace to the returne of his Chancelor and Councell from Mar-
seilles) and went with the rest of his army to assure S. Katherines Fort, whither in the be-
ginning he had sent the Lord of Sancy, to raise a Regiment of foot in the Country, to
keepe in the Garison of the Fort, and afterwards Monsieur de Vitry with the Regiments
of the Cheuallier of Montmorency, Carces and other troopes. Saint Katherines Fort
is built vpon an high hill, which ouer-lookes all the Country: it consists of fise Bastions
which are not walled, yet it is ditched and furnished with all things necessary: It lyes two
Leagues from Geneva, defended by fixe hundred men, whereof two parts were Suiffes.
Some few dayes before the Kings arriall, one of the Capraignes of the besieged, went
forth with his Maiesties leaue to the Duke of Nemours, who with the Kings good leaue
was retired to his Houle of Annie, that he might be freed from this warre, and not hurt or
preiudice his Cousin the Duke of Sauoy, the King sent presently one of his Guard to
bring him to Leluisel, where he was lodged, a quarter of a League from the Fort: haui-
ing let him vnderstand the resolution of his designe, the greatnesse of his forces, and the
small hope they should haue of the Duke: hee prevailed so, as soone after his returne to
his Companions, they did capitulate to depart with their baggage and armes, their drums
founding, and Ensignes displayed, carrying away with them a third part of the Artillery,
if they were not succored within ten dayes. The King left the Count Soissons to attend the
effect of this capitulation, & went to Lyons to meet the Queen, as we shall heereafter.

The Duke of Sauoy hauiing failed at Montmelian, gaue it out, that hee would succour
Saint Katherines Fort. He had a goodly army, and those that were about him thought
there were but too many to chafe the French out of Sauoy. Moreouer, hee thought
to haue passage by Valais, either willingly or by force: hee had also good friends among
the petty Cantons of the Suiffes, being distastful with the seruice of this Crowne, for that
they were not payed what was due vnto them. De Fic the Kings Ambassador, made all
their friendship fruitlesse, employing himselfe worthily against all his practises: he assisted
in all their assemblies, hauing good words to content some, and patience to digest the in-
diference of others, and courageous answers against the threats and braueries of the most
difficult, yet he could not hinder the leauy of 4000 men, granted to the King of Spaine, by
four or fise Cantons, for the defence of Milan, with charge not to enter vpon the Kings
Dominions, vpon paine of death: but hee kept them from marching so soone as the en-
emy desired, which stay made them not only vnprofitable, but also hurtfull, by his great
expences. The fixe dayes being expired, the Gouernor of S. Katherines Fort came forth
with fixe hundred men, according to the Capitulation.

All the Capraignes of the duke of Sauoys places excused their yeelding vpon necessitie,
to accuse their Prince of indifcretion, who had reason to complaine of their valours, for
they might haue done better. The Count Soissons aduertised, after the yeelding of Saint
Katherines Fort, that the Duke comming by the Tarentaise, aduanced with his whole ar-
my, to succor the besieged, he assembled his troopes, and resolved to meet and fight with
him if hee durst hazard the day. But hee was sooner aduertised of his retreat, then of his
marching. The Duke had layd at Paris, and to the Siegneur of Fossecausse at Turin, that
who soeuer would make warre against him, hee would shew him sport for forty years
space, but hee lost all Sauoy in lesse then forty dayes, and there remained nothing in Bresse
but the Citadell of Bourg. The Baron of Lux had reduced them within it to despair of
all succours and constancy, and although they had great aduantages ouer him, yet they
got nothing but blowes in all their Sallics. They were more in number in the Citadell
then in the Towne: There were no retrenchments to hinder their sallics, & yet Wit and
Vigilancie prescribed a Law to force a number. There was a conuoy ready in the Franche
Country, prepared to put into the Citadell: the entry was easie by a way which the Baron
of Lux had discouered. They fought to corrupt him: but hee was so farr from giuing care
vnto this Charme, as he fortified this place with a good and vigilant guard: so as hauing
reioiced the enemies offers, hee hindered the execution of their designses.

Hee was aduertised that Vanlier making shew to retire himselfe into the Franche
Country, and to lay downe Armes, for that hee would not oppose himselfe against the

Neutrality,

1601

The Kings let-
ter to the Gou-
ernor of
Bourg.

A Neutralitie, had seized vpon a Castell neere vnto Bourg, called Vernay, where there was
great force of victuals, and plenty of prouision appointed for the Citadell. Hee sent speedi-
ly thither, and hindered Vanlier for drawing any thing out of that lodging, but his person
and traine. After the Marshall of Biron returne from the Kings army, the Baron of Lux
went to giue an accompt of the siege, whereupon the King tooke the subiect of this letter
which he sent vnto Bouvens, commanding at the Citadell of Bourg.

" Monsieur de Bouvens hauiing now more reason then euer, to hope for speedy Redu-
ction of the place, I will let you vnderstand what esteeme I make of those which resemble
you in Vertue and Valor, and testifie vnto you my bounty, by inuiting you to treat with
me of a thing which in time cannot escape mee, whether the warre bee continued, or the
peace be made. For if your Duke could not succor the Castell of Montmelian, to whom
in the Capitulation I had giuen a moneths respite to doe it, how shall hee now free you
from the extremity whereunto you are reduced, being to fight with Reason, the length
and discommoditie of wayes, the aduantages which the occupation of Countries, and
passages of Riuers haue giuen me ouer him with my army, which is as strong and as well
led as his? And thus much concerning warre. In respect of Peace, with the brute thereof
the said Duke doth comfort and entertaine them that serue him, it is not a worke that can
be finished in few daies: It may be you shall come to the extremity of your victuals before
it be any thing aduanced. I haue demanded reason of the sayd Duke for many pretensions
well grounded, which the Crowne of France hath vpon his Countries, the which will not
be soone enough ended to draw you out of paine. Moreouer, if I should bee contented
to treat only for the Marquisate of Saluces, the said Duke offers already to leaue mee
Bresse, with the place you hold for part of a recompence: So as it resteth only in mee
to haue it either by warre or peace. Which being, you shall much better your condition,
if you treat presently with me, and satisfie mee, for I will giue you occasion to commend
my bounty.

You haue hitherto performed as much as a Gentleman of Resolution and Honour
might doe, to defend that place, hauing in this duety exceeded all others in the like
charge, that I haue assayed. No man is bound to doe things impossible. It is the ne-
cessity of victuals and other things which oppresse and presse you, and which prescribe
you a Law, with the small apparence there is now to hope for any succours of what kinde
soeuer.

Resolue then to doe that which you cannot auoide: You are aduised thereunto and
inuitd by a Prince, which makes profession of Glory, and to loue and esteeme men of
Honour. If you consider the priuate estate in which you are, and whereunto the publike
affaires are reduced, you would not lose this opportunity to assure your reputation, your
person, family, and goods, being certaine, that if you reiect it, you cannot auoide to make
trayll of the rigours of Warre, which they deserue that attend the last extremity should
reduce them to their enemies mercy and compassion. Let me then vnderstand your re-
solution by the returne of this Trumpet, whom I haue sent expressly herewith, and if you
desire any further satisfaction of my intention concerning this Subiect, my Cousin the
Duke of Biron will giue you content, being very well informed thereof, and on whom I
doe greatly rely, &c.

This Letter was brought by a Trumpet vnto the Marshall of Biron, who sent it
vnto Bouvens, and did accompany it with one of his owne, exhorting him to resolue
according vnto necessitie, and not according vnto the affection which hee bare vnto
his Prince, nor that which his courage did suggest: for Constancy must bee measured
according vnto Reason; and it is rather Oblinacy and Wisfulness, when it resolues
to things either impossible or vnreasonable. Bouvens answered not discreetly, but cou-
ragiously, so as hee seemed to bee grieved, the French did not know his courage and vn-
daunted valour.

So, when this place was put into my hand by the duke of Sauoy, my Lord and Master,
I resolved to burie my selfe in it, and to performe the duty of an honest man. I grieue at
nothing but that your Maiestie will not make trayll thereof by violence and force. Yet I
hope to win as much glory in surmounting the necessities wherein your Maiefty thinks
I am, as in resisting your attempts. And so I beseech you to beleene that I will alwayes
remaine your Maiesties most humble, most loyall and faithfull seruant, &c.

He

The Duke of
Biron's letter
to Bouvens.Bouvens let-
ter vnto the
King.

1607

Cressida is of
Mantua to
Paris.

He wrote in like manner to the Marshall of Biron, that hee held him to bee so great a A
Souldier and making profession to loue men of worth, as he would allow of his Resolution,
which was to keepe the place for him that had giuen it him in guard, vnto his last
gasp, holding it the greatest honor that could happen vnto him, to giue a testimonie vnto
his Prince of that whereunto he was borne. His constancie was recommended by the
King, recompensed by the Duke, and propounded for an example to others.

But the Duke exhorted them by Letters to hold it good vntill the Treaty of Peace,
whereof he assured them: the which was the onely meanes (as wee shall shew) to free
the besieged from the necessity whereunto they were reduced, and without the which
they must needs haue false vnder his Maiesties subiection. Behold, all which passed of B
greatest import in the conquest of Sauoy and Bresse by the most Christian King.
But this warre did not hinder him from thinking of his marriage; hee had bene contracted
at Florence the five and twentieth day of August, *Monsieur de Bellegarde*, Master of
the Kings horse, carried the procurement to the great Duke of Tuscany. The Duke of
Mantua came to Florence the second of October, and the next day arrived the Ambassa-
dour of Venice. The Pope would gladly haue had the Queene receiue this blessing of
her marriage at his hands, and to haue done the like honour, as hee did to the Queene of
Spain at Ferrara, the which for certain reasons could not be effected, and therefore hee
sent the Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, his Holinesse Legate and Nephew, in whose hands the
words of present Marriage were made.

Aldobrandino
his speech to
the Queene.

Her answer.

The Queene
parts from
Paris to goe
into France.She arrives at
Marseilles.

The fourth of October, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* entred into Florence with great
pompe and magnificence, riding vnder a Canopie, and the Duke on his left hand, and so
was conducted to the Dukes Palace. After Supper, in the presence of the great Duke of
Tuscany, the Dukes of Mantua and Bracciano, the Princes *Iohn* and *Anthony* of Medici-
cis, together with the Lord of Belle-garde the Kings Ambassadour, hee delivered vnto
the Queene the contentment which the Pope had of this Marriage, with a sweet kinde of
Grauine and Modestie: and a Discourse full of pleasing words: hee conceived great
hopes of great good to come, by the meanes of this happy coniunction, not onely for the
houses of the Kings of France and the Dukes of Tuscany, but also for all Christendome: D
and not onely for Christian Kingdomes, but for all the whole world: so as the Queene
moved with ioy and great hope, thanked his Holinesse for this salutation, and sayd: *I haue
God hauing so decreed it, shee assured her selfe, that the blessing of the holy Father would bring
the grace of God with it, whereof she would endeavour to make herselfe worthy and capable, re-
commending herselfe most humbly to the prayers of his Holinesse, and of the Church.* Which
words were delivered after so Maiesticall a manner, as if the Princeesse had vsed alwaies to
command absolutely: and so that day was spent. The 5 of October the marriage was ce-
lebrated after a Royall manner, the Legat said Masse, the which being ended the great
Duke had a sonne christened, the Signeury of Venice giuing it the name. The Queene
parted from Florence the 16 of October, and came to Luouine the 17, where she imbar-
ked in the great Dukes generall Gallie, being assisted by five of the Popes Gallies, five of
Malta, and fixe more of the said Dukes. The King hauing intelligence of her imbarking,
provided for her reception at Marseilles, and gaue the charge of his Will to the Duke of
Guise, his Maisties Lieutenant generall in Prouence: he also sent his Constable & Chan-
celor with the Dukes of Nemors, Guise, and Ventador to receiue her. The Cardinals of
Ioycuze, Gondy, Guiry, and Sourdy, with many Bishops and Noblemen of the Council.
The nauigation was dangerous in many places, and tearfull straights betwixt Genoua
and Marseilles: yet with a resolute and cheerful countenance she seemed to scorne the
tempests of the sea. The 3 of November sheooke port at Marseilles, being accompanied
by the great Duchesse of Florence, the Duchesse of Mantua her sister, *D. Anthony* her
brother, and the Duke of Bracciano. At their coming to land, there was a great questi- F
on who should haue the right hand: The Knights of Malta would fight for it with five
Gallies, against the Florentines who had seuen. Without it they had the ranke which
they desired, and with their valour had maintained since they were planted at Rhodes,
there were no prayers nor coniurings could make them quite it, no nor for a moment.
The great Prior of Champagne undertooke the answer, and said: *A head strikes off can
never be fit on, and that their Generall brought his owne in danger, if he allowed any precedence
for a lesse time.*

The

1600

A The Queene leauing her Galley, entred vpon a Theater made of two great boats:
whereunto ioyned a bridge, which went vnto her Palace. The Constable receiued her;
the Chancelor deliuered the Kings pleasure, foure Consuls of Marseilles presented her
the keyes of the City, and a Canopy of cloth of siluer, vnder which shee was conducted to
the Palace. One of the most remarkable actions during her abode there, was the protestation
of obedience, which was made vnto her by the Court Parliament of Prouence, in
the great Hall of the Palace, *Monsieur de Vair* making a most eloquent Oration.

Du Vair
Oration to the
Queene.

Madam, seeing your Maiesty to arise in this Prouince, and with you the felicity of
France, we haue abandoned the seat of Iustice, where we haue the honour to sit, to come
and prostrate our selues at your feet, to yeeld you the noblest and most worthy Homages B
which are due vnto the Crowne that doth now enuiron your head, and withall to pro-
nounce our selues bound for all the vowes which wee haue at any tyme made for the good
of this Estate. For assuredly we beleue that this day we are heard, and thinke that so ma-
ny wonders, which God hath wrought for the restoring of this Realme, are fully accom-
plished, and that our good fortunes which seemed to be waivering, are now settled vpon a
time and irremovable foundation.

God hath giuen vs a King excellent in vertue, admirable in bounty, and incomparable
in valour, who by his labours hath giuen vs quiet; by his perils safetie; and by his vi-
ctories, glorie: So as in a manner wee termed our selues happie, if this mournfull
thought had not often troubled the course of our ioy: This care I say, which repre-
sented vnto vs, that Nature hath limited the life of all men, that Solitarinesse and Liberty
made our Princes life lesse pleasing, and did diminish his care to cherish and gouerne it.
For the which our wishes did euery day seeke remedy, and knew not where to hope for
them, vntill that the beames of your Royall countenance had pierced through the
clouds of our cares, and lightened our eyes with a liuely hope, to see our happinesse as
durable as it is admirable.

The
Queenes
reuerencie.

For seeing in you so many graces wherewith Nature hath endowed you, admiring
that rare beauty wherewith shee hath adorned you, considering that naturall sweet-
nesse wherewith shee hath tempered your Royall grauitie, and hearing with our cares
the voyce renowned by Fame, which proclaimeth the quicknesse of your spirit, the
soundnesse of your Iudgment, the Elegancie of your discourse, and that which doth
exceed all the incomparable commendation of you holy and religious disposition: C
Wee persuade our selues that you are shee whom the Heauens had appointed by you
pleasing company, to mollifie the life of our King, to prolong his dayes by his con-
tent, and to make his Raigne perpetual by the continuance of a great and happie
posteritie.

Wee beleuee, that you onely are shee vpon earth, worthy to make the life of the
most triumphant King vpon earth, to rest in your chaste bosome; and that hee about
all others, did merit to embrace the most vertuous and pleasing Princeesse in his victori-
ous armes.

Whereby we preface, that wee shall soone see a number of goodly Children carying
on their Fore-heads their fathers Valour, their mother Vertue, the greatnesse and no-
bilitie of the House of France, whereunto you are allyed, the happinesse and power of
that of Austria, from whence you are issued, and the wisdom of that of Florence in
the which you were borne.

To the beleefe of this preface, all things seeme to inuite vs: but chiefly the Hea-
uen and Sea, for that wee see plainly at the very arriual of your Maiesty, the Sea
full of torments is growne calme, and the Heauen ouercast with Clouds is cleare, as if
they would with a pleasing Skie celebrate with vs the magnificence of your happie
reception.

In good time then, O great Queene, are you come vnto our coasts, long may you liue
happily in France, and for France: That the age which wee begyn may see you in the
end a happy Wife to our King: And future ages may terme you a happy Mother of
Kings. But to heape vpon the measure of your glorie, remember and remember againe,
that as you are a great Queene, for that you are married to a great King, euen so you be-
come a charitable mother of children, whose true Father he is.

And therefore begin to take your share of this Royall care, and seeing that the Sub-
iects

1600

riches happinesse is the true glory of Princes, foster and increase by your ayde and fauour, A
the loue and affection which this great King doth naturally beare to the good and ease
of his people, to the end they may feel you as a new Star shining ouer them, carrying them
a happy and auspicious influence of all good and plentifull prosperitie.

And we which seeke no other happinesse in this world but in his seruice, nor honour
but in his obedience, and seeing you aduanced with him in his Throne, we congregate vn-
to you all the remainder of our liues, as we doe presently our hearts and affections to re-
maine for ever your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient seruants.

This discourse was pleasing vnto the Queene, who by her attention and answer did
witness how much she was pleased therewith. The Princes and Princesses did com-
mend it, and learned men did admire it.

He made the like at Aix, whither the Queene went the seuenteenth of Nouember,
from whence she parted the next day with about two thousand horse, and made her entry
on the nineteenth into Auignon, where she was received with greater pompe and magni-
ficence then in any other place: She stayed but three dayes at Auignon, and passed to Va-
lence, Rouffillon, and Vienné, and came on the Saturday, being the second of December,
to Guilloiere.

The next day approaching neere vnto Lyons, shee was met by *Monsieur de la Guiche*
the Governour, with the Nobility of the Towne and Countrey, who hauing done their
obedience in the open field, went to horse backe and conducted her to her lodging. C
There *Roguelaine* brought her newes of the King, and presented her in his Maiesties
company with the great Royall Collar of inestimable value, which did beautifie her other or-
naments: The next day after, she entered into the Towne. They had erected a Theater at
La Motte covered with rich Tapistrie, in the midst whereof was a throne for the Queene,
where she received the honors, and heard the vowes and prayers of all the Orders of the
Towne. The Chancelor was in this action the townes Interpreter, the which is as much
honoured by his birth, as Athens was by the *Phocians*, and Rome by the *Catoes*. The
Clergie spake standing, all the rest kneeled, except those which spake for the Germanes,
Imperiall Townes, Swisses, and Grisons. The Chancelor willed them to doe as the rest,
and telling them that in this action, Strangers had no priuiledge, and that they should do
as the Princes subiects did, vnder whose lawes they liued. They gaue him to vnderstand,
that they were in possession to speak standing: that at the entry of King *Henry* the second,
they were no otherwise presented, and that the like difficultie hapning at the entry of the
King now reigning in the same Towne, his Maiesty took it not ill they should stand vp
upon their knees. The Constable, who thought that an action of that consequence,
should not lightly be passed ouer, nor the truth carelessly and irrespectively examined, as
it hapned often in like accidents, hee would bee informed, if at other entries the Swisses
and Germanes had beene presented vnto the King in other manner and fashion then the
French. The Governour of Lyons reported the truth, wherewith they were satisfied and
contented.

The whole Body of the Towne protested their obedience and affection at the Queens
feet. *Antibac* of Villards President of Lyons won much honor, for the grace, grauity,
and eloquence of his Oration. He spake for the Court of Iustice in this manner.

"Madam, the wonders which God would haue the world see in the birth and pro-
gress of the life and actions of our King, haue beene the effects of his diuine Iustice, to
preferre vnto our Soueraigne Prince the lawfull inheritance of Saint *Lewis*: but that
which we now behold with admiration of this great Alliance, is an assured and in-
fallible testimonie of his diuine bounty, and of that which he hath decreed for the good of
the whole Realme. Time by his accustomed inconstancy, did threaten our happinesse
with a great fall, wee did not enioy our quiet, but with feare to lose it: Our prosperi-
ties were but Leues, and our Peace as a Flower. The wofull and lamentable History
of our fore-passed disorders and tumults, did set before our eyes a fearful image of fu-
ture miseries: Our goodly dayes were troubled with nights of care, which a violent im-
agination presented vnto vs. It was the will of God, that for a full reuolution of the happi-
nesse of France, shee should haue a second recourse to the most famous Race of the *Me-
dici*, to make our Flower-de-luce not only flourishing, but fruitfull & abounding in Roy-
all issue, the sole and true Support of an Estate, Doulphins are prelates of a storme at Sea,
but

The Substanti-
al Government
of Lyons had
a great share to
spoke standing
to the King.

Antibac of
Villards Presi-
dent of Lyons
was much re-
spected by the
Queene at
Lyons.

1601

A but a Royall Daulphine shall be to vs a pawne of the eternitie of our health, and of the as-
surance and happy confirmation of our quiet. It is the holiest of our good Kings de-
sire, it is the worthy subiect of all good and faithfull-hearted French-mens vowes. Your
Maiestie hath beene referred by Heauen, to continue the sacred Stemme of our Kings,
and to make their succession equall to the continuance of the world. Nature hath infused
into your Maiestie all her greatest and richest gifts, to make you the ornament of France,
which is the ornament of Europe. Yong Eagles are exposed to the Sunne-beames, to try
their naturall generositie, and your Maiestie being issued from the Eagle by the mothers
side, hath onely been found capable to gaze vpon the Sunne, who with the beames of his
Royall vertues, doth not onely lighten France, but all the world. All other eyes haue
been dazzled with the aspect of so great a light, onely yours will endure this shining and
by a sweeter reflection, the shadow of your Royall countenance, will raise our hopes to the
highest heauen of felicitie, and shall make vs see in our dayes the most firme assurance
of our peace and quiet. Recciue, Madame, if you please, the homage which wee yeeld
vnto your Maiestie, to whom we offer our hearts as pleasing sacrifices of our most humble
obedience.

She stayed eight daies at Lyons before she could see the King, demanding ever when he
would come, and in this expectation the houres seemes yeares vnto her. The King after
the capitulation of S. *Katherines* fort, tooke post and came the 9 of December to Lions.

C The Chancelor aduertised her that he would come that day. Being at supper a Gentleman
came to tell her, that the King was within a quarter of a league of the city, and that within
lesse then an houre she should see him. The ioy of this good newes had taken away her
appetite to any meat. The King was already entred disguised, and was gotten into the
press among certaine Gentlemen, where he might see and not be scene. After supper the
retired into her chamber, and the King entred presently after: the Queene cast her selfe at
his Maiesties feet, and he tooke her vp and embraced her, where after many kinde imbra-
ces of mutuall loue and respect, the King went to supper. During the which, the King
sent the Queene word by the Duchesse of Nemours, that he was come without a bed, ho-
ping that shee would afford him part of hers, which should be common vnto them from

D that time: To whom the Queene answered, *That she was come to please and obey his Maie-
sties will, as his most humble seruant.* This being deliuered vnto the King, hee vnclouthed
himselfe and entred into the Queens chamber, whom he found in bed, and then the La-
dies retired. The Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, the Popes Legate, being at Chambery, the
King sent to inuite him to his mariage, and to come to Lions, with the Duke of Sauoy
Deputies, where they should treat more commodiously then at Chambery. He made his
entry the 16 of the moneth, where hee was received with honours fit for so great a digni-
ty: the Prince Conty and the Duke *Montpensier* conducted him, going vnder a canopie
caried by the Burgesies of the townes, the streets were hang'd, the Inhabitants were in
armes, and the Clergy went singing before him: and in this fort he was conducted to Saint
E *Johns* Church. And although the mariage were perfect (the King hauing ratified it by
procuration, and by words of the present which the said Legate had received, so as there
needed no other solemnity) yet would he make his subiects partakers of this publike ioy,
appointing the Ceremony the Sunday following, the which was celebrated before the
Great Altar of S. *Johns* Church, whereas the nuptial blessing was giuen by the Legate to
the married couple. After the which a Largeesse of pieces of gold and silver, marked with a
speciall device were cast vnto the people. All which performed, they went to the Royall
feast in the Archbishops Great Hall.

We haue said, that in the end of the last yeare, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino*, Legate to
his Holinesse, made his entry into Lions to treat a Peace betwixt the King and the Duke
F of Sauoy: Presently after the Ceremony and Confirmation of the Nuptial blessing of
their Maiesties, they began the Treaty of this Peace: the Proposition had bene made
at Chambery, but the conclusion was referred and ended at Lions. The King had made
choise among all his Councell of the President *Sillery* and *Lamin*, to deliuer his intentions
vnto the Legate, who acquainted *Arconas* and *Aymes* therewith. First the Dukes De-
puties demand peace of the King, in yielding vp vnto him the Marquissate of Saluzzes.
The King answered, *I haue beene at warre, but he had neuer refused peace to them, that had de-
manded it: that seeing the Duke desired Peace, and his Holinesse perswaded him to it, for the*
quiet

The Kings first
sight of the
Queene.

The Cardinall
entry into
Lions.

Of the Peace
betwixt the
French King
and the Duke
of Sauoy.

1601

Propositions
for the Peace.

quiet of Christendome, that he was content to grant it, so as the Duke did yeeld him his Marquisate, and pay him eight hundred thousand crowns which he had disbursed for the wars of Sauey. The Legate found well by this demand that the peace was not so easie to be made as hee expected: he spake vnto the King and told him; *That the Duke could not yeeld the Marquisate, and so great a summe of money, but he would giue him all Bresse in exchange: and for all the charges and other his Maiesties pretensions, he would giue him moreouer Baugcy, Verromey and other Lands vnto the riuier of Rhosie.* This Proposition was accepted by the Kings Deputies, so as they yeelded vp the Castles of Centall, Mont and Roque-palmier, which did not belong to the Marquisate, but to the Prouinces of Dauphine and Prouence. The Deputies said, that what they offered was for all pretensions: to whom they answered; *That no thing could then be concluded.*

These things were so wisely handled by the Kings Deputies, as the Dukes Deputies offered besides a part of the Baylywicke of Gex, a hundred thousand Crownes, so as the King did yeeld vp what he held in Sauey, especially the Castle of Montmelian and Saint Katherines fort, in the same Estate they were.

Saint Katherines
fort ruined by
the Geneuans.

As they were vpon these termes, newes comes, that they of Geneua had ruined S. Katherines fort, and that with such animosity and diligence, as within two dayes after you could scarce discern the forme of it, for this fort was built but of earth. The Legate was wonderfully discontented thereat, and complained, saying, *That he would returne to Rome, without doing any thing, seeing they kept not their word with him, that he reuoked his, repunting this demolition as an affront done vnto him.* The Kings Deputies answered him, *That the King had no need of a Peace with the Duke, but for that his Holinesse perswaded him therunto: that it was a small cause to breake the Treaty of Peace seeing it was but a piece of earth: that the foundation should remaine vnto the Duke, the which he might repaire when he pleased.* The King tooke the Legats words for a renewing of the warre, and gaue leaue to his armie to do all acts of Hostilitie, charging the Commanders to stand vpon their guard, to defend and offend, as occasions and meanes should be presented. Whereupon all depayinging of peace, made new enterprises; judging, that the King would not rest, hauing so great advantages, they talked of nothing but of scouring of Armes, preparing of horses, seeking of money, and to make them ready for a new warre.

The Kings answer
to the Ambassadors
of Spaine.

Taxis the King of Spaines Ambassador came vnto the King, to let him vnderstand, that if a Peace were not concluded, his Master should be forced to enter into this warre, to preserve his Nephews Estate. To whom the King answered, *That he would live in peace with them that loved peace; but whosoever should seeke to support the Duke in this vniust warre, hee would make them repent it. That hee would make warre like a Lion against them that played the Foxes with him, and would strike them, that should make but shew to threaten him.*

The Dukes Deputies (thinking that the Kings victory was neither absolute, nor perfect, so long as Bourg held good) did little temporize, nor caring to presse the conclusion of this Peace, no further then the extremity of this place did presse them, and in the meane time the Duke should haue leisure to attempt something vpon his owne or vpon that which was the Kings. And in truth if Bourg had bene relieved, or the conuoy which was in the Franche County had entred, the Peace had bene broken. Besides the wants and impatience of the besieged, they without vfed policy which made them almost desperate: some men chosen for the purpose gaue them to vnderstand, that the Dukes Deputies did prolong things, vpon assurance that the Citadell might hold good a moneth, and that they cared not to finish the Treaty, nor to supply the necessities of the besieged, so as this temporizing, at what price and perill so euer, might giue the Duke time to doe his businesse. This did pierce so deeply and wrought such an impression in the besieged, as (despighted with the tediousnesse of the Treaty, and wearied with the languishing of the besieged) they resolved not to suffer any more, seeing the Deputies did not consider what they suffered, but how much and how long they might suffer. Vpon this vaine terror they write vnto the Deputies in these termes, "My Lords, your protractiōs and delays kill vs, the temporizing of your Treaty, is preiudiciall to the honor of our Master, and the health of his seruants that are in this place: make hast then to finish the Peace, for wee cannot hold about two dayes: it is the prefixed time of our resistance. Belceue the bearer, who wil acquaint you with the rest of our extreme necessity. Attend no other

Bourges
Letter to
the Dukes
Ambassa-
dors.

1601

A other Letters from vs, fare ye well, &c. Yet they were not so ill as they said, but in matter of siege, all failures when as they want patience. This Letter with the fearfull report of the horrors and inhumanities which extreme famine caused in the Citadell of Bourg; awaked the Ambassadors from the slumber, which the ruining of S. Katherines fort had held them in.

Vpon these newes they goe vnto the Cardinal, they beseech him, that the ruine of one place (whose foundation remained to the Duke) might not hinder the perfecting of this great building of peace, the which notwithstanding could not be but necessary, and profitable. The Cardinal who knew that the Duke was much discontented with this demolition, and that the Count Fuentes army was much increased, and their minds more inclined to warre then peace, and yet being loth to repasse the Alpes, without the glory to haue quenched this fire, he said vnto the Ambassadors, that he could not re-enter into the treatie of peace, if they did not giue it him in writing vnder their hands, that it was their aduice, and that they intreated him to doe it, as profitable for the Duke, and necessarie for his Estate. The Ambassadors being too much amazed with the newes of the extreme wants of the Citadell of Bourg, fearing it would be lost before the peace was concluded, the which would impair the bargain, they willingly past this promise.

The Treaty
renewed.

The Cardinal was still in choller that the demolition of Saint Katherines fort, should send him backe to Rome, and not carie the Pope that contentment of his Legation which he expected. The King would gladly, the Pope should haue remained satisfied with the sinceritie of his actions, but neither his honour nor his humour would suffer him to intreat. He therefore thinke it dishonorable to perswade him to peace that hath more need of it then himselfe. Hee is therefore resolute to warre; and seeing that the Legate continued still in his complaints, hee commanded the Marquis of Rhosny to goe to Paris to take order for munitions of warre. Being ready to take horse for the execution of the Kings commandement, hee goes to take his leaue of the Legate, and toucheth some things of the cause of his voyage, saying, "That it was the Kings resolution to make warre, seeing they could not hold themselves to a peace. That for his part hee was for-
ric, that so great a personage as himselfe should take the paines to passe the mountains
D and bring them so neere vnto the Temple of peace, and not to enter into it: the Legate answered, That he was much grieved that his Legation and the paine hee had taken pro-
ued fruitlesse: that he knew well the King in shew desired peace, but in effect warre was
his delight."

Rhosny replied, that if peace were good before the demolition of the fort, it was now also good, that this accident did nothing import, seeing the ground was the Dukes, to doe
withall what he pleased, and that for fifty thousand crownes he might build an other fort.
The Dukes Ambassadors gaue the same reasons, coniuering him not to abandon the ship
in this tempest, seeing he had taken the helme in hand in a calme season. Hereupon the Le-
gate asked Rhosny if he thought the King would be pleased to recompence this demoliti-
on with money. Rhosny answered him, that he knew nothing, but being a thing reasona-
ble, and the King a Prince of reason, he presumed that if hee should promise it in his Ma-
iesties name, he would not faile of his promise. The Legate intreated him to acquaint him
with it, saying that he was forie he had dealt no sooner in the businesse. Rhosny tels the
King thereof, and returns his Maiesties intencion vnto the Legate, and so with a little
moderation they finish this worke of peace. The Articles were drawne and agreed vpon;
and the Ambassadors of Sauey sent for to signe them, they come and tell the Legate in
his eare that their Master had forbidden them to signe, before that he had talked with the
Count of Fuentes.

Monfieur de
Rhosny re-
newes the
Treaty of
Peace.

The Legate who would not haue his word giuen vnto the King to remaine vnprof-
itable, nor send backe the Kings Deputies, or refer the assembly to another time, intreats
them not to make any shew of this charge, but to signe. They answer him that their hands
and tongues were bound. The Legate doth presse them, & they intreat him to giue them
leau to conferre with Taxis the Spanish Ambassador, to the end that their thoughts might
bee countenanced by his counsell. They repaire vnto the Oracle, they consult of two
Letters, the first of the eight of Ianuary, which commanded them to signe the peace, the
second of the eleuenth which did forbid them. Taxis (who vnderstood the inuents of the
Council of Spaine; who knows that a Peace is desired, so as the Marquisate might
con-

A peace
concluded.

1601

The saye Ambassadors consule with Taxes.

He perswades them to signe the Peace.

The substance of the Peace betwix the King and the Duke of Sauoy.

Bourge yielded soe the King.

continue on the other side of the Alpes, and that there might bee a passage on this side to A
goe into Flanders; who weighed the conditions of peace, not by the difficulties of reasons, but by the prosperity of euents; not by the pieces, but by the whole, wherein hee findes what his Master desired; and twereth this: That seeing his Highnesse hath commanded you to signe the peace foure dayes since, I see nothing happened since, that may bee sufficient or available to reuoke this commandement, nor the word which hee had giuen you to effect it. It is true that I thinke by this last Letter, you are bound to stay the time which he demands to conferre with the Count Fuentes.

Hereupon arrived the Patriarke of Constantinople, great in perswasions, found in reasons, profound in Councell, & subtil in inuentions. He sheweth them the importance of B
this breach, the wrong done vnto the King, and the Legats word ingaged. That the Duke writing this Letter had not considered that the first was effected, that the Estate of the businesse allowed no countermand, that that which was yesterday voluntarie, is this day fastened with nayles of Diamonds to an ineuitable necessitie: That the wings of the dukes hopes were glued with the wax of his opinions; that irresolution the mother of great inconueniences, which had begonne his ruine, would finish it: That God was offended with them who reiected and contemned the conditions of Peace that were iust and honorable: That it was a great indiscretion to ingage himselfe in the perpetuall inconueniences of this warre, vpon foundations that were neither firme nor perpetuall, and to continue a great warre against a mighty enemy, vpon succours which could not be certaine, seeing C
it depended vpon the will of another: That a Prince assailed by one more mighty, cannot erre more grossly in his cariage, nor commit a greater fault then to refuse peace, which cannot be but honourable, seeing it stayes the Conquerors victory.

The Dukes Ambassadors who feared more to erre by disobedience, then by obstinacy, stand firme vpon the necessity of the Dukes command: for the order which a Prince D
prescribeth to his Ambassador may not be altered. The Patriarke assures them that the Legat, who had authoritie from their Master to command them, and they bound to obey him in all that he should iudge profitable for his affaires, should warrant them vnder his hand from all blame which they apprehended; that he would take the paines to goe vnto his Highnesse to Thurin, to let him vnderstand that they had done nothing but what hee should haue done himselfe, and that he would employ all the power his vnclie had, both in heauen, and in earth, to free them from danger. The Ambassadors (who seemed not to will that which they most desired, with such impatience, as the houres seemed yeares vnto them) were content with this assurance signed by the Legat, and a moneths respit for the Duke to ratifie what they had signed.

So the Peace was concluded and proclaimed at Lions the seuenteenth day of January, in the year 1601, the substance whereof was: That the Duke should yeeld vp and transport wholly vnto the King, and to his successors Kings of France, all the country and Seigneuries of Bresse, Beaugency and Veromey, and generally all that belongs vnto him, vnto the riuier of Rhosne, so as all the riuier from Geneva should belong to the Crowne E
of France, the which should remaine vnto the King and his successors with all the Soueraignty, iurisdiction and rights which the said Duke might haue ouer the said countries, reseruing nothing but the bridge of Gressin for the commoditie of the passage: the which is vpon the riuier of Rhosne, betwixt Elcluse and the bridge of Arlay, which by this present Treaty belongs vnto the King: and on the other side of the riuier of Rhosne, the duke should enioy the parishes of Ella, Luyuent, & Cizerre with all the Hamlets and Territories which belong vnto them, betwixt the riuier of Varenne, and the mountaine called the Grand Credo, vnto the Village called La Riuiere, whereas the riuier of Varenne doth passe, with Maiercombe, vnto the neereft entry into the County of Bourgongne, vpon condition that the Duke should not leauy any impositions vpon the goods and Merchandise, nor any toll vpon the riuier at Pont de Gressin, or any other places before mentioned. Moreover, the Duke might not build any fort vpon any place that was reserued for the passage, but should remaine free as well for the Kings subiects, as for all that would goe or come into France; and the soldiery which shall passe through the Kings country, for the Dukes seruice, or any other Prince, by the sufferance of his Gouvernours Lieutenants generall, shal no way annoy his Maiesties subiects. And for the effecting of that about-mentioned, the Duke should deliuer vnto the King (or to any one deputed by him) the

1601

A the Citadell of Bourg, as it then was, without any demolition, and all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre, which shall bee in the place at the yeelding thereof. Moreover, the Duke did passe ouer vnto the King, on the other side of the Riuier of Rhosne, the places and villages of Aux, Chouly, Vuley, Pont D' Arley, Cessell, Chancy and Piere Chastel, with all the soueraignty and iurisdiction hee might haue ouer those places, and the Inhabitants thereof. The said Duke did also transport and resigne vnto the King, the Barony and Baylywick of Getz, with all the appurtenances, as the Duke and his Predecessors had formerly enioyed it, without any retention. All which places and things yeelded and resigned, should remaine vnted and incorporated to the Crowne of France, B
and should be reputed the patrimony of the Crowne, and might not be separated for any cause whatsoever. Also it was agreed that the said Duke should truly and effectually restore vnto the King, or to any one deputed by his Maiesty, the place, towne and Chastelleny of Castle Daulphin, with the Tower of Pont, and all that had been held by the Duke, or any of his, depending of Daulphine, in the same estate they then were in, without any demolition or ruine, leauing in the said places, all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre which were then in the said places, the souldiers carrying away such goods as belonged vnto them, without exacting any thing of the Inhabitants. It was also agreed that the said Duke should demante the fort of Beche Daulphin, the which was built during warre, and should pay for the passage reserued, a hundred thousand crownes in the cite of C
Lions, fifty thousand ready downe, when as the fort of Charbonnieres should be yeilded vp, and other fifty thousand within six moneths after.

And in regard of the said cession and resignation, the King should be contented (for the good of peace) to quit and resigne vnto the Duke, his heires and successors, all the rights and pretensions which he or the Daulphins of France had, or might haue to the Marquisate of Saluces, and all the dependances, with the townes of Cental, Mons and Roquesperuier, without retaining any thing: leauing vnto the Duke all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition for warre, which were in the said places, in the year 1598. The King did also promise to restore vnto the Duke (or to any one that should be deputed by him) all places that had beene taken since the year of our Lord 1588 from the said Duke, and D
now held by his Maiesty or his seruants, all in the same estate they then were, and without any demolition; and in restoring of the said places, the King might transport all the Artillery, Powder, Bullets and munition of warre that was in them, and all the goods that belonged vnto the souldiers, not exacting any thing of the Inhabitants.

These were the chiefe points of the Treaty of Peace, the which was signed by the Legat and the Duke, and thanks giuen vnto God. The King holding his abode at Lions (after this conclusion) to be vnprofitable, takes post and goes to Paris. The Legate goes to Aignion by the Riuier of Rhosne. The King left the Constable, Villeroi and the Deputies at Lions for performance of the Treaty. At the same time Herminio was dispatch to carie newes vnto the Pope, and in passing to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count Fuentes, E
he found them both at Some vpon Po to consult of the meanes which the Duke of Biron propounded vnto them, to resolute vpon warre rather then peace. The Duke receiues it as the most ruinous effect of all his aduentures, swearing that hee would cut off his Ambassadors heads that had signed it.

The Count Fuentes said that he had not to doe with this peace, hauing so many iust occasions and such good meanes to make warre, that hee would not let forty thousand men, and forty peeces of Cannon remaine idle. Both seemed discontented, the one for that the King, or the King of Spaine had all the benefit of the peace, and the other for that his master should haue neede of him by the warre, and hee should keepe Piedmont in awe.

The Duke complained that the Councell of Spaine had kindled a warre to consume F
him, they had thrust him into a storme, to make profit of his shipwracke, and had drawne him to a preiudiciall exchange, reaping no benefit, for that the French were out of Italy, hauing them nearer neighbours in another place, nor that Milan should be conered, or that Italy should haue the Alpes to guard it from the inundations which it had receiued in former times by the forces of France, seeing this rampart was made with the weakening of his Estates.

The Count of Fuentes fore-seeing wherunto these complaints did tend, gaue the Duke to vnderstand, That the King of Spaine his Master, had reason to complaine of this great

The Marquisate of Saluces transported to the Duke.

The King and Queene goes to Paris.

The Count Fuentes complains of the peace.

The Dukes complaint.

The Count of Fuentes complains of the Duke.

great and fruitlesse charge, being a troublesome thing to entertaine great forces to no effect: that this mighty and fearefull army was not raised nor entertained, but to restore him to his Estate: that the fault was in himselfe, if it were not employed: and withall, he added the mutinies and murmuring of the Spaniards, who complained, that they deprived them of the fruits of a victory which they did limit with no lesse then the taking of Lions. In this contention they resolute, not to signe any thing without the King of Spaines commandement, and to keepe the armie still ready to march, to make himselfe to be more feared, and to be more assured. The Kings Deputies being advertised that the Duke made no care to confirme what had been concluded, they advertised the King thereof, and sent a post vnto the Legat, being at Aignon, to know his opinion thereof. The King commands them to attend the Dukes resolution, without impatience, being indifferent vnto him which he made choise of, but he should shew a weakie iudgement, if hee should accept of any but of peace: for that he should not of a long time recour that by warre, which peace should now presently bring him.

The Legate advertised that the Duke refused to signe the peace.

The King grants a prolongation of the truce.

The Legate was so moued with this alarum, as he presently tooke post to goe vnto the Duke, sending Count *Othouis Tazzoni* to the King, to advertise him of his voyage; and to beseech him not to enter into any distrust of the Treaty, being so greatly interested in the obseruation thereof, as he could no longer endure this brute and insuence with patience: and that he would be pleased to grant a prolongation of the truce & a suspension of Armes for fifteene dayes, besides the time limited for the ratification: Such as knew not the negotiation betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count *Fuentes*, and the Marshall *Biron*, could not beleue that the Duke of Sauoy would make any difficulty to signe the Treaty, but that he made some shew of it to haue it seeme the better. For those that were interested with him in the Treaty, did not promise to returne any more vnto the warre.

The Duke of Biron refused the Citadell of Bourg, being vnto him of victualls and Munition.

It is true, that if the Duke of Biron would haue taken the Citadell of Bourg, as the Duke would haue deliuered it vnto him, the King must haue returned with as great speed to Lions as he departed. In the meane time the Legate past all passages by post in a troublesome time, and came to Genoa, from whence he sent to the Duke and Count *Fuentes*, to keepe their word with him.

The Duke hearing of his arrival at *Alexandria*, parts from Nice, and goes to Thurin, D and both of them excuse themselves. The Count made his refusal, to take from the Duke all subiect of complaint, that they had abandoned him, and that hee had meanes to recouer his Estates, if they had assisted him. The Duke would be recompensed for this vnequall exchange before he signed by the King of Spaine. So the Legate receiues nothing from the one but complaints, and from the other but respects, and from both words of contempt against the Treaty. Hee met with the Count *Fuentes* at Tortoul, and from thence went to Milan, where hee past the Shroue-side: The Count *Fuentes* omitting no kinde of recreation to driue away melancholy, attending the Duke of Sauoys resolution, who sent to excuse himselfe by the indisposition of his children, and promised to come to Milan; but coming not, the Legat and the Earle went to Paui, with an opinion that the Duke would not come thither. The Legate sends *Tazzoni* vnto him, who returns with excuses of his sonnes sicknesse, and his complaints of the vniust and preiudiciall conditions whereunto he was bound.

The Legat discontented with the Duke of Sauoy.

The Legate sends backe *Tazzoni* to the Count *Fuentes*, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew well that his legation had not bene undertaken, but for the seruice of the King of Spaine, at the intreaty of the Duke of Sassa his Ambassador: that he was not come for the Duke of Sauoy who mockt him, and considered not that he had done more for him then father or mother; that hee cared not for his ratification, and much lesse to see him, or to thanke him for his paines: that hee excused his affection in the infirmity of his sonne, but if he thought that he would attend to proceed vntill that hee were cured, hee was deceived. The Count *Fuentes* answers that the effect of the Treaty depends not vpon his signing, and that he must not send vnto him to effect it. The Legat cut off these temporisings and delays, and to discover where the fault was, that the peace was not signed, aduised himselfe of a subtilty, worthy of a Romane, and of a Cardinall. He commands the Count *Tazzoni* to fly vnto the Count *Fuentes*, that hee was advertised from the Duke, that all the difficulties in this business were framed by the Count, who restrained the Dukes liberty, in the signing and execution of the Treaty.

He

A He had scarce entred into this discourse, when as the Count *Fuentes* (full of choller that all the blame should be laid vpon him) went to horse, and came vnto the Legat, to whom hee discovered all the secret betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and him. Many dayes are spent in going and coming. In the end, the King of Spaine, who desired to begin his raigne by warre, would haue no peace, but vanquished by the perswasions of the Duke of Lerma, who thought peace to be more profitable for his condition, hoping to gouerne his Master more freely in the delights of peace, then in troubles of warre, sent vnto the Count *Fuentes*, that seeing they restored vnto the Duke of Sauoy his Country, and that he might keepe the Marquise of Saluces, he would employ his forces elsewhere, and confirme the Treaty of Lions. The Duke is forced to follow this course, there is no more armie for him. There was one complement yet remaining. The Duke was desirous to see the Legate: the paines which he had taken deferred this view and thanks. The Legate meant to goe speedily to Rome.

The Duke imbarques vpon the Riuer of Po, to goe visit him, and sends a Post to advertise him of the houre of his imbarking. Here was an accident that had almost spoiled all. This messenger reports vnto the Duke that he had met the Legat, and the Count *Fuentes* in Caroffe together vpon the way, who returned when as he advertised them of his coming. The Duke discontented with this returne, sends them word that hee was gone backe. The Legate enters presently into a small barke, follows after, and ouertakes him, whereas the riuer of Tesin enters into Po. The Duke being advertised, turns head and ioynes with him. They striue who shall enter into the others boat, but the Duke leaps in to the Legats, and sits downe by him: they spent some words in complements, before they entred into the Treaty of Peace.

The Legat and the Duke of Sauoy meet.

The Legate protested that in all this negotiation, hee had nothing else in his thought, but the good of his Highnesse estate, but he was incountered with so many difficulties, and necessities, which ouer-ruled his affection, as he was forced to preferre profitable and necessary things, before that which was goodly in shew. The Duke thanked him for the paines he had taken, but so coldly, as the Legat found wel, that he held not himselfe beholding vnto him. The one tooke his way to Thurin, and the other to Paui, and so to passe to Rome. The Duke had signed, but he was not yet wel resolved to obserue the peace. The feare left Bourg should be lost before the conclusion of the Treaty, made his Ambassadors to resolve: the Assurance which *Bouvens* now gaue the Duke, that he would incounter all extremities, both of famine and force, made him vnwilling to performe the Treaty; sending *Bely* his Chancellor to Rome, to make his excuse, that hee signed it not. The Pope tooke it ill, that a Chancellor, a man of peace, should intreat him to vndo that which the Legat his Nephew had done, and sent him backe with his answer.

The Dukes resolution.

But for all this the Duke seeks to smother this peace in the Cradle, and grounds his last hope vpon *Bouvens*, to whom hee sends the counterfigure, without the which hee was bound not to yield it.

He sends Bely his Chancellor to Rome.

E This token was but counterfeit. *D' Hostel* played another part, he made this his colour to haue meanes to enter into the Citadell, and to giue this counterfigure to *Bouvens* for his warrant; and thereby to assure him that if hee had meanes to hold good a moneth, hee should disclaime the signing of the ratification, and make a shew of disobedience, and hee should be relieved. *D' Hostel* went into the Citadell, and found that misery would not suffer them to want of resistance as they had done, that things were no more in the estate that *Bouvens* had represented them; and that their necessities were so extreme, as there was no meanes to suffer them any longer, being prest without by the Kings armie, and within by cold and hunger, which made the Duke more tractable to yield that which he could not hold, sending the ratification in the beginning of March, and at the same time the Citadell was deliuered into the Kings power.

A counterfigure came to Bouvens.

The general censures of this peace were diuers. The King was pleased that the profit was apparant, and assured for his Estates: hauing for one Marquise, more Earles and Marquises, then there are Gentlemen in the Marquise of Saluces, enlarging his frontiers about thirty leagues, and so restrained the Dukes estate on this side the mountains, as he hath left two third parts, lost eight hundred Gentlemen, and a fort which he himselfe writing vnto *Bouvens* esteemed more then all the Marquise, with Prouinces as fertile as any be in France. It is true that the Honour to keepe that which was the cause of the warre remained

Diuers opinions of the Peace.

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Commodities
wrought to Duke
got by the
peace.

The death of
Queene Louyse.

Discourse vpon
the life of
Louys of Vau-
demour, wife to
King Henry
the third.

A gently har-
mony of mar-
riage.

Isolousie of the
Queene.

remained to the Duke, and by this meanes of a peace he hath no more need of Spaniards, A
nor of the Count of Fuentes, who did him alwayes some Spanish affront, and is free from
all feare of the French, who kept Piedmont in awe while they had a retreat there. The
Duke, who neuer went out of the gates of Thurin without six companies of horse for his
guard, and entertained Garisons which cost him more then the reuenues of the countries
exchanged, may now sleepe, and goe and come in safety. This month of March Louyse
of Lorraine, Dowager of France, Widow to Henry the third, King of France, died: her
death was better knowne by the losse of such a light, then by the mourning of her heyres,
or the honour of her funerals; for the Duke of Mercure her brother, to whom she left her
goods, and the execution of her will, was then in Hungary. The Duchesse of Mercure at-
tended on her vntill she died, and laid her body in the Couent of Saint Clare, vntill there
might be entered with greater pompe. She desired to be layd in one Tombe with the
King, whose body attends vntill that the piety of the liuing may remember the condition
of the dead, the which giues cause of amazement, that the earth which neuer failes for the
life of Princes, should now want for their interment.

The desire of this Princeesse was not performed, although the will of the dead ought to
be religiously obserued, the best part of her life had beene a troublesome carriere of afflic-
tion, more fertill in thornes then in roses: but it is the way of heauen, which hath bene
beaten by all the happy, and there is no reason to make a new for them that came last, how
great and mighty soeuer they be. King Henry the third going into Poland saw her so faire,
as at his returne (when as death had made him forget the Princeesse of Conde, in whose re-
membrance he did sometimes forget the greatness and grauity of a King) he remembered
her, and by the aduice of the Duchesse of Lorraine his Sister, who said that there was not
any woman in the world more fit for his humour then this Princeesse: hee demanded her,
and had her to wife. Gaff was sent vnto her, and found her coming from Saint Nicho-
las, whither she had gone in pilgrimage on foot. The Queene of Nauarre did much dis-
swade this alliance, apprehending to march after a daughter to the Earle of Vaudemour:
for this cause the King would not haue her goe one day after her who should thinke her
selfe honored the next day to be the first after her: so as there was no difference betwene
her coming, making sure, and marriage.

Six weekes after her marriage they found her to be with child; but soone after she had
a mischance, and had a false birth, being a sonne. This caused her to haue a Jaundie for
a time, and an indisposition for euer, which made the King and Realme out of hope to see
her a mother. This barrenesse made the Queenes life barren of all content. It is true that
the three or foure first yeares were spent in all delights. The King made no voyage with-
out her, no feast where she was not; he could not be to any other, being wholly to her, his
delights were vnto her desires. Before his marriage he had loued Chastelnew, one
of the Queene-mothers Mayds, the fire had beene so violent, as the ashes were yet hot, and
had bene sufficient to kindle a new flame, if the Queenes wisdom had not caused them
to be cast into the wind, when this great beauty appeared the rest lost much of their light.

The Queene was somewhat troubled: but when as the Queene-mother told her that she
had endured much more, her griefe was somewhat allwaged, though not altogether taken
away. She dissembled vntill that the saw this virgin come one day to dance attired, by emu-
lation, like her selfe, at what time she told the Queen-mother that she could endure it no longer:
the who loued her dearly, wrought so as this Star was eclipsed, & appeared no more;
she left the Kings heart as well as the Court, and in despite married at her owne will. This
Princeesse who had neuer bin bred vp but in her fathers court, grew suddenly very skillfull
in all the complements of Court. The King instructed her himselfe in all the perfections
which the world admires. Neuer Queen before her did better vnderstand what did belong
to Queenes. She had past through all the honours which are due to Kings wiues. She was
crowned Queene: she had set twice in the Assembly of the Estates of the Realme: she re-
ceiued all sorts of Ambassadors, with lesse or more respect, according vnto the dignity of
the Prince from whence they were sent, and shewed in her discourse wisdom, govern-
ment, and much iudgement. She wonne the Queene-mothers heart so absolutely, as none
but she did possesse it; there was such a conformity betwixt them, as what pleased the one
could not displease the other. There was also a great intelligence betwixt her and the duke
of Alanson, who honoured her as much as if he had beene farre inferiour vnto her: It was
thought

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A thought that if the King had died vpon a disease in his care, wherof the Physitians were in
some doubt, he would haue married her, ynesse the Pope had denied a dispensation. Also,
when he was dead, it seemed she would no more vie her eyes but to weepe. They held her
to be very disdainfull, neither did she regard the Princes and Princeesses of the blood as she
ought, louing none but them of her owne House. The Kings great heat of loue beganne to
grow cold. His heart was like a tree planted on the high way, whose fruit is free for all
passengers. He committed much excess, and gaue himselfe to the pleasures of the Court,
which did then abound: he was not pleased to see her richly attired, nor to see her in
companies. He made two voyages to Lions without her, his nature still affecting new

B things. Shee who loued the Princes of her House, was grieved to see them sequestered
from the Kings fauours, which the Dukes of Ioyeuse and Elpernon did wholly enioy.
They were all in Court, and did possesse the Kings heart absolutely. Then she began to
take the course of piety and deuotion, which she had rather discontinued then forgotten,
hauing sucked deuotion from the bosome of piety. The King on the other side began to fre-
quent reformed Cloysters. Shee was rather seene in the Churches then at the Loure.

This Sphere of deuotion did alwayes turne, neither could any occasion either within or
without the Court stay the course thereof. She began to neglect that great beauty, which
at her coming had made her amiable, and admirable, and gaue her the prize of all the
beauties of the West. The Roses and the Lillies of her liuely hiew were withered, more
C through the rigour of affliction then for age. And though the Kings affections were much
diminished, yet they had neuer but one bed, neither did they lye asunder but fix or seuen
moneths, by the aduice of the Physicians, vpon an infirmity of the Kings which was con-
tagious. She was much afflicted for the death of the Duke of Guise, from which time af-
flictions neuer left her, for presently after followed that great insurrection of all the towns
in France, the which wasted the Kings treasure, and reduced him to necessities that were
vknowne and incredible, she was forced to send all her Maids of Honor to their houses,
she remained alone with foure Ladies, with the which she retired in Chenonceau after
the Kings departure from Tours to besiege Paris. There she had newes that a Monke had
hurt the King of Saint Cloud, and resolved to goe and see him; but shee was caried backe
to Chenonceau whereas the Earle of Fiesque and then, Dinet her Preacher told her that

D the King was dead, the newes of his wounding had already prepared her to this accident,
for as soone as the King was hurt, hee wrote these few words vnto her with a trembling
and dying hand. *My friend you haue heard how I haue bene miserably hurt, I hope it will be
nothing, pray to God for me, farewell my friend.* Notwithstanding vpon the newes of his
Death she fell downe in a sound, and then began to dye in this death. She caused foure
of her maids of Honor to returne, who found a wonderfull alteration betwixt the visage of
the Loure, and that of Chenonceau: for the necessities were so extreame, as most of
them liued of their owne purses. Shee had no dowry, and the liberalitie shee receiued
from the King was lesse then her necessitie: she was much wronged by her during the

E reigne of the deceased King. She could not dissemble the hatred shee bare him when hee
was at Tours, where she shewed him so cold a countenance, and gaue him so bad a recep-
tion, as forseeing the mildnesse of his nature, he said that hee would thinke of it, and that
she should repent it. But being King of France hee would not reuenge the wrongs done
vnto the King of Nauarre, no more then Lewis the twelfth would those of the Duke of
Orlenace: for hee relieved her necessities as much as his affaires would permit him, and
gaue her after the death of Queene Elizabeth the Dowry, which shee enioyed, and had
giuen her more but for the Duchesse of Beaufort, who loued her not, for that they had
reported some words of contempt which shee had vsed on her. Shee bore a singular af-
fection to the Princes of her House. And although that friendships grounded vpon

F vertue, are better then those which grow from nature, as being more voluntary, yet
shee did not esteeme any friendship but that of her owne blood: which made them say
that shee had intelligence with the Princes of her house against the King: but she shewed
that her actions were free from it, refusing to see any of them after the death of the
King her Husband, for the which shee was so afflicted, as the violence of her hearts
griefe did ruine the vigour of her body, by a continuall defluxion vpon her lights, and
coldnesse of her braine. Shee could neuer vie the souveraine remedy of the most in-
tenerate vlcers of the minde, forgetfulness: she alwayes represented vnto her selfe, how
she

The Kings let-
ter, being hurt,
to the Queene.

The Queenes
necessity.

Duchesse of
Beaufort, heard
nor the Queene.

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she could possibly live, seeing the spirit of her life was dead, for even then she began to die, all the rest of her life was but torment and languishing. Shee went to the King to Mantes, where after shee had implored justice, always assisting at the Throne of God, shee cast her selfe at the Kings feet to have a iust and lawfull revenge for the death of the King her Lord. *Du Buillon* of the chiefe of her Councell made a learned and eloquent speech touching the iust affliction of this Princesse. *La Guelfe* the Kings Proctor made another, able to moue the hearts of the most barbarous Scythians. After the end of the Kings Masse, when as this Princesse heard the Palme which the deceased King did vniuallly cause to be sung, her griefe renewed with such violence as they held her for dead. The King ran to helpe her, and kneeled downe to lift her vp: All the time of her widowhood which was spent at Chenonceau, & at Molins, was rather the life of a priuate Lady, then of a Queene; or of a religious woman, then of a widow. The best part of the day was employed in prayer, and that which remained after the houres of eating, and of Businesse, were spent for some workes for the decoration of altars, there being few churches in France, where the hoth not sent of her worke. And although the were often visited by Princes, Princesses and great Noblemen, yet she neuer neglected one minute of her deuotion. To conclude, she was a sweet vessell of piety, and as a violl full of excellent Balme, or some Odoriferous liquor, whilst it is whole it giues no sent but to them that are neare it, but being broken, it delights them that are farr off. So this vessell of most Odoriferous vertue, being broken by death, hath powred forth her sweet sents ouer all the Earth.

Death of the
Princesse of
Conde.

Princesse of
Condy dies.
The Duchesse
of Esguillon
dies.

The same yeare also, Madam Francis of Orleans, Princesse of Conde, Mother to the Count of Soissons, died in her house of Grenelles at Paris, the Funerall Pompe was celebrated in the Abbey of Saint Germain de pres. About the end of this yeare the Princesse of Conty dyed of a great and languishing sicknesse, as she went to her house at Boanestable in Perche, to change the aire by the aduice of her Physicians, but she changed her life, leaving one onely Daughter, the which the Count of Soissons married.

Afterwards the Duchesse of Esguillon dyed, being daughter to the Duke of Neurs deceased, who left great cause of mourning to the Duke of Esguillon, eldest Sonne to the Duke of Maine, and the rather, for that he dyed in child-bed, and the child also with her. The King in forty dayes had conquered all Sauoy, within forty daies after he married, treated of a Peace, made the Queene in safe to be a Mother, went in post from Lyons, and came to Paris, who bare his long absence impatiently. His returne gaue the world to vnderstand how quiet and constant the affaires of France were, that a King which went a hundred Leagues with twelue onely in his traine, was wel assured of his subjects, and feared not his neighbours.

The Queene followed by small iourneys, and came to Fountainbleau, where she staid not long, but came to Paris about Saint Germaines fayre, her first lodging was at *Gardies* house her first Gentleman of Honour, being in the suburbs of Saint Germain. The next was at *Zamets*, superintendant of her house, and then she came to the Louure. The Parisiens prepared themselves and besought the King to giue them leave to make her a stately entry: but his Maiestie would haue the charges of this entry reserved for a more durable worke. All the Princes of the blood, with the chiefe Ladies of the Court and City presented themselves to kisse her hands, and to doe their duties vnto her Maiestie. Shee made much of all them that the King fauored, and resolved to loue what he loued, framing her will in such sort vnto him, as she held his will for an vnwritten Law.

The Queene
comes to
Paris.

This yeare the Pope granted a *Iubile* and Pardons to all the French that should goe visite the Church of Saint Croix in Orleans, doing the workes of Christian charitie. An infinite number of people went thither from all parts of France; the King and Queene went thither with the first, and gaue meanes to helpe to build this Church, which had bin ruined during the fury of the first ciuill watres. The King laid the first stone of this building. An act worthy of a Christian King, the true successor of the piety of Saint Lewis his Predecessor. But whilst he gaires Pardons, his enemies watch to surprise the best places of his Realme. He was disarmed vnder the assurance of the Peace. The armie of strangers was still whole together, and became fearfull to all Italy. All the Princes were troubled thereat, and although they be not well vnited together, yet when there is any question of danger, they haue good correspondency. At Rome they said it was for Geneva, and that the

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A the Marquis of Aix was gone to intreate the Pope to fauour him with his blessing, and to fortifie him with his meanes. Many other discourses were made touching this army, but time discovered that it was entertained for Marseilles. There is nothing so holy, but money will violate, nor so strong but it will force. The Count of Fuentes vpon promise of great recompence, had practised an enterprise very easie to execute, if the bargain had held. It was adooing during the treaty of Peace with the Duke of Sauoy, who sent *Don Sanchis de Salina* to Milan to the Count of Fuentes, with two of them which made this march, whereof the one gaue aduice to the President *Du Yair*. Hee which had promised to deliuer the Tower of the Port for an entry to the enemy, discouered himself to the D.

An enterprise
vpon Marseilles.

B of Guise. *La Goye* (a Gentleman of Prouence) was sent vnto the King, to beseech him to giue him leave to encounter them with the like practice. The King who desires not to gain by treachery, said that hee was content to keepe his owne, and to let the world know who did first trouble the peace. At that time another enterprise was discouered vpon the towne of Metz. The King sent the President *Ianin* thither; the accused were brought to the prison of the Palace of Paris. The proofes being weak, some were enlarged, vpon condition they should appeare when they were called for, his Maiesty commanding they should inform more amply against the rest, banishing two from the town of Metz, Thoul and Verdun. This great army finding no employment in France, made worke for the hangman in Italy, by the discouery of many conspiracies.

An enterprise
vpon Metz.

C *Rocheport* being Ambassador in Spaine, certaine French Gentlemen (among the which his Nephew was) had a quarrell with some Spaniards, who did iniure them, and cast their clothes into the water, they being a swimming. The Spaniards had the worst, and some were hurt and slaine. Their kinsmen demanded iustice of the King, (who commanded his officers to doe it) but the Ambassadors lodging was forced, and the Gentlemen drawn forth to prison, notwithstanding any thing that he could say or doe to maintain the libertie of his place, the which is inuolable even among enemies. The King was so offended with this iniury, as he commanded his Ambassador to returne, giuing the King of Spaine to vnderstand, that he assured him selfe, that he would do him reason, when hee had well considered what cause he had to complaine. Whereupon all traffike was forbidden betwixt these two Realmes. The Pope fearing that this violence done vnto the Ambassador of France, could not passe without some feeling, and that this Coale might kindle the fire of Warre betwixt these two great Kings: hee sent into Spaine to haue the prisoners, the which were sent vnto him: and the Pope deliuered them presently vnto the Lord of Betunes the Kings Ambassador at Rome, and so the Peace was continued.

Manfear de la
reueget Amb-
assadeur.
Spaine.

D The Ambassadors of Venice were better intreated in France. That great and wise Senate holding themselves bound by the lawes of friendship, to deplore the misfortune, and to reioyce at the prosperity of their friends, hauing been long troubled for the afflictions of France, they send a great and solemne Ambassage to congratulate the fruit of the Kings victories, and the beginning of his marriage. The Ambassadors were chosen out of E the Procurators of Saint Marke, and of the chiefe men of the State. They came to Paris, the King sent the Marquis of Rhofay to conduct them to Fontainebleau, and to intreat them, to be contented with their reception in that place whereas the Queene was, seeing their Ambassage was common to both, and that for the indisposition of her greatnesse, it could not be at Paris, which occasion did renew the ioyes of the Court, the which was in so great tranquility, as it seemed neuer to haue beene in trouble.

An Ambassadeur
from Venice.

The Great Turke sent *Bartholomew de Cueur* his Physitian vnto the King, to acquaint him with the Estate of his affaires, and to intreat him to mediate a truce in Hungary. When as this man spake of the Turkes power, hee did fo extoll it, as if hee had beene able to vanquish all the Princes of Christendome, not excepting Pope nor Emperour, so as the King of France did not meddle in it. Hee presented a Dagger and a Cymiter vnto the Kings Maiesty, whereof the Hilt and Scabbars were of Gold, garnished with Rubies, and a Plume of Herons feathers. The King related vnto him what he had done in Sauoy, and complained that (to the prejudice of ancient Capitulations) not onely the English were distressed from the Banner of France, (vnder whose guard and protection they were bound to traffike) but also the Flemings, Hollanders, and Zelanders were comprehended vnder the Banner of England. To this complaint he added another, against the courtes and violences of the Pirates of Algier, and the coast of Barbary, saying that if the

Bartholomew de
Cueur of Marseilles
a Christian
Renegado, sent
to the King by
the Turke.

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the Justice of the great Turke did not cause these Piracies to cease, hee should have no A reason to beleue his friendship.

The Order of
Recolets.

At this time there sprung vp religious men in France, who said they were true obseruers of the Order of Saint *Francis*, and that the Franciscans and Capuchins did not maintain it so exactly, but they needed reformation. The king gaue them a Couent at Beaufort, and by the example of this piety, many other places desired it. They would lodge at Balmette neere vnto Angers, the which had bene founded by *rene* King of Sicilia. The Franciscans (who could not endure to be dispossest by these Recolets) besieged them, offered to force their gates, & to scale their walls. These besieged defended not themselves with words and exorcismes, but with stones, and in such choller, as if the people had not come the scandall had not ended without murder. The Prouinciall seeing that the Recolets would not receiue him, and that the Bishop would not suffer him to vie force, appealed, as from an abuse of their establishment. The Recolets shew vnto the Court, that they are the true Children and Disciples of Saint *Francis*, liuing according to the rule and discipline that was obserued in Italy, from whence the good precepts of the reformation of Regulars were drawne, that if those of the Family of Obseruance, and of Capuchins, were tolerated and honoured in France, they should be of no worse condition. This cause was the argument of a famous pleading in the Court Parliament, in the which *Seruin* the Kings Aduocate said; That a Reformation was necessary not onely in the Order of the Franciscans or Gray-Friars, but also in all others; but they must be careful, not to transforme by nouelties, in stead of reforming by censures, alledging many reasons against the bringing in of new Orders.

A great pleading
in the
Court of Par-
liament.

Whereupon the Court pronounced that there was abuse, and restored the ancient Religious to the Couent of Balmette, forbidding all religious men of the Order of Gray-Friars to goe out of the Realme, without licence from the King or their Superiours. Jealous and distrustfull heads gaue it out, that the Peace was in weak estate, when as after the injury done vnto *Rochepot* in Spaine, and the forbidding of traffique, they see the King gone suddenly to Calais, and that from thence he had sent the Duke *Biron* vnto England.

The King goes
to Calais.The Count *Sora*
sent vnto the
King.The Duke of
Elguillon sent
to the Arch-
Dukes.

The Arch-Dukes tooke a sudden alarme, and to that end sent the Count *Sora* vnto the King, to deliuer vnto him the state of the siege of Ostend, and to beseech him not to suffer that their enemies should think that these approaches should be to their aduantage, and that their rebellion should be fauoured by an example so hatefull to all Princes. The King sent the Duke of l'Esquillon to visit them, and to assure them that his intention was not to trouble the peace, but onely to visit his Frontier, and to prouide for the fortifications. They did not generally beleue this, for although hee made his voyage in poste, many thought that he would embrace this occasion of the siege of Ostend, and all the Court followed him as to some great exploit. And for that he would not haue the world in suspence of his designs, he gaue the Governours of his Prouinces to vnderstand, that the cause of his going to Calais, was but to visit his frontier, and to prouide for that which should be necessary to assure it, not from present dangers, but from those that might happen. He declared also that he had no other designe then the preservation of peace with all his neighbours, to enioy that which God had giuen him. But there were other practices which could not be dispersed but by the Kings presence.

The Duke of
Biron sent into
England.

The Queene of England sent Sir *Thomas Edmonds* to visit the King, and the King returned her the like by the Duke of Biron. He went accompanied with an hundred and fiftie Gentlemen. The Count of Auvergne was there as vnkowne, but his quality discouraged him. There was nothing omitted that might be for the reception of an Ambassador, and somewhat more. Being at London, many Noblemen receiued him, and accompanied him to Basing, where he rested a day or two before he did see the Queene, who made him know that she was honoured by her Subjects about other Princes. A Prince should lose no occasion to let strangers see the greatness of his Estate, to giue them cause to admire him, and to maintain his Subjects in the duty which they owe him. The Queene of England, who hath made good proofe that women may reigne, as well and as happily as men, obserues this better then any Prince of her age, making all them that followed the Duke of Biron in this Legation, to giue the like iudgement.

His entry to
the Queene.

The Queene being set in State, all the French Gentlemen entred first, but when as the discomfited the Duke of Biron, whom she knew by the description they had made of his face

A Face and stature, she spake with a loud voyce; "Ha, *Monsieur de Biron*, how haue you taken the pain to come and see a poore old Woman, who hath nothing more liuing in her, then the affection shee beares vnto the King, and her perfect iudgment to know " his good seruants, and to esteeme Knights of your fort. As she spake this, the Duke made a low reuerence, and the Queene rose from her Chaire to embrace him, to whom hee deliuered the charge hee had from the King, and withall his Maiesties Letters, the which she read. Shee thanked the King for his remembrance of her: but she said shee could not concale, that as there was nothing vnto a heart (like vnto hers) full of affection and desire more pleasing, then to see and heare what it desired, so could shee not " but feele an extreame torment, to see herselfe deputed of the sight and presence of the " obiect which shee had most desired, whose actions shee esteemed not onely immortal " but diuine, being ignorant whether shee should more enuy his Fortune, then loue his " Vertue, and admire his Merits; so much the one and the other did exceed the greatest " maruailes in the world. That she could not say that a courage which feared nothing but " the falling of the Pillers of Heauen, should feare the Sea, or not trust vnto it for a pas- " sage of seuen or eight houres, blaming them rather which had not instructed him as " well to contemne the Vvaues of the Sea, as the designs of his enemies vpon the Land. " From these speeches, shee fell into some bitterness of Complaints, which shee deliuered with a little vehemency, saying: that after shee had succoured this Prince with her " C Forces, Purse, and meanes, and if she could haue done it with her owne blood, and had as " much desired the happy successe of his affaires as himselfe, and the ruine of his enemies " more then himselfe, they made no account of her, forcing her to thinke that the loue " they bare her was but for the hope of commodities they might draw from her, the " which being dried vp, all affection was cold. That they had fought her in the torment " to forget her when the time was calme. That they preferred new friendship before the " old, wisdom before Iustice, and profit before reason. And for a signe of inhumanity, " they refused her her owne. Then taking the Duke of Biron shee led him to a window " where she continued her discourse in softer and milder termes. There she gaue her hand " vnto all the Gentlemen which the Duke of Biron presented vnto her: among them all " D shee noted *Creguy* to bee sonne in Law to *L'Esquignon*. Shee commanded him to approach neere vnto her when all had done, to whom she declared what esteeme she would make of him for his sake, whom shee held to bee without Peere, saying; That if there were two *L'Esquignons* in France, shee would demand one of them of the King her brother. *Creguy* answered; That he would thinke himselfe happy, if by the Kings commandement any occasion were offered worthy of her seruice, to witnesse vnto her Maiesty that hee did partake in the desire which his Father in law had alwaies had, to giue her some proofe of his affection, and that hee would alwayes cary himselfe so in effect, seeing hee could not bee present but in desire, the Kings seruice binding him to remaine elsewhere. To whom the Queene said; That she did accept of his good will, and with- " E ed him to remember. The Duke of Biron receiued all the honours of the Queene and State, that might be giuen to so great a personage, the particularities wherof I omit for breuities sake.

Having finished his Legation, he tooke his leaue of the Queene, to whom shee gaue a great Present, and so dismissed him with very gracious speeches. He found not the King at Calais at his returne, who was gone backe to Fountainbleau against the Queenes lying downe, where hee had left her, and the Duchesse of Bar with her. All France attended the Fruit of this birth, as the full of their Felicities, assuring themselves, that by the birth of a Dauphin, they should find all that which forepassed ages, and that which was to come could desire. Ten daies before his birth, the Earth quaked in many parts of Europe. " F great Duchesse who desired greatly to be neere the Queene, sent her a rich Cradle, exquisitely made at Florence, hoping it should serue for a Dauphin (for she would not haue giuen it with so good a will for an other Sexe) inreaching the Governor of Lions, by her Letters, to fauor the passage, and his diligence that had charge of it, to the end that hee might arise in time, and not to suffer any to open the Coffers.

The Queene fell in labour on Thursday at night, the seuen and twentieth of September. The King and the Princes of his blood, were in the Chamber, according to the ancient law of the Ceremonies of the Crown, to the end, that the interested in the succession,

R r r

may

1601

The
Queenes
Speech.The Duke
of Biron
returned
out of England
in the begin-
ning of Octo-
ber.A Cradle sent
to the Queene.The Princes of
the blood may
be in the
Queens cham-
ber when she
is in trauell to
maintaine the
Salique Law.

1601

The Dauphin borne.

may not pretend there was any supposition. The Queene was held for a while in great danger, for she had given herselfe such liberty in eating of fruit, as she felt it, and repented it in her travell, but in the end, about eleven of the clocke, shee was delivered of a sonne. The King blessing him put a Sword in his hand, to vset it to the glory of God, and the defence of his Crowne and people. All the Princes and Noblemen flocked to reioyce at this new Grace. The Ioy was so great, and the King was so prest with the Congratulations of them that came about him, as going to the Church to give God thanks for this favour, he lost his hat in the throng. The Secretaries of State, made dispatches presently into all Provinces, to make them partakers of this great ioy. The first was brought to Paris by *Favennes* about foure of the clocke, to the Chancellor, the Court of Parliament, and the Towne-houfe, presently thanks were given to God, and bonfire made throughout all the Realme, the people holding this latter grace, as an assurance of the fruit of all the precedent. *Sourmay* was chosen for his Gouvernour. The Pope sent presently vnto the King and Queene to congratulate with them of this birth, and to cary vnto the yong Prince swadding bands, bearing clothes, and other things, blessed by his Holinesse. All Princes allied to this Crowne, sent to congratulate this happy occasion.

The Queene of Spaine delivered of a daughter.

The Queene of Spaine was brought in bed about the same time of a Daughter. The Spaniards were no lesse content then the French, taying that they had rather the Queen should begin with a daughter then with a sonne, lest they should fall into the accidents, which lealouise and Ambition doe breed, when the Children appeare so soone to folliw, cite them to bee gone; when as their ages are confounded, that the one is in the flower, the other in the season of fruites, the which is most capable to command and rule, and that the desire to succeed may not give occasion to trouble the order of Nature, and maketh the one repent that they are Fathers, and declares the other unworthy to bee Children.

The Duke of Biron returns out of England to Court.

The Duke of Biron came to Fontainebleau, whereas the King, Queene and Dauphin remained, he gaue an account of his Ambassage into England, and delivered the Queenes Letter vnto his Maiesty. He continued in Court vntill the end of the yeare, and presented vnto him the three Estates of *Breffe*, *Beaugy*, *Veromey* and *Gex*; whom the King receiued as graciously, as if they had been Frenchmen by birth and affection; hee confirmed their Priuiledges, and made them feele the fruits of this change. Hee erected a Presidiall Court at Bourg, depending vpon the Parliament at Dijon, notwithstanding any opposition made by that of Grenoble, pretending that the Countries exchanged should hold the place of the Marquitate of Saluces, and be incorporate vnto Dauphine. Hereleeued the Countries exchanged, in their impositions and Taxes, and with such moderation, as the most miserable, promised vnto themselves happinesse, vnder his sweet subiection. Among other speeches, which the King vled vnto the Deputies, these were noted, *It is reasonable (said he) seeing you speake French naturally, that you should bee subiect to a King of France: I am well pleased that the Spanish tongue shall remaine to the Spaniard, and the Germane tongue to the Germane, but all the French must belong to me.* The Dauphin made his first entry into Paris the 30 day after his birth: the Port was beautified with Armes. The pompe was of a Cradle in a litter, whereas the Lady of Monglas far with the Nurce. The Prouost of Merchants and Sherifes went out of the City to meet him. The Gouvernesse made answer to the Oration. His first lodging was at *Zamets* house. Two dayes after he was caried backe to S. Germane in Lay, and to the end the people might see him passing through the City, she nurse held him at her breast. The King had determined to conduct the Queene to Blois, but the desire he had to instruct the Duchesse of Bar his sister in his Religion, stayed them all at Paris, whither he had sent for the most learned Prelates and Diuines, to satisfie her in the presence of such Ministers as the had brought with her. But they conuired her not to yeeld vnto this change, nor to dismember her selfe from the Body and society of the Children of God, to bow her knees vnto Idolatry. She continued so constant in her beleefe, as shee made a protestation, that if her Religion were prejudiciall to the Estates of the Duke of Lorraine, shee was ready to returne into Bearne, beseeching the King to suffer her to end her life as shee had begun it. So as the conferences vpon this subiect remained vnprofitable, and were of no more effect, then that which was made at Ratisbonne at the same time, and for the same cause. The King having settled as happy a peace in France as could bee desired, hee sought to redresse

His Speech to the Deputies.

The Dauphins first entry into Paris: at 27 of October 1601.

A Conference to instruct the Kings sister.

1601

Many of the Treasurers discharged.

A redresse the disorders which could not be cured during the violence of the warre, hee did two things to reforme the disorders of the Treasure, in the one hee cut off a great number of Officers belonging to the Treasure, and in the other hee caused a great and seuer search to bee made of their abuses. The more Officers the King hath for the managing of his Treasure, the lesse profit comes vnto his Coffers, for that a great part is spent in their entertainments. So as it was resolved at the Estates held at Rouin, to suppress the Offices of the treasurers of the generalities of France by death without hoping of reuiuing.

As for the abuses of Treasurers, their couetousnesse was so great, and their abuses so countenanced, as no man liued happily but they. Such as rob the Poore dye in Prisons and are hanged, but they that steale from the King and the publicke, are at their ease. When as *Ribousy* was called to be Superintendent of the Treasure, they were out of hope to doe their businesse as they had wont. By his aduice the King commanded a strict search to bee made of their Abuses in the Treasure, and to that end, hee erected a Chamber (or Court) which hee would haue called *Royale*, consisting of Iudges chosen out of his Soueraine Courts: of one of the Presidents of the Court of Parliament: two Masters of Requests of his Household: two Councillors of his Court of Parliament: one President of his Chamber of Accompts: three Councillors of the Court of Aydes: of one of the Aduocates generall of his Court of Parliament: and of one of the Substitutes.

A Chamber Royall created.

And for that they had given the King to vnderstand, that nothing did so much impoverish his Realme, as the transport of gold and silver, the which was vsuall by the sufferance of Officers, he therefore reuiued the ancient Lawes for the transporting of gold and silver, or bullion out of the Realme, adding paine of death thereunto, and losse of all their goods that should doe to the contrary, the third whereof should goe vnto the Informer. He commanded all Governours to haue a care of the obseruation of these prohibitions, and not to grant any passports to the contrary, vpon paine to be declared pariares of these transports, and for their Secretaries that should countersigne them, confiscation of their goods and perpetual banishment. But the forbidding of the transportation of gold and silver is not the onely meanes to make a Realme abound therewith, if the vse of it within be not well ordered. And therefore the King did forbid the superfluous vse of gold and silver in lace or otherwise vpon garments. This Edict did greatly trouble the Ladies in Court, yet it was obserued, for that it was generall and excepted none: the King himselfe did throwne of a Prince of his House, who had not yet thought of this reformation. The King continuing the same care to settle all things in good estate, seeing that foraigne Coynes went at a higher rate in his Realme then where they were coyned, hee commanded that the vse of foraigne Coynes should bee forbidden, after a certaine time giuen to the people to put it away, restoring gold to his iust value. This commandement was iust, but it was a great ruine to the people, for the Strangers seeing that their Coynes were not currant among vs, discontinued the trafficke, and liued without that, without the which we thought they could not liue. Those which were wont to come to Lions went to Geneva, where the Duckats were raised as much as wee had abated them. The King by all these Edicts had nothing releued the necessities of the Nobility, if he had not provided for vsuries, which haue ruined many good and ancient houses, filled Townes with vnprofitable persons, and the Country with miseries, and inhumanities. Hee found that Rents constituted after ten or eight in the hundred did ruine many good families, hindred the trafficke and commerce of Merchandise, and made Tillage and Handicrafts to bee neglected, many desiring through the easinesse of a deceitfull gaine, to liue idly in good Townes of their Rents, rather then to giue themselves with any paine to liberall Arts, or to Till and Husband their inheritances. For this reason (meaning to inuite his subiects to enrich themselves with more iust gaine, to content themselves with more moderate profit, and to giue the Nobility meanes to pay their debts,) hee did forbid all vsury or constitution of Rents at a higher rate then fixe pounds fixe shillings for the Hundred. The Edict was verified in the Court of Parliament, which considered that it was alwaies prejudiciall to the Common-weale to giue money to vsury: for it is a serpent whose biting is not apparant, and yet it is so sensible as it pierceth the very heart of the best Families.

The transport of gold and silver forbidden.

The wearing of gold and silver forbidden.

An Edict for vsury.

1602

Ambassadors
chosen to
send to for-
eign Princes.

The affaires of the Realme being in so great tranquillity, as the King had no care but to enjoy the fruits of a Peace. He made choice of Ambassadors to send to foraign Princes that were in League with him. *Barrault* was named for Spaine, *Betunes* for Rome, the Count *Beaumont* was chosen for England, and the President *Fresnes Canay* to go to Venice, who had a particular aduice giuen him, the which for that it is of consequence and serues for instruction to others in the like charges, deserves to be noted. It hath alwaies bene obserued at Venice, betwixt the Popes Nuncio and Princes Ambassadors that remaine there, that the last come is alwaies first visited by the others before hee returns them the like. It happened that *Huraut de Mesle* the Kings Ambassador at Venice, hauing bene twice or thrice sent backe thither by his Maiesty, and no other Ambassador: at his last returne the Popes Nuncio refused to visit him, saying, that hee was not a new Ambassador, and that it was in him to visit him first, the which he did, as well for that they could not take his returne for the beginning of a new Ambassage: from this complement of courtesie, the Popes Nuncio would draw a consequence of dutie, and would challenge a right to be visited first. So as the Ambassador of Spaine hauing made difficultie to visit the Nuncio, attending it first from him, according to the ancient order, they stood so long vpon this Ceremony, as they passed all the time of their Legation without visiting one another. And therefore the King foreseeing that if *de Fresnes Canay* were not informed of these particularities, he might haue bene surprisid in this Complement of visiting. In this discourse of Ambassadors let vs see the issue of two important Ambassages, the one for the King at Thurin, the other for the Duke of Sauoy at Paris, and both for the swe ring of the peace. *Ianus Mitles* of *Nycolans* Lord of Saint Chaumont, Knight of both the Kings Orders, was commanded to goe to Thurin to receive the Dukes oath. Hee went well accompanied with Gentlemen, and neuer Ambassador was better received than hee was in Sauoy and Piedmont. *D'Albigny* Gouverneur of 'Sauoy feasted him at Chambery like a Prince, the Duke commanding him to intertaine him in all places as himselfe.

The Duke of Sauoy, exceeds all the Princes of his quality in such Ceremonies: There is not any Court where they are performed with more order and pompe. The Ambassador coming within a League of Thurin, hee was intreated by the Duke to stay his entry one day, for that the Duke of Nemours did feast him at a house of his, and that the chiefe men of his Court being all inuited, desired to be there, and not to lose the opportunity to meet with him, nor the Ladies to see his reception. He sent for him, and for all the chiefe men of his traine richly furnished, with footmen in very good order to enter into Thurin. Two leagues from the Towne he was met by his Companies of men at armes. The commanders hauing presented themselves vnto him, the Companies opened and made them way to passe through the midst of them, hauing passed a little farther, he was incountred by the Marquis of Lan, in the head of the chiefe Noblemen of the Dukes Court, to accompany him into the Towne; at the ports whereof there were twenty Staffiers or footmen, euerie one with two torches of white wax in his hand to light him to his lodging, whither presently the Duke sent the Earle of Crenie the first Gentleman of his Chamber, to let him vnderstand how much he was pleased with his coming, and grieved that he should not see him vntill the next day: At the houre appointed word was brought that the Duke desired to see him, where at the first encounter hee vied him with more then ordinary words, and great declarations of ioy which the Duke received of his arrival, and of the contentment he promised vnto himselfe by the effects of his legation. The Ambassador did the Kings commendations vnto him, and told him that hee had commandement from his Maiesty to represent many things vnto him touching the treatie of peace. The Duke answered, that they must not talke of affaires, intreating him to forbear eight dayes. The Kings Ambassador was well aduertised, that he would gaue time on the one side, as hee lost on the other, attending a Post from Spaine touching the oath which he was to make: his good shewes could not hide his hart's griefe for the losse of part of his Estates, the possession whereof had neuer bene so pleasing, as the priuation was troublesome.

Chenieres visited the Princes & the *Infanta's* according to the Kings commandement. The Ambassador of Spaine went in Pilgrimage to our Lady of Mont de Vic, because he would not be at the Assembly. The Ceremonie was like vnto the precedent at Cham-

bery

1602

The Earle of
Soulis married
the Lady
LucyDeparture of
the Kings Am-
bassador.The Dukes
liberality.The Marquis
of Lullins Am-
bassador for the
Duke.The alliance
with one Suisse
renued.Monsieur de Vic
an *Silley*
Ambassadors
in Suisse.A Diet at Sor-
lure the 11. of
Septemb. 1602Oration of
Monsieur de
Silley to
the Suisse.

A bery for the treaty of Veruins, after which the Ambassador dined with the Duke, where there was nothing forgotten that might giue him contentment. The Duke told the Ambassador that he would sup with him, but alwaies at his owne charge, whether hee caused many Ladies to be inuited: during the heat of these iollities the Duke tooke no taste in affaires, he so much desired to content the Kings Ambassador and those that were with him. Yet he did not leaue to satisfie him in that which he had proponed, touching the rights and pretensions of the Lady of Lucy, and for many demands which they of Geneva had made vnto the King, vpon the execution of the treaty. For the first, they answer that hee will giue the King contentment, and for the second, that his Maiesty would neuer iudge reasonable that he should bind himselfe in his owne Estates, to conditions, which they of Geneva would not allow in theirs. The Ceremonies being performed, the Ambassador rooke his leaue, and his departure was not lesse honored than his coming, where hee did not forget to giue them great Presents. Some said that after to great an expence in his voyage to Paris, and that hauing wasted his Treasure, and ruined his Countries with warre, those which did accompany *Chenieres* should not haue like Presents to them that were with *Botheas* when as the Duke swore the peace of Veruins. But hee did the contrary, shewing, that the last of the vertues which should die in him should bee liberality, and that he knew, to whom, how much, when, and how he should giue, and that in such occasions sparing was hurtfull. He gaue vnto the Ambassador a Jewell of 4000 Crownes, and to all the Gentlemen horsies. The Marquis of Lullins came into France to take the Kings oath. The Ceremonie was done at the Celestins in Paris, according to the accustomed manner and forme vsed in the like treaties, and in the presence of many Princes of the blood, Noblemen, & Councillors of State, the act being signed by the King, by *Villeroy* and *Forger* Secretary of State. The Siegneurie of Geneva intreated the King to giue them the Baliwicke of Gex, as a necessary thing for the safetie of their Estate. The King answered, that being concluded by the treaty, which he had made with the duke of Sauoy, that the lands exchanged for the Marquise of Saluces, should remaine vnted and incorporated to the Crowne, he requested them to rest satisfied with this condition, and not to hope for any alteration, for this consideration, these Countries being of one condition with the other Prouinces of the Realme, they would not admit any diuersity in their lawes, he therefore established the exercise of the Romish religion, and sent the Baron of Lux to put the Bishop of Geneva in possession of the Churches of his Diocesse, causing Masse to be said in the Churches of Gex. They of Geneva made faults, and publike prayer to the end (sayd they,) to keepe the Idols from their wals.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Court being quiet, and dreaming of nothing but of feasts and dancing, and the whole State in such tranquillity, as nothing might seeme to interrupt it. The King had but one businesse without the Realme, whereon depended the contentment which hee might giue to the Suisse, in confirming the promise which his Ambassador had made of the renewing of their alliances. There had bene many Assemblies held to that end at Bade and Soleure, but all vncertaine, as they be commonly. Their resolutions were inconstant and variable, with new demands, which did cut off nothing of the necessity of the first. These diuers agitations sprang from *Milan* and *Sauoy*, who could not endure to see the Flower-de Luc flourish in the rocks and Alpes, and were grieved to haue spent so many double Ducats in vaine, to choke the feeds of their affection to this Crowne. *De Vic* disposed things in as good sort as the King could desire, *Brulart* was sent to make the worke perfect. He gaue them to vnderstand the kings last resolutions, with so great wisdom and dexterity, as they were allowed by the greatest part of the Cantons. After that, the partisans of Spaine and Sauoy found that their crosses brought more aduancement then difficulty to the Kings affaires, and that the most obstinate became temperate, and were forced to yeeld, and that they could not hinder, but that the light of vertue and the Kings fortune would shine through the Chaos of their practices. *Sillery* finding that their wills were well prepared, and disposed to entertaine and accept of the Kings intentions, he made the proposition of renewing of the League at Soleure in September, after this manner:

"My most honored Lords, I haue bene fent into this Country by the most Christian King my master, your best friend, ally, and confederate, with charge to deliuer vnto you, his louing recommendations, with the letters which his Maiesty hath written vnto you,

Rrrr 3

by

Monsieur de
Chenieres
Ambassador
to Thurin.His entertain-
ment.The Duke of
Sauoy attends
a Post out
of Spaine.

1601

by the which you may conceiue his intention vpon the cause of my voyage, according to the which his Maiesty hath also exprefly commanded mee, to assure you of his loue and affection, and of the esteeme which hee had made of your Nation, for that hee had made better triall of their courage and valor then all other Princes, hauing bene so often with them in battell and other exploits of warre, and to tell you that he desires to continue with you the ancient friendship, alliance, and good correspondency which hath so long and happily continued, betwixt the Kings of France, his Maiesties predeceffors of happy memory, to the common good of the one and the other. After that hee had received your friendly answer dated the 15 of May, in the year 1600, touching that which had bene propounded vnto you on his behalfe by the deceased *Monsieur de Montfautaine* his Ambassador concerning the renewing of the League, his Maiestie did presently appoint his Deputies to come and treat with you, the which had bene duely effected, if the vnexpected warre of Sauoy, contrary to his Maiesties intention, had not stayed the voyage of his said Deputies, the which since hath not bene deferred, but to send by the same means greater prouision of money which cannot be so soon gathered together as was requisite, for the pouerty of the people, who are yet afflicted for the wars and calamities past, which haue so long continued, and is the onely cause which hath stayed your payments, to the great griefe of his Maiesty, and of all good Frenchmen, who were sorry to see you vnaccommodated and could not helpe it. This excuse my Noble Lords, is not only true, but worthy of compassion, if it please you to remember the true and iust cause of this stay, and the great miseries and wrongs which all France, and to many poore Innocents haue since suffered.

And although that by the happy peace which is hath pleased God to giue vs, there be occasion to hope for all prosperity, and that the mischiefe decreasing, and commodities increasing, as we see daily, by the grace of God there will be meanes to giue his Maiesties good friends and seruants satisfaction. Yet this cannot be so suddenly, but it is necessary to haue sometime to reape the fruits, notwithstanding it is most assured, and the haruest and fruition is neere, which will recompence the long expectation.

I thinke my Lords it were superfluous to shew how profitable this alliance hath bene heretofore to the one & to the other, for that it is notorious to all the world, being made manifest by effects, and hath no need of prooue. We acknowledge freely and willingly, that the assistance and succors of your souldiers, which at sundry times, and in many occasions, haue bene employed both within and without the Realme, haue bene very profitable for the succouring of the Kings and Crowne of France. I assure my selfe also, that for your parts you will acknowledge how much the Alliance and friendship of France hath bene fauourable and helpful vnto you, since the which you haue not bene only respected of Princes and Potentates, which are neere vnto you, but haue also bene sought vnto by them that are farthest off: you haue not bene molested, nor set vpon by any, and by this meanes you haue increased in wealth, power and authority, and your Estate is become one of the most happy and most flourishing that euer was. So your wife Predecessors haue thought that no other alliance could be more commodious vnto you for many reasons best knowne vnto your selues: we demand nothing one of another, there are certaine conuentions betwixt your Nation and Ours, whereby they agree better then any other. We desire your battailions to fortifie our Armies, which may bee also said that you did neuer trust, nor agree so well with any, as with our French foot and horse.

My Lords they which faime imaginary rights and pretensions for any part of your Estates, desire not your good nor vnion, and if according to your wisdomes it please you to examine strictly the Councils and proceedings of some, who vnder a disguised shew of some present profit, seeme to affect your friendship, you shall finde that their chiefe end is to separate you one from another, to weaken and diuide the force and bodies of your Leagues, and by that meanes to open & make the way easie to execute their old delignes, which they haue long prosecuted, being needfull to vs great force to prevent them, and not to suffer your selues to be abused with their policies.

You must thinke my Noble Lords, that you haue none so dangerous enemies, as those which seeke to sow diuision among you in your Councils, for it is directly contrary to your greatnesse and quiet. The Kings of France, pretend not any thing of you but your friendship, they desire your vnion and prosperity, for the loue and affection which they beare

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A beare you, but to the end that no man may be in doubt, I say, they ought to desire for their owne interest, that you should bee alwaies vnited and fortified, to the end that your assistance may be vnto them a speedy, powerful, and assured succour, they which may not faile them when sooner they shall haue need. The Kings of France and their ministers haue alwaies employed themselves to perswade and maintaine a peace and vnion betwixt you. And it may bee truly said, That the alliance of France is the most proper and firme bond of your coniunction and friendship, to maintaine you powerfull and happy together by this common intelligence, the which cannot be when you shall bee diuided. King *Lewis* the eleuenth employed himselfe to compound the controuersies which were betwixt your famous Predecessors, and the House of Austria; and by his authority and mediation, the Treaty was concluded of the hereditary League, with the Archduke *Sigismund* in the year 1474, the which hath bene since confirmed by his successors, and continued vnto this day.

In the year of our Lord 1531, the five Cantons hauing some diffention with them of Zurich, were forced to contract with *Ferdinand* the King of Romans, and since Emperor, brother to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. The fruits of this new friendship were the cause of a ciuill war betwixt the said Cantons. This war was pacified by the care and diligence of King *Francis*, who made both the one and the other capable of that which was necessary for their owne good and preferuation. A peace was concluded, but it was expressly agreed, that the letters and seales of this new alliance should be restored, as if it had bene held the chiefe cause of this trouble. In the year of our Lord 1582, the deceased King *Henry* shewed no lesse affection and care to prevent the beginning of a war, which was apprehended betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and my Masters of Berne, assisted by some other Cantons; there are many yet liuing which can witness the good endeauours of *Monfieur de Mandelot*, and *Hautfort*, to smother this trouble in the breeding, as in all other occasions the Kings of France and their ministers haue giuen prooue of their affections to the good and quiet of the Cantons.

My Lords, with the alliance of France you may assure your good and prosperity without any feare, and free your selues from many dangers and inconueniences which do fallibly follow the multiplicity of alliances. And if the alliance of France hath euer deferred to be esteemed, if it hath heretofore bene desired; in my opinion it shall bee with more reason now, when as we are nearer neighbours, hauing meanes to succour one another, without demanding passage from any Prince, the Realme of France being in full peace, restored to her beauty, and her limits extended by the force, clemency, wisdom, and conduct of that great King, who hath iustly merited the title of greatnesse, for the glory and greatnesse of his vertues, and of his high exploits, for in him may be seene the perfect Image of a good King, and a great Captain, which is the greatest commendation which the ancient Sages haue thought might be giuen vnto a mortall man. His Majesty hath shewed his valour and force of armes during the war: hee hath also made his bountie and wisdom shine in time of peace. All diuisions are ceased in his Realme, and every man liues in peace vnder his authority, as well by his power, as through the loue and affection of his subiects, who reuerence and feare him as a great King, and loue and obereue him as a good father. And doubtlesse his Majesty hath no other care but to make his Subiects most happy vnder his obedience, restoring the manuring of the Land, the traffike, Merchandize, order and policy in all the parts of his Estate; and it is to be hoped that his raigne will abound in all felicity for his Subiects, Friends, and good Neighbours.

This great King, my noble Lords, desires your friendship and alliance, such as you haue had with the Kings of France his Predecessors. It is not to hurt any one, but to doe good to all. It is not to trouble the publike peace, but rather to maintaine it, his Majesty hauing giuen good proofes of the sincerity of his intentions, for the generally quiet of Christendome, by his facility in the treaty of peace made at Veruins with the King of Spaine, and since confirmed at the City of Paris and Lions with the Duke of Sauoy, whereof I can giue testimony hauing had the honour to serue in all that hath bene negotiated in the said Treaties of Veruins and Lions. His Majesty offers you his loue and affection, which is to be esteemed in a good and iust Prince, whose faith hath neuer failed to his friends, enemies, nor to his owne subiects. he promisseth you all affection that can

Multiplicity of alliances vnprofitable.

Image of a good King, and of a good Captain.

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with reason be desired, as well for your payments, as for all other conditions which should be required, and hath given power to my Lord Ambassador and me, to advise with you of the best means that may be, to renew the alliance with you, and to make it so firme and durable as it may never be changed nor altered.

His Majesty doth also assure himselfe of your widomes and enquiry, that you would not require any thing that were not reasonable and in his power, and that you would consider and adde therunto what shall be required of your part, to assure the effect of a good alliance, that hereafter they might not fall into former inconveniences, by means whereof of his Majesty finds himselfe charged with great and excessive debts, the which had not bene if alliances had bene kept: I speake it without offence to any but only by the necessity of duty, which binds mee to represent the truth of the fact for two reasons: the one, that it may be provided for; the other, to the end that considering the greatnesse and quality of the debts, you may know we deserve to be a little borne withall in the payment thereof.

I hope in his diuine bounty, that as it hath pleased him to manifest by so many miracles, that he hath taken into his protection the affaires of this good King, this realme, and this mighty Common-weale, that he will also be pleased to inspire your hearts with his wisdom, to take a good and holy resolution, which may be first to his glory, for the health of both the Estates, and of all good men; and finally for the encrease of the honour, glory, and prosperity of your Estate, for the which the alliance of France shall be vnto you as it alwaies hath bene, very honourable and profitable.

His discourse was very pleasing vnto the hearers, who thought that the alliance of France, with whom they neuer had any question, and whose friendship had not bene troubled with those feelings, which the injuries of war doe fix deeply in the minds of men, was more profitable and necessary then that of other Princes, which haue hereditary designs vpon that Estate, who would cast lots againe, and come to a new diuision.

These had some-times fought to make their profit of the diuersity of Religion that is amongst the Cantons, in weakning the body by cutting off the members. France on the contrary side had alwaies exhorted them to liue in peace, and not vnder-mine the foundation of their Estate, the which consists of concord and vnion. So Princes should alwaies desire that their Allies might liue in Vnion and Peace. This proposition of renewing the League with the King, was very acceptable vnto them all, but it troubled the small Catholike Cantons, who had made new Leagues with their neighbours, and desired that they would propound some means vnto them, that in contenting the King they might with honour keepe their latter promises. The Ambassadors answered, that they must take those resolutions of themselves, whereby they might willingly contribute that which depended of them. It is no reason sayd the Ambassadors, that you should be directed and set into the right way by vs, seeing you left it without vs and against vs. The Cantons sayd, that the friendship which they had sworne to France, was grounded vpon conditions, the which saying, the duty of their alliance must also faile.

Friendship grounded vpon profit is neuer durable, that of the Swisses cannot be otherwise vnited, they loue the Darigues more then *Darius* himselfe, and glory to see the greatest Princes of Europe to purchase their friendship. Some aduised the King to leaue the petty Cantons, and to take them as his enemies, seeing they had broken the League. But he thought he should wrong the reputation and dignity of his Crown, if he should lose the friends which his Predecessors had gotten. And therefore his Ambassadors (although they seemed not to care for it) omitted nothing that might serue to reduce them into the right way, from the which the opinion of profit, more then the force of his friendship, had drawne them: thinking it reasonable to loue friends with their humors, not for the respect of the continuance of friendship, nor of their constancy, but for the honour of this Crowne. They would not bind the Kings word to any other thing then the payment of a million of gold, in discharge of their debt or pension. There must be another day to deliuer that which should be resolved by euery Canton, vpon the Kings offers and propositions. The petty Cantons appointed a Diet at Lucerna, to resolve of the difficulties they were in betwixt the alliances with France and Spaine, seeing they might not hold the one, but they must abandon the other. Their resolution was, to accept the renewing of the league, and to esteeme old friends for the best. Yet they

A million of
gold was
granted to
the Swisses.

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did not publish it so soone, that it might be the better accepted: many daies were spent in generall assemblies at Bade and Soleure, to reduce it to an immutable point. *Monsieur de Vic* went vnto the Grisons, and procured an assembly to be called at Coire of the three Cantons and their commons in their Episcopall city: there were as many difficulties as the country is rough, the Spanish practices had so much withdrawne their affections from France, they could not dissemble the griefe they conceived for the confirmation of this League. The Count of Fuentes would not suffer any prouision to goe out of the Duchy of Milan, that the dearth and discommodity of victuals, might make the Grisons know that the friendship of Spaine was more profitable vnto them then that of France, and that they should not so much desire the number, as the profit of friends.

De Vic propounded the Kings intention to threecore and seuen Ambassadors deputed by the three Cantons of the Grisons, and to as many other chosen out of the country. They hold a great liberty of opinions in their assemblies, euery man speaks what he thinks. Heere they which made least shew, spake loudest, in the end they resolved to accept of the renewing of the League, adding therunto such preiudiciall conditions, as two of them were sufficient to make the League fruitlesse for the King. *De Vic* sayd vnto them, that they must not thinke that the King would endure any addition or deminution in the ancient Treaty, answering the sayd Articles by writing, to the end that the commons which were to determine thereon, might iudge that their reasons were not stronger then those which he had propounded vnto them, and their commodities and iustities greater with the Kings alliance, then with all others. Whilest that *De Vic* was with the Grisons, *Sillery* labored to dispose the 13 Cantons to the Kings will. But there was still more to resolve then had bene resolved on. The Swisses although they haue not the quicknesse of spirit as other nations, yet are they not lesse aduised in the conduct of their affaires. So as when the Kings Ambassadors thought that in the last Diet held at Soleure, there would be but one sitting, for that all difficulties had bene very exactly considered, they must yet haue patience for twelue dayes, with more crosses and difficulties then were euer treated of in *Switzerland*, for the like affaires; for both the Kings friends and enemies, had conspired not to consent to the conclusion of the Treaty, without

assurance to be paid unreasonable sums euery yeere, besides the million of gold that was granted. The stay of the bringing of the Kings money did also greatly distast them that should haue the best share in the distribution. The more certaine the hope is, the more troublesome is the stay. This failing was insupportable vnto them, and thrust them into bad resolutions against the aduancement of the Kings affaires. So as the Ambassadors did thinke for a time they should get much, to breake with some, and to differ with others, rather then to tie the King vnto such forced conditions. But after much toyle of body and mind, the Treaty was concluded with the good liking of the superiors. There remained nothing but to haue the Duke of Biron come, to authorise by his presence, what had bene concluded by the Kings Ambassadors: he came in the end of Ianuary, well accompanied, and as well received by the Lords of that Common-weale, and by the Colonels and Captaines, to whom it seemed that they were in France, seeing him alwaies that had commanded ouer them in the Kings Army. The Duke spake vnto them in the generall assembly at Soleure in this sort: "Noble Lords, the King my Master (making the same esteeme which his Predecessors haue done, of your generosity, desiring the continuance of true friendship and faithfull alliance, which hath been of long time betwixt his Crown and your Commonalties) hath commanded me to come into your Country, for the happy ending of the Treaty, which the Seigneurs of *Sillery*, and *de Vic*, haue managed for the renewing of the League. His Majesty hath also commanded me to assure you of the account he makes of your faith, and that he will fully obserue the promises that shall be made vnto you. He doth also assure himselfe, that for your parts, you will bring all willingnesse and freedome, now that his Realme is the most flourishing, giuing more cause of enuy then of pity. He desires more earnestly to renew the ancient alliances that haue bene betwixt the Kings and Crowne of France, and your Common-weale, thinking that the good which shall rise thereby shall be profitable vnto you, and the best and most assured means to make you liue powerfully, and happily. I will conceale how highly I esteeme the honour which the King my Master hath done me, in making choice of me with these Gentlemen, to serue for good and holy a worke, and also

Asserby of
the Grisons
at Coire.

Unreasonable
conditions.

Difficulties in
the Treaty.

The Duke of
Biron came
to the King
to confirme
the Treaty.

The Dukes
spoke to
the Swisses.

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to see my selfe with a Nation, which hath bene often (both in peace and war) cherished and esteemed by my deceased Lord and father, the Marshall of Iron, and of my self: For proofe of my affection, I offer you all that is in my power, being desirous to assist you with all fauour, and to serue you in that which a Knight of honour ought and may. The Kings alliance was accepted by the Suisses, publike thanks were giuen to God, and the Duke with the Ambassadors solemnly feasted. The alliance which before had bene contracted but for the Kings life onely, was concluded for the Dauphins also, after that of the Kings, and as many yeares after as were granted to the deceased King. The King receiued great content to see this Treaty so happily concluded, to the honour of his Crowne, contrary to the intent and practices of those that fought to hinder it.

The continuance of the League.

The King of Spaine had leauied a great army in Italy; men spake diuerly of his designs, some added, that *D'Albigny* was gone to Milan to the Count *Fuentes*; that the Marquis of Aix was in Spaine; that the Duke was ready to subiect himselfe wholly to the will of the Councell of Spaine, to whom he deliuered his two sonnes, having made them Knights of his order, to prepare them to the voyage, and had sent *De Fourny* (an extraordinary Ambassador to Rome) to beseech the Pope to send them his blessing. But the King knew well, that vnder these shewes and pretences, there were other negotiations to trouble his Estate, whereof he made no shew: yet such as did see him when hee was most free and priuate, discouered that his head was troubled, and that the toyle & weariness of his minde, was much more then that of his body. One day coming from hunting, being very penfue before the fire, with his hat on his eyes, he drew his sword, speaking some words vnto himselfe, then he turned towards the Vidam of Chartres, who was there present, asking him when *La Fin* his Vncle would come, and that he longed to see him. At the same time there were great reparations made at the Basille, rather to keepe that fast that was to be within it, then to resist without.

The King discovered touching the Marshall of Iron.

There are crimes whereof they make no shew vntill they be committed, but in cases of Treason they must thunder and lighten both together, and it is better to auoid the blow being far off, then to attend it, and not regard it, there being nothing so troublesome as to liue in continuall feare of conspiracies, the which the more they are dissembled, the more they are fortified. This winter the Queene made a rich and sumptuous maske, calling fifteene Princesses and Ladies of the Court vnto her, which represented fixteene Vertues, whereof the Queene made the first. The Duke of Vendome being attired like *Cupid*, marched before the Queene: but within few daies after he changed that habit into mourning, for the death of the Duke of Mercure his Father-in-law, who died of a pestilent feuer, on Twelfth day, in the City of Nuremberg, coming into France to prepare a greater expedition against the Turkes.

The Queene's Maske.

The death of Philip, King of France, of the name of D. of Mercure.

A complaint of the third Estate of Dauphiné.

The King was much grieved for his death: his funerals were made in Lorraine, and at our Ladies Church in Paris; the whole Court of Parliament did assist, and *Francis de Sala* (elect Bishop of Geneva) made the Funeral Sermon. During the publike sports in Court, the Kings Councell laboured to end the suit betwixt the Commons (or third Estate) and the two first Orders of Dauphiné.

The Commons complaining, that all the charges and publike oppressions were laid vpon them, without any helpe from the other Estates of the Prouince, although they made not the sixth part, being reasonable, that all the charges being common, they should be supported equally by all the Prouince, which (by her first condition) was declared free from all such charges, and with this freedom was giuen to the first Sonne of France. Euerie Order pleaded for his owne liberties.

This suite continued six yeares, during the which the parties made ample productions, the which were deliuered into the hands of *Andrew Hurault*, Seigneur of Maafles, one of the Kings priuy Councell, who before he made his report vnto the King and Councell, caused the whole Proceesse to be seene by the President of Commartin, and to *Merle* and *Villegaignon*, Masters of Requests of the Kings household, and heard the Deputies of the parties touching difficulties which did arise. The King would haue the Proceesse seene in his Councell, and that the sentence should be solemnly giuen in his presence, and with the aduice of the first Officers of the Crown, & chiefe of his Councell, whom he did particularly name. Many daies being spent in the report, & much pleading by the deputies of either part, the King ordained by decree a general order for the subsidies of Dauphiné.

The

The King discovered touching the impossibility of Dauphiné.

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A. The third Estate was not well pleased with this Decree, but in the end they were forced to remember, that in all Countries gouerned by an absolute Monarch, they might not enter into comparision with the other Orders.

The King having passed the Feast of Easter at Fontainebleau, prepared to goe to Blois, to Tours, and to Poitiers, and farther, if the good of his preference so required. Many beleued that his intent was to goe another way, which agreed well with their humors who breathed nothing but war. The great leauies which were made in Italy, the warlike humour of the Count of Fuentes, the great stirring of the D. of Sauoy, who could not liue in peace: the discontent of the Spaniards for the preiudicial conditions of the Treaty of Veruins, and many other considerations, gaue some shew of the common opinion of war.

The King had also some intelligence, that the Sea Army, prepared in the realme of Naples, had an enterprize vpon Prouence, although the Spaniards gaue it out, that it was for Algier; but the cleere sighted knew well that without some treason among the French, the Spaniards affaires were not in so good estate as to attempt any thing against France. The King was aduertised that the Duke of Biron was straitened by his duty, and assured moreover, that this disposition of his did not grow in an instant; and that he had not entered into these bad resolutions suddenly, if he had not had conference with strangers. He could not beleue that a spirit so vigilant, so aduise and so valiant, could suffer it selfe to be transported with such violent furies: and it seemed a dreame vnto him, that

The Duke of Biron's conspiracy discovered.

C. a man which had gotten so much honour, to whom his father had left so much, and who had receiued daily what he would from the King, should refuse to that which was contrary to his honour, and greatness of his courage. This good opinion made the King not beleue the aduice giuen him of his bad intentions, making no shew thereof, but would giue him the gouernment of Guienne, & 200000 crownes recompence, with the Castles of Trompet and Blay, to draw him from the frontier, which was more commodious for conference with them, who were resolu'd to draw him from France, or to ruine him.

They had fought him after the taking of Lan, when as they discouered, that hee was come to Paris in choller, for that the King had refused him something, wherewith he gratified the Duchesse of Beaufort: then they offered him two hundred thousand crownes yearly entertainment, and to be General of all the King of Spaines forces in France. As they had found him an *Achilles* in battell, so they found him an *Ulysses* to their words,

stopping his eares at their enchantments, saying; That choller should neuer draw him from his duty: that although his nature were fiery and boyling in the feeling and apprehension of a wrong, yet his heart would neuer suffer this fire to consume the faith and loyalty which he ought vnto his Prince. Hereafter nothing of the offer which they made him, but onely the remembrance of the reparation and esteeme which they made of his valour; and euen then he suffered himselfe to be caried away with those motions, which often transpire the minde to infolency, and contempt of all things, when they see themselves assured of ease, how fouler the chance fall, and that they shall neuer bee vnder the seruitude of necessity. He was sometimes heard say, That he would not die before he had seene his head set vpon a quarter of a Crowne: that he would rather goe to a Scaffold to lose his head, then to an Hospitall to beg his bread: that he would dye young, or haue meanes to doe his friends good. *Either Caesar, or nothing*. Either a free life, or a glorious death: but he had neither of them. His designs made him vtter words of a Soueraigne, and so absolute, as the wife did impute it to extreme arrogancy, the which hath alwaies ruined and confounded them that entertaine it. It is a great happinesse for an Estate to haue great Captains, but nothing is so hard to entertaine, for when they thinke they haue bound their Country vnto them, although all they doe be lesse then their duties, they are easily discontented, and like *Pausanias* and *Themistocles*, seeke new alliances and friendship from enemies, if they be not rewarded to their own wils, and to the height of their ambition. The Duke of Biron had done great seruice to the King and Realme, so were his recompences so great, as no Nobleman of his quality in France but might enuy him: For being not yet forty yeares old, he had enioyed the chiefe dignities of the Realme. At fourteene yeares he was Colonell of the Suisses in Flanders. Soone after Marshall of the Campe, and then Marshall General. He was receiued Admirall of France in the Parliament at Tours, and Marshall of France in that of Paris. Hee acknowledged none but the King at the Siege of Amiens, and was his Maiesties Lieutenant General, although

The D. of Biron refused the gouernment of Guienne.

He refused entertainment from the Spaniards.

He said he would die a Souldier.

He was honoured with the first charges of the Realme.

there

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He desires continuance of the war.

He holds him selfe incontentable.

there were Princes of the blood. To encrease his greatnesse, he was declared a Peere of France, and his Barony erected into a Duchy. And yet not content with all this, he said; He would not die, but he would straine higher. That he will goe no more to recover the Townes of Picardy, vnto the King set vp his Image in brasse before the Louvre, vnto the King still in his brauery some very dangerous speeches, and with such affection, as hee was not pleased with them that did not applaud them. When he saw after the siege of Amiens, that Britany was reduced and the war ended, he thought, that hauing no more vnto of his valor, he should haue no more credit: that hee should haue no more meanes to play the petty King, and to doe all that without feare which he did without iustice. Hee complained of the King, and of the vnequall recompence of his merits and seruice: hee proclaimed his discontent, adding threats to his complaints, speaking of the King with so small respect, as his most passionate seruants held his speeches to be insolent and dangerous. It was the defect of his nature, but fortune added something vnto it, for finding himselfe to abound with all the prosperities that a well ordered desire could wish for in his condition, he found that men lose themselves, being too much at their owne ease. The opinion of himselfe raised his thoughts so high, as hee valued himselfe at an incalimable price, thinking that his heart was not of the common temper of others; that there was no man living might equall him, and that none that were dead had attained to his merits. And although that in all his life he had shewed small zeale to religion; yet now when he prepared his heart to the motions of ambition, he would seeme very religious; protesting that he would be an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestants. *La Noche*, Seigneur of La Fin, was (by reason of the troubles of Prouence, and the quarrell of *Des Diguieres*) retired to his house, being threatened by the King, in quarrell with some great personages of the realme, and surcharged with debts and suits in law. The discontented doe still meet by appointment or by chance. The Duke of Biron (who knew that hee had bene employed in the Duke of Alancons affaires, that since he had negotiated with the ministers of the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sauoy, during the siege of Amiens, and that he had a heart full of discontent) imagined that he sought a Master. They talke together, and mixed their griefes and passions in one complaint, they propound to seeke that without the realme, which they could not find within it, and to enter in practice with the Duke of Sauoy: they resolute to aduise him of an intelligence which *Des Diguieres* had vpon the Fort of Barrault, the which he executed happily. Now after so many examples of incontinable dangers, the Duke of Biron abandons himselfe to a voyage full of dangerous rockes, and fearfull straights, vnder the conduct of a man who was yet wet with shipwracke which he had suffered.

Hee went into Flanders for the execution of the Treaty of Veruins, where *Picote* of Orleanse had conference with him, and inspired his heart with desire to raise his fortune with those who both knew and admired his merits. The Duke of Biron heard him, and made no shew to vnderstand him, and yet he left him in an opinion, that if hee came into France, he would be well pleased that he should speake more plainly vnto him of that subiect. The Spaniards did beleue that hee yielded, seeing he gaue ease, and assured themselves, either to win him, or to vndoe him. The King was aduertised by one which was then employed in the Archdukes Court, of this practice; but he sent him word, that the Marshall *Biron* was of too high a spirit to yeeld to so great a treachery. Being returned out of Flanders, the King would haue married him; but he made shew that his affections were otherwise settled. And although he gaue it out that he sought the Daughter of *Madame de Luce*, yet he treated to haue the other daughter of the Duke of Sauoy, whereof *Cheualier Breton* had spoken vnto him.

He discouers his discontent to La Fin.

La Fin had a promise from the Duke of Biron to do all he could to content his hopes. *Picote* had made a voyage into Spaine to receive directions. *Farges* (a religious man of the order of *Cisterians*) went into Sauoy, and so to Milan, to receive order how to teare this plaint from France: but the Duke of Sauoy being at Paris, pulled vp the Flower-de-Luce which was planted in his heart, and disposed him so to trouble the King within the Realme, as he should leaue him the Marquitate of Saluces in peace. Vpon this assurance the Duke of Sauoy had no meaning to effect the Treaty of Peace: war was proclaimed; the Duke of Biron takes the chiefe places of Breffe: being at Pierre Chastell in the beginning of September, *La Fin* comes vnto him, who by his order had made two voyages

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He conceales the Kings aduice.

He is discontented for the refusal of the Citadell of Bourg.

He treats with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes.

They offer him one of the D. of Sauoyes daughters in marriage.

A voyages to Saint Claude, where *Roucas* met him. The King had aduice thereof, but hee thought it better to dissimble these practices, then to surprize the best of his seruants in his acts of infidelity. He was content to draw him into Sauoy, and to tell him that he must abandon *la Fin*, and not giue care to his bad perswasions. The King shewed him his error, to guide him in the right way, but as they which are posselt with this violent passion of desire to be masters, are no more capable of gouernment nor counsel, hee conceiued that what the King spake for loue, proceeded from feare, continuing still his practices with *la Fin*, and neuer going to see the King, but with a great troope. He made him beleue being at Annelly, that he desired to discover some passage, and demanded guides of the Country to that end, but it was only to let *Renae* passe to the Duke of Sauoy, to discover vnto him the estate of the Kings army, and to make *D'Albigny* retire with his troopes, the which without this aduice had bene cut in peeces.

It was at the same time when as the Duke of Biron intreated the King to giue the gouernment of the Citadell of Bourg to him that he should name. It is the nature of great men which serue Princes, to thinke they merit all, and to be more dangerous then enemies if they be refused what they demand. The King answered him, That hee would commit that place vnto *de Buiffes*. This denyall did so transport the Duke of Biron, and thrust him into such strange and deuillish resolutions, as one morning being in his bed at Chaumont, he made an enterprize vpon the Kings person, whereof mention is made in the deposition of *la Fin* and *Renae*, but it was not executed. He himselfe had horror of so execrable a thought.

La Fin went also from the army to conclude the bargain with the Duke of Sauoy and the Count of Fuentes. He treated first with the Duke, and the Ambassador of Spaine at Iuree, and then at Thurin with *Roucas*. He went to Milan to the Count of Fuentes, whither *Picote* also came, bringing an answer from the Count of Spaine, to the Duke of Biron's propositions, and order to conferre with *la Fin*, and to perswade him to make a voyage into Spaine. He said openly, that the King of Spaine desired to haue the Duke of Biron at what price and perill soeuer. The Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes appointed a day to meet at Some with the Ambassador of Spaine, *La Fin* and *Picote*.

There their minds were knowne, and all difficulties freed of either side. *La Fin* who had pierced into the secret of his counsels, sayd, That the marriage of the Duke of Sauoyes third daughter, was the Cyment to ioyne together and vnite all this treaty, with promise of five hundred thousand Crownes, and the transport of all the rights of the Souerainity of Bourgongne. A more settled iudgement, and greater constancy then that of the Duke of Biron, might haue bene troubled with such plausible and goodly offers: hee could not be seduced but by that *Demon* of Ambition, nor stumble but by that blindness.

The Duke of Sauoy gaue him more hope then assurance of this marriage, and it was not credible that he would accept of a meane Gentleman for his Sonne in law, who was not E of so great a House, but there were many better then his in France. Princes promise all, and hold nothing but what doth not preiudice their greatnesse. Whilest that *la Fin* treated of the Duke of Biron's capitulation in Italy, the treaty of peace at Lyons was concluded. The ignorant sayd, that the King had done ill in not proceeding, and that he should keepe that great rampier of the Alpes, for the frontier of Gaule. These were discourses of men which did not consider, how dangerous it is to goe farre from the frontier, and to leane behind his backe a strong conspiracy: without this peace the King had bene forced to passe the Alpes, the which had bin a favorable occasion for this treason. He was aduertised of the bad seruices the Duke of Biron did him: and that the enterprises which he had vpon the Citadell of Thurin, and the best places of Piedmont, were discovered by their F trechery, to whom he had trusted his Crowne and Scepter. A Prince that hath traitors in his army, neuer fighteth happily. *Charlemagne* repented his trust reposed in *Ganelon*, and *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne in *Campobaccio*.

The Duke of Biron had alwayes disswaded this peace. For that is alwayes the nature of Souldiers to desire worke at whose cost who soeuer, and not to haue rest, but in troubles, which they breed or entertaine. But finding that this peace must send him home to his gouernment, and that the King had some notice of his practices with *la Fin*, he seemed to be very penitent, & asked pardon of the King, walking in the Cloister of the Franciscan Friars

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at Lyons, beseeching him (with a countenance full of contrition and humility) to forget A his bad intentions, the which rage and despite for the Citadell of Bourg had possessed his heart with. The King pardoned him, saying; *That he was well pleased that he had repented upon his clemency, and the love which he bare him, whereof hee would alwayes give him so good proofes, as he should have no cause to doubt, nor to attempt any thing against the assurance he had of his loyalty.* Going from thence, he met with the Duke of Espernon, saying, That (as to his best friend) he would impart vnto him the best adventure that euer happened vnto him, hauing discharged his conscience from the terrors and horrors that did afflicke him: and that the King had pardoned him what was past, and had promised him all fauour hereafter. B The Duke of Espernon answered, That he was glad, but he must craue an abolishment for offences of that quality are not so easily remitted. How should I (said hee) assure my selfe better then in the Kings word? If the Duke of Biron must sue for an abolishment, what must others doe? The Duke of Espernon had reason to aduise him to take an abolishment, and the other was in no error in trusting to the Kings word, who had forgotten his fault, if he had done nothing since to renew the remembrance. But here they offered an act which had all the signes of an implacable hatred. The Duke of Biron being sent for by the King, to come and receiue his commandements, and the testimony of his clemency, parts from Bourg, and comes to layt Vinny. There hee made a dispatch to *La Fin*, who was at Milan. He goes to Lyons, and is receiued of the King, as the father doth his lost child, whom he hath found againe. He stayed some dayes at Lyons, and hauing accompanied the Queene at her departure, he returned to Vinny, where hee made another dispatch to *La Fin* by one *Fargas*. As soone as he comes to Bourg, hee sends away *Besca* (cousin to *Rencas*) to aduance the businesse.

Crimes offered
for are not
pardoned
without an
abolishment.

He continues
the offence
pardoned.

Rencas stayed
prisoner by the
Duke of Sauoyes
command.

This negotiation was continued at Some, betwixt the Duke of Sauoy, the Count of Fuentes, and *La Fin*. The Count of Fuentes led *la Fin* to Milan, desiring to be satisfied of some points, but finding his answers not constant, hee thought it not fit to trust the secret vnto him, but to dispatch him; who finding that he was vnpleasing vnto them in this negotiation, stayed not long there. Hereupon he sent him back, and requested him to passe by the Duke. But he did well in taking his way by the Grisons, to recouer Basil, Parentin, and Besancon, for *Rencas* his Secretary, who passed into Sauoy, was stayed prisoner. D The worke changed nothing but the instrument. *Alphonse, Casal, and Rencas*, continued it with the Baron of Lux. In the meane time the Duke of Biron slept not, hauing sent a man into Spaine, although he were neere vnto the King, who for that he would not lose him, kept him about him, he caried him to the frontier, and sent him into England, where he heard of the death of the Earle of Essex. A fresh example of iustice against those that seeke to be feared of their Masters, and abuse their loue. At his returne he made a voyage into Gascony, where he was honoured of the Nobility as a Prince; and being returned to Dijon, he went into Suizzerland, to conclude the renewing of the Kings alliance, where he continued his practices with the Count of Fuentes, to whom he sent his Secretary, vnder colour to conduct his Pages to *Nova Palma*, a Fort of the Venetians. Being returned out E of Suizzerland, he went not to giue an account of his charge, excusing himselfe vpon the holding of Estates of the Prouince. The King who had some inkling of these broyles (by *Cambellan*) desired greatly to speake with *la Fin*, to be informed of the truth. *La Fin* who had his heart big with despite, that the Baron of Lux would haue all the fruit of this negotiation: and that *Rencas* was detained prisoner in Sauoy, sent *Cerezat* to the Duke of Biron, to tell him that he could no longer be his seruant, if he did not deliuer him *Rencas*, aduertising him also that he could no longer deferre his going vnto the King, and that he desired to know what he would haue him say, touching things past. Hee made small account of one of his propositions, and spake of *Rencas* as if hee were no more among the liuing. Touching the otlier, he sayd to *Cerezat*, that hee was of opinion hee should goe to F Court with a small traine, and that hee should prepare himselfe at the first, to receiue words of choller and contempt from the King, the which hee should easily calme, in beseeching him to beleuee that the voyage which he had made into Italy, was onely for deuotion to our Lady of Loreto, and that passing by Milan and Thurin, they had charged him to propound the marriage of the Duke of Sauoyes third Daughter vnto him, which he would not hearken vnto, seeing his Maiestie would take the care to marrie him. He entreated and aduised *Cerezat*, to aduise *la Fin*, to dismiss all those that had made the voyages

Instructions
giuen by the
Duke of Biron
to *la Fin*.

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La Fin comes
to Court.

A voyages with him, especially a Curate, and to lay his papers in some place of safety, if he would not burne them, and to consider in the end, that he had in his hands, his life, his fortune, and his honour. *La Fin* came to the Court at Fontainebleau in the end of Lent, he spake first with the King, and with *Villeroy* alone, he had conference with the Chancellor in the night, with *Rhospin* in the Forrest, and with *Sillery* at the pressing place, being newly come out of Suizzerland. All had horror to see the writings, and to heare the designs which they vnderstood. We must not beleuee lightly: for slander is subtil, and doth seek to supplant the most innocent actions. But when the preservation of the State is in question, the most doubtfull things are not to be reiecte nor contemned. The King could hardly beleuee so great a wickednesse: the facility of his bounty made him hard of beleuee. B *La Fin* made him to see such apparant and certaine proofes of this conspiracy, as hee was forced to beleuee more then he desired. He declared all that had past in his voyages to the Duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, for the Duke of Biron, saying; That hee desired that the returne of the warre might haue troubled his Maiesty, and profited them that were the cause of it. But seeing that his sacred and inuolable person was not excepted, and that they made cruell designs against him, he had such horror, as he was resolu'd to giue him intelligence thereof, choosing rather to faile in his promise to the seruant, then in his duty to the Master.

The King full of clemency and bounty, was wonderfully grieued to see so vnnatural a C conspiracy: yet he said; that if the conspirators did their duties, and gaue him the meanes they might to preuent the bad designs of his enemies, hee would pardon them. If they weep (sayd he) I will weep with them. If they remember what they owe me, I will not forget what is due to them. They shall find me as full of clemency as they are void of good affections. I would not haue the Marshall of Biron the first example of the severity of my iustice, & that he should be the cause that my reigne (which hitherto hath bene like vnto a calme & clear skie) should be suddenly ouercast with clouds of thunder & lightning. And from that time his resolution was, that if the Marshall of Biron confessed the truth, hee would pardon him. His Council were of that opinion, so as he would employ himselfe effectually, to doe as much good for the seruice of his Estate against his enemies, as he had D practically ill among them. Of many papers which *La Fin* presented vnto the King, they made choise of seuen and twenty peeces, which were not those which concluded most against the Duke of Biron, but which made mention onely of him, the King being vnwilling to haue the rest discouered, to the end that the punishment of one, might serue for an example to all. The Chancellor kept these papers with such care, as he caused them to be sowed vnto his doublet, being loath to trust any one with them, or shew them till need required. The Baron of Lux was at Fontainebleau when *La Fin* arriued; the King sayd vnto him that hee was very well satisfied, that *La Fin* had spoken so honourably and so wisely of the Duke of Biron, that he knew well his intentions were not conuered to any bad designs, as they sayd. Hee returned to Dijon well content, thinking that all things E were found.

La Fin writes to the Duke of Biron, that hee had satisfied the King of his actions, and hath said nothing but what hee thought might serue to banish all bad impressions. The King managed the businesse so wisely, as the count was happy, making shew to feare no enemies but abroad. He grew iousal of the arming of so many gallies at Genoa for the King of Spaine, vnder colour of the Prince of Piedmonts passage, lest they should haue some enterprize vpon Prouence. He therefore commanded the Dukes of Guise and Ventadour, to be carefull of their charges. Hee writ to the Governour of Lions (whose intent was to spend some part of the Summer at Chaumont) to returne to Lyons, for that hee was aduertised from all parts, that his enemies had some designe there, whereof they F vaunted.

He commanded *Des Dignieres* to goe to horse-backe if need were, and when the Governour of Lions should send for him; and he caused the Marquis of Spinola's troops to be obserued, the which were ready to passe at Pont de Grefin to go into Flanders, the which in truth were but to couer the Duke of Biron's practices.

The King parted from Fontainebleau to goe to Blois and so into Poictou. There are alwaies in States (as in great bodies) swellings and bad humors, which are not to be cured by violent remedies, but gently & by the Princes presence. There were in Guienne & Poictou

Siff 2

diuers

An army at Sea
for the King of
Spaine.

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The Litter is
two Bullings

diuers motions, which could not be disperfed, but by the light of the King. He refolued A to goe into thofe quarters, and to fhew himfelfe vnto them glorious in peace, who had neuer feene him but triumphant in warre. He paff to Blois, Tours, and then to Poitiers. His prefence did pacifie all mutinies which grew by reafon of the impofition of a Soule vpon a Litter, and through the apprehenfion which was giuen the people, that hee would giue garifons to fome Townes, and Citadels to others, and to all in generall an encrease of their miferies. But as foone as the King had faid vnto them, that he came not to ruine them, but relieue them. That he would build no other fortrefles but in their hearts, nor vie any more constraints to fuccour the neceffities of the Crowne, then their owne good wils: That he defired more to adde and encrease, then to diminish their contents: and B that he would not haue the gold of his treafure to be bathed in the teares and blood of his fubiects: That there was no man but did bleffe the yeares of his reigne, and did with it immortall. His prefence did alfo difappoint many bad praactices which were growing. France was fo full of corrupt humours, as vpon the leaft motion that happened, it was ready to fall into her former frenzies.

The Spices
a due vnto
Iudges, vpon
euery caufe
that is iudged
definitively in
France.
The first decree
againft Aduo-
cates.

The great trouble of the Palace at Paris, by the intermiffion of hearing of caufes, and the diffimifion of Aduocates (the which happened the 12 of May, a fatal moneth for the Parisiens by a greater reuolt) femed to preface fome new ftorme. The caufe grew from a Decree of the Court, giuen againft Aduocates, and by the Kings authority and exprefle commandement, who before he parted from Paris to paffe the Eaſter at Fontainebleau, C ſent for the chiefe of the Court of Parliament, and of all the other Courts, to recommend their charges vnto them. From whose owne mouth they vnderftood, how much hee defired that iuſtice might be adminiſtered with leſſe charge, and leſſe loſſe of time: that there was no iuſtice for them that had no money; ſo exceſſiue were the Iudges Spices, and the Aduocates Fees. The Court of Parliament deſiring that according to the Kings mind, intention, and laſt command, the exceſſe (whereof they complained) againſt the Aduocates might be reduced to a meane and iuſt temper, aſſembled to redreſſe thoſe diſorders. The opinions being heard and numbred, againſt Aduocates, the firſt Preſident ſhewing that a reformation was as neceſſary in Iudges as in Aduocates; in the end, a decree was made, by D the which it was ordained and appointed, that euery Aduocate ſhould fet downe vnder his owne hand, in the end of his writings, what he had taken for his owne fees, to the end that in caſe of exceſſe, it might be moderated, when as the Court ſhould proceed to iudgement of the proceſſe. Moreover, they ſhould giue a certificate what they had taken for the pleading of caufes, to be ſet down in the taxe of charges, all vpon paine of extortion. This law was not made againſt the good, but onely to reſtraine the auarice of others, who preferre the opportunity of taking, before all apprehenſion. All, notwithstanding, did oppoſe themſelues againſt the execution of this law, ſaying, That they would rather leaue their places, then ſubiect themſelues to the rigour of the Decree, and doe ſo great a wrong to the dignity and liberty of their profeſſion.

The ſecond de-
cree againſt
Aduocates.

The Court made another Law, whereby it was decreed, That ſuch as would not plead, E ſhould deliuer their names vnto the Register, after which they were forbidden to praactice as Aduocates, vpon paine of falſhood. This ſecond Decree was pronounced in open aſſembly in the houſe of the Kings Atturney generall. The next day there went out of the Chambers of Conſultation, by two and two, to the number of three hundred and ſeuene, they paſt through the Palace Hall, went to the Register to giue vp their hoods, and to declare that they obeyed the ſecond Decree, ſeeing they could not obey the firſt.

Defence of
the Aduocates.

From that time the Palace was without pleading, the Aduocates being buſied to defend themſelues, yet the toyle was not great for them to maintaine a bad caufe for themſelues, which had defended ſo many for others. The caufe was bad indeed, for that it F did impugne the iuſtice of a Law made at the Eſtates of Blois, and that it ſeemed private men would know more then the law it ſelfe. They cauſed a Declaration to bee publiſhed at Paris, in the name of a young Aduocate, but it was written by one of the learnedſt of the Palace, declaring, That as of cuſtome they ſhould reſerre their reward to the diſcretion of the parties; the reaſons were grounded vpon the fidelity, diſcretion, learning, and eloquence of the Aduocates of the Court of Parliament of Paris, to whom they could not reproach preuarication, or filthy contracts, ſo ordinary heretofore at Rome, or

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A or that they euer had proceſſe for their fees, although they plead infinit caufes, for the which through the pouerty or miſpriſion of parties, the Aduocates haue not any thing, and others for the which they receiue no recompence, but a yeare, yea three or foure after their employments. They ſhewed, that they could not iudge of the exceſſiue fees of a Pleader, vnleſſe they knew the time which had bene employed to perſue the writings, and to ſtudy the queſtions, and that ſometimes bare words coſt more whole nights, then a long diſcourſe, which ſhall containe many Citations, will require quarters of houres. That for this reſpect the Preſident *Then* in a famous cauſe, after that hee had pronounced ſentences, ſaid, (as hauing charge from the Court) that all which Princes and Noblemen B gaue vnto their Aduocates, could in no fort equal the recompence which their care, diligence, and knowledge did merit. That this profeſſion is very laborious and painfull, to the which the gate of the greateſt dignities of the Realme was open, when as they knew not what it was to buy ſuch offices. That there is nothing comparable to the apprehenſion of an Oratour, to loſe in one day the reputation which hee hath purchaſed in thirtie yeares, when as he ſpeakes in the preſence of 3000 perſons which neuer heard him, and that an inconfiderate word or defect of memory (wherein the greateſt Oratours haue failed) ſhould blemiſh all the fruits of their ſtudy. That this profeſſion being an Art which conſumes much, it ſhould be fauoured, to the end that ſuch as are in that courſe, might be encouraged to perſeuer, and others inuited which might ſucceed them. That C next to the Art of warre, there is nothing more generous, then to oppoſe themſelues to the violence of great men, notwithstanding all their ſecre and open threats: and to make Truth, Equity, and Juſtice, to ſhine through a million of clouds, which they would obſcure by diuers Contracts: To cauſe the wicked to tremble, to encourage good men, and to be a Sanctuary to innocents oppreſſed; and by the lively force of an eloquent diſcourſe, capable to moue rocks, to breake the hardneſſe of mens hearts banded to ſupport iniuſtice and wrong; and according to occaſions which ſhould be preſented, extoll vnto heauen, his Prince and Country. That it was impoſſible that they which had attained to the moſt difficult Sciences in the world, ſhould ſubmit themſelues to the ſcandall of Solicitors, who would giue leſſe to the Aduocate then their maſters had commanded them, and to couer D their theft they would make them beleue, that they would not giue them quitrances for ſuch a ſumme, although they had taken all. That the very day this order ſhould take place, all liberties ſhould be baniſhed from the Bar, there being few which could reſolve to liue otherwiſe, then vnder the Lawes which great perſonages haue made, hauing immortalized their names by their learning and eloquence, who could not doe any thing againſt their honour, no more then againſt their conſciences, flying diſhoneſt things, not as vnlawfull, but as ſhamefull and reproachfull. That poſterity will neuer approve the counſell which ſome would giue his Maieſty, to be the firſt that ſhould begin to diſſauour thoſe which had bin alwaies held & eſteemed among the beſt & moſt pregnant wits of his kingdom, and who by their golden pen and immortall founding voyce doe conſecrate to eternitie the worthy actions, and glorious deeds of armes, of great Kings, and great Captains: yet could they not moue the Court to reuoke or change the Decree, they were forced to haue recourſe vnto the King, to reconcile this diſuſion, which happened vpon a day, which reuined the memory of a greater trouble, he ſent his Letters to the Parliament, in termes conformable to his iuſtice, and the wiſedome of his Councell. By the which it was lawfull for Aduocates to exerciſe their functions, as they had done before the ſaid Decree, enioyning them notwithstanding to obſerue the ordinance made at Blois in that behalfe, in the 161 Article. The parties which had ſutes did languish in expectation of this Declaration. As they complained of the corruption, ſo they ſuffered the inconueniency of the remedy.

F The Court which had made many iuſt and ſeuere Lawes againſt Duels and Combats, confirmed the Edict which the King made at Blois. Before his Maieſties departure from Fontainebleau, he had commanded the Conſtable, Chancelor, Marſhals of France, and the chiefe of his Councell, to deuſe ſome meanes to ſuppreſſe the libertie of Duels, being ſo iniurious and preiudiciall to his Eſtate. By their aduice an Edict was made, by the which they that call, or are called, or which aſſiſt, or ſecond him that calls, or is called, are declared guilty of high treaſon, and to be puniſhed according to the rigour of the Lawes. Commanding the Conſtable, Marſhals of France, Gouvernors and Lieutenants generall of Pro-
uinces,

An Edict
giuſt. one.
Bats.

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Truces of the
Kings voyage
into Poitou.

The King sends
for the Duke of
Biron.

The President
Janin sent vnto
him.

Diuers aduices
giuen to the
Duke of Biron.

vinces, to prevent Duels, and to forbid them vpon paine of death; to iudge absolutely as they shall thinke good, of all that concerns the reparation of wrongs, and to force them that are condemned, to satisfie by imprisonment. It is true, that the custome of fighting is stronger then the Law, that the obedience of the law is alwayes held for faintnesse of heart; and to kill in single combat not for iniuries and offences alone, but for opinions and shadowes of offences, is but a sport, being to be feared that Duels will bee as ordinary in France as in the Realme of Narbonne, whereas the King doth not onely allow them, but doth also assist, and giues markes of honour and recompence to the victors, vpon condition that another might take it from him by the same means that he had gotten it, in measuring their armes. But it is lost labour to prescribe lawes to them who thinke their courages cannot be subiected, nor the French kept from fighting, being of such an humor as they cannot lue otherwise, but must with the losse of their liues pay their apprenticeship of fencing. Whilst the enemy watched to ouerthrow this Estate, & that to minister occasion to speak of them, they would let *Diana's* Temple on fire, and consume obedience to ashes, the King neglected not the means to crosse their designs. The voyage which hee made into Poitou, diuerted the effects, and reclaimed them to their duties which by perswasions and dangerous impressions were gone astray. And although wee haue some feeling of the last Frenzie, and that the Feuer which hath possessed the body, hath in it some bad humours, that the people is by nature variable and easily drawne away. Yet the pretexts which they tooke to moue them, were reiected like drugges which had taken wind, and bitter pills guilt ouer with goodly hopes, to profit by the charge of the present estate. In the end, the King effected this business happily in Poitou: he found so great an obedience in them to please him, as he remained very well satisfied. His Maiesty left so many testimonies in all places of his bounty, as all had cause to praise him, and to blame the practices which fought to trouble the peace. The Duke of Biron did not thinke the King should haue found so great obedience and loue, among his subiects of that Prouince. He had sent some of his seruants to Court, to learne how the market went, and to shew the discontent he had for the iealousie which was conceiued of his faith and dutie. The King who was well informed of his intelligences with the Count of Fuentes, resolved to see him, and to keepe him from his enemies. He sent *Desportes* vnto him, with charge to say, that hauing intelligence of the great leaues of souldiers made in Italy, he had resolved to maintaine the body of an army vpon the frontier, and to giue the charge vnto him, and to that end he had commanded *de Vic* his Ambassador in Suisse, to demand a leaue of six thousand men, and to cause them to march where he should haue directions: that therein he followed the counsell of the Constable his gossip, whose aduice he sent him in writing, and desired to haue his by mouth, coniuering him to come with speed. Hee stirres not for all that, excusing himselfe sometimes vpon the holding of the Estates: sometimes, that the enemy being so neare, it were an act vnworthy of his reputation to turne his backe and to abandon his frontier. The King sent the President *Janin*, a man powerfull in perswasion, who comming to Dijon, gaue the Duke to vnderstand how much the King desired to see him, and how necessary this fight was, and among many discourses (applied fitly to his humor) he let him know the Kings strength, and the length of his arme. This was not able to moue him. He considered that the Duke of Biron must be perswaded to this voyage, by him that was all of his counsell, whom he assured that as hee should haue all the honour of this perswasion, so he could expect nothing but disgrace and ruine of a contrary counsell. His friends notwithstanding did conuere him not to come: one of his best friends sent him word by his brother, that his government was disposed of, and that for his last hope he aduised him to retire into the *Franchie Conté*. Another friend sent him word that he should distrust all he saw, and all that should be said vnto him to moue him to come: that the Kings letters were golden pills: that *la Fins* assurances were but deceits; and to consider that the voyage which the Vidame of Chantres had made to Autun (to assure him that his Vncle had sayd nothing) was made at the Kings charge. But another friend sent him a contrary aduice to come, and that his onely presence would disperse all these bad reports. There was danger in either. The King swore he would go fetch him; Hee should haue seene himselfe besieged with the Kings forces, and farre from the strangers which had charge to passe into Flanders. In going, the foulness of his offence could giue him no hope to returne. Hee takes that aduice which he thinks lesse perillous; and nothing

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He receiued
many messiges
to turne him
backe.

A nothing doth so much aduance the execution, as the assurance hee takes of that which *La Fin* had written vnto him, whom he sees returned to his house contented, and freed from all distrust. So the duke promised to come vnto the King about the mid of Iune, to some of his houses nere vnto Paris. It was a signe of distrust which the King dissembled, as being indifferent vnto him. The President *Janin* goes before, and the Duke of Biron with *Desportes* follow after by easie iourneys.

Vpon the way hee had an aduice sent him to come no further, and being at Montargis he was in great suspense, but hee had so great a confidence of himselfe, and of the opinion which all the Court had of his valour, as he did not beleue there was any man so hardy as B to lay hold of him, and that if he might haue but means to draw his sword, he would free himselfe from his enemies. Hee flattered himselfe in his vanity, and pleased himselfe as *Pigmalion* did in his Image, and *Narcissus* in his Shadow. The counsell which they gaue him to humble himselfe vnto the King, was the last anchor of his health. He found no man that spake for his pride, but euery man would haue intreated for his humilitie: But his courage was too great to stoop. Presumption had filled his eares with so much vanity, as the voice of Truth could not enter. If hee were not resolved to take that course what need he come? He should consider that he had offended the King, that offences of Princes are fixed starres, their fauours are moueable, and are like to the Egyptian wheeles. That if the King had had no other proofe of his bad designs, but what suspicion and opinion C might giue him, it had bene alwayes dangerous to approach. If hee had knowne nothing but by dreames and diuinations, yet should he thinke it had bene sufficient to put him to death. We must thinke (said *Neslor* to *Agamemnon*) that all that a Prince doth dreame for the conduct of his Estate is true. And if the innocencie of that whereof hee was accused, had assured him of his returne, yet should he consult with his conscience: it is better to rely in her, then in all the assurances which the offence can imagine, to free him from the punishment which followeth him, as the shadow doth the body. The conscience is the Accuser, the Witnesse, and the Iudge of the most secret crimes, the pursuits and torments whereof cannot be auoided.

These with other reasons were giuen to stay him in his iourney. But it is impossible to D auoid the providence of Heauen. The Duke of Biron will needs carie his head to the Kings Iustice. The discourse of Reason, or the iudgements of Truth preuaile not with a spirit transported with passions. There were many bad prefaces of the Dukes voyage. A Duke came into his Cabinet and no man knew how, hee commanded it should be carefully kept, but as soone as hee was parted it died. Presently after, the horse which the Archduke gaue him, called *Passerana*, fell mad and killed himselfe. The like hapned to a horse which he had from the great Duke. Another horse which the Duke of Lorraine gaue him, pined to death.

He came to Fountainbleau, when as they had no more hope of his comming, and the King had resolved within two or three dayes after to goe into Bourgongne. His Maiesty E walking in the great garden about six of the clocke in the morning, was heard say vnto the Lord of Souvray. *He will not come?* Hee had scarce spoken these words, but hee sees him enter with him. The King said, *hee comes fitly to conduct him to his house*. Hee aduanced and makes three great courtesies a good distance off. The King embraced him and said, *that hee was come in good time to conduct him to his house*: which words were diuersly vnderstood by the hearers. The first words he vsed vnto the King, were vpon the occasion of his comming, beginning to excuse his long stay. The King gaue care to few words, but tooke him by the hand, to walke and shew him the plot of his building.

Passing from one garden to another, the Duke of Elperton saluting the Duke of Biron, told him in his eare, that in comming hee had giuen more credit to his owne courage, then to the counsell of his friends. In all the discourse which he had with the King, as there appeared coldnesse in the countenance of the one, so there was some signe of perturbation in the other words. The King talked vnto him of the bad course hee had taken, the which had no other issue, then ruine, repentance, and despair. The Duke of Biron answered, *That hee was not come either to iustifie himselfe, or to demand pardon, or to accuse his friends*. He let scape many other words, which his Maiesties presence and the law of duty should haue restrained. It is not sufficient to be faithful, if his tongue and heart doe not witness his loyalty.

He excuseth
his stay.

The Kings
fauour to him
growing cold.

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The Duke of
Biron not re-
spectful.The Duke of
Biron justifies
himself.

Dinner time being come, he desired to dine with the Duke of Espernon, for that his owne Trainee was not yet come. After dinner they came to see the King, who hauing walked a little in the Hall, retired into his Cabinet, commanding two or three to enter, and said nothing to the Duke of Biron, who stayed at the corner of the bed towards the chaire, observing that he was not respected as he had wont to be, and that he was no more in opinion and admiration as he had beene. The Marquis of Rhosny entred into the Cabinet, and hauing stayed there almost halfe an hour, he came forth and saluted the Duke of Biron, telling him, that the King asked for him. There he was perswaded not to conceale that which time could not long keep hidden, and whereof the King was so well informed, that what he desired to know from the Dukes owne mouth, was but to let him see, that B none but himselfe should haue knowledge thereof.

The Duke of Biron (who thought that *La Fin* had not discovered any thing) continued still firme, vpon the protestations of his innocency, beseeching the King to doe him iustice against them that sought to oppress him by slanders: insupportable to a conscience so cleare as his was, or to suffer him to take his reuenge by the sword. The King led him to the Tennis-court: he could make the match, saying, *That the Duke of Espernon and hee, would play against his Maiestie and the Count of Soissons.* The Duke of Espernon answered presently, *Tou play well, but you make your matches ill.* At night hee supped with the Lord Steward. It appeared he was not content. Hee ate not any thing, no man spake to him, and they held him for a man abandoned to misfortune. Yet hee thought no man would lay hand on him, trusting too much in his owne courage. The King in the meane time walked in his chamber, deuising of some great resolution, he was heard speake these words, *He must bend or breake.* He gaue him time to take counsell of his conscience, and to evaporate those bad humours which did choke him. The night past so quietly as many thought it would be, but a thunder-clap, which made a great noise, and did little harme; that the King would rest satisfied to haue discovered the Treason, and taken all means from the Traitors to hurt him, not being conuenient to discover all the conspirators. He commanded the Count of Soissons to goe to the Duke of Biron, and to do what he could to dissolue the hardnesse of his heart, and to draw the truth from him: he goes vnto him, hee coniuers and aduises him, to thinke of that which hee thought least of, to humble D himselfe, and to feare the Lyons paw, and the indignation of a King. The Duke of Biron answered, *That the King could not complaine but of the good seruices hee had done him, and that he had great reason to complaine that hee suspected his loyalty, hauing given him so many proofes.*

The Count of Soissons hauing observed his humour, and what little fruit might be drawne from his obdurate heart, by any more perswasions, who beleued that the King had sent him to draw something from him, he left him. Early the next morning the King walking in the little Garden, he sent for the Duke of Biron, and talked long with him, thinking to reclaime him, and to giue him means to free himselfe from the mischief into the which hee did runne headlong by his wilfulness. Hee continued long bare-headed, lifting E his eyes vp to heauen, bearing his brest, and making great protestations to maintaine his innocency. There appeared choller in the Kings countenance, and by the Duke of Biron's behaviour there seemed fire in his words.

From thence the Duke went to dinner, by the way he met one with a Letter which aduised him to retire himselfe: he shewed it to the Capaine of his Guard, who wished that he had beene stabbd with a Dagger, so as hee had not come. Hee mocked at all them which fore-told his fall, and seemed alwayes hardy and bold in his answers. The King heard his braueries coldly, but not able to apply himselfe to dissemble, which is held a new vertue in Princes, he still cast out some words of the bad estate into the which his wilfulness would bring him. The King was much troubled in minde before he could resolve: the Lords of F Villeroy, Sillery, and Geure went and came often, before they could vnderstand whereunto it tended.

Many thought it was to shorten the course of Iustice, in so apparant a crime, and begin with the execution, dealing with the Duke of Biron, as Alexander did with *Permenio*: for Princes are Masters of the Lawes, they haue one forme of Iustice for Great men, and another for those whose quality requires not so great respect. In these accidents there is no difference whether blood be drawn before or after dinner; Necessitie teacheth the disorder

Disimulation
a new vertue
in Princes.In great acci-
dents iustice
is without
formalitie.

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A disorder, and the profit doth recompence the Example, so as the Estate bee preferred by the death of him that is preuented. But the King will none of that. Hee proceeds with more courage and generositie: these examples of execution had beene blamed in his Predecessors, hee will haue his subiects, and all the world to know, that hee hath power and authoritie sufficient to root out by the forme of Iustice, not the authors of such a conspiracie, for they bee diuels, but the complices and the instruments how terrible fouler. Hee will haue the solemnities and lawfull ceremonies observed, and that they be iudged by the rigour of the Lawes. He vseth no Proscriptions, he makes no Proclamations, that hee will giue 100000 crownes to him, that shall bring the Conspirators heads, B and will make his house Noble: he sends for them, they come, and being come, hee punisheth them.

The resolution was taken to apprehend him, and in like sort to seize vpon the Count of Auvergne. The King would not haue them taken in the Castle, but in their lodgings. The Duke of Biron who had some doubt thereof, and who was prepared for that which hee could not fore-see nor preuent, thought that hee needed not to feare any thing in the Kings Chamber, and that all the danger were at the going forth; and therefore hee prouided himselfe of a short sword, with the which he presumed to make his passage. They gaue the King to vnderstand, that if hee were apprehended in any other place, it must needs be bloody: that to auoid an inconuenience, it was good to passe ouer resp. As that C were more vaine then necessary. The King walking in the Gallery, called for *Vitry* and *Pralin*, and gaue them order how hee would haue his commandements executed, and then he called for his supper.

The Duke of Biron supd at *Montignies* lodging, where hee spake more proudly and vainly then euer, of his owne Merits, and of the friends hee had gotten in *Switzerland*. Then he fell to commend the deceased King of Spaine, his Piety, Iustice, and Liberalitie. He praised D *Montigny* stayed him suddenly, saying, *That the greatest commendation they could giue vnto his memory, was to haue put his owne Sonne to death, for that he had attempted to trouble his Estates.*

This speech brake off the Duke of Biron's discourse, who answered but with his eyes, D and thought of it with some little amazement. After supper the Count of Auvergne and the Duke of Biron came to the King, who walked in the garden. They were wel accompanied, intending to haue gone with a lesse trainee. It was said the Dukes horses were sadled ready to be gone, and that he had asked leaue in the morning. The King hauing done walking, invited the Duke of Biron to play; they entred into the *Queenes* Chamber. The Count of Auvergne passing by the Duke at the entry of the doore, said vnto him in his ear, *We are undone.* There played at *Primero*, the *Queene*, the Duke of Biron (vpon whom all the mischief must fall) and two others. The King played at *Cheffe*, and in playing did act the part of *Vlisses*, going and comming to giue order to his affaires. It appeared that his spirit was troubled with a weighty action. He entred into his Cabinet, being E perplexed with two contrary passions, doubtfull whereunto he should yeeld. The loue which he had borne to the Duke of Biron, the knowledge he had of his valour, and the remembrance of his seruices, made him to reiect all thoughts of Iustice, and to intreat him, as *Licurgus* had done him that put out his eye. On the other side, feare of trouble in his Estate, and the apprehension of the execrable effects of so vnnatural a conspiracie, accused his clemencie of cruelty, which preferred the priuate before the publike. Hee prayed vnto God to assist him with his holy Spirit, to pacifie the combat which hee felt in his soule, and to fortifie him with a holy resolution, to that which should bee for the good of his people, ouer whom he commanded by his onely grace.

His prayer being ended, all difficulties which troubled him were dispersed, and he fully F refused to deliuer the Duke of Biron into the hands of Iustice, if he might not otherwise draw the truth from him of his disloyall enterprises. They continued play still, the King taking the *Queenes* place sometimes, attending the end of his resolution. The Count of Auvergne was retired: The King sent for him, and walked vp and downe the Chamber whilst the Duke of Biron dreamt of nothing but his game. *Perennes* Lieutenant of his company, making a shew to take vp his cloake, told him in his ear, *That hee was undone.* This word troubled him so, as he neglected his game. The *Queene* observed it and told him, *That he had mis-reckoned himselfe to his owne losse.* The King said, *That hee had played enough,*

The Duke of
Biron craves a
short sword.He praised
the King of
Spaine.Hee plays at
Primero with
the *Queene*.

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He will not
humble him-
selfe to the
Kings clemencyHe is fitted on
at his Kings
chambers doorThe Count of
Auvergne takenFalse brutes
of the rules of his
impudency.A Letter
written by
one of the
Kings ser-
vants.

enough, commanding every man to retire. He entred into his Cabiner, and commanded the Duke of Biron to enter with him, whose health or ruine depended vpon an answer pleasing to his Maiefty. Who would him once for all to declare what hee had done with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes, and that he should assure himselfe, his clemencie should be greater then his fault. The Duke of Biron who beleueed that hee defenced death that demanded life, had not the heart to humble himselfe, nor the tongue to craue pardon. He answered the King more boldly then euer, *That they had over-press an honest man, and that hee neuer had any other designe, then that which hee had said. I would to God it were so,* replied the King, *but you will not tell me: Adieu, good night.*

As he goes out of the Cabiner, and had past the Chamber doore, hee met with *Vitry*, B who layes his hand vpon his sword, and demands it of him by the Kings commandement. *From me (said the Duke of Biron) to take away my sword who haue so well serued the King? my sword, who haue ended the warre, and haue settled a Peace in France? That my sword which my enemies could neuer take from me, should be taken from me by my friends.* He intreated the Duke of Montbazon to beseech the King, to giue him leave to deliuer it into his owne hands. The King sent *Vitry* charge to doe his commandement. The Duke of Biron was forced to suffer them to take it from him, and in deliuering it, hee cast his eyes about him, to see if he could seize vpon some other, but they had pruned him. When as hee saw all the guard placed in order in the Gallery, he thought they would haue slaine him, and demanded something in his hand. *That he might haue the honour to dye in defending himselfe, and some little time to pray vnto God.* They answered him; *That there was not any man would offend him, that they had no other charge from the King, but to conduyt him to his lodging. You see (said he in passing) how they intreat good Catholikes.*

He was conducted to the Cabiner of Armes, whereas hee neuer slept nor lay downe. *Pralin* went to the Count of Auvergne, declared vnto him the Kings commandement, and demanded his sword; *Hold, take it said the Count, it hath neuer killed any but wilde Boares, if thou hadst aduertised me of this, I had been in bed and asleepe two houres since.* These two Noblemen were like vnto two Torches, which being held downward are quenched with the wax which did nourish them and giue them light. And as if all the Dukes power had beene in his sword, as soone as hee had deliuered it, hee remained as a body without a soule, and was in a moment deprived of all that which *Galba* held most precious amongst men, faith, liberty and friendship. There came no word out of his mouth but did offend God or the King. He suffered himselfe to be caried away with extreme impatience. The fore-sight of misery which doth moderate it in others, made it insupportable to him, cursing himselfe and his indiscretion, in that he had not beleueed his good friends, who aduised him to make his peace a farre off. This choller in effect was not much vnlike vnto a mad-man, but in the continuance: for suddenly he reclaimed himselfe, and considered that all his cries and words, were not of force to saue him.

Precisely dispatches were made to all the Princes and Porentates of Christendome, to Governors of Proouinces, and to Ambassadors, who were amazed in this accident, as of a most odious conspiracy, by a persion that was so much obliged. Those which fauoured it, gaue out false brutes in Italy, that it was a blow giuen to Religion, to weaken it in the ruine of him who said that he desired no more glorious title, then to be furnamed the *Scurge of Huguenots*. That it was an aduice from England to breake the Iavelins one after another. The King would haue these false impressions made cleere by the light of truth, even when as the passion of his enemies did seeke to obscure it.

One writing out of the Realme vpon this subiect, said, *That it was no question of Religion, but to dismember the Crowne, and to diuide it at the discretion of the Councell of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy, rooting out the King and his Race.* It may be the Authors and Vnder-takers would haue bene troubled in the execution of their designe, C though we had not prevented them, as now we haue. But it was the end whereunto they aspired. The names of many haue been drawne in vnknowne to them, the which the Kings Justice might well discerne and verifie: you must not bee moued with the brutes which say abroad, but beleue what I write vnto you, for it is the very truth. The next day about dinner time, the Duke of Biron sent to tell his Maiefty, *That if hee tooke not order for* B *Bourgundy it was lost, for that as soon as the Baron of Lux, should heare of his imprisonment hee would vndoubtedly deliuer Dijon, and Beaune vnto the Spaniard.* These words did

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A did greatly offend the King, who said; Behold the boldnesse and impudency of the Mar- shall Biron, who sends me word, that Bourgundy is lost, if I take not order, and that the Baron of Lux will draw in the Spaniard when he shall heare of his imprisonment. His obstinacie hath vndone him, if he would haue told me the truth of one thing, whereof I haue proofe by his owne hand writing, he should not be where he is; I would I had paid two hundred thousand crownes, that he had giuen me means to pardon him. I neuer loued any so much as him. I would haue committed my Sonne and Realme into his hands. Hee hath done me good seruice, yet he cannot deny but I haue thrice saued his life. I drew him out of the enemies hands at Fontaine Francoise, so wounded, and so amazed with blowes, B that as I played the souldier to saue him, I also play'd the Marshall to make the retreat, for he told me that he was not then in case to doe it, nor to serue me.

The King attended not this aduertisement from the Duke of Biron, for hee had already sent the Marshall *Lanardin* to settle his Authority in that Prouince, with a resolution to march in person if there were need. His enemies were not without feare, doubting that he would proceed farther, nothing being so much to be feared as an enemy that hath alwayes vanquished. About fifteene dayes before, *Bourge l'Espinaffe* receiued a Commission to raise a Regiment of ten Companies, and *Nereflan* had the like to supply his. The order was to send them into Prouence, but necessity had drawne them into Bourgongne, with two Regiments of Suisses, vnder the commands of the Colonels, *Galaty* and *Heyd*, and a great quantitie of Artillery drawne out of the Arcenall of Paris, and that of Lions, if all the country had not presently yielded obedience to their Prince.

The President *Ianin* made many voyages thither with great expedition. Some of the Duke of Biron's seruants had a desire to reuolt. The Baron of Lux was retired to Saux, the King sent them word that they must seeke the prisoners liberty by proofes of obedience, and not by effects of rebellion, and that he would iudge of his intentions by the behaviour of his seruants. The townes of Dijon and Beaune intrenched themselves against the Castles, who (acknowledging that it were not only a rashnesse, but an iniustice to fall from their obedience) deliuered the places into the Marshall *Lanardins* hands for the King. Breffe continued quiet through the care of *Boesfe*. All France was in peace, every man desisting the Duke of Biron, and his adherents.

The King seemed to be very well satisfied, seeing things to succeed better then he expected, having found all obedience and submission in them who in shew were most bold and resolute to trouble his affaires. He was more respected and feared of them then euer, and there was no man so great, but did humble himselfe. He said openly, that he was resolved not to endure his subjects to play any more with their King, abusing his bounty as many had done, contemning his actions as vniustly and rashly as without punishment. The prisoners were led to the Bastile at Paris on the Saturday after. The Duke of Biron going in the boat seemed heauy and pensif. The Count of Auvergne was merry and dined. The Duke of Biron entred into the Bastile as into a graue: The Count of Auvergne went E as to the Louure, and imagined that the place where he should be, could not bee a prison: The King entred into the City the same night, and the people with great cries of ioy, blessed his returne, and praised God for their captiuitie that would haue brought France againe into seruitude.

This great Prince who like vnto *Augustus* neuer thought of the death of the least of his subjects but with sighs, did shew that a father cuts off his members with griefe. Some dayes after a Gentleman coming to doe his dutie to his Maiefty, said vnto him that he held his life, fortune and honour of him, and that hee came for to doe him homage; to whom the King answered aloud, that he might be vnderstood; *I know you well, if every one did resemble you, I should not be in the paine I am.* There were new forces which passed F the Alpes. The Spanish Ambassador demanded passage for Flanders, beseeching the King not to beleuee that his Master was acquainted with the Duke of Biron's designs.

There was some likelihood that their journey was not so farre, for they could not but arriue too late, Count *Maurice* was entred into Brabant, to passe into Flanders to the reliefe of Ostend. The Archduke was prepared to hinder him; they must measure their forces, and it was most certaine before this new armie had past the Alpes, they had met. This made their marching to be much suspected, and had done more, if the President *Ianin* had not assured the King, that the Baron of Lux would not giue care to the officers that

The Marshall
Lanardin
into BourgundieThe King
comes to Paris.Passage of
troopes for
Flanders.

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that were made him, promising to bring him to the Court, where the King offered him A all fury.

The King commands the Marshal Liancourt to exempt upon the frontiers.

The estate of the prisoner in the Bastille.

The Greave is the public place of execution in Paris.

His words in prison.

His Majesty was advertised that the Count of Fuentes (one of the chiefe instigators of the Duke of Biron's conspiracie with the Duke of Sauoy) had caused his forces to aduance vnder colour of finding them into Flanders, to giue fauour and countenance to his Puritans that were in Bresse and Bourgundy, to incourage them, and to with-draw them from his Majesties obedience. For these reasons as the Ambassadour of Spaine did p[re]fere to haue the passage vpon the riuer of Rhosne free; the King who beleued that by reason of things past, he could not be too distrustfull, answered, "I wil not leave the frontier vnarmed, vntill I be satisfied by the arraignment of the Duke of Biron, what account I shall make of the faith of the King of Spaine your Master, touching the obseruation of the Peace. You will haue me beleue that he was ignorant of plots and practises laid with the Count of Fuentes; and I answer that it is hard to beleue that his money, hath bene so bountifullly employed without his priuaty and command: yet I meane not to breake the commerce that is allowed by our treaties. He had only commanded the Marshall Liancourt to lodge and camp vpon the frontier, to defend the entry of his Estates. D'Albigny hauing bragged; that if he attempted to retrench the passage, hee should soone haue it laid open by Armes. But the Spaniards durst not attempt to passe the bridge of Grefin, fearing to be repulst and charged, retired to Rumilly and Anicy. In the end the King seeing that they feared more their owne harme, then they had any desire to doe harme, hee suffered them to passe.

But to returne to the Duke of Biron, it was a strange thing that hauing consulted with himselfe, whether he should come to Court or not, hee neglected his friends aduice, and tooke the worst resolution. A minde transported with passion, rejects the best reasons, and retains the most dangerous opinions. Like vnto a boulder which lets the floore passe, and keepe nothing but the Branne. Before his departure from Dijon, they said at Marfelles that he was taken; and in parting, his friends sent him word that he should leave his head where he caried it: and that there was no returne for him. Neuer prisoner was better guarded, with more care, order and vigilancy. The King caused the Duke to be kept as in his own house, & at liberty. And for that nature hath found no other remedies against the injuries of fortune, and the weariness of life, then death, they feared that hee would offer violence to himselfe. And therefore those which kept him, caried no armes, and seeing himselfe serued with a knife without a point, he said, *it was the way to the Greue*. Scorning death, hee said, *that it could not come vnlooked for, to a man well resolved, nor strange to him that hath forescene it, nor shamefull to a resolute minde*. Yet hee found that it is a miserable life not to be able to dye, being deprived of all meanes to aduance death, and to haue no other consolation but in the onely desire of an impossible thing.

He spent the first dayes of his imprisonment, without eating or sleeping. These violent motions of choller, and the heat of his blood, put him into a Feuer, and griefe carried fuming passions vnto his braine, which increased his sickness, in the which (as all other diseases) the feare of death, the paine of his body, and the alteration of his life, did much augment the griefe of his prison. He was some what affraid lest vnder colour of remedie, they should giue him poison to cure all his griefes, and therefore hee would haue them take a taste of euery thing, although there were no other assurance of his life, but what his owne conscience could giue him.

His captivity deprived him not of the liberty of speaking. The fire of his courage was not smothered vnder the ashes of this affliction. What said hee? and what said hee not? choller thrust forth a streame of words, in the which there was not a drop of reason. Sometimes he said; That if they desired to put him to death, they should dispatch him; that they should not bragge they had made him to feare death; that they should speedily drink themselves drunke, with the blood which remaine of thirty and fise wounds, which hee had receiued for the seruice of France.

It is the nature of great spirits not to be silent for present perils, or the feare of seruitude. They feared that solitarie sse, fasting, melancholy and change of the place would trouble his braine, and thrust him into some furious passion. To pacifie the discontent of his first imprisonment, they perswade him to submit himselfe to the mercy of God, and gaue him hope of the Kings Pardon. The Archbishop of Bourges went to see him, hee dissuaded him

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A him from many bad Maximes of conscience, and satisfied him of many points which he held against the purity and integrity of a iust confession: He desired to speake with Villerey and Silery, who went to see him by the Kings commandement.

They had told him, or he had learned it in the time of his liberty by the reading of Histories, that the Constable of Saint Paul had bene prisoner in the same place, and desired to see the discoure. They gaue him Enguerrand of Monstrelet, in whose edition this Tragedy is related. He deceiued the time in the reading of Annals, the which hee had amplified if they would haue let him alone. He should haue done better if hee had read them sooner, and had propounded vnto himselfe his fortune, whose dignity he did effect, full of so many accidents as it had bene sufficient to correct his. If he had seene it sooner, he had found precepts, which like vnto a Lanthorne had giuen him light amidst the darknesse of this dangerous navigation, in which he had nothing but his owne ambition for compasse and faile. He should haue knowne that Machiavels counsell (whofaith, that private men rise neuer from a bafe to a high fortune but by fraud and force) is ruinous, and that humane lawes being grounded vpon diuine, suffer no confusion of signes whilst that euery one doth limit them by this condition, and that hee knows that God doth distribute powers for the government of people: That it is alwaies dangerous to play with his Master, and although he suffer him for a time, yet he is like vnto the Lion who suddenly laies hold of him that thought to haue mastered him. The Germanes say, we may not eate cherries with great men, for that they will cast the stones in our eyes if we play the companions with them.

In the beginning of his imprisonment, he talked of nothing but of Iustice; but knowing his fault, he had no hope but in the Kings mercy. Some one published an admonition at Paris, beseeching the King to change the punishment of death into perpetuall imprisonment, that of imprisonment into banishment, and his banishment into an honourable seruitude to make war against the Turke. That if by his offences he did not merit to serue the state, which he sought to ruine, yet hee might serue the generall estate of Christendome.

This Counsell was dangerous, for who could assure the King that he would make war in Hungary? and what caution could be sufficient for France? He had bene more dangerous without it, then within. A burning fire-brand casts more flame and smoake without a chimney, then within it. Hee added moreover, that hee should forbid him the carrying of armes, and tie him from the warre, but if hee should haue made his house his prison, who should haue kept him? if he had designed of reuenge in prison, what would hee haue done at liberty? Many which respect no more the Lawes of Honour, then of Iustice, would haue repayed vnto him, to bring in ineuitable mischiefs. There was an intent to saue him. The iron worke was forged in Bresse. The refusal of fise hundred crownes, for the Petardier, hindred the execution. As soone as hee was a prisoner, euery one sayd hee was a dead man: and seeing himselfe so carefully guarded, hee sayd; *E That they did not put birds of his sort into a cage, to suffer them to escape*. Hee made that iudgement of himselfe, which the Admirall did of the Earles of Egmont and Horne, when he heard they were prisoners: when they once come to accuse and imprison a man of courage and faction, it is more dangerous to absolue him then to condemne him.

The King sent his Letters to the Parliament, to proceed in the criminall and extraordinary proceffe of the Duke of Biron, according to the formes which are to be obserued in crimes of so great importance, against persons of his quality: all other affaires set aside. The Commissioners appointed for the King, were Achilles de Harlay first President in the Court of Parliament at Paris. Nicholas Poise second President and Councillor of State to his Majesty. Stephen Fleury and Philibert of Thurin, Councillors of the Parliament, good Iudges, but not to be moued in crimes of State. Informations were taken at the Bastille. The prisoner made some ceremonies to answer, but being entred into discoure, hee gaue the Commissioners matter ynough to worke on, confessing in a manner all. From his answers alone they might haue framed his condemnation, saying ynough to make him lose as many liues as hee had yeeres. Hee had to ill gouerned his iudgement in his prosperity, as it did him no seruice during his imprisonment, yielding some times vnto griefe, some times vnto choller, and alwaies to indifferency, speaking as much to ruine himselfe, as to discharge him. He was confronted with the

The Constable of S. Paul an example of an ambitious man.

Letters to the Court of Parliament to make his Proceffe.

Commissioners appointed.

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witnesses face to face; but when as he did see *La Fin*, he fell into an extreame shaking. A

The first President asked the Prisoner, if he would except any thing against *La Fin*. He answered; *That he held him for a Gentleman of honour, his friend, and his Kinsman*. But when he had heard his deposition, he cried out against him as the most execrable man in the world, appealing to all the powers of heaven and earth to iustifie his innocency. *La Fin* grieved that he should hold him for a slanderer (a name common to all wicked men) said vnto him; *That he was sorry they were in a place where the one was allowed to speake all, and the other was forced to heare all*. He maintained all he had said against him, and spake more plainly of his conspiracy, then in his deposition. The Prisoner said, *That if Renaze were there, he would auerre the contrary*: He was brought before him, whereat he was much amazed to see him, whom he held to be dead; & who was out of his remembrance as in another world. He then beleued that the Duke of Sauoy had set him at liberty to ruine him, he felt his conscience rought, when as all things conspired to his condemnation. An admirable iudgment of Gods secret Iustice in this escape of *Renaze*. Mens intentions produce contrary effects. Hee was detained prisoner at Quiers in Piedmont, to the end he should not discouer this practice; he escapes from his guard, and comes to fortifie his Masters deposition, who else had beene but one witness.

He is am'vred
to see Renaze
who he held
to be dead.

Hee had many friends, but not to iustifie his innocency, as *Plato* saith; *That many friends is a signe of wisdom, and want of them shewes the contrary*: There were none that durst presume to sue for his liberie or pardon. The King had made this attempt so detestable & C
odious to the Princes and Noblemen of the Court, and the meanes to execute it so execrable, as all his friends were silent: there were some that said; *That for any other crime, yea, if he had killed a Prince in the Kings Cabinet, they would haue begged his pardon, and would haue sacrificed their children to the Kings Iustice for an expiation of the offence, rather then to lose him*. But in this act, friendship was conspiracy, and intercession a crime. His friends went to *Saint Maur* where the King was: they cast themselves at his Maiesties feet to implore his mercy, and to moderate the severity of his Iustice, more in consideration of his father, then for any respect of the sonnes seruices, which could not equall his fault.

No man dares
sue for him.

The King said, *That it was a matter of such importance for his Estate, as he was constrained to leave it to the course of Iustice; that to haue attempted against him who was his King, and his benefactor, was insupportable; that he could not remit this crime but he must ruine himselfe, the Queene his wife, his Sonne, and his Estate*. *That hee knew they were such true hearted Frenchmen, that as they desired not the one, so they would haue patience for the other*. They hauing knowne the foulness of the fact, and the reasons which forced clemency to yeeld vnto Iustice, abandoned the pursuit. The Countesse of Rouilly solicited the Court: The Prisoners mother was not there. The King commanded the Court of Parliament to proceede to iudgment without any intermission.

A Peere cannot
be iudged but
by his peeres.

The Prisoner was a Peere of France, the Barony of Biron being made a Duchy and a Peere by the King. A Peere cannot be iudged but by the King and his Peeres, but the King is neuer present when he is a party, and that the accusation of the party concerns his person, his honour, or his Estate. And although the order of the ancient Peeres be more in number then by the first institution, for that of the fix secular Peeres, five are vniued vnto the Crowne, and the sixth doth no more obey the King, yet the new created enioy the same priuiledges and prerogatiues that the ancient did, and the last, although he be about the number, shall not be iudged but by his Peeres, but may assist at the iudgment of another Peere, and haue his voice as well as the Duke of Burgundy, who is the Deane of the Peeres, yea, the wittes, whose lands are erected into Payries, or that hold it by succession may assist. *Mathilda* Countesse of Artois, was called a Peere of France, and deliuered her opinion with the other Peeres at the iudgment of *Robert* Earle of Artois. But if the Peeres being called doe not appeare, they may proceed. The Peeres of France were called to the Arraignment of the Duke of Biron, they appeared not.

The Peeres
come not.

The Court forbears not to proceed notwithstanding their absence. All the Chambers being assembled, the Chancellor accompanied by *Maisse* and *Pontcarre* (two Councillors of the State) entred into the Parliament, two Sergeants at arms, & some officers of the Chancery going before him. He was receiued at the cutting of the Barre by two ancient

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A ancient Councillors, and being saluted by the Court, he set him down in the Presidents place: hauing deliuered the Kings intention, and his assurance of the integrity and wisdom of the Court, vpon an occasion importing the State, and vpon a foule crime in a person other waies recommended for his seruices; he made a signe to *Stephen Flenny* the Reporter of the Proceffe to begin. This was done for want of the Peeres. A request was made in the Prisoners name, that it would please the Court to allow him Councell, to direct him in the fornic of their proceeding, whereof he was as ignorant, as he had let all France know how well he vnderstood the art of war. *De la Guesle*, the Kings Attorney General, being heard vpon this request, and *Seruin* the Solicitor General speaking for him, he said; *That although this request seemed to be grounded vpon some presidents, for that the like had beene granted vnto the Prince of Condé, yet there was great diversity, & many considerations for the denying of this*. Their opinions being given, it was rejected. *Cicero* pleaded for *Rabirius*, and *Anthony* for *Norbanus*, but there is no Advocate admitted for crimes of State: Councell depends vpon the conscience of him that is accused, his defence must come from his owne innocency, and hee may well free himselfe from blame, without the mediation of any man, and without the helpe of an Advocate.

His Proceffe
reported.

His request re-
jected.
They which are
accused of
crimes must
plead for them-
selves.

If he be innocent, truth will confound all the practices of his accusers. If he be guilty, there is no excuse nor euasion but his guiltinesse will appeare. It is not lawfull to defend the wicked, and good men haue no need of defence. They spent three sittings to examine the informations; which done, the conclusions of the Attorney General were read and followed. There rested nothing but to heare the Prisoner and to call him before the Parliament.

While they were viewing of the Proceffe, one had set vp a discourse vpon the Palace gate, to moue the Iudges to pity, and that they should not punish the weaknesse of *Adam* for the Serpents lubrility. The Lord of Montigny came vnto the Bastille about foure of the clocke in the morning; the Prisoner who alwaies slept litle (holding sleepe to bee no life) was already vp and at his deuotion: he would not trouble him in so necessary an action, but staid vntill he had done. Entering into his Chamber, he told him the occasion of his coming, that the Court was assembled for his Proceffe; that the Lord Chancellor was there, and had commanded him to bring him. Hee seemed a little troubled, although he had beene aduertised that he should be sent for. Being ready, hee goes out of the Bastille, thinking neuer to returne, and that they drew him out of the cares of Captiuitie, to lead him vnto the darknesse of death, and that he left the prison to lose his life. He was conducted in the Marquis of Rosnies Carosse, through the Arcenall to the Ri- uers side; where he entred into a boat couered with Tapistry, in which the Kings guards were, the chiefe Approaches, the Ports, the Greue, and the Towne-houfe, were manned with Suisses. Hee entred into the Palace by the first Presidents garden, and went to rest himselfe in one of the Chambers, vntill he were sent for, presenting him a breakfast before he entred.

The houre being come, the Register went to call him, and he entred into the golden Chamber; The place whereas strangers haue come to implore Iustice of the King; whereas great Kings haue held it an honour to haue a place: where he himselfe had fate, and beene honoured with the most glorious title of verue: whereas one of the Kings Solicitors had said; *That Biron had none before him to imitate, that hee could imitate none but himselfe, and that he made himselfe inimitable to them that should come after him*. This place I say, shining with the beames of the Kings Iustice, made him to remember the change of his condition, the which forced him somewhat to blush: an accident which happens to the most assured. These Scarlet Roabes doe more amaze him then all the red cassacks of Spaine, or the most fierce encounters of his enemies. He had no other place then that which was appointed for men accused, being set vpon a stole within the Barre, but finding himselfe too far off to heare, or to be heard, he rose vp and caried his stole neerer, saying vnto the Chancellor, *Excuse me my Lord, I cannot heare you, except you speake louder*. When the Duke of Alencon was examined before the King, and in open Court, he was set in the midst of the Hall vpon a low stoole; the Constable of Luxembourg, the Duke of Nemours, and the Chancellor of Poyet, were set within the Barre, like to the Duke of Biron. Hee fate with his Cloake vnder his right arme, holding his hand sometimes by his side, after a brauing manner, the which

He entres and
is heard in the
golden Cham-
ber.

T t t 2

notwith-

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notwithstanding did not become him ill, having his arme free to lift vp his hand to heaven, and to strike his breast, when hee would protest of his loyalty to the Kings service. They would not have allowed it in another, being expected that men accused should shew humilitie outwardly, and feare inwardly.

In this Estate the Duke of Biron thought, that in this great Senate he should finde some one that would doe for him as *Sempronius Gracchus* had done for *Scipio*: that hee would speake openly, that hee would neuer endure the Common-weale should receive that disgrace to see *Scipio* set in the ranke and habit of men accused for crimes. He whom the Court had seene sit upon the Flower-de-luce, in recompence of the services he had done. The Chanceller fired his discourse in such fort, as there was no occasion to call him by his name, nor by those of his qualities. Of many points that were in his proceesse, he collected five principall, the rest consisted in presumptions, whereof he made no account, for that we must neuer moue the opinion of the Judges upon a matter without prooffe.

Accusations of
the Duke of
Biron.

The first was, to haue had conference with one *Picote*, borne at Orleans, and fled into Flanders, to haue intelligence with the Archduke, and had giuen him a hundred and fifty crownes for two voyages to that effect.

The second was, That he had treated with the Duke of Sauoy three daies after his coming to Paris, without the Kings permission, offering him all assistance and seruice against all men, upon hope of mariage with his third daughter.

The third, That he had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy in the taking of Bourg C and other places, giuing him aduice to attempt against the Kings armie, and against his owne person, discouering many things of importance.

The fourth was, That he would haue brought the King before *S. Katherins* fort to be flaine there, and to that end had written to the Gouernor, giuing him some tokens whereby he should know his Maiesty.

The Duke of
Biron answer.

The fifth was, that he had lent *La Fin* to treat with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes. The D. of Biron denied all that he had confessed at his first examination, holding it no danger to suppress the truth, when as confession may hurt.

To the first the D. of Biron answered, That *Picote* being his prisoner in the Franche D Country, and knowing that he was acquainted with Capraine *La Fortune* (who was his friend) he thought he might employ him for the reduction of the towne of Seurre; where in he vied such diligence, as the place was assured for his Maiesties seruice: that since this reduction he had not seene *Picote* but in Flanders, when as he went for the confirmation of the Peace, where he came vnto him with some others, intreating him to be an Intercessor for them vnto the King, that they might returne vnto their goods, and liue in their owne houses, promising him for recompence of his intercession two suits of Tapistrie, the which he reiected with some spleene, for that they sought to buy his fauour, and for that they desired from him an assurance for their returne, he sent them to the Lords of Belleure and Sillery, who knew what was fittest for them, and the forms that were to be observed for their returne. That it was true that *Picote* had received 150 crowns of him, but not for any other respect, but for the charges he had bene at in the reduction of Seurre, hauing often intreated him and prest him by many letters, to haue pitty on him as one that was banished from his house and Country, hauing borrowed this sum to beare his charges in this reduction. That hee had put it to account in certaine summes which hee disbursed for the Kings seruice, and that he neuer had any other busines or conference with him.

To the second he answered, That he came to Paris fiftene daies after the Duke of Sauoyes arrival there; that *La Fin* who accused him, came after him. That it was true, the King dining at Conflans, and the Duke of Sauoy with him, after dinner the King retiring into his Wardrobe, he commanded the Count of Auvergne and him to entertaine the Duke of Sauoy: That the Count of Soissons, and the Duke of Montpensier coming into the chamber, he gaue them place, & went into the Wardrobe, tied the Kings points, gaue him drinke, and presently after went to Paris. That vpon some speech which *Rancas* the Dukes Secretary had with him touching the mariage of his Highnes third daughter, he acquainted the King therewith, who hauing since giuen him to vnderstand by *La Force*, that he did not like thereof, he had no more dreamt of it. And in token that hee had no intelligence with the Duke, nor will to conspire with any of his, the King hauing

commanded

A commanded him to accompany him in his returne, and to shew him the strongest townes in Bourgogne, he had excused himselfe, beseeching his Maicity to dispence with him, foreseeing that the Duke would not effect the treaty, and that hee should bee grieved to make war against a Prince, whom he had accompanied, and made good chere vnto. Aduising the Baron of Lux to conduct him through the weakest townes, and not to giue him any time to view their fortifications.

To the third, that hee had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, in the conquest of the country of Hesse, giuing him aduice to attempt against the Kings army: He answered, That if he had had intelligence with the Duke of Sauoy, hee would not haue vndertaken Bourg, against the Kings opinion, being not assisted by any, but such as were ordinarily with him. That the Gouernors of places (who were then the Dukes Subjects and now the Kings) could witness if there were any fauour vsed, and if in making war he had any other object, but the execution of his Maiesties commandements; that if hee had had any bad intent, he had not yielded vp Bourg so easily as he did.

To the fourth, vpon the aduice giuen to the Gouernor of *Saint Katherins* fort, to kill the King. He beseecheth his Maicity to remember, that he alone did dissuade and diuert him from going to view the fort, giuing him to vnderstand, that there were very good Gunners in the place, and that he could not goe without great danger. That vpon this aduice, his Maicity altered his purpose, saying, that if he desired to see the place, he would bring him a plot of it the next day, offering his Maicity to take it with five hundred Harquebuziers, and that he himselfe would goe vnto the assault.

To the fifth, That he had treated with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Count of Fuentes, by the mediation of *La Fin*: He answered, That being denied the keeping of the Citadell of Bourg, he grieved in to that despaire, as he had desired to be all couered with blood, being capable to say or to do any thing. At these words the Chanceller asked him, With what blood he desired to be couered? With mine owne, answered the Prisoner, wishing to liue no longer after this refusal and I would haue engaged my selfe in such sort among the enemies, as I would haue died there, or would haue returned all couered with blood. That for two moneths space he had written and spoken more then he ought, but hee had not omitted to doe well. He added moreover, that *La Fin* had to bewitched him with enchanted waters, and by speaking Images, as hee was forced to submit himselfe to his will: That he spake not vnto him, but in secret and vknown words, calling him his Master, his King, his Prince, his Lord. And scratching his left eare, he spake execrable things against *La Fin*, to moue the Court, not to regard his accusation and testimony. He that had not seene the fact verified by his owne letters, would haue said it was *Plissies* accusation, forging false letters from *Priam* to *Palamedes*. He still fled to his pardon, saying that hauing done nothing since, the Kings clemency should remit his fault; and that if hee must implore it once more, he had his knees as supple as euer to doe it. The Chanceller said vnto him, that he had written a letter vnto *La Fin* since the Dauphins birth, by the which he did aduertise him, that seeing it had pleased God to send the King a sonne, hee would no more dreaume of those vanities, desiring him to returne, and if hee had not imployed him he would not haue written.

This letter was produced to shew the continuance of his bad designs, whereof hee made vse to iustifie himselfe and to shew his repentance, saying alwaies that he had done well, although he had some thought of doing ill.

The Chanceller said vnto him, that seeing he felt his conscience to cleare, and knowing that he had do nothing, why did he not lay himselfe more open vnto the King, who sought him with great affection at Fontainebleau, to tell him the truth of that which hath bene since discouered by the proceesse. He wauered at this demand, saying, That he did not thinke the King had knowne any thing of that which passed betwixt him and *La Fin*, for that he had assured him by oaths & fearfull curses, that he had said nothing that might hurt him. That hauing conferred with a religious man of the order of the Minimes, to know (if hauing past his word with an oath to *La Fin*, neuer to discouer what had past betwixt them) hee might with a safe conscience say any thing? Hee had answered him, That seeing there was no more any intent to execute the things that were sworne betwixt them, hee ought not to reueale them: That this resolution continued to constant in his minde, that although the Archbishop of Bourges had visited him in prison,

Prooffe by writing of the continuance of his practices.

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"and had giuen him many reasons to free him from these scruples, yet hee held it an act unworthy of a man to falsifie his oath, and that it was only fit for a soule hardened with Atheisme (the spring of all impiety) to sweare with an intent to circumvent. Here his speech failed him with the violence of his griefe, but recovering his spirits, hee spake these words:

"My misfortune hath this consolation, that my Iudges are not ignorant of the seruices which I haue done to the King and Realme, and with what loyalty I haue caried my selfe in the greatest and most important affaires, to restore the King vnto the Realme, and the Realme vnto the King: to preferre the lawes of State, and to settle you in this place, from the which the Saturnales of the League had expelled you. This body (whereof you hold the life and death in the disposition of your Iustice) hath no veine which hath not bene opened, and which I would not willingly open for you. This hand which did write the letters which are now produced against me, is the same which hath done the contrary to that which it hath written. It is true, I haue written, I haue said, and I haue spoken more then I ought, but no man can shew that I haue done ill. And there is no law that punisheth the lightnesse of a simple word, or the motions of the thought without death: my words haue bene alwaies feminine, but the effects of my courage masculine. Choller and despight haue made me capable to say all, and to doe all, but reason would not suffer me to doe any thing, but what deserued praise and imitation. I haue had bad designs, but they neuer past my thought: at the same instant they sprong vp they were smothered. If I had bene desirous to nourish and make shew of them, I haue had great meanes and occasions. I could haue done bad seruice to the King, in England and in Suifferland. There are aboute a hundred Gentlemen that can witness of my behaviour in the first Ambassage: & for the second, I desire no other testimony but that of the Seigneurs of *Sillery* and *de Pic*, who know in what manner, and with what fidelity I employed my selfe, to reconcile and vnitte so many wils disioyned and withdrawn from the Kings alliance. If you will consider how I came, and in what estate I left the places of Bour-gongne, it will be impossible to haue any bad conceit of my designs. They found not a man of war in my government. I haue left the places without Garisons. I haue giuen the Capitaines no other commandement but to serue the King well, and to do that only wherunto they are bound.

"Euery man aduised mee not to come to Court. I met a Foot-man by the way, who brought me a letter from one of my dearest friends, who coniured me not to aduance. Being aduised, my Sister of Rouffy sent me another, aduising me to be gone without taking of my leaue: I shewed it to a Gentleman that was with me, who said vnto me, That he would willingly be stabbed in the bosome so as I were at Dijon. I answered, That if I were there, and were sure to receiue a hundred stabs at the Court, yet would I come vpon the Kings word. A guilty minde and prest with horror of his conscience, had fallen in peeces with feare and trembling, and would haue embraced another party. The secret knowledge I had of my loyalty, and the innocency of my designs, could not giue me any imagination of distrust: I alwaies said within my selfe, I haue serued the King too well, to haue a thought that he should not account me his seruant. The King hath had too many proofes of my faith, to suspect my loyalty. I could not comprehend, that the Kings Iustice could touch a man, resting in the tranquillity of his Conscience, and in the expectation of his commandements. Moreover, I was assured that the King had pardoned me, and that I had not offended him since his pardon. I cannot deny, that I told him not all that had past in this action, but in saying vnto him, that the refusal of the Citadell of Bourg made me capable to say and doe any thing. I did thinke it was not needfull to specifie that which I was ashamed to haue attempted, and that the consideration of the good which I had done vnto the King in his seruice, should alwaies weigh downe the euill that I would haue done, and the which I haue repented. That if he hath not giuen me life, but to put me to death, he must consider, that it is more commendable for a Prince to giue it, then to take it away from him to whom hee hath giuen it, and that his clemency shines neuer more clearly, then vpon offences that concerne himselfe. If it please not the King to regard my seruices, and the assurances which he hath giuen me of his mercy, I confesse my selfe worthy of death, & hope for no health in his Iustice, but in yours, hoping you will remember better then he doth, the dangers I haue

He shewes
by what
meanes he
might haue
done ill.

The King
did giue
him this
word with-
out deman-
ding it.

A haue vndergone all my life for his seruice. I implore his mercy, and although I should not say any thing, yet the wounds which I beare would speake for mee. I hope for it the more confidently, for that it hath neuer bene refused to them that haue done worse then my selfe. I would haue done euill, but my will did neuer passe the termes of my first conception, being ouercast with the clouds of choller and despight. It were hard if I should bee the first President to bee punished for thinking. Not that I feare death, the which I hold to bee ordayned, not as a punishment, but for the end of Nature, and that it imports nothing to leaue this life in the midst of my course, if it were with as much honour, as I haue had in the beginning. My fault is great, but it was only in conceit and not executed: in desire and not in effect. Great offences must haue great fauours. I am hee alone in France, which feels the rigour of Iustice and cannot hope for the merit of Mercy. Whatsoever chanceth, I relye more vpon you my Masters then in the King: who hauing heretofore regarded mee with the eyes of his loue, looks no more on me now but with choller, and holds it a vertue to be cruell vnto mee, and a vice to vse any act of clemency towards mee. It had bene better for mee that he had not pardoned me at the first, then to giue me life and then to make mee looe it with shame and dishonour.

They gaue him leaue to speake what he pleased, the Chancelor holding it reasonable, that seeing he had no counsell to aduise him what he should say, they should in regard thereof giue him time to speake all, and hearing, to consider his reasons, and the variety of his first answers with the last, in the which there were great contradiction. Those which are accused of any crime take it for a fauour to be heard patiently vnto the end: although for the most part they doe but increase the reasons of their punishments. He spake so boldly and so eloquently, as if a man should iudge of the fauour of a discourse by the attention, there was not any one of long time heard with greater patience in that place. Some thed teares in the place and wept in their houles, for pity, not of his innocency (for that appeared not) but of his fortune so miserably deiected. Heat is more naturall to a man then cold; and mildnesse more then rigor: but he could expect nothing but Iustice from this great Assembly. It was impossible that passion, fauor or respect, should alter the integrity of their iudgements. The opinions of some weak spirits may be moued, who regard more the appearance, then the essence of things, and which beleue not the harme vntill they feele it, or that the fire is hot, vntill it burne them. But to blinde so many graue heads from seeing of the truth, it was an enterprise of too great difficulty. A little water may be poysoned, but not a whole Riuer.

The prisoners discourse was so long, as they had no time to giue their opinions. Hee was sent backe to the Bastille, returning more cheerfully then hee came, for as in going forth of the Bastille to the Palace, he imagined that he went to his death, so seeing himself brought backe, hee conceiued that he returned to life. And for that he had answered the Chancelor to all his demands, and had moued some of his Iudges to lament his misfortune, many to detest his acculer, and all to wish that the fowlenesse of his offence, and the good of the State would allow of his pardon. He thought that he had so ballanced their opinions, as mercy should preuaile aboue rigour. Hee therefore neuer ceased all Saturday, Sunday and Munday, to relate vnto the Capitaines, and to the guard, that kept him, all that had bene demanded of him, what hee had answered, and how brauely and discretely he had satisfied all: adding withall, that he did imagine hee saw the Chancelors countenance going out of the great Chamber; he did counterfeit him in his staydnesse and the grauity of his words, fit for a man of his age and quality, imagining, that he spake in this manner: *Behold a wicked man, he is dangerous in the State, we must dispatch him, he deserves death.* Which words neuer came out of his mouth, hauing caried himselfe very respectfully in this Arraignement, hauing neuer pronounced that word of Death, but in concluding the iudgement. And therein he alwaies vsed some words to qualifie his griefe in the Image of his affliction, more then of his innocency, vnable to forget the remembrance of the good that was past, or the feeling of the present euill. These were the last fits of the prisoners hope, the which finding no solid body, did run after the shadowes of his imagination, and flattered him so pleasingly, as he thought not to die, saying, *Thus they could not supply his place, if he were dead.* Noting among all them that thought themselves most capable, great wants and imperfections. Yet in all these extremities hee had nothing

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The judgement
of the people.The Judges
opinions.Principal rea-
sons of their
opinions.In treason the
intent is prin-
ciple.

nothing that lulled him so much asleepe as his owne praifes. Sometimes he would say, *A* *Is it possible, that the King should be so vaine, as to make him to apprehend death, and to think to tormente him therewith? But he conceived of things according to his imagination, the which was not answerable to the truth.*

On Monday the Chancellor returned to the Palace to determine on his sentence. They continued vntill two of the clocke in the afternoon in giuing of their opinions. They were drawne from one principle of truth, as many lines are from one center, and did con-
curre all in one resolution conformable to the conclusions of the Kings Attorney ge-
nerall; That it was iust, necessary and profitable to quench these burning flames of ambi-
tion in the blood of the Duke of Biron, if they would not see the Realm in combustion. *B*
A whole day, and a good part of the night would haue been spent, if euery one had giuen
a reason of his opinion, those of the great Chamber onely, and the Presidents of the In-
quests spake what they would. This subiect is like vnto a great and thicke Forrest, they
know not what tree to choose: it is so full and so rich, as abundance of reasons troubles
the choise: And these were the chiefe. There was a concurrence of a great crime and
great merit. All France was a witness of the one: and of the other the truth was appa-
rent. The proofes which are required to discouer a secret crime are here made perfect.
Proofe by mouth, and the prisoners answer. Proofe by writings, letters and instructions.
Proof by the deposition of witnesses, against whom he hath objected no exception, which
might impugne that which they sayd and maintained.

By these three sorts of proofes wee see that monstrous attempt against the Kings per-
son verified, and that furious conspiracy to trouble his Estate, and to make it a prey to his
enemies; and both the one and the other doth make the prisoner guilty of high treason in
the first and second degree. He confesseth that hee would ill, that his intent was written
and imparted to others, and yet he neuer did ill. That it neuer past his thought. That
thoughts are not to bee punished as hee said. That the desire to steale makes not a
theefe: It is true, but the guilt of treason is so detestable, as the intent how farre so euer
from the execution, is punished and repited for the effect. Repentance which follows
after, and changeth the designe, may well serue for the offence, but it helpes nothing for
the punishment.

C A Gentleman hauing attempted to kill King *Francis* the first, repented, and revealed it
in his confession, yet being accused by his Confessor, he lost his head. As the respect of
the Image of God, grauen in the Maistie of Kings, frees them from all lawes made by
men, so the dignity of their persons doth warrant them from all enterprises and conspira-
cies of humane malice, the which dares not once thinke to put them in practice against
their Images, much lesse against their persons. The proofe of an intent, although it were
not resolved nor determined, goes not vnpunished, which passeth often times vnto things
without life. To houses, images, ashes, yea and to the memory it selfe. This crime trou-
bleth the dead, thirty or forty yeares after their funerals: for that it is not extinct in dying,
and the which is contrary to common sense and naturall humanity) they punish the
child, the wife, and the family, for the fathers offence, being a contagious Leprosie, and
hereditarie to all his race. The father cannot excuse his sonne. And the Senator *Ful-
sius* was commended to haue put his Sonne to death; for that he had bene one of *Cati-
lines* conspiracy. Let him then plead no more, that hee hath done no euill, it sufficeth
that he would haue done it. Lawes are not made for bad actions onely, but for Coun-
sels alio and resolutions. His intent began the crime, occasion had ended it, it bee had
not bene prevented. If he had done no other euill, but to giue eare to the promises and
perswasions of the enemies, he were guilty. For in matters of State, the subiect cannot
dispose of any point of his will, without the permission of his Prince. We must not stay
till venomous beasts haue bitten, and then kill them, nor Traitors intents executed, before
we discouer the treason. It is then too late to iudge of the crime, but to complaine of indis-
cretion: then they seeke no more: reliefe from Law, but they flee to Armes. It is not
then time to accuse and to punish, but to weepe and to flee. The City of Rome laboured
in vaine to resist *Cesar*, after that hee had subuerted the lawes, vsurped the Dictatorship,
and terrified all Italy with the brute of his forces. If they should haue stayed vntill the pri-
soner had executed his designs, there had bene no talking of Iustice nor of State. You
must not tarry, till the house shake, and be ready to fall, you must ynderprop it, and repaire
it

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A it in time. It is a misery: (sayd the Emperor *Domitian*) when they will not beleue a
conspiracy against Princes, vntill they be slaine by the Conspirators. Now that God by a
singular worke of his providence hath discouered this conspiracy, it toucheth the health
of the State, and the honor of the Court, to punish these Conspirators. Reason requires
that the example may make knowne how execrable this offence is, for the which it is law-
full to torment the dead, and terrifie them that bee liuing, to make the children partakers
of their Fathers punishment, and to assure them rather of miserie then of life, that the
world might haue more horror of his wickednesse then feare of his punishment. The
Kings Clemencie hath had her turne, now Iustice must take hers, making her authority to
be feared and admired, like vnto the sea, which is more admired when the waues are swola
and risen vpon to the clouds, then when it is calme and still. But they consider the quali-
tie and merit of the prisoner. First, Iustice hath her eyes blinded, and shut from all dis-
tinctions, but that it holds the offence greater in a great person, then in a meane, and by
this proposition, the punishment must be greater. The faults of meane men are hidden
in the multitude, their fortune and reputation is one thing. Those which railed to great
places, doe good or harme by the example of their good or bad actions, are they which
are knowne and discouered to all men.

In matters of rebellion and crimes of State, they regard not what is past, they looke only
to the present, and what they may expect hereafter: the most vertuous actions yeeld to
the violence of the bad. The accused hath seru'd the King, it was his duty, he hath bene
recompenced. He hath attempted against his seruice, therein hee hath done what hee
ought not. The offence and the punishment are twins: at the same instant that hee hath
offended, he draws vpon him the rigour of punishment. If with *Antipater*, hee hath
caried vpon his body the markes of vertue, there is nothing now to bee seene but signes
of infidelity in his heart. His merits haue mounted to the greatness of the first digni-
ties of France, his ill deservings cast him downe with shame, and shew him to bee vn-
worthy of those excellent degrees of honour. Good seruice cannot enter into compa-
rison with bad, nor crimes in parallel with merits. The offence which is greater then the
seruice, changeth the bond of recompence into punishment. Hee that helpes to build a
Dole, deserves much of the owner, but when he lets fire to it, all the remembrance of his
good which he hath done vanissheth away. The accused hath had a good share in the re-
storing of the State, but since he would haue vndermined it, and ruined the foundations,
he hath practised to make it a prey to the enemy, they can no more returne to that which
he hath done, they iudge what he would haue done, and shall haue no other esteeme or
reputation, but as an *Arisson*, a *Nabis* or a *Catilin*. Hee hath bene profitable to the
State, it is true. But he hath offended against the Lawes of State. Their preservation is so
necessary, as it were better to lose the most profitable members in an Estate, then to suf-
fer them to be violated: for in putting them to death, it doth but decrease the number of
valiant men, but in suffering them to liue, you doe wrong vnto the Lawes, and thereby
ruine the quier of the State. He hath done well for the preservation of the State: it is
true. But he that seekes to destroy what he hath preferred, makes himselfe an enemy, and
the remembrance of his well-deseruing dies in the injury which he would haue done to the
whole body. He hath begun well, but he ended ill. All actions are censured by the end.
If the heele, (that is to say) Constancy and firmnesse, had not failed in *Achilles*, hee had
bene immortal. It is not sufficient for a man to begin to doe well, if hee desists in the
middle, and continues not vnto the end; Who deserued better at Rome then *Mantius*,
the onely preferer of the Capitoll against the Gauls? and who was more severely pun-
ished then hee, whom they cast downe headlong from the Capitoll, for his factions and
murmurs?

F If it were a crime not to serue the Prince, was it not execrable to hinder, and to con-
spire against his seruice? As the seruices done by the accused, cannot bee compared
with his offences, so his quality cannot moderate his punishment. Iustice hath no eyes to
regard a Dukes Crowne, a Marshall of France his staffe, nor a blew riband. All these
are no prerogatives, but that he which attempts to trouble the State, shall be held an en-
emy to the Maistie of the Prince, and the publicke good. Great men are greatly punished.
Dignities aggravate the offence vpon him that is bound not to offend. The greater the
bond is, the more execrable is the ingratitude.

There

In crimes of
State they con-
sider nothing
but the punish-
ment.

There is no Gentlemen in France more bound vnto his Prince, then the accused: A If duties and bonds hold no place in the affections of subiects to their Prince, to what Altar shall they goe to seekke assurance of faith? Must not the King in these continuall doubts of diloyalty, trust the guard of his Person vnto strangers, as *Leuis* the 11 did vnto the Scottishmen. And finding no religion nor confidence among men, trust vnto beasts, as *Masiusa* did? God is offended when as respect of the quality withholdes the course of Iustice, and threatens that Estate with ruine, wherein they suffer a wicked subiect to liue. *Achab* felt the heauie hand of his wrath, for that he saued the life of *Benadab*. As this furious desire of soueraigne command, troubles all the considerations of Nature, Friendship, Duty: so in punishing them wee must neither regard the respect of blood, the remembrance of seruices, nor the motions of friendship. The offence is of too great a consequence to dissemble it. Hee that doth not punish an euill, allowes of it. But they say it hath beene pardoned, that wee must not open a wound which hath been closed vp, Kings and Fortune doe often pardon, to punish them more seuerely that haue abused their pardon. The prisoner confesseth that he did not say all, and a pardon cannot extend, but to those things that haue beene mentioned and confessed, the greatest part of the offence hath remained in the will of the repentant, hee hath confessed but as little as hee might. There was a difference betwix him that did pardon, and him that demanded pardon. The King pardoned to the end hee should not fall into a relapse of his former faults: and he demanded pardon that he might offend more safely. It appeares by his confession, and by that which he hath said in the face of the court, when as he was demanded why hee had not discovered his offences freely vnto the King, when as hee gaue him so great assurance to forget it. He answered, that hee did not thinke *La Fin* had layd any thing, and that he had kept his word, hauing confirmed it with great oaths, that if hee had acquainted him with that which hee had discovered to the King, hee would haue cast himselfe at his Maiesties feet as readily as hee did to craue pardon. There was then something betwixt them that was not yet pardoned. They which offend doe often misreckon the time, seeking to excuse their fault. The conference of times discouers the continuance of intents. The pardon was in January, and after September hee writes, That seeing it hath pleased God to giue the King a Dauphin, hee would no more thinke of those vanities: and *La Fin* adds, that there was a biller of a contrary tenor, that the negotiation was continued, and that the King had no knowledge thereof from the prisoner. The pardon should haue drawne him to repentance, and not to ingage him in new trecheries, the which could not be remitted nor pardoned, for that hee had offended often without punishment. He must not continue his errors, the last payes for all the precedent. The Court allowes not of this pardon in a crime that is beyond all pardon, and whereof the abolishment depends not of the King, who may not bee prodigall of his subiects blood, nor bring the health of all in generally in danger, for one in particular. This reason moued *Alexander* to put *Philotas* to death, being giuen to vnderstand, that if he pardoned him, hee would make him able to attempt new treasons against him, when as it should not be in his power to pardon him. A pardon doth not change the bad intent of a mighty malefactor. This *Philotas* knew well, that they which had exhausted all mercy, and drawne it dry, hauing no more hope, did run headlong into despair. That there are benefites which are odious, for that hee blusheth to confesse the cause, and to acknowledge himselfe debtor for his life to any one. *Alexander* had enemies enough abroad, hee had no need of any at home, and assuring his Estate of those, hee needed not to feare the rest. Kings like vnto Physicians must know the diseases of their States, the accidents that are past, the present, and the future, and employ Iustice as a drugg, the which is good for them that be sicke, and may profit others before the disease hath actually seized on them.

There remains one only consideration, that the Duke of Biron may doe great seruice, and that it is not impossible but he may returne to the way of his first innocency. There is lesse harme not to beleue it, then to beleue it. Wee must not vpon an vncertaintie that is to come, neglect the remedie of a present mischiefe. There is more trouble to absolue him, and more danger to set him at liberty, then to put him to death. He is not likely to doe any more good: we can expect nothing but reuenge from his courage. There is no more any *Furius Camillus* who changed his exile into a bond vnto his Country that

Euill vnguished is suffered.

A pardon extends but to confession.

A Prince cannot be liberall of his subiects blood.

A had banished him. Serpents seeme dead in winter, the cold keeps them from hurting: but when the Sunne recouers his forces, they spend their venom. The prisoners had intents might sleepe for a time, but it should bee to awake againe and neuer to leaue the State at rest. He that can neuer profit by his vertue nor his loyalty, must profit by his example. These were the reasons of the Court, vpon the which by a generall consent a sentence of death was concluded against the Duke of Biron. There were few in condemning him but said, that it was fit to arraigne *La Fin*, and giue warrant to apprehend him, and that it was impossible he should be cleane from the slime which he had handled, and that if the affaires of Spaine (which is like vnto the Temple of *Hecatempedon*, the which goes forward in words and not in workes) had beene answerable to the vehemency of their affection, he had sayd nothing. The King was aduertised thereof, who assured *La Fin* by his letters, that he would neuer endure that so great a seruice done to the Crowne, should be his ruine. It was reason, for if the Ancients did appoint Honors for beasts, that had done any seruice to the Common-weale, they should be no lesse thankfull vnto a Gentleman that had saued his Country. Whosoever discouers a conspiracy against the sacred and inuolable person of the Prince, ought to be rewarded by the publike. So was *Vindictis* by the Romans. Princes loue them for a while that haue done some great villanies for their seruice, the which is soone turned into deadly hatred, lothing to looke on them, for that their preference doth reproach them with the wronging of their conscience. But this happens not to him who without any infligation of the Prince, but moued onely with his duty doth reueale a conspiracy, chosing rather to faile in the office of a friend, then in duty of a faithfull subiect. The Chancelor concluding their opinions, pronounced the sentence of death, and by graue reasons and great examples reconciled some few opinions for the apprehending of *La Fin*. Saying, that the enterprize of the prisoner condemned, was not in his head alone, that there were others, who hauing a desire to say something, would retire themselves when they should see *La Fin* so intreated, who in the common opinion had deserved reward. And although that *Atars* would not haue the day which is giuen vnto him, to be the last to one that had deserved the name of a second *Mars*, yet the shadow of death did enuiron him on Tuesday about Noone: seeing a great multitude of Parisiens about Saint Anthones gate, he then beleued that he should be a spectacle vnto them. The Lord of Vitry's Lieutenant freed him from this imagination, making him beleue that it was to see certaine Gentlemen fight. Hereupon (and of that which the heart doth alwaies diuine in the like accidents, seeing more signes of death then of life) he framed in his imagination infallible consequences of his death, sending the Siegneur of Baranton to intreat the Marquis of Rhosny to come vnto him, or if hee could not, to be an intercessor vnto the King for his pardon. He answered, that he was extremely grieved that hee durst not doe the first, and had not meanes to effect the second. That the King was sorry that at his comming to Fontainebleau he was obdurate and would not deliuer the truth, which tooke from him the meanes to saue his life, and for his friends to sue for him. This multitude did not run to the gate without some occasion, they knew that the sentence of death was giuen the day before: Certaine Officers of the Court and the Executioner were seene enter into the Bastille, the scaffold which should be set vp at the Greue was made, but they were ill informed: for the King hauing commanded the Chancelor to send him the sentence, after he had giuen it in the Parliament, that he might let him vnderstand his pleasure touching the execution, *Sillery* who had carried it to Saint Germaine, returned with letters, by the which (for the auoyding the ignominy of his death at the face of his friends, and for other considerations) his Maiesty was pleased to change the place of the execution, and to appoint that in the Bastille, which should haue bene at the Greue.

These letters being verified, on Wednesday morning the last of Iuly, the Chancelor accompanied with the first President of the Court of Parliament, *Sillery* and three Masters of Requests, and followed by some Officers of the Chancery, *De Poyson* Register for criminall causes, and fixe Vthers, came to the Bastille about nine of the clocke in the morning, to let him heare the sentence of the Court. At his entrie hee commanded them to make the prisoner, dine and not to aduertise him of his comming, remaining in a little Chamber neere the entry on the left hand about an houre and a halfe: where he resolved who should bee sent for to assist at this execution, of whose names hee made a list. Hee

Qui sine virtute
nec sine peccato,
profit exemplo.

The Chancelor
pronounceth
the sentence
of death.

The Duke of
Biron desir
eth to see
the Marquis
de Rhosny.

The Chancelor
comes to
the Bastille.

The Duke of
Biron words
to the Chan-
celor.

Men condemn-
ed may speake
any thing.

Passion
transporte
the tongue.

Clemency
a royall
vertue.

that apprehends death, hath no desire to eate: yet he set him downe, rose againe present- ly, and according to his vsuall manner went vnto a window which looked into the Court of the Bastile, where hearing the cries and lamentations of a woman, hee thought they were for him, and had this sad content to see they wept for him before his death. Soone after, the Chancellor goes towards him, who crossing through the Court, the Duke of Biron espied him and cried out, *that he was dead. You come (sayd hee) to pronounce my sentence, I am condemned vnjustly, tell my kinsfolkes that I die an innocent.* The Chancellor went on without any motion, commanding that they should bring him into the Chappell. The prisoner seeing him come asafar off, cried out: *Oh my Lord Chancellor is there no pardon? is there no mercy?* The Chancellor saluted him and puts on his bat. The Duke of Biron continued bare, and hauing abandoned all the powers of his soule to griefe and passion, he tooke the aduantage to speake first, and to speake all that a tongue ouer-gnied might vtter, reproaching the Chancellor that he had not had so great a desire to saue him as to condemne him. He added thereunto certaiue words, the recording whereof is prohibited, and the report punishable. But Princes regard not the railing of subiects against their Maiesty, the which returns alwaies from whence it came. The Duke of Biron knowing not whom he should challenge most for his misfortune, turned towards the Chancellor, and shaking him by the arme, sayd, *You haue iudged mee, and God will absolve me, he will lay open their iniquities, which haue shut their eyes, because they would not see mine innocency: you my Lord shall answer for this Iustice before him, whether I doe summe C you within a yeare and a day, I goe before by the iudgement of men, but those that are the cause of my death shall come after by the iudgement of God.* All which was deliuered with such violence, as hee cryed out and stormed both against the King and his Parliament. They beare with all which proceeds from choller in a condemned man of his humor and qualitie. But this excesse to adorne a Chancellor to heauen being seventy yeares old, was held vnworthy the great courage of a Captaine, blaspheming and brauing death, and yet ignorant how they plead in another world. Hee was not the first in the like extremities, that haue adourned their Iudges before the throne of God. *Iohn Hus* sayd in dying: *Thas those which had condemned him should answer a hundred yeares after before God and him:* and the Bohemians who preferred the ashes of his bones and maintained his doctrine, coynd money with this adournment. But the Duke of Biron's affligations was vaine: for the Chancellor appeared not, but hath beene more healthfull since then before. He found no meanes to enter into discourse amidst the confusion of so many words which were like to a violent streams. Yet he interrupted him, to tell him that he had need of Gods helpe, and that he should recommend himselfe vnto him. He presently answered, that he had thought vpon God, and implored his ayde to giue him patience against their iniustice, but neither he nor his Iudges had thought of it in condemning him. Passion (said the Chancellor) makes you to speake many things without any colour, and against your owne iudgement. There is not any man hath better knowne your merits than myselfe, and I would to God your offences had been as much vnknowne as they haue beene: diffembled. The knowledge thereof was to great and so perfect, as your Iudges haue been more troubled how to moderate your paine, then to haue you punished, they haue more laboured to iustifie you then to condemne you.

Whilest the Chancellor was speaking, the Duke of Biron turned towards *Raisy* Master of Requests, and asked him if he had also bene one of his Iudges. *Raisy* answered; *My Lord, I pray God to comfort you.* My father loued you so intirely (replyed the Duke of Biron) that although you were one of them that had condemned mee I would forgive you. And so returning to his discourse, he addrest himselfe vnto the Chancellor, who was laying something vnto *Raisy*. I see well (said he) what it is, I am not the most wicked, but I am the most vnfortunate. Those which haue done worse then I would haue done, are fauored. The Kings clemency is dead for mee. Hee doth not imitate the examples of *Cesar* nor *Augustus*, or of those great Princes, who not onely pardoned them that would haue done ill, but euen them that did ill, and who were euer sparing of their blood, yea of that which was least esteemed, wherein can the King shew himselfe greater then in pardoning? Clemency is a Kingly vertue, euery one may giue death, but it belongs onely to Soueraignes to giue life. And cruell that he is, doth hee not know well that hee hath pardoned me. I had a bad designe, he granted mee grace. I demand it againe, you may easily ad- uertise

A uertise him, a Post will soone returne. The Queene of England told me, that if the Earle of Essex would haue humbled himselfe and sued for grace, he would haue pardoned him. He grew obdurate, and would neuer implore her mercy, taking from her all meanes to shew the effects. She like a generous Princeesse desiring to pardon him, euen as she would that God should pardon her. Hee was guilty, I am innocent: he sued for no pardon for his offence, I craue it in my innocency.

Is it impossible the King should thinke no more of the seruices I haue done him? doth he not remember the conspiracy at Mantes, and the danger he had runne into, if I had had intelligence with the conspirators, who found nothing that did more hinder the effects of their designe then my loyalty, nor a more ready meanes to attaine vnto it then in causing me to be slaine? There is no veine in my body which hath not bled for his seruice? He shewes that he neuer loued me any longer then he thought himselfe to haue need of mee. Hath he forgotten the sieges of Amiens, where they haue seene mee so often couered with fire and bullets, and to bee in so many dangers either to giue or to receiue death? He neuer quenched the torch in my blood, after that he hath vsed it. My Father exposed himselfe to a thousand dangers, and purchased death to set the Crowne vpon his head. I haue receiued fise and thirty wounds vpon my body to preferre it for him, and for my reward he takes my Head from my shoulders. Let him beware lest the Iustice of God fall vpon him. Hee shall find what profit my death will bring him, it will nothing as- cure his affaires, but impaire the reputation of his Iustice. Hee doth lose this day a good seruant, and the King of Spaine a great Enemy. I am not put to death for that I treated with him; my courage railed me vp, and my courage ruines me.

It is not lawfull for a man condemned to dispute of that which hath beene iudged against him. And therefore the Chancellor sayd: that hee should not torment himselfe any more against his Iudgement, that they had done him that Iustice which a Father is bound to pronounce against his owne Sonne if he had offended in the like sort. At that word, choller makes him to breake forth, saying: What Iustice? I was neuer heard but once, I could not deliuer the fiftieth part of my Iustification. What Iudgement vpon the testimony of the most wretched and most execrable man in the world, who neuer came neere mee but with incantments, nor went from mee but he had enchanted mee? He bit me by the eare, and made me to drinke incanted waters, calling me his King, his Prince, his Lord. Hee cannot deny but hee made me to see an Image of waxe which spake these two words in Latin. *Thou shalt dye wicked King.* If hee hath this power ouer a senselesse Image, what might hee not doe vpon me whose will he did tyrannize vpon by his witch-craft, forcing me to doe what hee pleased. But *La Fin* sayes, that hee knowes not what this Image meanes. If it be true, these words discouer the Diuels policie, who speaks the truth in his misery that trusteth vnto his lies, and intangles him still with inscrutable ambiguities. So hee deceived *Cresus* when hee told him that the Riuer *Halys* should lose a great power, meaning his, not that of *Cyrus*, against whom hee went to fight. So the Diuell meant not any other King then he whom *La Fin* saluted by the name of King, calling the Duke of Biron his Prince and his King. At euery word now hee vttered (some execration against *La Fin*, taxing the Court of Iniustice, to haue condemned him vpon his accusation. The Chancellor said vnto him that the Court had considered aduisely of his answers and his letters. It is true, said the Duke of Biron, I haue written some, but there are some that by an odious wickednesse premeditated haue bene counterfeited. Those that were of my hand-writing were not my intention. I disauowed them when I sent them. There are some that can counterfeite letters so artificially, as they that are charged therewith are confounded, and beleeue they had written that which they neuer thought. The Marquesse of Vernuell confessed to haue written that which was not her hand, nor euer in her thought, and when he had read the letter, shee cryed out, that her hand had betrayed her heart, hauing neuer any thought of that which was contained therein. The Chancellor would haue interrupted his discourse, but hee prest him in such sort as there was no meane to make any way. He spake of the Kings pardon which he had granted him, as if he had relied vpon his word, not seeking any other assurances. He told what letters the King had sent him to perswade him to come, and the policy of the President *Lianin* to draw him thereunto, to deceiue him as hee sayd, calling him a Deceiuer, the aduice of his friends conuincing him not to come, with many other vnecessary discourses.

Vuuu

The

A condemn-
ed man
may not
dispute.

There is no
e arm nre
violence
that can
force an
honour
man to
doe ill.

The diuels
answers
are decting
full.

Suppositi-
on collect-
ters.

1602

The Duke of
Biron delivers
vp the Kings
order.

The Chancellor to interrupt him, sayd, that the King demanded his Order, the Duke of Biron drawing it out of his pocket, deliuered it vnto him, protesting and swearing vpon the saluation and perill of his Soule, that hee had neuer broken the oath which hee had made in taking it. It was true that hee had affected Warre more then peace, to make himselfe necessary, and to maintaine the reputation which hee had gotten by the practice of Armes. It seemes he had not well obserued the articles of this Order, by the which no Knight of the Holy Ghost might take any Pension, Entertainment nor money from a foraigne Prince, nor tye themselves to the seruice of any other person during the Kings life, but should faithfully reueale all which they knew did import his Maiesties seruice. The Chancellor would haue had him to read his sentence: hee beseeched him not to intreat him with that rigour, that he knew what it did import, but the King should content himselfe with his Life, and suffer his goods to goe vnto his kinsfolkes, ending his paine with his death. The Chancellor said that hee doubted not but the King like a Prince full of bounty would let his kinsfolkes know that hee had loued him. Although the losse of life is nothing comforted by the preservation of goods, yet this gaue him some consolation, so as the fume of his choller was suddenly dispersed. The Chancellor sayd, *That hee had brought two Diuines to comfort him, and to prepare him for death.* The prisoner said vnto them, *That hee was already prepared, and had his Soule in that tranquillity, as the night before he had spoken with God, and that his guard had heard him laugh in his sleepe.*

The Chancellor who had much forced his patience, sayd vnto him, wee will bid you farewell. *What farewell said the condemned?* I will come and see you againe after dinner, answered the Chancellor: As he went forth he intreated him to grant him the last consolation that remains for men that are dying, when they may haue their wils to passe after their deaths, and to suffer him to make his Testament. It was granted, and hee disposed thereof with a spirit free from all perturbation. Hee remembered his seruants and friends, not forgetting the Baron of Lux whom he lamented aboute all. He drew three rings from his fingers deliuering them to *Saranten* to giue vnto his sister of S. Blancart, desiring her to wear them in remembrance of him. Hee had about three hundred Crownes when hee was taken prisoner, a part he playd, the rest hee gaue away to the poore. Eight or ten of his guard came to take their leaues of him with teares in their eyes. Hee gaue them Apparell, Shirts, Cloakes, and all that he had in his Coffers. So when the table is taken away, they giue the meat that remains, to them that haue wayted. *Garnier* the Kings Preacher and now Bishop of Mompellier, with *Magnan* Curat of Saint Nicholas of the field, presented themselves to comfort him, to take from him the violent fits, which the opinion of his innocency did giue him, and to withdraw him from the affections of the world. *Voisin* told him that it was the course of Iustice to read the sentence, and that hee must kneele downe before the Altar. *Read it saies hee, I will bee as supple as a gloue.* It was read in these termes: The Proceffe being extraordinarily made, and examined by the Court and Chambers assembled, and by the Presidents and Councillors that were deputed by Letters Patents of the 18 and 19 of Iune, at the request of the Kings Attourney Generall against *Charles Contault* of Biron, Knight of both orders, Duke of Biron, Peere and Marshall of France, Gouernour of Bourgongne, prisoner in the Bastille, accused of treason: interrogations, confessions and denials, confronting of witnesses, letters, aduices and instructions giuen to the enemy, confessed by him, and all which the Attourney Generall hath produced. A sentence was giuen the 22 of this Moneth, by the which it was decreed in the absence of the Peeres of France (being called) they should proceed to Iudgement, the conclusions of the Kings Attourney Generall being giuen, and the prisoner being heard by the Court vpon the Crimes wherewith hee was charged, all considered, it was sayd: That the said Court had declared and did declare the said Duke of Biron guilty of high Treason, for his conspiracies against the Kings person, enterprises against his Estate, and treacheries and treaties with his enemies, being Marshall of the Kings Army. For reparation of which Crimes, they deprived him of all his Estates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned him to lose his head vpon a Scaffold at the Greue, declaring all his goods moveable and immouable whereloener, to bee confiscate vnto the King: the Seignurie of Biron to lose the name and title of Duchy and Peere for euer, with all other goods held immediately of the King

He is suffered
to make his
Will.

The Duke of
Biron kneels
to heare the
sentence of
death.

The crimes for
the which the
Duke of Biron
was condemn-
ed.

1602

Hee falls into
choller after
the reading of
his sentence.

A King to be vnto the Crowne of France, decreed in the Court of Parliament the last day of Iuly 1602, and signed by *Bellieure* Chancellor of France, and *Fleury* Councillor in the Court, and Reporter of the proceffe. He grew into choller thrice in the reading of the sentence: when they said that hee had attempted against the Kings person, he protested with great Imprecations that it was false. That hee had neuer made any conspiracie, that he had his head troubled with some enterprises of State, for that hee would not lie idly in peace, but giue some employment to men of warre. But it was about two and twenty moneths since he had any thought of it; desiring that *Voisin* might raze that out of the sentence. When he heard that he should be executed at the Greue, he said he would not goe thither, but would rather be drawne with foure horses, and that it was not in all their powers to lead him. *Voisin* said, that they had provided for it, and that the King had done him the grace to change the place of his execution, hauing appointed it in the Bastille: *What grace answered the prisoner?* The third point of his sentence was, that he was troubled for the reunion of the Duchy of Biron to the Crowne, the which he said, could not be forfeit to the preiudice of the substitution of his brethren, and that the King should be satisfied with his life.

The Diuines after the pronouncing of the sentence spake more boldly vnto him of death, and to free himselfe of all worldly cares as he had done of his goods, and that hee should haue no other thoughts but of his Soules health. Hee then grew into choller, swearing that they should suffer him in peace, and that it concerned him onely to thinke of his Soule, with the which they had nothing to doe. It is the order in Criminal executions to deliuer the party condemned into the hands of the Executioner as soone as his Iudgement is read. They would haue done so with him: but *Voisin* went to speake vnto the Chancellor, to know if they should not distinguish him from other prisoners. The Chancellor was in doubt whether they should binde him or nor. Hee asked *Sillery* what he thought, who vnderstanding by *Voisin* that the party condemned was well pacified, sayd, it was to be feared that in seeking to binde his hands they would cause him to breake the bonds of patience, and enter into new furies, for that they which are in that disordre, are dis tempered for small matters.

Yet the Chancellor would haue the aduice of the first President, who was in another Chamber, for that he had dined before hee came vnto the Bastille: Hee sayd that it was dangerous to suffer his hands free, and therefore they must binde him. Euery one was of *Sillerys* opinion, who considered not so much what should be done as what might bee done, for the party condemned would neuer haue suffered himselfe to haue bene led bound to the place of execution but in Fury and Despaire. The Executioner (who said since that a yong langman and not experienced would haue dyed for feare) had bene in danger to endure that which he would make him to suffer. In this liberty, his spirit was alwaies free in his thoughts for the last disposition of affaires: the Diuines intreated him to consider that hee was no more what hee had bene: that within an houre or two hee should be no more: that he must leaue this life to liue for euer: that his Soule must goe before the fearful Throne of the liuing God, to be rewarded with a more happy and perfect life then that which hee had past in this world: or condemned to infinite paines, in comparision whereof, that which hee should suffer was but a slight pricking, in respect of the burning flames of the Diuine Iustice.

Hee then entred into the examination of his Conscience, in the which hee remained aboute an houre. This action required an humble, penitent and a contrite heart, and yet he seemed much more carefull of worldly things, and of the affaires of his house, then of his Soules health, and as it were a yong apprentice in the first prayers of his Religion, praying vnto God not as a deuout Christian, but as a Souldier, not as a religious Man, but as a Captaine, nor as *Moses* or *Elias*, but like to *Iesusa*, who, on horsebacke and with his sword in his hand prayed and commanded the Sunne to stand still. His confession being made, he walked vp and downe the Chappell, still calling out some exclamation for his Innocency, and some execration against *La Fin*, asking if it should not be lawfull for his brethren to cause him to be burnt.

Hereupon *Voisin* comes, who tells him that the Chancellor and the first President were very glad of the constant & generous resolution hee had to die, and that they would come presently to see him. He answered that hee had bene long resolved, and that it was not

Hee confesseth
himselfe.

1602

the paine of death, but the manner that did amaze him. Whilest he attended them, there A were many nores brought him, touching his affaires, whereunto hee answered without trouble or passion. Hee recommended the payment of some debts which he did owe to Gentlemen, that had nothing to shew for it; and among others, to the Ambassadour in England: when the Chancellor had dined, he came to see him with the first President, and found that as a troubled water grows cleere being settled, so the time which he had giuen him to thinke of his affaires, had taken from him the violent agitations of his fantasie, and freed his heart from the feare of death: he commanded all that were in the place to retire, and they sat downe together about halfe an houre, but their discourse is vnknowne.

He reflects to eyes.

In the end the Chancellor sayd vnto him, I should doe wrong vnto your courage, if I should exhort you vnto death, the hath presented her selfe vnto you in so many places, as it is not in her power to trouble the Constancy and Patience, whereunto I belecue you are disposed. You find it hard to die in the flower and vigour of your age, but if you consider that our dayes are limited, and that they depend on the foresight of the Governour of the whole world, you will receive this death as by the will of God, who meanes to retire you out of this world for your owne good, before that some great and long misery shall find you. As we may not desire a death which is far off, so may we not reiect that which offers it selfe. No, no, answered the party condemned, labour not (my Lord) to fortifie me against the feare of death, these twenty yeares it hath not feared mee, and knowing not where the would take me, I haue expected her euery where. You haue giuen me 40 daies C to thinke vpon it, yet I could not beleuee that it being not in the power of my enemies to take away my life, I should be so miserable as to be seized on by death, with the consent of my friends. The King (said the Chancellor) hath cut off all that might bee shamefull and ignominious. He then asked him if he would speake with any one. He sayd that he desired to see La Force and S. Blancart. They told him that they were not in the City, but there was a Gentleman of the Lord of Badoules, and after that he had demanded for Preuost (Comptroller of his house) and that they had answered him that he was gone three daies before to a house of his in the Country, he then said, *that he ought not to haue bene there, that he had all his blankes*: adding thereunto these words of compassion; *All the world hath abandoned me. In these crimes friendship is dangerous, friends faile, and the delect is taken by acquaintance, as well as by infection. He is wise that knows no man, nor no man knows him.* D

He desires to see his friends.

The Chancellor takes his leave of him.

At these words the Chancellor and the first President tooke their leaues of him with teares in their eyes. He intreated them to receive a good opinion of his life, by the assurance which he gaue at the point of death, that hee had neuer attempted any thing against the King, and that if he would haue vnderaken it, the King had not beneeliuing three yeares since. The Chancellor went out of the Bastille with the first President and Sillery, and stayed in the Arceual vntill the execution was done. The Duke of Biron intreated the Knight of the Watch to goe after him, and to request him that he would suffer his body to be intened with his Predecessors at Biron, for although nature hath provided that no man shall die without a graue, yet men thinke curiously thereof before they die, and imagine, that as glory preferres the reputation of the life, so the graue maintaines the remembrance of the body. He that had seen him would haue thought he had not been ready to dye, so little care he had of death, or else hee promised to himselfe some vnepected effects of the Kings mercy, or to escape by miracle. There is no such deceit as imagination frames in these extremities, whē she flatters herself with vain hope, imagining that God doth greater wonders, and that they haue seene a pardon come betwixt the Executioners sword and Prisoners necke: Voisin asked him if he pleased to say any thing else that might serue to discharge his conscience. The Preachers exhorted him not to conceale any thing, and to consider that they could not giue him absolution but for what he should confesse. He answered, that although the King did put him to death vnjustly, yet hee had F so much loued his seruice, and had serued him with so great loue and obedience, neuer diuiding the one from the other, as hee felt in his thoughts of death, those of his loue, to be so liuely and ardent, as he would not conceale any thing that he knew to be against his person or state, for all the world, no not for the assurance of his life he would not speake any thing that was not true.

Hee drew Voisin and his Confessors apart and whispered something vnto them, the which was presently written. Having continued with his Confessors halfe an houre, (being

A (being neere fise of the clocke) one came and told him that it was time to part. Goe we (said he) *seeing I must*. He then kneeled downe before the Altar, makes his prayer, and recommends himselfe vnto God, before he goes out of the Chappell. He asked if there were any one that belonged vnto the Marquis of Rhosny, Arnaud was there, whom he willed to present his commendations vnto his Master, in remembrance not so much of him that went to die, as of his kinsfolkes which remained aliue, and to assure him that hee held him for a good seruant to the King, and profitable and necessary for his seruice, and that hee was sorry hee had not followed his counsell. Hee knew one that followed the Duke of Mayenne, and intreated him to say vnto him, that if in his life he had giuen him some cause not to loue him, yet he desired him to beleuee that he dyed his seruant, and the Duke of Elguillons and the Earle of Sommerues his children. Hee charged Baranton to deliuer his last words of loue and affection vnto his brethren, commanding them to keepe the faith which bound them vnto the Kings seruice, not to apprehend his misfortune, nor to come at Court vntill that time had worne out the skarres of this ignominious death. He intreated one of them that had guarded him, to go tell the Earle of Auvergne that he went to dye without griefe, but for the losse of his friendship: that if God had giuen him a longer life, hee would haue done him more seruice, beseeching him to beleuee that hee had sayd nothing at his arraignment that might hurt him, if it were not that hee had more want then bad meaning.

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He prays before he goes forth of the Chappell.

C The Count of Auvergne receiued this farewell as from a true friend, and with a feeling, worthy of his friendship, hee intreated him to leaue him a bafe childe of his, the which hee would bring vp with his owne. Going out of the Chappell, the Executioner presented himselfe vnto him. Hee asked Voisin what he was. It is (said he) the Executioner of the sentence. *Retire thy selfe* (said the Duke of Biron) *touch me not vntill it be time.* And doubting lest hee should bee bound, hee added, *I will goe freely vnto death, I haue no hands to defend my selfe against it, but it shall neuer bee said that I die bound like a thiefe or a slave*: and turning towards the hang-man, hee saw that if he came neere him he would pull out his throat. He could not endure the sight of the Executioner: Hee had reason, for they torment the body, as Duels be executioners of the soule. And although D they be men and the instruments of Iustice, yet they are held execrable, and had no dwelling house allowed them in Rome by the Censors Law. The two Preachers led him downe, intreating him to resist his impatience, which did but distemper his minde, and made him loath to leaue the place which he could not hold against his will. Coming into the Court, hee went fise or fixe paces without speaking a word, but *ha, ha, ha*. He cast his eyes vpon the Lieutenant Ciuil, in whose house *la Fin* was lodged, to whom he said, *I am your friend, beware you bee not abused with Sorcerers and Magicians, if you free not your selfe of them, you will repent it.*

He sends commendations to the Count of Auvergne.

He grows into choller when he sees the hangman.

He goes to the scaffold.

They had made a scaffold in a corner of the Court of the Bastille before the portall going into the Garden, fixe foot high and somewhat longer, there were fise steps to goe vnto it. There were no Ornaments, no Tapifry, no distinction. The most stately death is not the least troublesome, the greater the preparation is, the more remarkable is the infamy. It is no great honor to kneele vpon a velvet Cushion, vpon a Scaffold spread ouer with Tapifry, and to haue by him an Executioner clad in blacke velvet and Crimson Silke, with the sword of Gold of *Helias abalus*: the death which is least ceremonious is the best. The beholders were some at the windowes, some in the Court. There were the Prouost of Merchants, foure Sheriffes, three or foure Masters of Requests, some Presidents of the Chambers of Accounts, and some Councillors, the Lieutenants Ciuil and Criminall, and the Kings Attourney General. The Duke of Biron coming to the Scaffold kneeled vpon the first step, praying in few words, and his eyes lift vp to Heauen. He was exhorted to kisse the Crosse in remembrance of his Redemption. Hee F was attyred in Rustet Taffata, with a blacke Hat. Hee cast a furious looke vpon the Executioner. Voisin perswaded him that it was another, but he knew him well, saying, *that they sought to deceiue him, but hee commanded him to stand by, and when it were time hee would call for him.* Hee threw downe his Hat, and cast his handkercher to a boy, and presently called for it againe to vse it, seeming in this act that hee had not the courage to looke vpon death with open eyes. He put off his dublet, and cast it to the same boy, but the Executioners man, got it, and kept it.

Vuuu3

The

The Executioner offered him a cloth to put before his eyes, the which hee rejected, A saying, *that if hee toucht him, but to giue him the stroke of death, hee would strangle him.* Hee layd vnto the souldiers which guarded the Port (shewing them his naked breast) that he should be much bound vnto him that would shoot him with a Musket: what a pitty is it sayd he, *to die so miserably, and of so infamous a stroke?* They might see by his hollow eyes, that his thoughts were dis tempered. At these words the teares fell from the souldiers eyes. All those of his profession sware by his Spirit, and by his good Angell, as the Ancients did by that of their Prince. The poorest souldier was cherished by him, at the least he had some good words to assure him of his good liking. The Harguebuziers did wound him at the heart, through the extreme compassion they had of him. So were B the souldiers of *Eumenes*, moued when they saw him bound and manacled, intreating them to kill him. He asked if there were no pardon, and directing his words to the standers by, hee sayd, *that he had made his soule ready to present it before the face of God,* but hee tooke pity of the Kings soule, who put him to death vniustly: that hee dyed an innocent, and that his death was the recompence of his seruice: *Voisin* said vnto him, *that it was the manner to read the sentence.* He was angry that they would make him to feelee death, and to die to often before his death, for he felt himselfe to die cruelly in the repetition of the crymes of his condemnation, being sufficient that they had brought him thither where hee was ready to obey, and that they which did see him were not ignorant of the cause.

When as the Register answered him that it could not be otherwise, he gaue him leave: but vnderstanding the words: that he had attempted against the Kings person and State, he sayd that it was false. That God was his Iudge, that he would bee de priued eternally of his grace, if it were true, that for two and twenty moneths past he had neuer any thought of it, and that the King had pardoned him. He talked all the while that *Voisin* read his iudgement, so as neither the one nor the other could bee vnderstood, the Auditors not knowing to whom to giue care. The party condemned protesting still, and coniuring the Assisants to remember that these two and twenty moneths he had not attempted any thing against the Kings seruice. No man doth at any time condemn himselfe. You shall see D few of these great Spirits, that die by their owne confessions, although they bee found guilty. Some confesse the Fact, but they hold it no crime, as that yong Gentleman who was one of them that murdered the Duke of Milan, being ready to receiue the stroke, he cried out, *that the death which hee suffered was troublesome, but his Reputation should bee euermore glorious.*

His iudgement being read, the Preachers perswaded him to call to God for helpe, and not to thinke any more on Earth, but to yeeld his Soule to the immortall disposition of the Creator, and to leaue his body to that which Iustice had decreed. Hee asked what he should doe, and takes his hand-kercher, with the which hee blinds his eyes, asking the Executioner where hee should set himselfe: hee answered him, there my Lord, there. And where is that? Thou seest that I see nothing, and yet thou shewest mee as if I did see plainly: and therewith being in choller, he pulled away his hand-kercher to see: Hee blinded his eyes againe, and for that it is a kinde of grace to bee soone dispatched, and a great cruelty to languish in the expectation of a paine, hee commanded the Executioner to make an end. He desired to die standing, according to the aduice of *Vespassian*. The Executioner answered him that he must kneele, that hee might doe nothing out of order. No no, said the Duke of Biron, *if thou canst not doe it at one, giue thirty. I will not stirre.* They preff him to kneele, and he obeyed, willing the Executioner to dispatch: then hee start vp suddenly againe, casting his eyes vpon the Executioner: & looking vpon the standers by, hee asked if there were no mercy: It was imagined, that either he would haue layd hand vpon the Executioners sword, or that he presumed that when hee should be ready to receiue the fatal stroke they would bring him his pardon, and that the King would doe him no other harme then feare him, as *Papirius Cursor* did one of his souldiers for breaking of his ranke. The Executioner intreated him to suffer him to cut his haire. At that word hee grew into choller againe, he vnband himselfe, and sware that if he toucht him he would strangle him. You may see in two persons, two extreame passions. Feare rettyred the Executioner within himselfe. Choller transported the Duke of Biron beyond himselfe. The one trembled for feare, the other for rage. *Voisin* said vnto him, *that he had too much care* of

Stans Imp-
ratoris excu-
satoris deat.

A of his body, which was no more his owne. Hee turned to him in choller with an oath, saying, *I will not haue him touch me, so long as I shall be liuing: if they put me into choller, I will strangle halfe the company that is here, and will force the rest to kill me, I will leape downe if you thrust me into despair.* His colour did rise, and shewed a dis temperature in his face. Those that were vpon the scaffold went downe. The Executioner remained amazed, fearing death more then hee that was to die.

But this choller preuailed nothing, it was like vnto *Ctesiphon*, to kicke against the Mayles heeles. Re lly horses get nothing but spurring, they are neither freed from their burden, nor from their journey, he must resolute to goe this way, the which hee must passe B at length. *Voisin* intreating the Preachers to goe vp againe, and to pacifie him, fearing lest hee should fall into despair, for his soule being much troubled with the violence of so tragical an end (entering into these furious motiues) was subiect to great dis temperatures. They goe vp againe, and speake some good words vnto him in his eare, the which doth temper his furious rage, and calmes the choller which the Executioners presence did thrust him into: he had alwaies liued in war, he could not dye in peace. All men found these furious passions strange in the last act of his life, the which required a great constancy of minde, and a perfect iudgment to know God, to call to him for mercy, and to pray him to intreat his soule more fauourably then Iustice had done his body.

Hitherto hee beleueed, that although he were entering into death, yet he thought not C to dye, and that he would seize vpon the Executioners sword. Suddenly hee resolues to free his passage, and hauing receiued his absolution, he said, *My God, my God, my God, take pity on me.* Then turning to the Executioner, he takes the binder that was in his hand, trusses vp his haire behinde, and binds it vpon his forehead: and with his handkercher hee blinds his eyes, and so kneeles downe. The Preachers comfort him in his last resolution, assuring him that his soule was ready to see God, and to be partaker of his glory in heaven. I said he, *Heauen is open for my soule.* And this done hee bends downe his head, presenting it as willingly vnto the sword, as *Agis* did his vnto the halter, saying vnto the Executioner: *Strike, strike, ob strike.* This was to dye in commanding, and to command in dying.

D The Executioners hauing seene him to rise, and to vnbind himselfe thrice, that in turning towards him being not bound, hauing the sword in his hand, he might wrest it from him, thought that there was no way to execute him but by surpris, and therefore hee said vnto him, that he must say his last prayer to recommend his soule vnto God, intreating the Preachers that were gone downe to cause him to say it. At which words the Executioner made a signe to his man to reach him his sword, with the which hee cut off his head, euen as he was speaking. The blow was so sodaine, as few men perceived it, the head leaped from the scaffold to the ground. The Preachers prayed for the happy departure of the soule, from so vnhappy a body, the which was presently stripped into his shirt, and couered with a sheete. His heart panted, as if in rising against the head, it had said as E *Apollodorus* thought that he did when hee dremp that one did hew it in peeces; *It is for thee that I suffer.* This head full of the fumes of Ambition, was the cause of the Hearts death. The Executioner struck him so high about the nape of the neck, as hee glanced vpon his lawe-bones, and left a great tuft of haire on his neck. Being dead, hee shewed choller in his countenance, as they write of the Souldiers which died at the battle of Cannas. Euery one departed, commending the Kings Iustice, and lamenting the misery of so valiant a man, beleueing that of long time they should not see his equall. His kind-folkes would thinke themselves happily, if the glory of his life might wipe away the infamy of his death, if the shining of his first actions were not obliuiscd with the darknesse of the last, that for a recompence of all his seruices which haue made him so famous, they might obtaine the fauour that they would neuer speake of him. But there is no law of forgetfulness, to deface the memory of that which hath bene, and of that which is. About nine of the clocke at night, he was caried to *S. Pauls* Church, and buried in the middle of the body, before the Pulpit, the *Celestines* hauing refused to giue him buriall hauing had no permission nor commandement for it. Hee was not distinguished from others by his funeral pompe, nor by the number of Ensignes (like vnto that great Captaine at *Grando*) but by the holy water which the Parisiens did cast hourly vpon his graue. Such was the end of the Duke of Biron.

Great Gensalue
dying had a
hundred En-
signes hang-
ing on his
grau.

There

He sweares and
grooves into
choller.

He cuts off his
head.

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There is no calme but hath a storme: one would haue said to haue seene him at the height of his prosperities; *That hee had fixed a nayle on Fortunes wheele, that it might not turne,* and yet he is suddenly cast downe. There past but one night betwixt his glory and his ruine. The Flower being so suddenly blowne, the first Northerne winde did wither it, and cary it away. His honours and greatnesse were the meanes to ruine him, like vnto *Abalons* long haire, by the which he was hanged. King *Lewis* the eleuenth did alwaies say, *That pride caried ruine bebind him.* A heart which knowes from whence the good comes which it enioyeth, is alwaies an enemy to Pride. So there is but a moment betwixt glory and ruine. Great trees are long in growing, but are rooted vp in an instant. And it is true, if the Duke of Biron had had a braine, he had not lost his head, and had not brought it into the hands of his Princes Iustice, whom he had so much offended.

The Marshall
Biron's vertues.

This Marshall had goodly parts, communicable to few, his valour was admirable, and happy in all his encounters; of an inuincible courage, infatigable, and neuer tyred with any toyle, continuing ordinarily fifteene daies together on horsebacke. He was not enclined to voluptuoufnesse, nor much to the loue of women, sober enough, the which began to quench that furious humour, as intemperancy and greatnesse encreased, or that rest did moderate his boyling passions. He was extremely vainglorious, yea, sometimes he would refuse his meat, and content himselfe with little, to feed his fantasie with glory and vanity. Hee was of a meane stature, blacke, reasonable grosse, hollow eyed, and rough in speech and conseruation. Hee was aduenturous in war, ambitious beyond all measure.

His vanity and
glory.

The excessse of his ambition made him to braue it without iudgment. He became so presumptuous, as hee thought that neither the King nor France could subsist without him. He was become ill tongued, speaking ill of all the Princes, threatening the Parliaments, and the officers of Iustice, some with death, and to dispossesse others of their places. Hee was advanced from the meaneest to the highest degrees of honour; of a simple souldier, he became a Captaine, then a Colonel, afterwards Admirall and Marshall, and in the end Lieutenant of the Kings Armies, and in his heart hee aspired to be Duke of Bourguigne, Sonne in law to the Duke of Sauoy, and Nephew to the King of Spaine. If *Sylla* were resolute, cruell, and bloody, hee yielded nothing to him therein: If hee were valiant, this man exceeded him by ten degrees, and all the Romane Princes together.

A comparison
betwixt Sylla
and the D. of
Biron,

Their actions and their ends were almost alike; but that *Sylla* died after hee had vanquished: this before he could vanquish, and in the midst of his course did feele the vengeance of Gods wrath. Howloeuere, he had won the Souldiers hearts, to whom hee gaue all liberty, he purchased credit with them that had neuer seene him (for they that had seene and felt him wished him at the Indies) and made strangers admire his valour: The Constable of Castille in the Franche County, the Archduke at Amiens, and the Marquis of Waranbon in Artois, whom he made to pay forty thousand crownes for his ranfome, with many Spaniards which he caused to be hanged suddenly, for that they had called him Baron.

His credit, and
how he was
effected.

Moreouer, the Kings exceeding fauours, the praises wherewith hee did publicly honour him: his admirable fortune, his comming to the restoring of the last ruines of the State, like to another *Camillus* to deliuer the Capitoll, had made him not onely famous throughout all Europe, fearefull to all the neighbours, but necessary for France. Behold a man that was happy, full of content, which held fortune captiue with all her treasures: he commanded the felicities of this world, he had glory, honour, riches, and those gifts which Fortune imparts to her darlings. He was raised to the top of Fortunes wheele, but he fell, for he that gouernes the helme and all her motions, could no longer endure his infolenie and vanity.

Shame follows
pride.

Sequitur superbus ultor a sergo Deus. The causes of his ruine are infinite; the contempt of piety is the chiefe: this ground taken away, all vices abound, and as the Seruant said to King *Atræus*, *O Prince, follow the infallible way of Piety, and your Scepter shall be durable:* for whereas faith and holinesse hath no place, there is no happinesse; the reason is, for that without God we hold all things indifferent, the Law folly, Iustice frenzie, and faith a fantasie; we hold the words of vertue and vice to be idle, whereas the feare and trust in God, limits our passions and insatiable desires, so as gouerning our actions by a iust proportion, we cannot erre.

He was often times seene to leaue at the Masse, and to laugh at them of the reformed religion, with whom he had bene bred vp from his infancy. For at the age of eight yeares, the Lady of Brisfambourg his fathers sister, (being of the reformed religion) did so affect him

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A him for his actiue disposition, as she demanded him of his mother, the which she granted, and from that time she made him her onely heire. Vntill the age of sixteen yeares, he was called *Charles of Contault*: for then he had an elder brother which died since at the Duke of Alancons voyage into Flanders. And bred vp at Brilembourg, neare vnto *S. Iean d'Angely*, where he was nothing giuen to his booke, but wholly enclined to Arms: for which consideration, his father, the Marshall *Biron*, a martiall man, and then a Catholike, tooke him from his Aunt, and led him for a while with him through the countiies of Xaintonge, Aulins, and Angoulmois, where he caused him to be instructed in the Catholike religion: but vpon false principles which he did learne of some Courtiers, he did often mocke at all religion. The second cause of his ruine was the alteration of his fortune. After the death of his elder brother, his father caused him to bee called Baron of Biron, and brought him to Court, where at the first he had a quarell with the Lord of Cerency, sonne to the Earle of la Vauguion, the which was ended by a combat of three against three, *Biron*, *Loignac*, & *lenissac* of the one side, *luc Cerency*, *Eftillac*, and *la Bassie*: their quarrell grew for the Heire of Chaumont, which either of them affected in marriage, yet neither of them had her. The Duke of Elpernon got his pardon, the which was confirmed through the credit which his father had then in Court. Some say, that being thus in trouble he went disguised like a Carrier of Letters, vnto one *La Brosse*, a great Mathematician, whom they held to be skilful in casting of Natiuities, to whom he shewed his Natiuitie, drawne by some other. And dissembling it to be his, he said: *It was a Gentleman whom he serued, and that he desired to know what end that man should haue.* *La Brosse*, hauing rectified this figure, said vnto him: *That he was of a good house, and no elder then you are, said he to the Baron, asking him if it were his: the Baron answered him, I will not tell you. But tell me (said he) what his life, his meanes, and end shall be.* This good old man, who was then in a little Garret, which serued him for a study, said vnto him: *My Son, I see, that hee whose natiuitie this is, shall come to great honour, by his industry and military valour, and may bee a King, but there is a CARRY ALOUD which hinderts it. And what is that? (said the Baron of Biron.) Aske me not (said La Brosse) what it is. No, (said the Baron) I must know it.* In the end he said vnto him: *My Sonne, it is, that he will doe that which shall make him lose his head.* Whereupon the Baron (as they report) did beat him cruelly, and hauing left him halfe dead, he went downe, and caried away the Key of the Garret doore, whereof he bragged when he was gone. They say he had conference with one *Caspar*, who was a Magician at Paris, who told him, *That onely a backe blow of the Bourguignon would keepe him from being a King.* He remembered this prediction being a prisoner in the Baillie, and intreated one that went to visit him, to learne if the Executioner of Paris were a Bourguignon; and hauing found it so, he said: *I am a dead man.*

He went to a
Mathematician
to know his
fortune.

During these last ciuill wars, his Father being Commander of the Kings army, of a young Baron, he was suddenly made a Captaine, and Marshall of the Campe. After his fathers death at Elpernay, he was Generall and Admirall of France; then Marshall and Lieutenant of the Kings Armies: The defear of the Spanish succours at Laon, with his exploits in Bourguiny and Picardy, made the King so loue him, as hee onely was in credit: there remained nothing but to vie his happines modestly. Doubletless he did great seruices to the King and to the Crowne, but he was rewarded with great fauours, and advanced to the greatest dignities and honours of the Crowne, the which if hee could haue vied temperately, euen in the height of his fortune, he had bene too happy. It is reported that his father said vnto him, seeing his haughty disposition; *Baron, I would advise thee, when a pease shall be made, to goe and lye priuately at thine own house, else thou must leaue thy head at the Greue.*

The Marshall
Biron words
vnto his Sonne
when he was
but Baron of
Biron.

In many things Soueraigne Princes haue a common interest: a blow giuen with the right hand is sensible to the left: A conspiracy in one place, giues example and consequence in another. Who so hinders his neighbour from punishing the felonies of his subjects, binds himselfe to the like, and may suffer the same forme, for every Soueraignes Country is apt to breed sedition and treachery, and as intercessions are odious, so the defence and protection is vniust. Whatsoeuer is said, that Princes should embrace them which are persecuted, as one Element defends him that is afflicted by another, it is not to be vnderstood but of persecutions apparently vniust. Hence growes the custome of Princes to congratulate for the discouery and punishment of treason against their Estate.

All

1602.

Ambassadors
sent to the
King to con-
gratulate.

The Kings Let-
ter to Monsieur
de la Guishe the
11th of Septem-
ber 1602.

Struck of the
after the death
of the Duke of
Biron.

These Troopes
of the D. of
Sauy were
sent for Lions,
but for Geneva

All Princes that were allied to the Crowne of France, rejoyced at the discovery of the Duke of Biron's treason. The Queen of England, and the King of Scotland, sent their Ambassadors vnto the King, to congratulate that God had so happily prevented their last conspiracy. The King of Spaine did the like by *Taxis*. The Archduke laid all the blame vpon the Count of Fuentes. The Duke of Sauoy sent the Count of Vieque vnto the King, as well to obferue how the Duke of Biron's death had bene taken in Court, and in that great City, whereas there was diuersity of humours and opinions, as to excuse him from the imputation which was laid vpon him to be the Architect of this conspiracy.

The Ambassadors of England, Scotland, and Sauoy, were received on one day at Montcaux. The King in receiving of them made a great difference, for he received them not with one countenance. The last was not vsed like vnto the first, the King leaning vpon a window, shewed by his gesture, that he was not pleased with his excuses, and that words alone could not repaire to bad effects, nor make him beleue that the Duke of Sauoy had bene an Actor to corrupt the Duke of Biron. The Dukes Ambassador made his excuse with a great grace and boldnesse, although it be a very hard thing to discourse of a subiect to one that can giue no beleef vnto it. The Count of Vieque passing through Lions, visited the Governour, and gaue him a letter from his Master, the which hee sent vnto the King, who was very well pleased with his proceeding, and writ vnto him in this sort: *It was not needfull to send mee this Letter, but onely to giue me a new confirmation of your loyalty, which I hold so assured, as it needeth neither that, nor any other. But the wisest do alwaies obserue the ancient formes, whereof that is one of the principall, not to see nor heare anything from foraine Princes, without the priuity and permission of his Master.* The King parted from Montcaux to goe to Paris, where he dispatched the Ambassadors. That of Sauoy came to his Master, being newly returned from Verceil, where hee had visited the Duke of Sixonies brother, passing into Italy. He presented him with eight horses richly furnished, and a Hat-band with a Iewell esteemed at twelue thousand crownes. Soone after he went to Riouly for his pleasure of hunting, leading *D'Albigny* with him, to whom he made shewes of extraordinary loue. Mens conitctures were not able to pierce into the secrets of that which they treated of together; but they will burst forth before the yeare shall end. The Count of Vieque came to Riouly in the beginning of October. Every man said at Thurin, that his Ambassage was gracious, and that the King was well pleased with that which the Duke of Sauoy would haue him beleue: yet all Sauoy was full of Souldiers, and no man knew how they should be employed. Some said that the Duke of Biron's death would breed a new storme in France. But all the choller and threats of them that repined thereat, was but a phantasticall lightning. The Count of Fuentes would haue done his best to haue bred a storme: his spirit, which hath no rest but in exercise, thinking (with *Teres*, father to *Sitalces*) that nothing doth distinguish him from the rest of his Masters Seruants but war, was so much discontented for this death, as he could not sleepe. Hee did meditate of reuenge, and the King was well aduertised thereof.

It was thought, that vnder colour of passing a new army ouer the Alpes, hee would discouer some designe, and the King was a hurtled from many parts, that the City of Lions was not the last nor the least in his chollericke thoughts. That three and twenty Companies of Spaniards (in the which were at the least three thousand men) had past the mountains, and were dispersed in Sauoy: that the Duke of Sauoy had at Romilly fixe hundred men, vnder the Regiment of *Valdiers*, and at Anisly fiftene hundred Neapolitans; that they attended some Lanquents: that neere vnto Geneva there were thirty Companies of Spaniards landed, and that they fortified Saint Genis (against the last treaty of Peace) a fit place to execute any designe vpon Lions or Viennne. The King therefore foreseeing that if they fought any aduantage vpon France, it should be rather for Lions then any other place, he therefore lodged in the Battions of Saint John and Saint Clair fixe Companies of the Regiment of *Bourg L'Espinalle*; and those of *Nersan*, at Monduel and Sciffel.

The opinions of this new Army were as diuers as their designes were secret, yet it seemed that the Duke of Sauoy feared lest his Country should be forced again by the Kings Army, and that he should not haue so good a composition as the first, and therefore hee

he provided for all his places in Sauby, but this hatched another great designe, whereof we will speake in the end of this yeare. The King was much troubled to search into the depth of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy. *La Fin* was not acquainted with the last resolutions, the party condemned would neuer discover his complices. All this practice was well knowne to the Baron of Lux, who came vnto the King vpon the assurance of his Maiesties word to goe and come freely: yet he was aduised not to approach neare vnto the Court of Parliament, who would not entreat him more mildly then they had done the Duke of Biron, seeing he had been imbarcked with him in the same vessell, and to consider, that Princes promise any thing to discover a treason, but they neuer trust the Traitors; and if happily they fauour them for a time, the hatred which follows after is more violent and irreconcilable. That they vse men as Countrymen doth his Bees, when they haue drawne out the honey and wax, they chase them away with fire and smoake. The King was so well satisfied with that which the Baron of Lux had said vnto him (hauing talked long with him) as entering into his Carosse, he told the Count *Seiffons*, and the Cardinal of Ioyeuze, that hee would not for two hundred thousand crownes but haue spoken with the Baron of Lux.

His pardon past in the Parliament at Paris, and he was receiued in that of Dijon, with the same honours hee had before, and his charge of Lieutenant in the gouernment of Bourgongne, and of the Country of Bresse; his wilddome did condukt him in a stormy sea to a safe Port, and made him to avoid some dangers, whereas any other would haue lost both Card and Compassse. The greatest indiscretion which the Duke of Biron had committed, (next to the giuing eare to the promises and perswasions of strangers) was, that he had written his intentions, and had imparted them to another. It is a maxime in matters of conspiracie, not to commit any thing to writing, but all must goe by mouth. They could not haue condemned the Duke of Biron, but by his owne Letters. And of all those of whom hee spake in his Letters, there was nothing found of theirs in writing. Letters serue indifferently for an assurance of the faith that is giuen, and for a prooue of infidelity.

He would dye with that content, that none of his friends should be toucht but himselfe. *Herbert* his Secretary endured the Racke, and his patience did iustifie him, but the Kings words were a more violent torture vnto him, drawing the truth from him, the which he would not confesse vnto the Court. The Baron of Fontanelles, (who was found to haue intelligence with the Duke of Biron) was broken vpon the wheele by the decree of a great Councell. *Mombarrant* Governour of Rennes was committed to prison. Such as had knowne him during the last troubles full of resolution and affection for the reduring of Britany to the Kings obedience, lamented his misfortune. The Earle of Auvergne continued two months in the Bastille after the execution of the Duke of Biron. The King set him at liberty and receiued him into fauour, after three or foure daies that hee had purged himselfe, and discharged his confidence to the Chancellor, the Marquis of Rosny, and to *Sillery*. He grew presently familiar with the King, as if hee had neuer bene sequestred from his presence, wherein appeared his Maiesties good nature, and his generous spirit, which doth neuer remember any iniuries.

This generous and naturall disposition to forget offences, hath alwaies bene obserued in him when as he commanded armies. The Author of the free discourse saith; That he had seene within a quarter of an houre after a battle won, the vanquished so familiar among the victors, as they could not distinguish them; they came ordinarily to his Maiesties rising and going to bed, to his dinner and to his chambers, and into his Cabinet, and were for the most part petty masters of the Campe in those ciuill warres, who neuer durst to haue spoken to the King if they had not bene his enemies; and in this quality they receiued a good countenance. But the Duke of Bouillon considering what had bene done in the Bastille, vpon the person of so great a Captaine, would not trust to this great mildnesse, although hee had as great prooue thereof as any other. The King sent for him, and he desired to iustifie himselfe in the Chamber at Castres. The King let him vnderstand, that the pretext which hee tooke to flye vnto the Chamber at Castres for Iustitie, was without ground, for he was as called into question, and when hee should doe it, it could not be there, for that he depended not of that iurisdiction, neither could they take knowledge thereof without commission from his Maiey. He attended not to vnderstand

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The Baron of
Lux comes to
the King.

Herbert the D. of
Biron's Secretary
put to the
Racke; and
Fontanelles bro-
ken vpon the
wheele.

The Duke of
Bouillon refus-
eth to come to
the King.

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His Letter to
the King.

derstand his pleasure more particularly by the President *Caumartin*, whom he resolved to fend vnto him, but tooke the way to Geneva, and so to Heidelberg. The Subiect may neuer capitulate with his Prince; but if necessity doth require it, it must not bee betwixt two Bars, like to the Constable of *S. Paul*, but as far off as he can.

The Duke of Bouillon being in his Viconte of *Turenne*, when as the King sent for him, he answered him with this Letter; "Sir, having vnderstood by that of your Maies- ties owne hand, of the eighteenth of this moneth, that I had beene accused by those which had beene examined in Councell vpon the conspiracies of the D. of Biron, and that you commanded me to repaire presently to Court to iustifie my selfe: I sent away him presently that came, with answer to your Maies-ty, that I would follow instantly, the which I had done, if I had not receiued certaine intelligence who were my accusers: The which made me to change this resolution, and humbly to beseech your Maies-ty to consider, that the treacheries and disloyalties against your Person and State are so fully pro- ued against my accusers, as it disables them to accuse me, and much lesse to condemne me. They haue not, nor cannot haue but lying tongues in their accusations, the which hauing failed them in the execution of their intention (being preuented by your Maies- ties happinesse and wisdom) they employ them; to make you suspect the second Offi- cer of your Crown, and your household Seruant, who hath neuer sought any glory in this world, but what proceeds from your Maies-ties grace and fauour, and who hath so long serued you. It is to be presumed, that hauing an intent to hurt mee, they haue intended C your displeasure against me, by the most horrible crimes they could inuent. They would make me the Instrument of that which they haue promised to the enemies of your Estate to preiudice you. And seeing they cannot now suborne any others, they will accuse them, who in the like affaires haue made proofe of their innocencies, by so many circumstan- ces, as it is not to be beleueed they would haue any thought to the contrary. They doe ill acknowledge your mercy, to continue still culpable, changing onely their offence. Seeing, that since they are become false witnesses, I will say vnto you, my Liege, as the *Psalmist* said vnto God: *Lord come not neere me vntill I be fortified*. I must confesse that I fear your countenance (hauing admitted such men to accuse me) seeing that your Maies-ty demands my iustification, the which hath retained me, not that my conscience doth ac- cuse me of any fault that is worthy of such an examination. Seeing it doth import your seruice, it is requisite I should satisfie your Maies-ty, your Realme, and mine honour; and free them of my religion from the scandall which they should receiue, if my crime were not punished, and mine innocency knowne. For the attaining whereof, I assure my selfe that your Maies-ty would not deprive me of the liberty which all your subiects of this re- ligion enioy, and the rather, for that no Iudges can bee more interested in these affaires, seeing the question is of the decay of your Realme, to augment that of Spaine, where- in all your Subiects haue one common losse; but those of the Religion (whereof the Chambers doe consist) haue a more particular: the which they esteeme more deare than their liues, which is the losse of their exercise. They will therefore bee seuerer Iudges rather then milde. If they shall finde me guilty they will hate me more then any other, from whom they did least expect it. I must humbly therefore beseech your Maies-ty, to send my accusers and accusations, thinking the imputation which is laid vpon me heauy, and the time tedious, vntill your Maies-ty may bee fully satisfised of mine innocency: for the speedy effecting whereof, I will attend at Castres the iustification of my fault or inno- cency, iudging that the time which I should haue spent in going to your Maies-ty, would haue but prolonged the affliction of my soule, remaining accused, seeing that your Maies-ty was to send me backe to the Chambers to condemne or absolue me, being the Iud- ges which your Edict hath giuen me. That it would please you to relieue my mind speedily, in giuing me the meanes to make my innocency knowne, and that by this prooffe you may rest assured of my faithfull seruice, and I of your fauour, the which shall bee a- boue all things desired of your most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull Subiect and Seruant,

Henry de la Tour.

The Prince of
Ginville com-
mitted.

The King caused the Prince of *Ginville* to bee committed to the Duke of *Guise* his brother. *Sillery* examined him very carefully, his Maies-ty relying vpon his wisdom and integrity. He aduertised the *Gouernors* of Provinces why he did vse it, yfing these words;

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A I haue committed my Nephew the Prince of *Ginville*, vnto my Nephew the Duke of *Guise* his brother, for that he had rashly & indiscreetly giuen care to certain propositions, that were made vnto him against my seruice: I will hold him in the same guard vntill that matters be made plaine, but I assure my selfe it concerns him only, wherein those of his house haue no share, neither is there any one named or comprehended with him: whereof I thought good to aduertise you.

We need not feare that the hearts of the French, although they be inconstant, will passe any more into Spaine, the Marshall of *Birons* had hath stoppt the passage. There is no man desirous to giue care to the promises of Spaine, hauing such ruinous effects: and who doth not detest that cruell ambition, which hauing corrupted the best blood of the Duke of *Biron*, bred in him so violent and continuall a feuer of the minde, as after that it had afflicted him about foure yeares, there was no other remedy but by that shamefull letting of blood, which made his soule all bloody, and violently to leaue his body. Those that will not be diuerted by the aspect of this head, and which imagine vnto themselves mountaines of gold beyond the *Pirenes*, let them consider that a Prince, and chiefe of his party, hauing followed their designs, hath gotten nothing but ruine, after that hee had engaged his liuing, his wiues and childrens, he spent five hundred thousand crownes in ready mony, and became indebted vpon his owne credit and his friends, in about a million of gold, he was in the end so disliked, hated and contemned of them, as in stead of canonizing him, the Duke of *Feria* did giue aduice to make him away, or to keepe him C prisoner. We must resist the first thoughts of despise, discontent and rebellion, and take heed lest the desire of new fauours which we affect of the Prince, make vs not forget the former: for hence grow discontents more powerfull to draw vs to ill, then reason is able to restraîne vs to good: from despite spring bad desires, which neuer encrease but by fury and blindness, and produce violent motions of ambition, which binde him to vnder- take and to doe any thing, although there be nothing that may dispence the Subiect from his duty to his Prince.

They did speak, write, and discourse of this death both in their Prose and Rhime, some with so small reason, as they strined to finde innocency in the life, and constancy and resolution in the Duke of *Birons* death, although that in the last there were more cholier and violence, then constancy, whereof patience is one of the principall branches, and in the first so great guilt, as if the Court had quitted him, his conscience could not absolue him. Such as in these discourses desired rather to seem learned, then wise, repented their know- ledge, and were in paine. Herein some one did me a bad office, which forceth me to adde something in this Narration for mine owne defence, and is that which I shall say doth not content slander, yet shall it be according vnto truth, or like vnto bad Multitians, who are neuer wearied themselves though their musike be vtunable.

Presently after the D. of *Birons* execution, I did write six lines to *Lions* vpon this sub- iect, to dispence my selfe of a longer discourse which they expected, meaning to referre it for this History, whereunto I added six Verses written (as it was said) by one of the first E Poets of France, vpon the heads of the Father and Son, the first struck off with a Cannon, the other with a sword. This letter coming before all aduice of so famous an accident, was impaired and copied out greedily, contrary to my intent. In the end it returned to *Pa- ris*, and from thence to *Monceaux* where the King was. Hauing found opportunity there to speake to his Maies-ty after supper, of a busines far from this letter, whereon I dreamed no more: hauing told me his pleasure, he added these words: Go and speake with *Monseur de Villeroi*, I asked if it were for the businesse wherof I had spoken vnto him; No, said he: and drawing me aside, it pleased him to heare me, and to giue mee better words then I could hope for, adding in the end, Speake to *Monseur de Villeroi*, without giuing me any farther knowledge of the matter. I repaired vnto him early in the morning, not knowing what F to say, but only to receiue his Maies-ties intention after some complements of courtesie, he caused all them in the Chamber to retire, and then he said vnto me; You are made the author of a Letter touching the Marshall of *Biron*, which hath gone far out of the Realme: it contains but six or seuen lines, & hath points in it, which the King hauing well considered of, is so much the more offended, that hauing made you his Historiographer, it appears plainly what your passion might be, words being the interpreter of the minds affliction.

It behooued me then to protest, that I had neither spoken nor written any thing a- gainst the Kings Iustice, to lament the Duke of *Birons* death, who in his life had not gi- uen

X x x

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uen me occasion to bewaile it, with any other then a common affection, which grieues A that to braue a Knight should to forget himselfe: that hauing seene a discourse of my writing of the causes and effects of the wars betwixt the Houses of France and Austria, vnto the peace of Veruins, thinking that I had not spoken of him neither so often, nor so highly as he desired, for that all the glory of braue exploits should be referred vnto the head, especially being in the Army, he complained to the Chancellor of Belieure, and discovered his choller more plainly to *De Vic*, Ambassador in Suisseiland, adding cruell threats to his bad words against me. Here he cut me off, and said; This letter speaks not after this manner, and I beleue you will know it by the copy. At the first three words I did auow that which was of my stile; if I had denied it, they could hardly haue reprehended the Originall: but being loath to lye vnto God, I spake my conscience, which was free from scruple and apprehension. He approved this freedome, and said; That the last line was it which had offended the King. *They which haue his life, doe not beleue his death*: whereunto I replied, That the copy was not conformable to the Originall, & that by an inuiolent forgetfulness, or an extreme impossure, they had left out a word which did peruent the sense, and had giuen the King occasion to be offended, and that there was, *They that haue knowne his life, will not beleue his death*: That besides this omission, there was nothing in the letter but might be spoken of so extraordinary an accident, and death of that quality, and that there was great difference betwixt writing of an History & a letter. And admit he had said that he went as chearefully to execution, as he had in former times to a charge, that he had amazed death, and made the Hang-man to tremble, this did not impugn the iudgment of the Court, seeing that the innocency of the condemned is not iudged by his constancy in dying: That it is not strange nor incredible to write, that a man which had contemned his life, and braued death in so many occasions, had shewed courage in this last action.

That if they had obserued violent motions in him, a death of that fashion might well put a man of his humour into fury. This letter did also speake of that head which had caused the death of the body, saying, That the one was generous, and the other full of glorious wounds. But these termes were to be considered according to the simplicity D of my intention, which did not iudge of this head as it was vpon a scaffold, but for that which it had beene in many great actions, and had purchased honourable markes of valor for his Princes seruice: That it were a point of great ignorance, or impudent flattery, to attribute glory to an act full of shame and ignominy, and to confound the light of his first actions, with the darknesse of the last. These reasons did content him, and he ended with these words. The King would not speake vnto you of it, for that he hath a good opinion of you, but thought fit that I should tell you of it. This much I thought fit to say for my Apologie, passion hauing moued me to make this little digression. The King hauing since bene satisfied of the truth, he returned againe into fauour.

There came fiftene or sixtene Deputies out of Dauphiné to Paris. This Prouince was giuen to the Crowne of France, by *Humbert* Prince of Dauphiné, vpon condition that the Kings eldest Son, (the presumptiue heire of the Crowne) should be Soueraigne thereof from his birth. Hauing made great ioy for this blessing, and to see that which they had not seene since King *Charles* the eight, they made choice of some out of the three Estates of the Country, to go and performe their first duty of subiection, & to know their Soueraigne Lord, *Ierome* of Villars Archbishop of Viennae, was the chief of this Ambassage, the which he gouerned and performed happily, and with honour. Hauing done their duties to the King and Queene, and let them vnderstand the charge which he had from the States of the Country, with the other Deputies, hee was led to Saint Germaines, to see their new Prince, who was vnder a cloath of Estate in his Cradle, vpon a little bed. The Count *Saisins*, Gouernour and Lieutenant Generall of F Dauphiné, his Gouvernesse, and his Nurse were by him. The Archb. of Viennae spake vnto him standing, all the rest kneeled of one knee. The substance of which speech was, "That

the ioy of France had bene infinite by his birth, foreseeing that her felicity should bee imperfect without it, and that the blessing of peace could not continue without his birth, who should bee the death of all pretexts of ciuill warres, but your Prouince of Dauphiné hath tane greater cause of Ioy, for that it sees in effect, that which the rest of the Realme hath but in hope. Those which haue beleued that felicity could

A could not be in the infancy of a child, seeing it requires a continuance of yeares, and a constant knowledge of vertue and fortune, meant it not by Kings Children, and about all of the first borne of the Crowne of France, at whose first birth we see all the fauours raine vpon his head, the which Heauen can powre vpon them whom it will make happy. The same day, my Lord, that you saw the light, the Sonne did salute you a great Prince, and the Sonne of a great King, you are borne our Soueraigne Lord, and we are become your faithfull vassalls, and most humble Subiects, so as this Prouince, which amidst so many afflictions hath sighed about an hundred yeares, for the day when it should see borne that sacred Bud of the Royall Flower, holds it the greatest point of glory and B felicity, not to know any power more absolute and soueraigne then yours, and to obey you before you know what it is to command. This Cradle (my Lord, about the which the Eternall Providence, which hath a speciall care ouer this Realme, hath appointed the Angels for your guard) is the throne wherein we adore in your liuing Image the inuisible Maiesty of the liuing God. The rocking of this Cradle hath fetled the felicity of France, which began to be shaken by furious and dangerous attempts both without and within. It is an extreme griefe vnto vs, that the law of this Cradle will not suffer vs to heare you, and make vs so happy as to vnderstand you. And if you vnderstand not but by the language of Infants, which beteaures you shall know the affections of your people: hearts by the teares of ioy which fall from their eyes, praising God that it hath pleased him to giue them a Prince, issued from the first Crowne of the world, who carries in his heart the generosity of his father, and in his eyes the sweetnesse of his mother. A Prince which in greatnesse of courage, and in reputation of braue and immortal actions shall exceed the glorie of all the Princes of the land and sea, as the Dolphin in lightnesse and swiftnesse passeth all the creatures both of Land and Sea. We acknowledge you for our Prince and Soueraigne Lord vnder the King your Father, and the Queene your Mother, and we doe now offer vnto your Highnesse our liues, our persons, and our fortunes, for homage of our most humble and faithfull subiection. These goodly words were accompanied with a rich present: it was a Cupbord of Plate, richly wrought and beautified with sundry figures of Dolphins, being valued at twelue thousand crownes. All that attended vpon the Prince had presents of some value, or else Medailles made for that purpose.

The Sonnes Present serued for the Mother. The King was the better pleased with this Deputation, for that it was the first yeare of his Sons infancy: and it is certaine, that of all the proofes of duty and affection which the subiects can yeeld vnto their Soueraigne, those are most commendable which are done without design. As Dauphiné doth acknowledge this Prince for their Soueraigne Lord vnder the King: so Bourgongne and the Countries of Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, and Gez, (which are annexed vnto it) had him for their Gouernour: But during his Infancie, and vntill he were capable to vndergo the functions of that Charge, the power of Lieutenantie was giuen to *Roger* of Bellegarde, first Gentleman of the Chamber, and Master of the Kings Horse, who tooke his oath in the Kings hands: His Patent was read in the Parliament of Dijon, the Citie receiued him with all sorts of honours, and went to fetch him at the Carthusiens where he made his abode, attending the preparation for his reception.

The Kings desires being seconded with so many prosperities, it pleased him of his owne bountie to take pittie of the ruines and calamities of his subiects, in reuoking the Imposition of the Soule vpon the Liver (or two shillings) which they called the Pan-carte. Hee would not that this great releefe should surprize his peoples hearts, declaring his pleasure some months before it was put in practice, to the end that things being first expected before they were enioyed, might be the more acceptable. The King raised his coynes of gold and siluer, the crowne to six shillings and six pence, the quarter of the crowne to sixtene Soules, and the Francke to one and twenty and foure Deniers, that the coynes of Siluer might bee valued after the rate, of threecore and foure Soules to the crowne. And as that which is held good and profitable at one time, is not so at another, the counting by crownes (found in theyeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven, and now very preiudiciall) was forbidden, and that of the Lyeuer brought into practice in contracts, obligations, and acts of Iustice, as it was before, since King *Philip* the faire, *Francis* the first, and *Henry* his Sonne. There is no law which should

A notable im-
pression.Humbert de la
Tour Vaucluse,
first Dauphiné to the
first Sonne of
France.

Archb.

1602
Children
cannot be
termed
happy.A present gi-
uen to the
Dauphin.The gouern-
ment of Bour-
gongne giuen
to the Dauphin.Reuocation of
the Pan-carte.

X x x x

1602

Dozen is a
peece of coin
two parts more
then a peny in
value.

should be more firme and lesse variable then the stander of mony, and there is no crime lesse pardonable then that which offends the Kings picture. For the effecting whereof, all coynes should be of pure metall without mixture, all good, all silver, or all copper. For, as long as mixtures shall be allowed, the Mint-men will alwaies alter the price of that which should be immutable. The abundance of Dozens in France is such, as it is impossible to purge the Realme, but by a generall decay of those that are made, which would be the ruine and impoverishment of the poore people, or by a defence to coyne any other hereafter but of silver.

There sprung up a new ioy for all France. The heauens which in former times did raine gold at Rhodes for the birth of *Minerva*, did now poure forth a great shower of ioy for the birth of the Kings first lawfull daughter. The Queene was happily brought in bed on the 22 day of November in the morning, and thanks were giuen vnto God, according to the vsuall custome. The Riuer of Saonne was overflowed in that fort as the townes that were seated vpon the banks, were in great danger of this inundation. The bridge at Lions was so shaken, as if it had not been fortified by the weight that was laid vpon it, the two Townes had bene diuided by the riuer. This inundation was greater and more furious, then that which ioynded the Riuer of Roine and Saonne, in the place of Comfort; but not so terrible as another which happened an hundred yeares since, in the month of February, with such violence as the waues past ouer the Bridge, and beat downe one of the Arches towards the Exchange.

Mynes of gold
discovered.

This yeare all the Elements did contribute to the prosperity and blessings of the peace, the Earth did let the King see a new production of his treasure. They discovered in many parts of the Realme mynes of gold, silver, copper, and lead. In the Country of Lionois, nere vnto a Village called *S. Martin* the plaine, which depends of an Earldome of the Church of *S. Iohn* of Lions, there was a Mine of Gold found by a Countryman, who labouring in his Vineyard, found a flint stone intermixt with gold, whereby they gathered an infallible assurance, that this member was not without a body. *De Vic* Superintendent of the Iustice at Lions, had commandement from the King to see to the work in it. The first production was admirable, and among many goodly peeces, one was shewed vnto the King very rich, in the which the Gold did appeare, and put forth like vnto the buds of a Vine, as fine as that of Caruana, so as it might be said, that these five thousand yeares the Sunne had made nothing more perfect in the bowells of the Earth. For it was not Gold in pepin nor in poulder, as in the running streams of the New-found Land, nor mixt with sand, as in Bohemia, but in Stones and in Rocks, all pure gold, or pure silver: for alwaies the one goes with the other, perfect of it selfe without mixture of any other metalls. The King imitating his Predecessors, who had alwaies fauoured the workes of Mynes, which bring infinite commodities, made a generall Edi& for the ordering of the worke and worke-men: He created a great Master and a Controulleuer generall ouer all the Mynes of France, with priuiledges to draw in foraigne worke-men, which they could not want. *Bellegard* was the first great Master of the Mynes, who resigned it to *Ruffe Beaulieu*, Secretary of State. *Belingin*, first Groomer of the Kings Chamber, was Controulleuer generall.

An Edi& for
the ordering of
the Mynes

The new alliance with the Suiffes being concluded, they deputed forty two among them, to whom they gaue power to sweare the obseruation thereof. They came into France in September, being honourably receiued in all places. The fourteenth of October they came into Charanton, a league from Paris, where they were royally entertained at the Kings owne charge, in *Senamys* house. After dinner the D. of Montbazon, and the Lord of Montigny Gouernour of Paris, went out of the city with an hundred or fixscore Gentlemen to meet them, and to welcome them in the Kings name. At *S. Antonies* gate, *Bargelone*, Prouost of Merchants, with the Sherifffs, Councillors of the City, Quarter-Masters, chiefe Bourgeses, and the three companies of the Archers of the city, receiued them, and conducted them to their lodging in *S. Martins* street: where besides good wines of welcome, they found presents fit to procure thirst, Gammons of Bacon, dried ficer meats, and store of *Ipcoras* and choice wines. The next day they dined with the Chancelor, after dinner he went to his Maiefty to the Louvre, desiring them to haue a little patience vntill the King sent for them. Some after the Duke of Elguillon accompanied with fifty young Gentlemen of the best houses then in Court, went to fetch them

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A them, and to conduct them vnto the King: entring into the base Court of the Louvre, the Duke *Montpensier*, with many Knights of the holy Ghost, and Noblemen of marke, receiued them in the Kings name: At the staires foot, going vp to the Hall, the Couer of Soissons, with many Gouernors of Prouinces, and old Knights of the Order receiued them, & so conducted them into his Maiesties Chamber, where they did their obeysance, the King taking every one of them by the hand. Then the Aduoyer of Berne, who was their Speaker, said vnto him in his owne language, *I hat the cause of their coming, was to sweare the renewing of the alliance, and to assure his Maiefty of their faithfull service.* *Fl.* ger did interpret vnto the King, who after he had answered them, and witnessed the content which he had of the declaration they had made in the behalfe of their superiors, hee told them, *That they were welcome:* from thence they went to kisse the Queenes hand, who was in her chamber, with all the Princeses and Ladies of the Court, presenting their seruice vnto her, and the good affection of their Superiors, for the which shee thanked them.

The Suiffes de-
mande.

Before the oath was taken, they entreated the King, that it would please him to heare some particular charges they had from their Superiours. The Chancelor was appointed to heare what they demanded: the which the Aduoyer of Berne deliuered vnto him in three demands. The first was, That it would please his Maiefty to augment the summe of foure hundred thousand crownes, which was appointed to be distributed every yeare among them, being not sufficient to pay their interets. The second was, That the priuiledges of those of their Nation, which trafficked in France, might be confirmed. The third was, to giue them the declarations that were promised, as well vnto the five petty Cantons, for the continuance of their alliance with Milan and Sauoy, without infringing that of his Maiefty, as to the Protestant Cantons, that they might not be forced to giue men to make war in France against them of the Religion. To the first his Maiefty made answer, That the ciuill and foraigne wars, wherewith his people had bene ruined, would not giue him means to do better yet, and that they must content themselves with that which had bene promised. The second and third were granted, and the Declarations required by them, signed. Sunday the 12 of October was appointed for the swearing of the Alliance in our Ladies Church, where the Ambassadors were conducted by Monsieur *De Vic*. The King being come to the Church and set in State, the Princes of Condé & Conty went to fetch the two and forty Ambassadors in the Bishops Hall, and conducted them to their places. All being set, the Archbishop of Vienne approached to his Maiefty, carying a booke of the Euangelists in his hands, and at the same instant the Ambassadors drew neare also. Before them was *Vaguer*, Secretary of State at Soluvre, berwixt Monsieur *De Silley* and *De Vic*, he caried berwixt his armes a cushion of crimson Veluet, garnished with gold, on the which were two Treaties of the Alliance, the one in French, the other in the Germane tongue, sealed with his Maiesties Seale, and those of the Cantons and their Allies. After they had all done their duties, and saluted his Maiefty, Monsieur *de Silley* said vnto the King: "That these Treaties of Alliance were the same which his Predecessors had made with the Seigneuries of the Cantons; and that whatsoeuer was added, was for the honour and profit of his Maiesties seruice. The Aduoyer of Berne, who deliuered the speech, said, That the Seigneurs of the Cantons, their Superiors, had held it for a great honour, that the King desired their alliance, for the which thinking themselves much bound, they had enioyned them to thanke his Maiefty, and to offer him on their behalfe their most humble seruice in all occasions that should be offered, and of all might be expected of true and faithfull allies and confederates, according to the Treaties of their alliance. That they were also sent by their Superiors for the performing of the oath, to the end they might faithfully obserue what was contained in the Treaty, and to beseech his Maiefty to doe the like for his part, as it belongs to good and loyall friends, allies and confederates. That by his Maiesties commandement, they presented themselves for the performance of the oath, praying God to poure out his blessings vpon so good an alliance, to the content of both the Estates: with prayers, that it would please God to preserve the King and the Dauphin their new ally, in all prosperitie, and giue him a long life and happy raigne. The King hearing him, stood vp with his hat on, and answered him with a great Maiefty. That he desired to renew the treaty of peace and alliance with the Seigneurs of the Cantons, for the great eheeme hee made of

The Kings
answer to
the Suiffes.

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"the valour of their Nation, who had alwaies been partners of the honor of his victories, A
"and had made better triall thereof then any of his Predecessors, hauing been happily as-
"sisted by them. That he did accept the offer of their succours, and did in like sort promise
"to assist them with all his forces and means, against any one that should seek to oppress
"their liberty. The which he desired them to beleue, with assurance that he had neuer fail-
"led in his promises: being ready to twear the treaty of alliance with them, & to obserue
"it inuolubly, as he had giuen charge to the Chancellor to lett hē vnderstand more at large.

Oration
made by
the Chan-
celor to
the Swittes.

"The Chancellor made a long speech vnto them to the same purpose, saying; My
"Masters, you haue heard from the Kings mouth, the contentment he receiued of your
"Legation, and the esteeme which he makes, and will alwaies make of the good friendship,
"alliance and confederacy with the Cantons, ancient and faithful friends, Allies, and Con-
"federates to the Crown of France. Whereunto I will adde the ioy and generall content
"which the three Orders of the Realme doe in like manner receiue. The memory of
"former ages, and all histories may teach vs, that those Estates haue bene held most pow-
"erfull and assured, which haue bene supported with most friends, and yet it is seldome
"seene (what need fouer Potentates haue to fortifie themselves with alliance of their neigh-
"bours) but that there remains some distrust, that the greatnesse of their Allies will in
"the end cause the ruine of their Estates. The alliance of France with the most vertuous
"nation of the Leagues, hath alwaies been free from suspition. First, there was neuer que-
"stion, pretension, nor contention betwixt the two Estates, by reason of the Countries C
"which are held by either part. The Kings of France since the Treaties, and long time be-
"fore, haue alwaies desired to fauour the greatnesse and prosperity of the Nation of the
"Leagues, whereunto besides their naturall inclination and good will, they were moued
"by their owne interest and eation of State. The greater and more happy that you haue
"bene or shall bee, the more they shall thinke themselves fortified with so good a friend.
"You haue heretofore made the like iudgment of the Kings of France, and his Maiesty
"here present assures himselfe, that you will continue the like opinion of him, as you haue
"had of his Predecessors, and will still haue the same confidence, and retaine the same
"good opinion of your friendship.

"He thinks, that your greatnesse is his owne; hee loues and esteemes you for the great
"and worthy proofes hee hath made of your valour and affection to the good of his af-
"faires; he entreates you to beleue that his greatnesse and prosperity shall be alwaies yours,
"& vpon your loyalty, at your command, not only bound to the assistance which is promi-
"sed you by the Treaty of Alliances, but also if it should chance, that any Prince or Po-
"tentate whatsoeuer, without exception, should attempt against your Estates, he hath re-
"solved to let you know by the effects, that your greatnesse is in like recommendation vnto
"him as his owne, and in such an occasion he will neither spare his Person, nor any means
"which God had giuen him. I will tell you, that as you haue found the Kings of France af-
"fected to loue and cherish you, so haue you found their Ambassadors most ready to serue
"you, and to employ themselves in any thing that might concern the good and prosperitie
"of your affaires, they did neuer thinke that which we haue blamed in some, that they
"should neuer confirm our vnion, but by diuiding you, and troubling your quiet; but con-
"trariwise, I may speake confidently and with truth, that they haue done the best offices
"they could, to nourish peace, concord, vnion, and good correspondency amongst you,
"the which hath made you hitherto fearfull vnto all your enemies, and your Countrey as
"happy and flourishing as any others of Christendome: The actions of the Ambassadors
"discouer their Masters intentions. The successe of things happened, doe also giue a great
"testimony of the good that is in this happy alliance.

"In the time of King Francis the first, of glorious memory, we did see in the year 1544,
"all Germany, the Netherlands, Spaine, and in a manner all Italy had conspired the ruine
"of this Realme of France, vnder the conduct of the Emperor Charles the fifth, with whom
"Henry the eight King of England did also ioyne. King Francis had not then any other
"friend or confederate to succour him but the Nation of the Leagues, wherewith hauing
"fortified his Armies, he won the Barrell of Cerisoles; made head against the great forces
"which the Emperour had gathered together from all parts of Christendome, made
"him to confume his Army which was entered into Champagne, and forced him to demand
"a peace, the which was afterwards concluded at Crepe. As the alliance with the Leagues
"bath

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A hath bene happy for France, so we may say that the alliance of our Kings, hath brought
"that happinesse to your Nation, as when they haue seene France vnited and in League
"with the Cantons, neither the Emperors nor any Prince of his house or others, durst at-
"tempt to make warre against you, and yet before Maximilian the first and his Predeces-
"sors you haue bene forced, for the preservation of your liberty, to hazard many battells,
"in the which by the grace of God you haue gotten the victory. We hope, and we promise
"with the help of God, that this good fortune shall continue on either side, if we do follow
"the wise counsels and resolutions of our forefathers, remaining well vnited together, and
"not giuing care to any thing that may breed alteration, or a coldnesse in our alliance; if
"we preferre it carefully in the same faith whereon it is grounded, and doe cherish it by all
"the good offices which true and faithfull friends, allies and confederates, may expect. It is
"the oath and promise which you make presently vnto the King. It is the oath and pro-
"mise which the King doth make presently vnto you, and will religiously obserue. These
"words being ended the Chancellor invited them to the oath.

Which done, the Ambassadors presented themselves to sweare the oath, laying their
"hands by order of their Cantons vpon the holy Euangelist, to euerie one of the which,
"the Chancellor sayd. *You sweare and promise vpon the holy Euangelist, in the name of your
"Seigneurs and Superiours, well and faithfully to obserue the Treaty of alliance made betwixt his
"Majesty and your Superiours, without any contradiction or breach directly or indirectly.* The
"Order which the Ambassadors held in the oath was, first; The Cantons of Berne, Lu-
"cerne, Zurich, Schwitz, Vonderwald, Zug, Glais, Basle, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffuse
"and Appenzel. And of allies, the Abbot of Saint Gall, and the Towne of Saint Gall.
"Of the Grisons, the Canton of Grise, the Cades, the Canton of Droituas, Walais,
"Mulkus, Rorweil and Brenne.

After all the Ambassadors had raken the oath, the King likewise sayd; *That hee did
"sweare and promise to obserue the Treaty as it had bene agreed. Which done, they dined
"in the Bishops Palace. The Prince of Conde sat at the bords end, the Princes of Con-
"try, Soissons and Montpenfier, the Constable, the Dukes of Neuers and Elquillon, the
"Earles of Auvergne and Sommeriue, with many others were on the right hand, and the
"D forty two Ambassadors with some French Gentlemen on the left. About the end of din-
"ner, his Maiesty (who had dined apart) came to see them, commanding euerie one to
"keepe his place, then he called for wine, and dranke to all his friends and allies, and so went
"presently to the Louvre: towards euening bonfires were made and twenty peeces of can-
"non shot off in signe of ioy. During their aboad at Paris they were feasted by the Prouost
"of Merchants, the Count of Soissons, the Constable, and the Duchesse of Longueuil
"and the Friday after the ceremony of the oath, they tooke their leaue of the King, who
"gaue to euerie one a chaine of gold, with his picture, and what was appointed for their
"voyage, stay and returne, and so they returned into their Country.*

In the Iurisdiction of the Town of Langres (in a village called Aprez) Claude Berenger,
"B Lord of Pont, and Guillemette of Metz his wife made their residence, hauing also a Ne-
"phew of the sayd Berengers with them named allo de Pont. This woman being suborned
"by a Chanoins bastard of Langres, named Chauvete, Nicholas Journe and John Fernet,
"called the youth, to satisfie their fleshly lust without suspition and at more liberty, they
"resolved with her and a maid of hers to make away her husband and his Nephew.

This plot being layd, they found an easie meanes for the execution. These three
"Adulterers seeing the Gentleman gone to Langres, goe a hunting with his Nephew,
"whom they flew in the thicke of a wood, and threw him into a deepe hollow place be-
"twixt two high rockes, out of the which hee could neuer be drawne. These murderers
"seeing themselves rid of this poore young man, reported vnto the Gentlewoman what
"F they had done, concluding with her to cut her husbands throat at his returne from Lan-
"gres, the which they put in practice the same night that hee returned; for this poore Gen-
"tleman hauing receiued a kisse (of this daughter of Indas) being very weary, went to bed
"and slept, the which she knew, and presently brought these murderers into his chamber,
"who coming easily to this poore young mans bed, being asleepe, they cut his throat, and
"bury him abroad amongst the Rockes.

After this murder they giue it out, that the Lord of Pont was slaine in his voyage to
"Langres. His wife put on a mourning weed, and makes a counterfeit shew of beauti-
"nesse:

nelle: but God suffers not such offences to bee vnreuealed, a poore man found out the hole where they had buried him, and gaue notice thereof vnto the Iustice, who went to the place, and caused the Gentlewoman to be brought thither, who at the first seemed not to know him, but seeing that he was knowne by euery one, and vanquished by apparent signes, which they shewed her, in the end she knew him. But the Officers did not proceed against her with that dexterity that *Lugoly* did to the wife of *Claude Antonie* a Merchant of Vines at Paris, who had also caused her husband *Antonie* to be slaine coming from a house of his, by soldiers whom one named *Lumeau* (her Adulterer) had suborned, for the wife of the said *Antonie* was hanged, and *Lumeau* broken alive at the place *Maubert*: but this Gentlewoman *Du Pont*, seeing the Iustice to proceed against her by informations, and that they ment to apprehend her, she made an escape with all her complices and her seruants, and could neuer after be taken; yet through their contempt their professe was made, and all of them were hanged in picture.

The other accident hapned at Paris, of a Gentleman which slew his wife and her Adulter lying together, in this manner. This Gentleman called *Seigneur Scipio*, being aduertised that his wife (a faire yong Gentlewoman) did abandon herselfe to lust, and defiled his bed with a yong man: he admonished his wife, and said vnto her, *That he did willingly pardon what was past, but if she returned any more to her sin, he would kill her with her Ruffian, if he found them together.* The Gentlewoman scornes this aduice; and another giuen her by a wife and vertuous Gentlewoman; *That if she did not cary herselfe more discreetly, without doubt her husband would doe her a shrewd turne.* She answered her, *That her husband was too very a foole to attempt it.*

Seigneur Scipio aduertised of the impudency and lewd behauiour of his wife, takes his horse, and make a shew to goe into the Country: his wife goes to the Sermon at Saint Germaine l'Auxerrois, *Scipio* returns, and shuts himselfe into his closter vnknowne of any one. The Sermon being done, she returned presently to her house, and aduertised her Adulterer of her husbands absence, who failed not to come at the assignation he gaue him, and then they went into the husbands bed: who coming out of his closter, found them naked together, and slue them, the adulterer had thirty wounds, and the woman feuen and twenty: and so their detestable sin was known by the view of their dead bodies, the which were brought before the Iustice, being a lamentable thing, and pitifull to behold: The husband did easily obtaine his pardon the which proceeds from the Kings bounty. It is a iust griefe the which may suddenly transport a husband, finding his wife with another, as these poore infortunate wretches were. The King about this time pardoned all those, that had bene of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy, so as they came & declared themselves within two moneths, and caused their pardons to be confirmed.

The discourse of the enterprises and intelligences which the D. of Sauoy and his father haue had, to surprize the City of Geneva, with their pretensions, and their defence on the contrary side to maintaine their Liberties, would make a good volume. They relied vpon the publike assurance of the Treaties of Veruins, Paris and Lions, in the which they held themselves to be comprehended, and thereby assured from all the designs of their neighbours. The Duke of Sauoy did not hold himselfe ryed by the peace, nor to seeke the meanes to become Master thereof, and to reigne there as his Predecessors had done, and that there was no danger to breake his faith with people of a contrary Religion. This City doth so much import his Estate, as it deserves, if not to breake the peace, at the least to fraine and wrest it. It is situated at the end of Lake Leman, which serues for a ditch on the North part: The river of Rhosne passeth by the towne on the West side, and vpon the East and South is the County of Sauoy, the great and rich plaines of the Bailiwicks of Thonon and Ternier, and the Countreies of Chablais and Faucigny. The Duke had great pretensions to it, as soueraine of the County of Geneva, and Vicar perpetual of the Empire. He maintained, that if the Bishop of Geneva had some absolute authority, it was a preiudice to the Souerainty, the which had alwaies remained to his Predecessors, as Earles of Morienne or Duke of Sauoy.

The City of Geneva (who to maintaine her liberty findes all propositions of seruitude troublefome and strange, hath alwaies derided the Sauoyards command) sayes; That the Bishops of Geneva haue bene alwaies soueraigne Princes of their City, and that the Earles of Sauoy and Geneva, haue often done homage to the Bishops of Geneva, for the

One *Scipio* at Paris slew his wife and her Adulterer together.

A pardon promised to all the traitors of the Duke of Biron's conspiracy.

The situation of Geneva.

The Dukes pretensions.

A the Barronies of Ternier, Remilly, Montfaucon, and for the County of Geneva. That the Duke of Sauoy can pretend no right, as Vicar perpetual of the Empire, being granted by surprize, and reuoked after examination of the case by the same Emperor, who vpon complaint made vnto him by a Bishop of Geneva, called *Arducius*, declared that hee had bene surprized in that behalfe, and disanulled all that he had giuen to the Earle of Sauoy his cousin, forbidding him to contradict this reuocation, vpon paine of his indignation, and a thousand markes of pure gold. The parties differing vpon the maine point, the question could not be decided without prooffe. The Duke would haue no other production, but his title of Duke and Soueraigne of Geneva, to maintaine the which hee besieged the Towne, and brought it to extremity, as hath bene shewed elsewhere. It is true, that without the Kings protection this City would not long resist the forces of the Duke of Sauoy.

The Inhabitants haue bene reduced to that Estate as they might say as the Capouans did vnto the Romanes, imploring their ayde against the Samnites: It is a grievous and miserable thing, what our misfortune forceth vs to confesse (fathers conscript) to be brought to that extremity as hereafter we must abandon our selues, either to our friends, or to our enemies. If you defend vs, we shall be yours, if you forsake vs, the Samnites. Being abandoned by the King, there is no defence for them but will proue weak against so mighty a Neighbour, who shall bee alwaies assisted by the greatest forces of Italy and Spaine. And if they be succoured by them of Bearne with whom they haue an equall alliance, they shall run the hazard of Common-weales, which in the end haue bene recompenced with a forced subiection. The Suisseis propound not bare words in their amities, they ground them vpon equality of profit. The humor of this City is to be free, there is not any Citizen but speaks freely to any Prince how great soeuer, as *Demosthenes* said, when they talked of the milde and easie command of *Antipater*, *We will haue no Master how gentle soeuer.* The Inhabitants of this City haue an hereditary hatred against the Duke, the which is so rooted in them, as if hee did presse them by force to the extremities of a siege, they would reloue with them of Xantho to mingle their aithes with the smok of their houses. The Duke hauing attempted what he could by force, resolues to surprize them now by policy. He made an enterprise as full of proofes of his courage, judgement and good conduct, as of his misfortune.

It had bene long in hand, and yet nothing was discovered, yet was it well known, that he had caused ladders to be made. That from all parts he drew vnto him men of resolution; that he had good numbers at Chambery well payed, and wel entertained, attending the full ripeness of this designe, and yet they knew not how he would employ them, preparing onely their hearts and armes for the execution of their Princes commandements, referring the conduct thereof to his wisdom. Yet could they not beleue that this designe was against them of Geneva, for that he treated with them of the liberty of trafficke, hauing some few daies before, sent President *Rochette* to let them vnderstand, that it was expedient to treat of some manner how to liue for the ease of the people.

They were so well pleased with this motion and his assurances, that although Cities of this condition do not easily beleue them that make warre against them, yet they were lulled asleep therewith, and neglected their preuention, thinking that there was nothing of more power to defend them, then the Treaties of peace betwixt France, Spaine and Sauoy. In the which they thought themselves to be comprehended vnder the name of Allies and confederates of the Cantons. In like sort the Dukes subiects went so freely to Geneva, as the Eue before this execution, certaine Gentlemen who knew something of this designe, being come into the City to buy horses, said; *That they would come the next day to conclude the bargain*: and others had vied the like speeches for other Merchandise, beleueing that the victory was assured: but Heaven which laughs at the presumptions of these Imaginations, had resolued to humble them.

The Governor of Lions had speedy intelligence, that the Duke of Sauoy was come on this side the Alpes, and that hee had brought scaling Ladders: hee aduertised the King thereof, and made prouision for the City of Lions. *D'Albigny* Lieutenant Generall for the Duke on this side the Alpes, had drawne them downe, and lodged them in Townes neereft to Geneva. The Rendezuous was at Chambery, the time of the execution was referred to the Generall. The troops began to march about fixe of the clocke: *Bignolles* Governor

The defence of the Geneuois.

Gouernor of Bonnes had beene a chiefe actor in this designe, holding it so certaine, as he said; *He would die if he did not line in Geneva.* D'Albigny had set guards vpon all the waies to stay all passengers, that no report might go before them, and that the Duke of Sauoies marching might be vnknowne, to whom they represented the execution to be so easie and certaine, as he would needs be there himselfe in person to reape the fruit, and the triumph which his grand-father had begun. He past the Alpes but with suite in his company, and came the same day neere vnto Tremblieres, a village but a league distant from Geneva. They which should execute the enterprize and giue the first attempt, went along the riuier of Albe, that the noise of the water might keepe the Sentinells from hearing them as they marched. Two things hapned that were predictions of bad successe. There appeared vnaccustomed fires in the ayre. A Hare crossed them many times in their way, and gaue them a false alarm. Many things were seene that night that troubled their imagination, causing them to take Groues for Squadrons of men, and Thistles for Lances, as it hapned once before Paris. About cleuen of the clocke at night, they discovered certaine flakes, on the which the Serge-makers of Geneva did drie their Serge. Those that were in the foremost ranks would haue charged them, thinking it was some Ambuscado. From thence they passe along the riuier of Rosne, placing the body of their troopes in the meadow of Plainpalais. *Briguelot* with those that were appointed for the escalado, follow D'Albigny, who leads them into the ditches by the counterescarpe, on the side of the Corraiere, without being discovered by the Sentinells, although the Duckes in the ditch made what noise they could to awake them of Geneva, as the geefe had done at Rome against the Gaules. They passed the ditch vpon hurdels, and planted three Ladders against the wals, they were of a strange inuention, being portable vpon Moyles, and to be made a long and as short as they pleased, and yet were as strong as if they had bene but of one peece. If they had bene as fortunate, as they were well furnished of all things necessary, they had executed their designe happily. They had made prouision of hatchets, hammers, and pincers, to cut in sunder chaines of Iron, breake open lockes and to pull out great nailes and barres of gates. They had many Petards, and few that could vie them.

Fortune which is powerfull in such enterprizes sayled them, after that [slee] had brought them into the midst of the towne, and made them Masters of the streets about two houres. There were almost two hundred men mounted by one of these Ladders. *Briguelot* was the first, carrying himselfe more valiantly then wisely. Having recovered the wall, he surprised the souldier that stood Sentinell, hee got the word from him, slew him, and cast him into the ditch, staying in his place for him that went the round, that he might doe as much to him, the which he effected, comming to giue the word in his care. The boy which carried the Lanthorne fled, and aduertised the Court of guard what hapned to his Master, wherewith notwithstanding they were not greatly moued.

This was betwix one and two of the clocke, attending the houre of foure, for then they had propounded to begin the execution, meaning to giue more time to them that were to second them, and to haue the day draw neere, for that in all executions of warre which are done in the night, there is confusion. The assailants had a good houres respite to mount, and as much time more before they incountred any that made resistance. If D'Albigny had bene within to vie the benefit of the time, and to dispose more wisely of things, then *Sonnes*, *Briguelot*, or *Attignac* had done, they might boldly haue said the towne had been won. Halfe an houre after two of the clocke, a Sentinell in the tower of the mint, having heard some ruffling in the ditch, thor off his peece to giue the alarm, and forced *Briguelot* to discover himselfe, charging all that were at the court of guard of the new gate, to plant the Petard there, and to make an entry for the body of the army which was in Plainpalais. They forced the court of guard being 25 men: but against the Maximes of warre, which commands them to kill all, they let one escape, who ranne vp and let downe the portcullis, to make their Petard vnprofitable. The towne was full of cries and fearefull exclamations, whereof the Sauoyards should haue made their profit, and increased their courages, as it did daunt the inhabitants, who knew not which way to run, some crying to one gate, others running to another. But the assailants lost themselves in the appearance of so happy a successe. Those without should haue giuen an alarm at some gate to diuide the forces of the Towne. Those that were within made no vie of their hatchets, hammers and pincers: they did forget to fire some houises, and they were surprised with

The first discovery of the surprise.

The Portcullis at the new gate cut downe.

A dulnesse of spirit, thinking more of booty & spoile, then to make perfect their conquest. In the meane time, the Consul cries as they did sometimes at Rome: *Hee that loses mee, let him follow me.* Some Countrymen of the neighbour villages which kept guard in the Towne-house by turnes, being led by some Captaines and Townsmen, presented themselves to the new gate, they were valiantly repulsed, and yet the first that they made, slew their Petardiar, who was buisie about his Petard.

This first charge had not dislodged them, if the whole strength of the Inhabitants had not come, and charged them so furiously, as they began to giue way, shewing neither conduct nor courage. Necessary which breeds assurance, euen vnto them that are borne without courage, made the Townsmen so resolute in this defence, as the Sauoyards did presently turne their backs. The nimblest were forced to returne to their ladders, which now could no longer serue them, for a Cannon planted vpon the Bulwarke de l'Oye, against the ditch, had broken them in such sort, as they left foure and fifty dead vpon the place, along the Curtaine of Corraiere, and thirteene that were taken aliue. If the townsmen had had souldiers enough to haue made a fallie in this confusion, those that were at Plainpalais had not returned in so good order. There were thirteene taken aliue, vpon promise that was giuen them that they should be prisoners of warre, for else they would haue preferred an honorable death, before any promise that was made them, to take them aliue, and to disarme them. *Attignac* was amongst them, who fought courageously, and gaue the order of Saint Maurice (which hee wore) to his seruant, willing him to saue himselfe, being resolu'd to dye with his sword in his hand. It had bene better for him to haue bene slaine at the combate of D. Philippin, then to bee referred for so ignominious a death.

The resolution of the Prisoner of Attignac.

The Seignetry would not intreat them as prisoners taken in the warre, but like theuees that had entred the towne by surpris against the Law of Nations, and the publicke faith. They said that the Duke was too noble a Prince to aduow so wicked and treacherous an Act. There were many opinions vpon the Iudgement of their death. The most modest concluded to haue them put to ranfome, others to keepe them prisoners, that they might serue for exchange if occasion required, through the continuance of the warre: but the most violent stirred vp the people, representing vnto them their Religion, the rauishing of their wives and daughters: the murder, sack and perpetuall slavery concluded against them, and the lamentations of their widowes and children that had bene slaine, the which being well considered of, made the mildest opinions seeme vniust. So as they were condemned to be hanged. They requested their heads might bee cut off like Gentlemen, the which was granted them, but it was after they had been strangled. The threecore and seuentene heads, as well of those that had bene hanged, as of the others that had bene slaine, were planted vpon the Gallowes, and their bodies thrown into the riuier of Rhofne. On the Tuesday after they made a generall fast for their deliuey. They presently sent to all their neighbors for succors. They published in all places, the wonders of this deliuey: they write vnto the Gouernor of Lions, in this manner.

Letters from the Seignory of Geneva to Monsieur de la Guiche Gouernor of Lions.

My Lord, you haue vnderstood heretofore, by many of our letters, how his Highnesse of Sauoy, notwithstanding that he knew, and had confessed, that wee were comprehended in the peace made in Ianuary 1600 betwix his Royall Maiesty of France and him: yet hee hath oppressed vs in sundry sorts, not only by the detayning of our Reuenues; forbidding of trafficke and other violences and extortions, yeelding nothing to the many and iust admonitions of his Maiesty, but also hath attempted often to inuade and surpris vs in this time of peace. So it is, that to glut his pernicious designe, the Lord of Albigny on Saturday last the 11 of this moneth, about midnight, had brought before our towne, on the side of Plainpalais, about 2000 choice men, horse and foot, and had cast about 200 into our ditch, neere vnto the old gate of Corraiere, and hauing planted Ladders one within another, he had caused them to mount about three of the clocke on the Sunday morning the 12 of the moneth, encouraging them, being himselfe in the ditch, so as being entred into the Towne, some went to the new gate to plant the Petard, and to draw in the body of their troopes, which made a stand in the meadow of Plainpalais, others would haue seized vpon the Mint-gate, and so haue entred into the midst of our towne. But it pleased our good God to looke vpon vs with a fauourable eye, and to giue courage to our men, so as they haue repulst them so valiantly, as they haue slaine the best part of them vpon the

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the place, and some others haue bene taken, and since hanged by our commandement. A
 " The rest haue cast themselves headlong downe the VValles, so as wee heare that many of
 " them are dead or grievously hurt. But it is likely that the Lord of Albigny will continue
 " his hatred against vs; having all intelligence, that his Highnesse is not farre from vs. We
 " therefore most humbly pray and intreat you with all our affections, that it would please
 " you duely to consider the prejudice which the taking of our Towne would bring vnto his
 " Maiesties seruice, and to continue your fauor towards vs, and assist vs, with you VVife and
 " Graue aduice, &c.

They beliened
 in Court, that
 Geneva was
 taken.

The Duke re-
 turns in p. 11.

His declarati-
 on by his Am-
 bassador to the
 Senate of
 Berne.

The King pro-
 mit'th to fac-
 cede them of
 Gen. ua.

Monſieur de
 Vic
 sent to Geneva

War is plea-
 sing to men
 that know it
 not.

Many iudged of the end of this enterprise by the beginning, and were more diligent to write then they had bene to execute it well. The King had intelligence, that the Duke was Master of the Towne, and the manner of the execution was represented with to great ease and happinesse, as there was lesse reason to doubt it then to beleeue it. The truth was not known but by letters for the gouernour of Lions, the which came before any discourse that was published by the Towne that was deliuered. The Duke repast the mountaines in poist, his troops remained a League from Geneva in three places, at Tounon, Fossigny and Ternier. He commanded his Ambassador to giue the Senate of Berne to vnderstand, that he had not made this enterprise to trouble the quiet of the Cantons, but to prevent *L'Esquadrilles* from being Master thereof, who intended to deliuer it vp afterwards vnto the King, who had bene too mighty a Neighbor, and would haue giuen them altogether occasion to feare him. The issue of this enterprise did shew, that God will not haue Treaties violated, for the assurance whereof his Name hath bene inuocated, notwithstanding any pretext of Religion. Witnesse *Leus* King of Hungary in the vnfortunate battell of Varna against the Turkes, where he had broken his Faith.

The King aduertised of the successe of this enterprise, he sent word vnto the Magistrats of this Common-weale, that if their enemy did attempt by a sieged siege, or by open War any thing against them, he would assist them, and employ all his forces for their defence, commanding the Gouernors and Lieutenants General of the neereſt Prouinces, to ayde them all they could. The Cantons of Berne and Fribourg allied to Geneva, being aduertised of this attempt, sent twelue hundred Swiſſes, and the King who had an enterſt therein should not fall vnder the command of any other Prince or Common-weale, sent also fix hundred French. All prepare to Waite, the Geneuoiſ made ſome courſes into the Duke of Sauoyes Country, and ſurpriſed *S. Gery* of Aouſt, they imagined vpon alittle good ſucceſſe to extend their limits vnto *Mont Cenis*. The King commanded *De Vic* his Ambassador in Swiſſerland, (who returned then to his charge) to passe by them, to assure them, that he was not of their humors, which frame not their affections, nor bind not the duties of friendship but vpon good euents, louing friends no longer, then they draw profit from them. That he would neuer faile them for their defence and protection, desiring to know of them, what means they might haue to make an offensiue warre, to the end, the succors he should send them, might be profitably employed. They received *De Vic* with a publicke applause, sending forth the French Horse and Foot, to meet him: but as hee was deceived in this vnexpected Ceremony, so were many others which thought that he came to incourage them to warre. They heard his Propositions in apriu at conference, exhorting them rather to a long and durable peace, then to a short warre. They intreated him to propound the like in their generall assembly, which no man else durst doe, euery one holding it a Crime, and a signe of Balenefice, not to preferre the Counsels of warre, before any accord, and not to enter in a hostile manner into the Dukes Country. Some which had neuer seene war, but in the Idea, conceived victories in their imaginations, building vpon the Snow of Mont Cenis. That it would not continue about six moneths; that the warre would be no lesse profitable for the good of their Common-weale, nor lesse happy, then it had been to their Neighbors, in the time of Duke *Charles*: and that all that had any interest in their preferuation would assist them. That all those great Spirits which delighted in the exercise of warre, would come and offer them their Armes and Lives.

De Vic through the truth and excellency of his discourse, gaue them to vnderstand, that peace was so necessary for them, and warre so preiudicial, as they had great reason to imbrace the one, and to flie the other. That although the causes of warre, be alwaies goocly, and the means made easie, yet the effects were no lesse terrible, the successe being not alwaies answerable to their hopes. That a forraigne Warre was profitable, and to be vnder-

taken

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A taken when as Ciuill Warres could not be otherwise auoyded: but a well fetled Estate, which hath alwaies liued happily by Peace, should not seeke these stormes, nor take delight to be at warre with her Neighbours. Thus hee perswaded them to imbrace peace, confirmed by an equall commerce of all commodities, and which should route out all occasions of Warre. They entred into some truce with the Duke, but hauing required assurance for the obseruation thereof, it being not honourable, they proceeded no farther, and the Duke gaue them to vnderstand that it was indifferent to him, whether they were his friends or enemies. The King, who is a Prince full of iustice and integrity, foreseeing that this warre would not be ended by them that did begin it, desired to maintain the peace which was so necessary for all Christendome, for the which he had layd aside Armes, when as he might hope for most fruit for the increase of his Estates. His Ambassador therefore in Swiſſerland perswaded the Cantons of Glaries, Basle, Soleurre, Schaffouze and Appenzel, as least suspected and interested, to bee the mediators of this Accord. There was some difficulty, but the Siegneury tyred with a warre, the profit whereof could not repaire the ruines which the want of Peace should cause, and hauing tryed that all the profit they could hope for, depended on their neighbours succors. That hope which is not maintained but by forraigne supports, is alwaies ruinous: That they had no means to reuenge the wrong that was done vnto them: that there was no likelihood that the Catholike Swiſſes would breake with the Duke of Sauoy for their respect: that being so neere they must of force apply themselves to some quiet and equal kind of liuing: they yielded to the perswasions of their friends and Allies, and by their aduice relinquished many demands which their Councell had refused, and the Duke had reiecte as vnjust and dishonorable.

The Cantons
 of the Swiſſes
 mediators of a
 Peace.

Geneua re-
 solves to a
 Peace.

The Conference of the Treaty was at Rouilly with *D'Albigny*; and the conclusion at Saint Julian, betwixt the Deputies of either part. If the issue hath bene happy and profitable to both parties, they are bound to none but the grace of God and the Kings wisdom, who desiring to entertaine the publicke quiet, hath made a peacefull union of those wills that were so much diuided: for at his instance the Swiſſes had layd aside more Muskets and Pikes which they had provided, then had been seene in Sauoy in ten yeares before, and they of Geneva did moderate their demands, not so much for any respect of their enemy, as to please the King, yet the malicious gaue it out, that the King had incensed them to war by his Ambassadors. The Consulate of Lions had obtained of the King (at the Queens intreaty, and in consideration of the honor done her at her entry) a Priuilege, by which none might come to be Sheriſſes, that were not Town-born children: it was the same prerogative which *Reſeruius Niger* had giuen vnto the Romanes, forbidding any person to bee admitted to publicke charges that was not borne and bred a Roman. Euery Priuilege which causeth an inequality among Citizens (liuing vnder the same Lawes) is the Apple of discord and cause of diuision, like vnto that of the *Bianchi* and *Neri* at Florence. A great town hath euer but too many seeds of diuision, without seeking new; Most commonly the rich are intolerable to the poore, and the poore enuy the happinesse of the rich: there is alwaies some question betwixt the great and the small.

A Peace concluded betwixt the Duke of Sauoy and the ciuill of Geneva in July 1603.

A Priuledge granted to the City of Lions.

This new distinction of persons must needs cause dangerous innovations in a City, where the inner part is more to be feared then the outward. Those which pretended to bee from their beginning, by birth and affection, of the Country of Lions, seeing themselves perpetually excluded from the most honourable charges within the City, had recourse vnto the King, laying before him the inequality of this Priuledge, the disgrace which they received, and the ruine which should fall vpon the City, when the Inhabitants should abandon the place of their abode, and that they might not remaine in a place where without offence or any iust cause, they were for euer deprived of that little Honor they might hope for, after they had serued the Publicke in many burthenſome charges. Those which were originally borne at Lions sayd, that the Inhabitants of the Country coming thither, labored more for their owne profit, then for the good of the publicke, and did not much affect the publicke good, if they did not hope for their owne private commodites, hauing no hands but for themselves. That it was neither profitable nor commendable to impart the chiefe Honours, and to commit the gouernment of the City to new men, for many reasons which haue bene set downe by the wise, but especially lest they confound the ancient Order and Gouernment with strange Customes and Manners.

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The King will
not thus this
priviledge, &
be the cause of
any confusion.

The King de-
clares that his
meane was
not to exclude
his subjects but
francises only
from the Of-
fice of Counsell.

The Chancel-
lor's speech.

Intention to
make silke in
France.

The profit of
the care of silke.

The King considering that a small matter doth trouble a multitude (as the encounter of a ditch doth disorder the ranks of an Army when it marcheth) he gaue them to vnderstand that he desired they should agree together, sending them to *La Guiche* Gouverneur of Lyons to reconcile these wills, diuided onely vpon this subiect, but vnited in all other points that concerned the obedience and seruice of his Maiesty. This diuision began to decrease when as they vnderstood that his Maiesties pleasure was to content both parties, to reduce things to the ancient order wherein they had liued happily, and not to suffer the good correspondency which had bene betwixt the Inhabitants of one City, to be lost by the quality of this priuiledge, the which by fruitlesse innovations did alter that which the Ancients had allowed and maintained.

The King therefore commanded that the reasons of either part should be carefully examined and considered in his Councell. The President *tanin* was reporter of this controuersie. The Councell hauing vnderstood the Kings intention, and considered of the Governor of Lyons aduice, thought that as they might not change the ancient customes in the which they had liued well, so it was iust and reasonable to gratifie the Originall families of the City, for that they had suffered most in these last troubles, and had opposed themselves most resolutely against the faction. They therefore thought it good that there should remaine a distinction with some marke or prerogative of Honour, reseruing the charge of Prouost of Merchants for such as were Citizens born, & that those of the country which had continued there for ten years Heads of Families, should be capable of the Consulship, to enter indifferently with them that were borne there. By this declaration both the one and the other had part of their demands. The King sending them backe, recommended vnto them obedience, and respect to their Governor, and Concord and Vnity among themselves. And for that in the last Consular Elections there had bene something done indiscreetly, the Chancelor vied some words vpon that subiect, both graue, iust, and worthy the greatnesse of his charge.

It is my opinion (sayd he) that as the king hath an interest, that none should be chosen for Magistrats of a Towne, but those, of whose Loyalty his Maiesty is well assured, so the more the liberty of election is left vnto them, the more obedience should his Maiesty, the Governours and Lieutenants Generall of Provinces finde in the Inhabitants, in that which it should please him to command them.

The King desiring to increase the commodities of the Realm, and to enrich his subjects, hauing tryed in his royal: houses of Fontainebleau, Madril, and the Gardens of the Tuilleries, that silke wormes might be bred and brought vp as happily in France, as in any part of Europe, he resolved to adde the art of silke to the felicitys of the peace, a speedy and fit remedy to auoyd the transport of gold and siluer. Hereupon he had the aduice of Commissioners deputed for the establishing of the trafficke, the which hee had chosen as well out of his Councell, as of the Soueraigne Courts of Parliament, Chamber of Accomptes, and Court of Aydes. They gaue his Maiesty to vnderstand, that for the more speedy bringing in of this new worke, he must of necessity begin by the planting of Mulberry-trees, to feed the wormes that weaue and make the silke. And therefore some expert in that Art, did binde themselves to furnish a great number of white Mulberry-trees, and graines to make Nurseries, in foure parts of the Realme, at Paris, Orleans, Tours, and Lyons, who were bound to make their diuisions by the first day of Aprill this yeare, with instructions how to sow and plant trees and Kirnells, to gouerne the wormes, to draw and spin the silke, to prepare it, and make it ready to be sold. There could not bee found in this age a more profitable husbandry. The people of Languedoc, Prouence, and Dauphine haue found this labor so successfull within these few yeares, as the onely reuennue of silke doth now bring more money to these Prouinces, then the Come, Oyle, and Woade, although they haue great abundance. It doth also begin very happily at Lyons, and if it continue, this City will be as famous for silke, as Tire and Bulis were for Scarlet.

As the profit is great and pleasing, so the practice is not painfull, for one man is sufficient to imploy the leaues of three great Mulberry-Trees, to nourish and entertaine halfe an ounce of Wormes; women and children are as capable as men. It is done without any diuersion from their labour, and almost without any losse of time, at such a season of the yeare when as the fruits of the Earth require rather the fauour of Heauen, then the industry of men. It is not done without a perpetuall admiration of the wonders of that

Soueraigne

A Soueraigne hand of the Almighty, by whose order we see these little beasts without flesh, blood, bones, veines, sinewes, or arteries, without scales, or bowels within, without teeth, nayles, or prickles, and without silke, haire, eyes, or eares, to make that in forty daies which all the industry of man could not doe in forty yeares. They are the workers of a stuffe which serues for an ornament in the house of God, and in those of Kings, and furnish the chiefe ingredients for a most wholesome confection, for the cure of melancholly, which is that of Alkermes, which is made by the infusion and decoction of silke in the iuice of Kermes.

The King went to Metz and tooke the Queene with him. The cause of his voyage was the bad intelligence betwixt *Sobole* commanding in the Citadell, and the Inhabitants of the Towne. The Duke of Espernon shewed in this trouble, as in many other more dangerous, that of the two best things of our life, happinesse is the first, and wisdom the second. *Sobole* was one of them to whom he had yielded a part of that great and incomparable fauour which hee had during the reigne of the deceased King. Hauing the gouernment of Metz from the King, he made *Sobole* his Lieutenant of the towne and Citadell, in whom hee had as much confidence, as hee had vowed his affection vnto him.

As the great troubles in the yeare 1589, had made France like vnto a troubled river for Ambitious men to fish in, so those which held places of importance began to raise their authorities as high as the liberty of the time, and the forgetfulness of the French would suffer them. Two or three yeares after the Duke of Espernon was troubled in Prouence, and his credit crackt with the King. They say that *Sobole* began then to cary himselfe more proudly then he was wont, yfing no moderation, which is the perfect ornament of prosperity. He suffred himselfe to be called Governor. A title which added nothing to his profit and commodity, and did breed him lealouise with his equals, bad opinion in the iudgment of his superiors, and hatred and feare in the hearts of his inferiors.

There was another occasion which made his carriage more odious, which was the pursuit he made against the principall of the towne, for treason and conspiracy. They were freed from prison being innocent, but they tooke this resolution to free themselves from the command of *Sobole*. It is the humor of the people to write any good they haue received vpon the water, and to ingraue the wrongs are done them in brasse. The Duke of Espernon passing by Metz to goe to the Spaw, heard great complaints against *Sobole*, the which he did but heare, finding that there was some lealouise of his aboad at Metz, for as often as he sent for him to eate or play with him, and to bring his brother with him, the one or the other remained still in the City. Yet the Duke of Espernon entred into the Citadell, and was received with all the honours hee could desire, *Sobole* presented him the keyes at the gate, protesting of his affection, and complaining of those which said hee would refuse him the entry: the souldiers stood with their pikes vp, and their Hargiebuzes and Muskets vpon their shoulders, and the Halbardes behinde them.

The Duke of Espernon returned to Court, to vnderstand the Kings pleasure touching these troubles. He made a second voyage to Metz. Their murmuring against *Sobole* was turned into publike complaints, and their complaints into Barricadoes betwixt the Citadell and the towne: the Inhabitants were transported with so strange a passion, as they submitted themselves to any thing, so as they might not be commanded by two the Brethren. This commotion had not lasted long: if it had not bene supported. The presence of the Duke of Espernon gaue them courage, who else would haue bene much amazed. The King first sent *Boisize*, and then *Parente*, both which serued his Maiesty according to his intentions, and disposed *Sobole* to doe whatsoeuer he should command him, declaring notwithstanding that he would not deliuer the place but to himselfe. This was the occasion of the Kings voyage, who went thither in a very vnseasonable time. Vpon the brute of his going, many Princes of Germany sent to take vp their lodgings at Metz, who notwithstanding (hearing that the King would make but small abode, and the time being troublesome) came not out of their Stoues, so as there came not any but the D. of Deux Ponts, the Landgraue of Hesse, and the Prince of Brandenburg. The King finding the hatred betwixt *Sobole* and the Inhabitants to bee irreconcilable, was aduised to giue the charge of the Citadell to *Arquien*, Lieutenant of the Coronells company, of the Regiment of his Maiesties guards: and the Lieutenantcy of the gouernment of the Towne and of the Country of Messin to *Montigny* his brother, to hold them as Lieutenants of his Maiesty

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The voyage to
Metz.

The Duke of
Espernon goes
against to
Metz.

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Sole's deliuer
vnto the Citadell.Fourie Iesuites
come to Metz
for their reestab-
lishment.Iesuites speeche
vnto the King.

in the absence of the Duke of Espernon. The King would not enter into Metz before A that *Sebole* was out of the Citadell. Some thought he would not haue bene so obedient, but he shewed he had no designe beyond his duty. This was a disgrace vnto him. Hee bla- med his fortune, and Fortune accused his bad carriage. The way hee tooke to maintaine himselfe, ouerthrew him. Men must hold great Commands like simple Commiſſions, and not as Inheri- tances. They must desire them without Passion, and receive them without Infoleney. The King past the feast of Easter at Metz. Where he heard the Iesuits requests for their re-establishment. They could not find a better opportunity to speake vnto the King, then that which *Varenne* (Controller general of the Posts of France) gaue them, giuing them intelligence that the King would come to Metz and there spend the Easter. Hereupon foure Iesuites of Pont a Mouzon, were deputed to goe and doe their duties vnto his Maieſtie, and to renew the request for their returne vnto those places from the which they had bene expelled. They came to Metz on the Wednesday before Easter day, and the next day in the after-noonne they had audience in the Kings Cabinet, where, as the Duke of Espernon, *Villeroi*, *Guerre*, and *Varennes* were present. The King recei- ued them graciously and would not suffer them to kneele, but commanded them to stand vp: and although he takes no delight in long speeches, knowing that they come prepared with goodly words. Yet he heard father *Ignace Armand* with patience and attention, who made a long and eloquent Oration.

"Sir, since it hath pleased God to make you victorious, and a peaceable possessor of C the Scepter and Crowne which is due vnto you, and that wee had the happinesse to read, and know in your Maieſtie those great perfections, which since the memory of man haue not bene found in any great Prince or Monarch, and especially that great clemency, and assured marke of a Noble and generous minde, the which after so many victories and triumphs you haue vsed towards them which had most offended you, wee then conceived a great hope that you would shew the like clemency and mildnesse to vs.

"But as all things in this world are mutable: When as wee thought to doe you humble seruice, and to yeeld you the obedience which subiects owe vnto their King and naturall Prince, there fell out an vnfortunate accident which troubled all our designs, and seque- D ding vs from you, tooke from vs the meanes to doe you the seruice which we pretended. Yet we can assure you with truth, that notwithstanding all the crosses and contradictions, or the false reports which haue bene raised vp against vs, both within and without the Realme, we haue neither lost the affection we owe to our deare Country, nor our desire to your seruice, nor the hope we had in your clemency and naturall bountie: Assuring our selues that time in the end will discouer the truth, and mollifie all offenses which the misery of ciuill warres haue bred.

"This hope hath much increased since your coming into these parts, which makes vs now to prostrate our selues at your feet, and to beseech your Maieſtie not to deferre the grace any longer which we haue so often demaied, & to giue vs occasion to preach throughout E all the world, that our hopes were not vaine, being supported by the bounty of so great a King, receiuing vs in the end as his most humble subiects, and most desirous to employ our selues for his Maieſties seruice, there being nothing that can be more grievous vnto vs, then to see our selues in disgrace with the King, and not able to assist our country with those poore meanes which God hath giuen vs, and according to the vocation wherunto we are called.

"We doubt not but they haue laboured to make vs appeare before you, otherwise then we were, by the imposition of the fouleſt and most odious crimes, which a subiect might commit against his Prince and country, the which we detest as execrable; and if we had once thought to do them, we should thinke our selues vnworthy, I will not say to be re- ceived into our country, but to liue vpon the earth.

"They haue in like manner sought to blame our institution allowed in a general Coun- cell, and by so many Popes, and receiued by the most Christian Kings your predecessors, as if it tyed vs to obey our Generall in all things, yea in that which should be contrary to Gods reason. Yet I cannot beleue Sir, that euer any such opinion could lodge in the hearts of those that haue the least knowledge of our institution, being contrary to our constitutions, which do alwaies except in the obedience due to our Superiours, all that which

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A which may not be done without offence to God. But how were it possible, that of so many which enter into our company, and all desirous of saluation, any one should remaine, if they should fee that such an impiety, (not obedience) should haue place? Was it euer heard of any one that left vs (how great an enemy soeuer) that there was any such thing, and that this obedience did derogate from that which we owe vnto Kings & Magistrates, or that it doth command vs to giue counsell to any one that may bee preiudiciall to your Maieſtie and State? Many haue also sought to perwade you, that wee did sollicite chil- dren of good houles to bee of our company and religion, to haue their goods and ioyne them vnto ours: It is contrary to the course we hold in the reception of those which de- fire to serue God in our company, receiuing not any one before we haue made a long tri- all of their vocation, whether it be by the inspiration of God, or perswasion of men, and that many times for three or foure yeares. If they finde this vocation not to bee of God, they are refused, being an essentiell let to their reception, and there is not any thing which Superiours recommend more to them of this company, then to bee very carefull not to perwade any one to enter into a religious estate, but onely to excite them to ver- tue and learning, leauing that to the holy Spirit, which is of the perfection of the Gospel, and of the counsell of our Saviour: and for prooffe, the number of them which are in France, is so small as it makes not the twentieth part of them which are of other religions.

"As for that which is said, wee pretend to enrich our selues by their meanes which are receiued into this company, it needs not many words to discouer this falshood. Euery man knows the reuenues of our Colledges, I thinke that few men can vaunt that they are much enriched. One thing I can say, that hardly shall you finde one of our Colledges in France, whose foundation is sufficient for that which is necessary to support the charges, and you shall finde many which for the most part liue of almes. That of Paris the chiefe City of your Realm, comprehending the legacies of the Presidents *Saint Andrew*, and *Hanſelquin* with all others, hath neuer had above a thousand Crownes rent, which will hardly serue to entertaine twenty persons. Such a Colledge requires at the least three score, for all the benefices and faculties whereof wee make profession. Many of this great City haue entred into our company, and some of good houles, the which haue not left a doct of land. If they haue giuen vs any almes in money, to supply the want of our founda- tion, the greatest summe doth neuer come to the eight part of their goods, the which hath bene alwaies sought with the good liking and consent of their Parents. If our Col- ledges haue sufficient foundations, we desire no more. And if any one of our body dispos- seth of his goods, the application is left free vnto him, and commonly if his kinsfolkes bee poore, he leaues them all, if they be rich, he employes some part to godly vses, and to Hof- pits, with the liking of his kinsfolkes. We were in truth very miserable and voyde of sense, if hauing quick all the commodities which we had by succession, or might get by our industry, we would seek them in Religion. And how were it possible we should be so greedy to affect them, hauing nothing in particular, and it wee had a hundred times more in common, we should reape no greater commoditie for our own particulars, the ouer-plus being employed according to our constitutions to entertaine poore Schollers, & in other works of charity. They also importune your Maieſties cares continually, and say that we meddle with matters of State. The cause of this opinion and presumption is, for that sometimes Noblemen and Prelates, vouchsafe to vse vs for matter of Confidence, and to direct them in their deuotions and spirituall exercises; whatsoeuer they doe or appoint af- wards, is attributed vnto vs, although we haue had no communication, nor haue medled in the busineses. For in truth Sir, there is nothing so contrary to our estate and intention, nor more forbidden in our company, vpon grievous paine, then to meddle in like affaires.

These be Sir, the chiefe points which are objected against vs, and if there be any other, whereof it shall please your Maieſtie to be better informed, we promise to answer, by writing or by mouth, as you shall rest satisfied, and see plainly that they are but inuenti- ons, forged either by them which affect vs not, or by such as haue no knowledge of our institution and manner of life. But wee will answer more plainly to the view and contentment of all the world by our workes, when it shall please your Maieſtie to vn- binde our hands. Then shall euery man see plainly, what wee say and promise: and your Maieſtie shall witness, yea they which are most contrary vnto vs, that wee haue bene true.

Y y y y

That

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 " we wil not leaue to haue yours alwaies grauen in the bottome of ours, to loue you, to wish
 " all greatnesse, and happinesse, and to offer our continuall praers vnto God, for the prefer-
 " ration of your Maiestie, of the Queene your most beloued spouse, of our Lords your chil-
 " dren, and of your Realme, our most deare Country; remaining in perpetuall sorrow, that
 " we could not shew by effects, that affectio which we haue desired. But we hope otherwise,
 " and with this hope wee beseech you to cast the beames of your clemency, vpon this little
 " company of your most humble subiects, who with griefe of heart, vpon their knees, and
 " teares in their eyes, implore your mercy: Yours I say, being so naturall vnto you, and im-
 " parted vnto so many. Regard not that which hath bene done and said, with more zeale
 " and lesse discretion then was needfull. It was some priuate member, and not the whole
 " body, the which as it hath neuer allowed of the errors of priuate men, so should it not re-
 " ceieue the preiudice. We doe not implore your mercy, but to serue God and your Ma-
 " iesty, thereunto tend all our desires and intentions, and therein wee will employ our
 " bloods and liues. Such as desire not your greatnesse, nor of your Realme, reioyce at
 " our disgrace, thinking (it may be) that we might helpe to make it more flourishing, it we
 " were restored.
 " We beseech your Maiesty, in all humility, that ye will bee pleased to adde this Bond to
 " many others, which tye vs to your seruice, let not the mercy and clemency which you
 " shall vse to vs, depend vpon any but your selfe: let it be wholly yours, and let vs not bee
 " beholden to any but to you. The gift shall be more pretious, and our bond much greater.
 " This will increase our courage to loue and serue you, and excite every one to the like du-
 " ty. We will not be vanquished therein by strangers but will rather surmount them. If
 " they of our company in Spaine, Italy, and Germany, do it, we will rather dye being natu-
 " rally Frenchmen, but we will yelde the like duty to our King and Country. The lawes of
 " God and Nature (common to all) binds vs thereunto, and we shall haue many priuate
 " bonds to doe it, when it shall please your Maiestie to vse so great clemency.
 " Sir, the holy and sacred time of the death and passion of our Sauour speaks for vs,
 " That blood which he hath powred forth abundantly vpon the Altar of the Crosse, for
 " sinners, his enemies, doth inuite you to vse clemency to those whose heart and affection
 " are wholly yours. We haue not deserued to great a grace of your Maiesty, but he in whose
 " name we demand it, and who without doubt demands it for vs, after so many prayers
 " which wee haue offered vnto him, shall haue such power with your Maiesty, who by his
 " Christian pietie will neuer depart from that which hee shall know to be pleasing, to that
 " foueraigne bounty of our God, whom wee pray that after hee hath made you to reigne
 " long and many yeres in this world, he will giue you an eternall and assured Kingdome in
 " the other.

The King answered them very gratiously, *I wish no harme to the Iesuits, and all the ill
 that I wish to any living creature, let it happen vnto my selfe. My Court of Parliaments hath
 done something against you, but not without good consideration.* He received that in writing
 which they had deliuered by mouth, deliuered it to Villery, and hauing considered there-
 of, he declared vnto them expressly how desirous he was, and what care he would take for
 their returne. *If your businesse (said hee) were not in the Popes hands, I would dispatch you
 presently, but you know it is not expedient to doe any thing without him. I will haue you: you
 are profitable for the publike and for my estate.* He added moreover, that being at Paris he
 would thinke seriously of their affaires. They demanded if his Maiesty would not bee
 pleased that the three Princiuals of their company in France, accompanied by three o-
 thers should attend there at his returne, and receiue his commandements. There needs
 not so many, said the King, it shall be sufficient that you and father Cotton come. The King
 made this voyage partly to pacifie some trouble growne betwixt the Cardinall of Lor-
 raine, and the Prince of Brandenburg, for the Bishopricke of Strausbourg, and this was
 the cause of their quarrell. The Bishopricke of Strausbourg being voyde by the decease
 of their Bishop (who was a Catholike) the Cardinall of Lorraine obtained the grant there-
 of from his Holinesse. But for that they of Strausbourg since the fittes in Germany, had
 held the confession of Ausbourg, the deceased Bishop had retired himselfe out of the Ci-
 ty, and liued at a house of his in the Country in his religion, and yet notwithstanding hee
 receiued his temporall reuenues from them of Strausbourg. On the other side the Mar-
 quis

The Iesuites so-
cund audience.

A controuersie
betwixt the
Cardinall of
Lorraine and
Prince of
Brandenburg
for the Bishop-
ricke of Straus-
bourg.

A quis of Brandenburg, Elector of the Empire, had obtained an election from them of
 Strausbourg for one of his Sonnes, who being named to the Bishopricke, and receiued
 by them of Strausbourg, he will enioy the Bishops rights without any other ceremony.
 The Cardinall on the other side hauing receiued the accustomed order therein, deman-
 ded the Bishops rights of them of Strausbourg, such as his Predecessor enioyed, who
 died a Catholike, and according to the Article of the *Invocam*, set downe by the confessi-
 on of Ausbourg. Hereupon they of Strausbourg made some difficulty, and the rather,
 for that being neighbours vnto the Duke of Lorraines territories, they haue often many
 controuersies to decide, as it doth commonly fall out betwixt neighbors. They had also
 B given their consent to the nomination of the Prince of Brandenburg for Superinten-
 dant or Administrator, that is to say, Bishop after their manner: for these and other pri-
 uate reasons, they refused the Cardinalls demand.

The Prince of Brandenburg gets possession, and prepares to withstand the Cardinall,
 all things tending vnto Armes. Many and great leaues of men were made on either side.
 Those of Strausbourg were also in Alarme, seeking to prevent all disorders if it were pos-
 sible, yet fauouring the Prince of Brandenburg more then the Cardinall of Lorraine.
 The Emperour had written vnto them both, declaring that his intention was, that nei-
 ther of them should haue wrong. The King was intreated to interpose his authority as
 a Friend to both parties, for the auoiding of all scandall. The Prince of Brandenburg,
 C named the Bishop of Strausbourg, was come into France some months before: And
 they say he remained some dayes at Troyes, vntill his Maiesty had assigned him a time and
 place to haue the Honour to come and kisse his hands, the which was done at Loges
 neer to Saint Germaine in Lay, where the King gaue him audience, and so the said Prince
 was dispatcht, with promise of all fauor, to compound the controuersie betwixt him and
 the Cardinall.

During the Kings abode at Metz, the said Prince of Brandenburg came accompa-
 nied with the *Lantgrau* of Hesse, the Duke of Deux Ponts, and a Deputy from the
 Archbishop of Treues, Elector of the Empire: and by their aduice it was determined,
 that the Cardinall should haue a portion out of the said Bishopricke, and the rest should
 D remaine vnto the Prince, and by that means they should continue friends as before.
 Thus a Peace was made betwixt them, the which might else haue bene preiudiciall to
 the whole Empire and to all Christendome. The King went from Metz to Nancy to see
 the Duchesse of Bar his sister, and the Duke of Lorraine. At that time a mariage was
 concluded betwixt the Duke of Deux Ponts and the Ladie *Katherine* of Rohan, remain-
 ing then with the Kings Sister, and so hauing provided for all things necessary for the
 frontier, he tooke his way to Paris the 7 of Aprill. It is a signe of a happy Reigne when
 the subiect reioyceeth to see his King: Pronounce had been posselt with this desire fifteene
 yeares, being the onely Province of all France that had not yet seene the King. He was
 expected there with great impatience, hauing promised after his returne from Metz to
 E go thither. As it was reasonable to giue comfort to that Province, so was it necessary to
 fortifie that Coast, and to haue an eye to the designs of the sea army of Spaine, which
 vnder colour of attempting something vpon Algier, might fall vpon that coast, by which
 the Emperour *Charles* the fifth held it the easiest to invade France.

At the same time (report which carries all things abroad without distinction of iudge-
 ment) did publish throughout all Europe, a newes happily false; which was, that the
 King had bene extremely sicke. He was indeed sick, but not so extremely as they should
 ioudge of him. He was soone restored to his natural health, and returned to his ordi-
 nary manner of liuing. The actions of Princes must be alwaies great; not buying them-
 selves in making of Lanthornes, like to that King of Macedonia. They must alwaies
 F hold their Subjects in this opinion, That in doing nothing, they doe some great worke.
 It was a great precept which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth gaue to King *Philip* his Son,
 alwaies to exercise himselfe in some vertue, agreeing with the duty of a King, so hold
 the Subjects as it were in admiration of his effects, and not to giue their thoughts at any
 time to fill them with other affections. When occasions of war cease, he must apply him-
 selfe to those of Peace, as to the administering of Iustice, and ordering of his Realme.
 To conclude, all the actions of a Prince must tend to the good and health of his people,
 for whom he liues, and more then for himselfe, as the Sunne doth not shine and giue
 heat

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The King re-
turnes to Paris.

The King re-
solved to giue
into the
Province.

Brute of the
Kings sickness.

The exercise
of a Prince.

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heat but for men and the elements. During the war, no man enquired what the King did, his great affaires prouided store of worke, the end of one enterprize was the beginning of another. Now that these seditious stormes are appeased, that the waues are smooth and the Sea calme; that Peace giues him a rest worthy of his labours, that so many paines past make his pleasures more sweet, and that the reward of Vertue makes his triumphs seeme more glorious, there passeth no day, but some one asketh, What doth the King? They need not tarry for an answer, hee is alwaies in action far from idleness. The chiefe action is neuer to be without action, he hath bene so bred vpon his Cradle, he cannot be otherwise: Bees neuer become Drones, great spirits do neuer degenerate, we shall see him on horsebacke at the age of *Massaniha*, he will be fierfull to his enemies at that of *Agassilaus*, hee will show himselfe in the head of his armies at the age of 80 yeares, like vnto *Phocion*, his valour will neuer grow old no more then his memory.

He contents himself notwithstanding to enioy the fruits of peace, and not to thinke any more of war, vnlesse hee be wronged. One of the greatest contentments the peace doth yeeld him, is that of his buildings, and there is no exercise more worthy of a King then to repaire the ruines of time, if they bee buildings which regard the glory of the Prince, and the common profit of the people, when as the mortar is not made with the blood and sweat of his poore Subjects. At one time the King had Mansions in diuers places, in the great Church of Orleans, at Fontainebleau, at S. Germaine, at Monceaux, and at the new Bridge at Paris. All great workes, whether that we consider the building by the designe, or the designe by the building. Among many maruells of his life, that was admirable, That hee did build and make war both together. The first day hee entered into the Louvre hee did designe and set downe what he hath since continued. Hee hath made S. Germaine and Fontainebleau (two houses of the Kings his Predecessors) royall and stately Palaces. He finished in the hottest of the wars and foraign tempests, that which they had vnderaken in a calme and peacefull season.

They were buildings whereof wee may truly say, That the workmanship exceeds the matter, wherein he was seru'd with as great affection and promptitude, as we way obserue good order and iudgment, and will be the more durable, for that the workemen receiued commoditie, and the Labourers did not sweate for nothing. Many gallant Spirits found out ingenious inuentions which our age admires, and the forepassed haue not knowne. Waters had not yet bene raised higher then their Springs. This present age, and those which are to come, owe this industry to *Montenis*, President of the Minte in the generality of Lion. This aduise affection in the King to royall buildings, made subjects (by an honest and commendable imitation) to raise the ruines which did generally shew a hideous face, and mournfull markes of horrible and furious effects, both in townes and country. The paued Causes which are continued in diuers Prouinces, the Bridges, which by the motion and care of the Marquis of Rosny are built vpon Riuers, where neuer were any, witnesseth with what curiosity, the King sought the ease and commoditie of his people.

We haue seene what the King does, wee must also know whereunto the Court is inclined. How can they liue without warre that thinke it a dishonour to dye in their beds? who are accustomed to triumph ouer idleness, and rest not but to take new breath? What doe so many Noblemen, which cannot endure rest but with impatiency? Some goe a hunting, others dwell and dye among Ladies: many giue themselves to the knowledge of tongues and the Mathematickes: the most quarrellous strip themselves into their shirts, notwithstanding any prohibition of Duells or Combats: the most temperate retire themselves from great expences. Some there are, who loath that ease should triumph ouer their reputations, goe out of the Realme with the Kings permission. It is a signe of a great and noble courage, to goe and make war vpon a foraigne Theater, and to see the diuersity of people and nations, that he may settle his iudgment, and arme himselfe with experience. When we speake of them that haue well employed the ease and liberty of peace, wee must remember the Duke of Neuers. Hee went into England, Flanders, and Hungary, and through a great part of the North. Hee past to the King of Denmarke, who for the respect of those two great & famous houses, of Gonzaga, allied to the greatest houses of Europe, and of Neuers, which carries the title of D. of Brabant & Limbourg, but much more for loue of this crown, receiued him with great & famous honors.

The

Building is a
worke worthy
of a Prince
which is at
Peace.

Exercise of No-
blemen at
Court.

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A The King was aduertised, that the Seignery of Venice would renew a negotiation which they had attempted and left vnperfect twenty yeares since, which they now sought to conclude. *De Fic*, Ambassadour for the King in Suifferland, hauing discouered, that both parties had begun without the King, gaue them to vnderstand, that they could not finish nor conclude that without his Maiesty. The Count *Fuentes* did also crosse it, for that this new League should make him to lose the hope of that which the Spaniard had pursued for many yeares. As soone as the King had giuen them to vnderstand that he was well pleased therewith, it was concluded: neither party respecting the threats of the Count *Fuentes*, who Iware that he would take from the Grisons the trafficke which they had in the Duchy of Milan, and the reliefe of Corne which they receiued from thence.

B The Articles of this alliance are set downe at large in *Peter Mathew*. The Count *Fuentes* discontented with this league, made the Grisons repent it, hauing cutt off their commerce, and all commodities which they drew out of the territories of Milan, without the which they could not wel liue. The two Countries ioyne together, and the barrenesse of the one is supplied by the fertility and abundance of the other. To bring them vnder the yoke of Spaine, and to force them to breake with the Venetians, hee built a fort at the entry of their Country, whereof shall be spoken hereafter.

An Ambassador sent from Venice into France about the same time past by Lions, a graue and wise man, and well practised in affaires of State. The Governor of Lions did visit him, and among other discourses vnderstood from him, that the Seigneurs of that Common-weale did hold themselves more bound vnto the Count *Fuentes*, then to any man liuing, for that they had made vse of his threats to sharpen their courages, which time had made blunt and dull. His braueries had made them to take resolutions for the good of the State, which they had neuer dreamt of, drowning their countells in the delights of Peace, and presuming that they should not feare any storme in so great a calme, but hauing seene the Counts humour to stir vp war in Italy, and that hee bragged he had Instruments to draw them in, that had no will to dance, they had so well provided for their affaires, as they feared his hand no more then his tongue. The last yeare the Lord

Sa of Pont had bene in new France (called *Canada*) from whence hee had brought two Sa- uages, which hee presented vnto the King: they learned of them that the great Riuer which they thought to haue bene but a Gulfe (for that it is eighteen leagues broad where it enters into the Sea) was about 400 leagues long, and past through many goodly Countries and Lakes, into the which many other goodly Riuers did run, and that hee might goe vp into it in Canowes, which the Sauages did vse to saile in that Riuer. Hee resolved with some other Sea Captaines (with the Kings good liking) to returne, and to search into the heart of the Country by means of the Sauages, as well as hee had discouered along the Sea Coast, where is nothing but rocks and high mountaines, and sands full of Pine trees, Sapins, Cipres and Holly. Hee parted from Honfleur the fifteenth of March, carrying the two Sauages backe with him, and the eighteenth of April he came

E into the great Riuer of Canada, where hauing entred a hundred leagues, in the end hee came to Tabouacac the twenty fourth, where hee found many Sauages in Cabines. Going on land, hee went with some of his Company to the Cabin of the great Sagamo, called *Anabacion*, where they found him with some foure score or a hundred of his Companions, which made Tabagie (that is to say, a Feast) who receiued them very well, according to their custome, and made them to sit neare him, the Sauages being placed one by one on either side of the Cabin. One of the Sauages which hee had caried with him, began to make his Oration, of the good reception which the King had made them, and of the good vsage which they had receiued in France, & that his Maiesty wished them well, and desired to people their land, and to make peace with their enemies (which be the Iro- cois) or to send them forces to vanquish them. He told them of the goodly castles, places, houses and people that hee had seene, and the manner of liuing of the French. The Sauages gaue him audience with great silence. When hee had done speaking, the great Sagamo began to take Tobacco, and gaue some vnto the Seigneur of Pont Graue of S. Malo, and to his company, and to some other Sauages that were neere him, hauing taken it well, hee began to make his Oration to them all, speaking deliberately, staying sometimes a litle, and then beginning againe, he said: That in truth they had reason to be greatly contented to haue such a King for their great friend: Whereunto all the other Sauages answered

red

A league con-
cluded betwixt
the Venetians
& the Grisons.

An Ambassador
sent from Ve-
nice.

The navigation
of the French
to New France
or Canada.

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red with one voice, *ho, ho, ho*; that is to say I, I. Then the Sagamo said againe; *That he* A *was very glad the King of France should people their Land, and make war against their enemies. That there was no Nation in the world to whom they desired more good, then vnto the French.* Then he gaue the Sauages to vnderstand, what profit they might receiue from his Maiesty.

After that he had ended his Speech, *Du Pont* and his company went out of the Cabin, and then they began to make their Tabagie, or feast, the which is done with the flesh of Orignac, which is like vnto beefe of Beares, Sea-Wolues, and Beauers, which is the ordinary meat that they haue, with great store of Wilde-fowle. When they eate they sit of either side of the Cabin, euery one hauing a dish made of the barke of Trees: the meat being foddren, there is one that giues to euery one his portion in his dish, where they eate very grossly, for when their hands are greasie, they either rub them vpon their haire, or vpon their Dogs, (whereof they haue great store to hunt withall) before they eate, they daunce about their Pans, and after they haue eaten, they returne to their dauncing, euery one taking the head of his enemy which he hath slaine in battell, the which hangs behind him. They made this Feast together, for the victory which they had obtained of the Irocois, of whom they had slaine some hundred. Three nations of Sauages were there assembled, that is to say, the Estechemins, Algonmequins, and Montagnez, to the number of a thousand, all enemies to the Irocois, against whom they make cruell war by surpris, for that they are more in number then they.

The eighteenth day of the Moneth, the said Sauages which were then at the point of *S. Mathen*, came to campe at the Port of Todoufac, where the Frenchmen were. At the breake of day the great Sagamo, going out of his Cabin, went about all the other Cabins, crying with a loud voyce, That they must dislodge to goe to Todoufac, where their good friends were. Suddenly euery one pulled downe his Cabin, and the great Sagamo began first of all to take his Canow, and to carry it to the Riuer, in the which he embarked his wife and Children, with great store of Furies, so as they were neere two hundred Canowes, which goe exceeding swiftly, for although *Du Pont* Ship-boat were very well manned, yet they went faster then it. There are but two persons that doe row, D the man and the woman. Their Canowes are eight or nine paces long, and one broad, they are very subiect to ouer turne, if they be not well guided: they are made of barkes of trees, strengthened within with little hoopcs artificially made, and they are so light, as a man may carry one easily, and euery Canow will carry the weight of a Pipe. Their Cabins are low, made like Tents, covered with barkes of trees, leauing a hole open in the top, to let in the light: they make many fires in the midst of the Cabin, whereas sometimes they are ten families together. They lye vpon skins one among another, and their Dogs with them. All these people are of a pleasant humor, they laugh most commonly, yet they are somewhat Saturnine: they speake deliberately, as if they would be well vnderstood, and stay suddenly, sludying a good space, and then they speake againe. They vse these customes in their Orations in Councell, whither none come but the principall which are: ancients: the women and children assist not. All these nations endure so much sometimes, as they are in a manner forced to eate one another through the great cold and snow, for the beasts and fowle which they vse, retire themselves into the hotter countries. They are apt enough to learne to till the ground, or any other worke, if they might be taught. Many of them are of good iudgment, and will answer directly to any question. They are full of reuenge and great lyars, in whom there is no trust, they promise much and performe little. For the most part they haue no law, and beleue that after that God had made all things, he tooke a number of Arrowes and stickt them in the earth, from the which sprung men and women, which haue multiplied in the world vnto this day, and are growne in this sort. That there is one God, one Son; the Mother, and the Sun which shines, which are four, yet that God is about all, and that the Son, and the shining Sun are good, by reason of the benefit which they receiue, but the Mother is nothing worth, for that she eates them. In like sort they hold, that the father is not very good. They haue an infinite number of other foolish opinions, & they haue certaine Sauages among them whom they call *Pisotoma*, which speakes wisely vnto the Deuill, and tels them what they should doe, as well for matters of war, as other things: to whom they obey at their first command. They also beleue that all their dreames are true, and many say that they haue

They talke vnto the Deuill.

The Sauages Canowes.

The manner of their Canowes.

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A scene and dreamt what should happen, but to speake truly, they are illusions of the Deuill which abuleth them.

They are all well proportioned, without any deformity of their bodies, and nimble. Their women are well fashion, repleat, and somewhat full: they are yellow by reason of the painting wherewith they anoint themselves, which makes them of an Oliue colour. They apparell themselves with skinned: one part of their bodies is couered, and the rest bare. In winter they couer themselves with good Furies, whereof they haue great store, where there is great store of Snow, they vse a kind of Racket, the which is twice or thrice as big as that of France, which they tye vnto their feet, and to go in the snow without sinking, for else they could not hunt nor goe in many places.

They haue a kind of mariage, when a maide is fourteen or fifteene yeares old, she may haue as many seruants and friends, and accompany with as many as she please; then after five or six yeares she will take whom she likes best for her husband, and liue together till death, vnlesse after some time they haue no children; then the man may be vnmarrid, and take another wife. After they be once married they are chaste, and the husbands are for the most part ielous, giuing presents to the father or kinsfolkes of the woman whom they haue married. As for their Interments or Funeralls, when a man or a woman dieth, they make a pit, into the which they put all the goods he hath, as kettles, furies, harchets, bows, arrows, apparell, and other things, and then they put the body into the pit and couer it with earth, on the which they lay great peeces of wood, and one peece they set right vp, the which they paint red on the top. They beleue the immortality of the soule, and say that they go to reioyce in other Countries with their kinsfolkes and friends when they are dead. The Seignour of Pont hauing spent some time to discover the great riuer of Canada, and some other particularities of the Country, returned the 24 of August, and arriued at New-hauen the 30 of September. The great Turke (seeing the great exploits which the French had done in the wars of Hungary and Transiluania) had often entreated the King not to suffer any French to goe to the wars of Hungary, and to tye him to make a strict prohibition, he granted all and more then his Maiesty could desire for the reparation of publike and priuate iniuries, against the liberty of the commerce, and the safety of the nauigation in the Leuant Seas, the which were greatly molested by

Pirats. He sent a Chaoirs (which is a General of a Carauane) vnto the King in September, with very kind Letters, and a style not vsuall for the Princes of the house of *Ottomans*, who speake as Turkes, and glory to speake proudly and imperiously to the Potentates of Christendome giuing him this title: *To the most glorious, magnanimous, and great Lord of the belisfe of Iesus, Eleited amongst the Princes of the Nation, of Messias, the Compounder of Controuersies which happen among Christians, Lord of greatness, Maiesty and riches, and cleer guide of the greatest, Henry the fourth, Emperor of France, that he may end his dayes with peace and happinesse.* The Letter I omit for breuities sake, being not greatly pertinent to this subiect. And for that the great Turke was informed, that the Pirats of Algier and Thunis, made markets of the French which they tooke, and sold them vnto the Moores (who were alwaies cruell and mercilesse vnto the Christians, being forced to endure all without complaining, and to murmur against the rigour which Fortune allows the Master ouer his slaue) hee writ to *Amet* King of Fez, and intreats him to preuent this sale, as against the Iustice that was left them by their Prophet, and to set all the Frenchmen that were in his dominions at liberty. The King laboured to conuert the war of Hungary into a long truce, or an honourable peace for the Christians. He vnto the war of Hungary into a long truce, or an honourable peace for the Christians. He disposed *Mahomet* thereunto by the dexterity of his Ambassador; and if the house of Austria had trusted that of France, they had reaped the fruits of this negotiation. *Mahomet* to shew that he had a desire to lay aside armes, presented the Emperour with armes and horses, and to *Mathias* the Archduke he sent a rich Roabe for a present.

There was no talke in Court but of the quarrell betwixt the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny, the which was very hard to reconcile. It grew vpon words reported and disputed. The Count Soissons was much offended, many framed diuers metemorphs in their heads, vpon the consequence of this question, some there were that made damnable vowes, the which were as odious and as punishable as those fellers of funerall stufes that were punished by the Senate of Athens, vpon the accusation of *Demades*. The King foreseeing that his seruice did suffer in this diuision, gaue him to vnderstand by the

Their complexion, as pale, marred, and interments.

Du Pont returns into France.

The Turkes title to the French King.

A quarrell betwixt the Count Soissons and the Marquis of Rhosny.

Chancelor

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Chancellor and Sillery, and afterwards by the Count of S. Paul, and the Duke of Mont-Aubert, that he desired this trouble were ended and he satisfied: he answered them all after one sort, *That he should hold himself unworthy of the honour to be as he was a nearer kinsman to so great and courageous a King, if he had no feeling of so bloody an injury.* The King considering that this quarrell did nothing advance his service, he made himselfe the instrument of this reconciliation. Hee sent for the Count Soissons, and the Marquis of Rhosny to the Louvre. They came both well accompanied. The presence, authority, and intreaty of his Maiesty, was of force to smother the remembrance of all injuries, and to reconcile their wills. Let vs now see what they haue done in the Nationall Synode held at Gap, held by them of the reformed Religion, whereas many beleueed, that in giuing audience to Ambassadors, and receiuing Letters from foraigne Princes and common-weales, they had done more then their condition would allow, and had taken the way to make an Estate in the Estate. I will say no more. The passion of Religion might diminish the beliefe of the truth. The Synode began the first of October. It treated of things touching doctrine, discipline, and the government of Churches, giuing a good testimony that there are among them men full of zeale to the advancement of their religion, and who in their resolutions can ioyne wisdom with doctrine, causing them to blush that haue so much suffered the ancient constitutions of the Church to degenerate, and haue so much neglected the government and discipline, as the Synodall assemblies of Diocesses, so necessary and profitable, are nothing but vaine and fond ceremonies, where they doe onely exhort them to doe well hereafter, not caring to correct or amend the ill that is gone and past.

Of many meanes which the Church (in her infancy) did vse to preserve this spirit of peace and charity, which gaue life vnto all the members, and entertained the cymen and bond of the whole building, that of these assemblies hath bene held the most fruitfull, and should be made twice a yeare, if they will follow the Canons of the Apostles, and the Decrees of *Nice* and *Sardinia*. There they conferred of the order and direction of all affaires.

There the Pastors taking knowledge one of another, entertained their friendships, renewing the bonds of their affections. It serued for a blood letting and a good purgation for bad humors in a corrupted body, to preserve and keepe it in health, purity, and chastity of the Faith. There they shewed the power of the spirituall sword vpon the incorrigible, who in the end found the pappes of the Church drye for them, when through error, malice or obliquity they made themselves unworthy of the sweetnes of her milke. There in the end they did straine the strings of the policy and discipline of the Church, the which being through negligence growne slacke, made no found nor harmony. In this assembly of Gap (after that all the Deputies of the Prouinces of the Realme had shewed their Commissions) they began by the Inuocation of the name of God, the which was followed by the reading of the confession of the faith, wherein they did expound those things that were not plaine enough. The common desire of the Ministers to see the schisme pacified that was betwixt them and the other Congregations of Germany, England, and the Low countries, made them resolute that the assembly should write vnto the Vniuersities, both Lutherans and Caluinists, to desuise some meanes to reconcile the contrarieties in some points of their confession.

This Assembly began by a declaration that the Bishop of Rome was Antichrist, foretold by the word of God. The Ministers haue for a long time written and preached it, and the Catholike Doctors the contrary. They now made this opinion an article of Faith, & added it to their confession for the 31. And for that many said they were molested because they teamed the Pope Antichrist in their publicke or priuate discourses, they were exhorted to perseuere in this confession as one of the principall causes of their departure from the Church of Rome, and charged their Deputies in Court to beseech his Maiesty not to suffer them to be hindered in making a free confession of that which they beleueed. The Pope complained vnto the King by his Nuncio, who no lesse affected to the holy See than his Predecessors, who had receiued the glorious title of Christian, was much offended, forbidding the Ministers to proceede any farther, and not to vomit forth those bad words, from whence might spring a new kinde of poyson.

The confession of faith being read and examined, it was sworn by all the Deputies in the

They are reconciled by the King.

A Synode held at Gap.

The profit of Synodes.

Addition of an Article in the confession of Faith.

The Popes complaint.

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A the name of their Prouinces, with promise to continue, and a protestation that it was the same doctrine that was taught in their churches. Which done, they entred into the examination of their discipline: It is the order which should be held for the administration of the word of God, praiers, and the decency of Ceremonies, whereof their assemblies are very bare, and yet notwithstanding being purged from superstitions are very necessary and maintain religion, as the barke preferues the tree, without the which it withers and dries away. In this reading of the discipline, it was obserued, that some Prouinces had particular formes and ceremonies, in the election and reception of Ministers. The assembly iudging by the aduice of the Apostle, that wee must haue but one rule and one forme in matters of Religion, they ordained that all Churches should follow the same forme, in the imposition of hands vpon Pastors, by the which he that should be presented to be receiued should kneele, and this imposition should be vpon the Sunday, or some other day of solemne assembly, in the presence of the people, and not in Consistories, or Colloquies.

And for that it was shewed that many Ministers in their preaching, vsed more the authority of the Fathers, then that of the Scripture, the Assembly threatned them with suspension which straying from expositions conformable to the word of God, were carried away to those of the Fathers, or scholasticall Doctors, or deliuering allegories, or discourses of Philosophy, produced the words of the Fathers in the Pulpit, namely, in the time of Lent, or the like season, or tooke the text of Catholike Preachers.

They did also disallow like disputations in Synodes and Colloquies, vpon controuersies of Diuinity, sending them to the Schooles at Saumur, there to be argued according to forme of Syllogisme, which is the instrument of disputation. They also thought these contentions among Pastors to be dangerous, and necessary to restrain them that would bring them in vse.

The Discipline hauing bene read and sworne by all the Deputies, in the name of the Prouinces, with a solemne protestation to obserue it strictly, and to cause it to be obserued in all points, and in all their Churches, they produced the acts of the last Synodes, to see what remained to be executed. Then they past Appellations made by priuate men, greiuing at the Decrees of Prouinciall Synods, after which they iudged of censures, suspensions, and other corrections, whereunto they added that which concerned the prouision and establishment of Ministers, in those places where they were demanded, and whereas the assembly thought them necessary.

Afterwards they treated of the generall affaires of the cause. The petition of the brethren of the Marquitate of Saluces, banished from their houses for the profession of this religion, hauing bene read, the Assembly answered; That they should be maintained and confirmed in the vnion of the Doctors and discipline of other Churches, and to that effect petition should be made vnto the King, to recommend them to the Duke of Savoy, that they might enioy the liberties graunted by the Edicts.

Vpon this question, if in suites depending before the Iudges of another religion, they should vse these words, *Pretended, reformed Religion*. The Synode said; That petition must be made vnto the King, nor to force them to say or doe anything contrary to their Consciences, exhorting all men of this religion to forbear this word of *Reformed*, as contrary to the freedome and liberty of their confession.

They of Xaintonge propounded another if it were lawfull for a priuate man to appropriate a place for his buriall, and to set it vpon pillars or otherwise; and if it be lawfull for Noblemen or other, to set vp their armes in Temples which are built. The Synode answered, That for Sepulchers, all should be obserued according to ancient simplicity, without appropriating anything in particular, witnessing their communion with the Saints that were dead, as well as they desired in the happy resurrection. As for Temples they should obserue the same modesty and simplicity. The assembly casting their eyes vpon spirituall and politike matters, they did carefully consider of that which concerns Schooles and Vniuersities, as the Nurseries of Ministers, and Pastors of their Doctrine, hauing nothing in religion more important then the instruction of youth, the which is made apt to anything we please, wherefore they ordained, That all the Prouinces should entertaine a certaine number of Schollers in the Vniuersities of this Realm, the which should not be admitted to the Ministry in their Prouinces without good and sufficient testimony

Exposition of
of the Scriptures.

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A memorable
example of
a crime, and of
Iullice.

ny of their manners and doctrine, from the Pastors and Professors of the Vniuersities A where they had studied. The Vniuersities are also exhorted to haue common Libraries, and especially the great Bible of Antwerpe in many languages.

This yeare the King did graue in the Register of his vertues a memorable example of Iullice: The cause is considerable, and the subject of consequence. A young Gentlewoman of Normandy visited and courted by her brother, disdained her husband, by whom she had two Children, for that hee was somewhat aged, and made no profession of armes. This inequality of age, together with his condition, made the conyugal affection like vnto a small brooke, whereof when the spring is stoppt, the bed remains dry, and there is nothing left but filth for roads and frogs. The greene grassie that was vpon the banks wth thereth, yea, the trees that were planted along, dye. This marriage, hauing lost the radieall humour of loue, it made all pleasure and content to wither, produced nothing but noise, disdaine, contempt, and quarrell. This miserable woman cared no more for her husband but to draw means from him to make her selfe more pleasing in the eyes of another, delighting in luxuriousnesse and excesse of apparell, vnder the which the Deuill is accustomed to make open way to Chastity, and to rauish the honour of a woman, without the which her life is a life without a body, a body without a soule, a soule without a spirit, a spirit without breath, and a breath without ayre.

It seemed that the first acquaintance of this woman with her brother, was nothing but a perfect loue, such as honour and that which they were one vnto another might well allow. Who fo had seene the familiarities of this Sister with her Brother, would not haue beleueed that they had made loue, the law of Nature being of greater force then reason, or truth it selfe. In the meane time this fury proued Adultery and Incest, making the wife to abandon the company of her husband, to cleaue vnto her brother, who forgetting nothing that might befall or done to couer his crime, and to auoide punishment, wandered vp and downe the country with her vnder disguised names, but carying still in his conscience the sting and vuluer of fo execrable a pleasure. She grew big with child, and beleueing that in hiding her great belly, her offence should be also hidden, she caused her selfe to be conducted into that great forest of Paris, where she continued with her brother the exercises of *Cupid* and *Phycus*. The Fig leaues could not couer their shame. The All-seeing eye of the diuine Iullice discouers them, and will not suffer that so infamous lust should continue. These violent fireames being run out, the mud and filth that was in the bottome appeared presently. The husband oppressed with so iust a griefe (as the Law doth not hold him punishable, whom it forceth to kill, the wife being surprisid in adultery) came to Paris, and discovered those which had deprived him both of rest and honor; he caught them to be apprehended and committed prisoners, the one in the great Chasteler, the other in Four l'Eueque. The Sister confesteth her selfe guilty of adultery, to free her brother from Incest, laying the child to one that was altogether innocent. Vpon the difficulty of proofes, the Lieutenant Criminal condemned them both to the rack. He might well haue proceeded to sentence.

A sentence gi-
uen by the
Lieutenant
Criminall.

But considering that they must deliberate well, before they iudge of the life of a man which is not made without care, he desired rather to proceede cololy therein, then ouer boldly. The husband, whose heart could not be moued to pittie, by the consideration of his two children, appeales from this sentence of the Racke. The Court considering that mildnesse doth nourish, and giues more scope to vice, declares the appellation and sentence from the which he had appealed, to be voided, and amending it, they iudge the accused sufficiently conuicted of the crimes of adultery and incest, for satisfaction whereof they condemne them to lose their heads. The King, during the Proceffe, was often sued vnto for their pardon. But considering, that in such crimes it were impiety to shew pittie: that mildnesse was severity and clemency cruell; and that the most holy and the most iust of his Predecessors, reuoked a pardon which he had giuen to a malefactor, falling vpon that verse of the Prophet *Dauid* in his prater booke: *Doe iustice at all times, said*; That he referred it to the iustice of his Court of Parliament. The father desired to change the infamy of the punishment into a death lesse shamefull, but longer and more cruell, the which the Emperour *Otilius Macrinus* vsed, causing such as were condemned for crimes, to be shut vp betwixt foure walls. He offered all his lands to procure his children that manner of punishment. This could not be, for that by the doome of the iudgment, the

A Sentence of
the Court.

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The execution
of the priuie
condemned.
The Constable
of Castille pat-
tise.

A the execution was to be done at the Greue, where it moued pittie and compassion in many, lamenting the youth of the brother, the beauty of the sister, and the misery & blindness of them both. Theyeare ended in peace, as it had begun in pleasures and sports, there was no new occasion offered but the passage of the Constable of Castille to go into England, for the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Kings of England and Spaine. The King aduertised of his passage by Bourdeaux, sent to the Marshall *d'Ornano* to receive him, the which he did, going to meet him with a great number of Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Country. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, passing through France, admired the great and goodly traines of Gouvernours of Provinces, which came to receive him, commending them very much.

The Constable of Castille (full of his Spanish fumes) made no great account thereof, and received these honours after a Spanish manner. The Marshall *d'Ornano* entertaining him with the singularityes of this Realme, told him: *That he should see a country, yea a world, in seeing Paris*. He answered him; *That hee had left behinde his backe the goodliest Cities of Christendome. But they are not so great nor so well peopled*, said the Marshall *d'Ornano*. The people, answered the Constable, *add nothing to the excellency of Cities, although it helpe something for the strength of the State*. The Marshall asked him, *If he would not see the King*. He shewed by his answer, *That hee was not greatly curious, yet must hee see him, with the respect that was due to that Maiesty*. Hee came to Paris with a great traine. The King of Spaine, spares no cost on such occasions, and thinks no expences more royall, then those which make his gold to glister in the eies of strangers. Inlike sort, his Ministers and Ambassadors seeing themselves so well followed and serued, take delight in shewing the greatnesse of their Master, and are not silent when they must publish his power. *Mendoza* who neuer went out of his lodging but on horse backe, in Litter, or in Carrosse, with all his traine, although it were but to goe to the Church, the which was very neare his lodging, he neuer spake three words, but two was for the greatnesse of his Master, saying often, *That God was mighty in heauen, and the King of Spaine on earth*. Another going out of Rome to accompany the Pope, went with six Litters, six Carrosses, every one hauing six horses, two hundred Groomes, and threescore Carts for baggage, and all for a small journey. The Prince of Parmas traine was admirable and royall, shewing by his equipage the greatnesse of his Master whom he serued. The Constable of Castille did not hide it, neither in his words nor in his traine, hee had alwaies some words of ostentation to shew it.

He went to the Louvre and did see the King in his Cabinet, he entred with a good grace, but stately and proud, the which was suddenly conuerted into great humility, for approaching neare vnto his Maiesty (who was sitting in a Chaire) he kneeled vpon one knee, and continued so a little longer then he thought. The King tooke him vp, embraced him, and shewed him a very good countenance. Hee spake much to assure him that the King of Spaine held nothing more deare, then the preferuation of the peace; and vnto that time should greatly force his will, hee had no other power but to continue it in this resolution, and to bring forth fruits of great loue and friendship, the which is firme and constant betwixt equal powers. Hee heard from the King words of the same affection: then hee tooke his leaue to goe see the Queene. Going downe to crosse the Court, where he was attended by his people with forty torches of white wax, hee said to some of his Company; *That the King had receiued him with the Maiesty of a King, and had embraced him as his Kingman*.

Hauing done his duty vnto the Queene, he demanded leaue to goe and see the Dauphin. The King caused him to be conducted the next day to S. Germaine. Being arriued there, they gaue notice to his Gouvernesse, that the Constable was there with a great Trainee of Spaniards. At that word of Spaniards, the little Prince opened his eyes, and makes them speake it againe. They be Spaniards that come to see you; *Spaniards*, said the Prince, *say, say, giue me my Sword*. Who fo had not knowne that this word came from his owne motion, would haue thought that they had printed in his fantasie the same opinion which King *Charles* the 7, *Lewis* the 11, and *Charles* the 8 had had in their infancie of the English and Bourguignons. And if the Spaniards had heard him, the strangenesse of such a word would haue caused them to apprehend new worke, and to feare and beleue that which the French souldier faith, *That they must present Milan for the*

The Constable
comes to visit
the King.

He lets him
vnderstand his
Masters affecti-
on to the peace

He shutes the
Queene and
the Dauphin.

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the first attempt of this young Eaglet. The Constable admired his constant eye, and his Physiognomy, and was amazed at so great a boldness in that age, and so much judgment in that infancy. Monsieur the Dauphin told him tales in his language, and according to his understanding, as *Alexander* did to the Ambassadors of Persia. All the Spaniards did maue, and the more, for that the doore was open for the least of the traine. They see about him a goodly company of young Noblemen, *Alexander* Monsieur, the Prince of Longueville, and the three Sons of the Duke of Elspenon. The Constable of Castille past on to goe into Flanders, he came to Bruxelles, and descended at the Archdukes Palace, where he was well received, and from thence he past into England.

The Kings age.

Although the Subiect ought not to reckon the yeeres of his Prince, but to wish him a long and prosperous life, yet we must say, that with the end of the last year, the King began the four and fiftieth yeare of his age, a yeare which *Calb* held to bee ripe and well advanced, whereunto few Kings of France attained, and yet it hath nothing abated the vigor and strength of this Prince, who is active and disposed, and as lively as he was at the age of thirty yeares. Cares and yeares hauing onely made his beard white, it is true, that now he begins to feeble some flux of the gout. A discale which breeds with ease, and which comes to Princes rather by excess, then by trauell in their youth, and which is sooner gotten by the chase of *Venus*, then by that of *Diana*, there being no pleasure in the world which doth not carry some displeasure behind it. The best course is to repent the euill before they commit it, that is to say, to haue onely intended it, and the meanes to grow old, is neither to doe nor to care any thing through voluptuousnesse. A great condition or quality to whom all things are lawfull that please, will finde this rule of gouernment very hard. Great men commit great excess, and in the end they tast the fruits which they haue sowne. It is reason that after a time infirmities should cease, and cleare the troubles of their soules, as thunder and lightning doth purge the ayre, that diseases (as fore-runners of death, and porters of the prison wherein they are inclosed) should teach them that they are men, and subiect to humane miseries, that they are not raised vpon the Clouds, to be free from a world of miseries that are dispersed vpon the earth, and that they should remember that the more their delights abound, the more their strength decays, and that he that doth least, doth least harme, and passeth the daies of his life with more content and lesse grieve.

The King troubled with the gout.

The King would not complaine much of that little touch of the gout, for that it had beene but gentle, and when that after his recovery, the Courtiers did see him to weare furred boots, they said, It was more to hold the grieve in some reputation, then for any need he had. He did a publike act which hath particularities worthy to be knowne. I doe not forget these occasions, for that they supply the discourse of this History, without the which it should be constrained to seeke for matter far without the Realme: for secret things, and which are treated of in the Councell of the Cabinet, we must attend the knowledge thereof by the euent, which time shall discouer, and not trouble our selues to seeke out the Springs of Nilus. A father, how great and how powerfull foucer, cannot thinke too soone nor too often, to breed vpon the youth of his Child in vertue, nor to assure his fortune: I say a Child without distinction: for although the law doth distinguish Bastards from them that are lawfully begotten, yet Nature makes no difference. The King hauing determined to make *Alexander Monsieur* (his bafe son) of the order of the Knights of Malta, resolved to do it in time, that he might receiue the name & the effect. The great Master reputing it an honour to haue a Prince of their company, issued from so valiant and courageous a Race, sent all necessary expeditions. The King hauing receiued them, would haue the execution to be accompanied with a sumptuous and a stately ceremony. He caused the great Commander of France, & that of Champagne to come to Paris, & commanded them to call the greatest number of Commanders and Knights they could find: The King had chosen the *Augustines* Church for this effect, but the Commander of Ville-Dieu (being Ambassador of their Order) beseeched him, that it might be in that of their Temple, as one of the chiefe houses of the Order. On the Sunday morning the King and the Queene went in one Carosse, hauing *Alexander Monsieur* betwixt them, who was deliuered by the King vnto the grand Prior, who attended him at the first gate with all the Commanders and Knights. As the church was hung with the richest Tapistry that could be found, so was it filled with that which was of greatest worth in Paris. The

An assembly of the Knights of Malta. There were at this ceremony two Grand Priors, twelve Commanders, and fiftene Knights.

Princes

1603

A Princes, the Princeesses, the Cardinall of Gondy, the Popes Nuncio, many Bishops, the Ambassadors of Spaine and Venice, the Constable, the Chancellor, the seven Presidents of the Parliament, and the Knights of the order of the Holy Ghost. The ceremony began by the blessing of the Sword, and by the change of his habits, to let the Knight vnderstand, that he did bind himselfe to change his life, and to take vpon him the true ornaments of vertue, without the which all the pompe & felicity of the world is but winde and vanity: for being attired with white Satin, laid thicke with gold Lace, the sleeves whereof were garnished with rich Medailles, a Carcanet of stones crosse vnder his arme, a blacke velvet Cap, with a little white feather, and a band couered with great Pearles, he put on a Roabe of blacke Taffata, and was conducted nere vnto the great Altar, being accompanied with the Duke and Duchesse of Vendome, and followed by the Commander for the conduct of this ceremony. *Saincte Foy* Bishop of Neuers made him a little admonition of the greatnes and excellency of the order whereinto he entred. It is the first of Christendome, as that of the Germanes is the second. Of Calatraua the third, of *S. Iaques* in Spaine the fourth, of *S. Mary de la Mercede* in Arragon the fift, of Christ in Portugall the sixth, of *Saint Lazare* and *S. Maurice* in Sauoy the seuenth, of *S. Stephen* in Tuscane the eight. This exhortation ended, the Masse began, and after the Gospell, *Alexander Monsieur* presented himselfe vpon his knees before the Grand Prior of France, with a burning torch of white wax in his hand, to demand the Order. Hereat the King (who was set vnder a rich cloth of Estate of Purple Veluet embroidered, in the midst of the Quire) left his place, and coming nere to helpe him to answer, hee said aloud, That he left the ranke of a King, to doe the office of a Father. The Grand Prior gaue him the Order after the accustomed manner, and after Masse was done, as a new Knight he presented himselfe the second time to make profession. The King advanced againe, and promised for him, that coming nere to the age of sixteen yeares, he should make the vovues and profession perfect. They be the same vovues which religious men doe make, Obedience, Pouerty, and Chastity. He did his obedience in the same place, and then being disrobed, the Grand Prior set vpon his breast a plastron of blacke Satin, with a great white Crosse, and so the Ceremony ended with great joy and sounding of Trumpets. The new Knight feasted the Grand Priors of France and Champagne, with the Commanders and Knights at the Temple, and the King went to dine with *Zamet*.

The King doth the office of a Father.

This Order hath alwaies affected two sorts of Knights, some for seruice, and others for honour, and both for the greatnes, defence, and support of the Order. There haue bene Children of the greatest and mightiest houses of Christendome, who although they do no seruice in effect, (being dispensed withall) yet they profit their profession much, by the entertainment and communication of friendships and respects of their houses, to the common good of the Order. Others that are issued from the noblest Families of all the Nations of the world, are bound vnto actual seruice in the Iland, they haue all the Mediterranean Sea for the bounds of their exercise, and all the world for witnesses of their glory. After that they haue done the seruice which they owe vnto the Order, they cannot grow old in pouerty, and in this assurance they goe more willingly vnto all occasions that demand a proofe of their valour, being reasonable to hazard themselves in great enterprises, to merit great recompences.

Death of the Duchesse of Bar.

Let vs passe to the Duke of Lorraines Court, which we shall finde all in teares and mourning, for the death of the Lady *Catherine* of Bourbon, Duchesse of Barre, and the Kings onely Sister, shee had bene tormented with a continuall Feuer, and there were some signes of being with Child. All the Physicians said she was not with Child, onely maintained the contrary, and she beleegued his opinion, for that he was of the religion, neither would she take any thing but from his hands, for that he beleue that easily which we desire. She grew in choller against them which impured her disease to any other cause, saying: That they neither desired her contentment nor her husbands. She thought she could not endure too much to become a mother. This beleefe that she had a child in her body, made her to bring forth death, rejecting all kinds of remedies to preferre her fruit. If the Physician which administered to her as to a woman with child, had not fled to Metz, and from thence to Sedan, all his physike could not haue kept him from death. The profession of Physicians hath this priuiledge, that the Sunne sees their practice, and the earth hides their faults.

Priuiledge of Physicians.

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The

1603

The Duke of Lorraine did her no lesse honour after her death, then he had witnessed A in her life. He sent vnto the King an Inuentory of her Jewells. He caused the body to bee conducted vnto the Frontier of France, in a Carosse well appointed, couered with black Veluet, and drawne with foure horses, the foure Bailiffes of Lorraine caried the four corners of the cloth which couered the Coffin: three score Gentlemen marched before with the Guards. The Earle of Chaligny and some Noblemen of the Country went after it. There were twelue Swisses which marched on either side. It was receiued on the frontier by those whom the King had appointed. The Inhabitants of Troyes would haue recieued it with a Canopy, but *intelle* thought it not fit, neither would the King haue taken it well. She was much lamented by the Duke of Bar, who could not haue bene B husband to a better wife, nor the wife to a better husband. The fifth yeare of their marriage was with as great respect and loue as the first. The affections of this Prince and this Princeesse were in such harmony, that besides the diuersity of religion, you would haue said they were but one soule, not in two bodies, but in one called by two names: for they spake with one mouth, and thought with one heart. And if there bee any content in dying, amidst the contents of this world, this Princeesse protested, That she had neuer content in this world more perfect then in Lorraine. The Duke of Lorraine and the D. of Bar, desired as well to see her satisfied for doubts of Religion. They conured her in the extremity of her sickness to thinke of her soules health, but she said vnto them, That she would dye as she had liued. Shee was no more forced in the exercise of her Religion C at Nancy then at Nerae. True it is, that she went to receiue the Communion without the towne, and had preaching and praiers in her house, but for her selfe onely and her followers, without the which shee had bene much honoured by the Lorraines, and at that time more then before, the Pope hauing granted a dispensation of the marriage. When the newes of her death was brought vnto the King, the chiefe of his Councell came presently to apply some remedy to this wound. He found that they came to that end, and therefore he commanded them to leaue him alone, and that he would resolute with God. He caused the doores and windowes of his Cabinet to be shut, casting himselfe vpon his bed, to weepe more freely, and to ease his griefe in the liberty of his sighs. D All the Court did mourne, and the Ambassadors presented themselves in that habit vnto the King, to condole this death in the behalfe of their Masters. The Popes Nuncio was somewhat troubled in this complement, and would not mourne at an accident, for the which those of his profession could not weepe. The King said, That he would not tye him to it against his liking, but he would be glad not to see him vntill his time of mourning were past. Some other would not haue spoken so mildly: and we know that Princes haue shewne strange effects of their choller, against Ambassadors that haue failed in the honour and respect of these complements. The Nuncio being better aduised, resolu- ed to apply himselfe to the time, and to doe as the rest, thinking it would not bee taken ill at Rome, knowing that he did it onely to please the King, and to haue audience. But he had some difficulty to decypher himselfe when he was to speake vnto the King; for he could not vnder one habit play two contrary personages, neither had hee words in his mouth, nor teares in his eyes for this sort. He that will ease anothers griefe, must shew, that he hath a part and feeling thereof. He went after another manner, and his spirit did fit him with another kind of complement, the which although it were free, yet was it not vnpleasing. He said vnto the King, That such as knew what he was, & in whose name he spake, would wonder at the office which he did, but he had more occasion then any other, for that all lamented the losse of the body, but his Master, the losse of the soule. The King said vnto him, That he beleued his Sister was saved, for that in the last gaspe an extreame griefe might cary her right into heauen: the Nuncio replied, My Lord, that discourse is more Metaphysicall then Physicall, and to they both entred into other talke. F

The King of Spaine and the Archdukes had the yeere before set an imposition of thirty for the hundred, vpon all merchandize that should come in or go out of their dominions. This was secretly to forbid the French to traffike into their countries, & openly to break the Treaty of Veruins. This Imposition did very much trouble, and in a manner put all our Townes which traffike commonly into Spaine and Flanders, into a mutiny. The King could not in the beginning perfwade himselfe, that they would tye his subjects to the obsecration of this charge, commanding his Ambassadors which resided with those

A marriage of great content.

After five years unlaundered by the King, the Pope granted a dispensation of the marriage.

The Kings sorrow or the death of his sister.

The D. of Muscou caused an Ambassadors hat to be nailed to his head.

Imposition of thirty in the hundred in Spaine.

1603

A those Princes, to expostulate the matter, and to aduertise him thereof. Their answers, and the rigor they vsed afterwards to his Maiesties subjects to make them pay the Imposition, did witness sufficiently that they would not exempt them. To obferue some equality in the entercourse of publike trafficke betwixt the subjects of the three Princes, the King imposed the like custome vpon all Merchandize, that should come out of the Dominions of the King of Spaine, and of the Arch-dukes into France, and vpon those which should be transported out of France into their Countries. These burthenome impositions, the rigours wherewith they were exacted, the abuse and deceipts which were committed in receiving thereof, could not induce the two brother-in-lawes to make the trafficke free as it ought to be betwixt good neighbours, which desire to enioy the fruits of peace which God hath giuen them, as the King protested he would doe, by his declaration, and had alwaies shewed it by the effects.

The French King moued did the like.

So to redeme his subjects from the losses and vexations which they receiued by this Imposition, the King by the aduice of his Councell, did forbid all his subjects in generall, to transport any kind of Merchandize, without exception, vnto any place vnder the obedience of the King of Spaine, and the Arch-dukes in Flanders; and the entry into his Realme, of all those that might come out of their Countries and Estates. And to the end that the effect of his intentions might not be made frustrate, to the contempt of his ordinances, by such as might lade Merchandize in France, and afterwards cause them to be transported into the said Princes countries, he ordained that all strangers, subjects to other Princes and Common-weales, to whom he allowed free trafficke into his Realme, before they should depart from those places where they had laden the Merchandize which they meant to transport, should giue in good and sufficient caution before the Officers of the Port, to bring backe within a certaine time prefixed, a certificate from the Officers and Magistrates of those places, whither they pretended to cary the said Merchandize, by the which it might truly appeare, that they had bene discharged there: and if it should bee afterwards verified, that they had bene laden againe, and caried to any forbidden places, the Sureties should bee answerable. And it should bee lawfull for the Kings Iudges and Officers to commence sute against them and their posteritie.

Traffick into Spaine and Flanders forbidden.

The Merchants of the coast Towne produced many great reasons to moue him to take away this Imposi- but his Maiesty did oppose others that were more important the which made him obstinate in this defence. He himselfe receiued the greatest preiudice, for his farmes were much diminished. But he desired in this point as in all other, to doe the office of a good father to his people, and rather suffer this losse for himselfe, then to see an infinit number of families to fall into ineuitable ruine, by Bankrupts which these insupportable Impositions would make.

Desire and hope of gaine, would make Merchants to sle through fire, if there were no other passage, rather then to lose any occasion of profit: yet notwithstanding many did by the meanes of Strangers traffike into forbidden places. Neither is there any Decree which couetousnesse, and the Trechery of Officers wil not violate: wherefore the King did by a second defence adde corporal punishment, with confiscation of Merchandize against them that should infringe it, their fauourers, counsellors, or abettors, and giuing the moiety thereof vnto the informers: enioyning the Merchant which should haue any Merchandize in the Sea-ports, and frontire Townes, to cause them to be marked and inrolled by his Officers, to auoide the abuse and fraud which might be committed against his intention: whereunto the corporal punishment of some forced others to obey.

Some thought that these bitter proceedings should soone alter the peace of Veruins: yet it continued and remained firme and irremovable: neither was there any breach, but some complaints which the two Kings made one of another. King Philip began, being offended, that the French going voluntarily to serue the Estates, prolonged their Rebellion and delayed the reduction of Ostend: That the King did succor them with money and men, with other necessaries belonging to warre, and that he had forbidden his Subjects to traffike into Spaine and Flanders. But it is impossible for Princes to impose such strong threats vnto their subjects, but they will passe them to conuey themselves into forraigne Countries, and it is sufficient satisfaction, that they disanow such a dispence with themselves to goe and serue another without leaue, as the King did them which went to serue the Estates. That if he did assist them with money, hee did but restore that which they had lent

Philip of Spaine complains.

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Philip of Spain
complains.

1603

lent him, and did pay by retayle the grosse which hee had receiued in his necessity. As A for the defence of trafficke, it tended to no other end, but to force the King of Spaine and the Archduke, to discharge that intolerable Imposition, and to make him know that France can better liue without the commodities of Spaine, then Spaine without those of France.

The King for his part complained, but with Iustice and Reason. For (sayd hee) I impart my designes to very few men, and yet they are presently discovered to my enemies. The King of Spaine will he neuer leaue to corrupt the fidelity of my subiects? will he alwaies entertaine some traitor within my Realme? my Ambassador complains vnto me by his letters, that he is so ill informed of affaires, and so late, that the King of Spaines Ministers know of them before him. As his Maiesty was much troubled to know from what Spring did rise this pestilent liquor of Trechery, behold, God doth lay open the iniquity of *Indas*, by means which humane wisdom could not foresee. *Villeroy* (that great French Oracle, who deliueurs the answers of the affaires of the Realme, who knows the most secret, and doth manage the greatest) was serued by one *Nicholas Losse* borne at Orleans, and with the more confidence, for that his father had spent most of his yeares in his seruice. *La Rocheport* going to reside Ambassadour in Spaine, *Losse* desired to bee entertained by him, and to serue him as a Secretary, and to fashion himselfe to affaires. The recommendation of *Villeroy* gaue him an easie access, by the which in few moneths he made himselfe so capable both for the language and fashion of the Countrey, as he might well be taken for a naturall Spaniard. The Ambassador hauing sworn the Treaty of Veuins in the name of the most Christian King, the King of Spaine presented him with a rich chaine of Stones, and with six others of gold of an hundred and fifty crownes apiece, to honor so many of his chiefe Followers. The pride and presumption of this young man made him thinke he should be of this number, seeing that a companion of his had bene found worthy, and his master did not thinke that his youth and small experience, did so soone merit to be placed in the first ranks of his seruice.

As the Humors of Bodies that are altered, doe insensibly peruert the health: So the deuill insinuates into the hearts of men, if they giue him any little entrance. Enuy and Icalousie were the windowes by the which hee slipped into the soule of *Losse*. Vanity, Lying, Pride, Luxury, and excesse of youth gaue him full entry. Hee had spent all his money to purchase the loue of a Curtizan, and saw no great meane how he should bee able to furnish this great expence of luxury, the which notwithstanding he would not giue ouer. His Masters disdain had made him mad, but he knew the secrets of his cabinet, and discouering them to the King of Spaines Ministers, he giues two strokes with one stone, he is reuenged of this contempt, and preuented the shame which followed him, not to be able to continue his amorous bounty. With this designe he makes himselfe known to *Don Francisco*, one of the Secretaries of the State, and shewes him the consideration for the which he is resolu'd to giue certaine proofes of the seruice which hee had long vow'd vnto the Catholike King, the which hee could easily performe, hauing the charge of the dispatches which the French Ambassador receiued and sent vnto the King his master. *Don Francisco* heares this proposition, as coming from a young man whose brain was not so well settled, as it did merit much credit; or it may be abhorring the trechery of this bad seruant, who held him like vnto himselfe. The Catholike King sayd he (but coldly) hath so good correspondency with the French King, as he desireth not to know of his affaires, but so farre as his Ambassador shall informe him. *Losse* yeelds not at this repulse. He knows that mens spirits being diuers may produce diuers aduices, and beleues that some other will lend him his eare with more attention, and his heart with more affection. *Talaeques* another Secretary of Estate, considering how much it did import a Prince, to know his neighbours secrets: That by reason of State they must buy them with Gold that can reueale them, and must try all meanes to effect it: That the contempt of so rare an encounter will be against his masters seruice, and the duty of his charge: he gaue eare to the reasons of this Traitor, and tasted them: he exhorted him to persist in this good affection, which he shewed to procure the contentment and seruice of the Catholike King: hee promised to make the report vnto the King his master, and giues him his word that this affection of his should be rewarded with a bountifull recompence.

The Councell thinke it fit that *Losse* should be heard. *Talaeques* makes him to speake with

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A with the Duke of Lerma, whom lately they called Marquis of Denia. He shewes him the Alphabet of Cipher, by the which the Ambassador his Master did write vnto the King. And for a proofe he deciphered vnto the Secretary his Maiesties last dispatch. The Duke inuities him to continue to produce the effects, whereof he had giuen him his word: Hee causeth twelue hundred Crownes to be deliuered him as an earnest peny of the bargain, by the which this Traitor sold both his Master and the King, and assures him of the like yearly Pension, and of so large a remuneration as hee should haue cause to extoll the bounty of Spaine. From henceforth the French Ambassador receiueeth not any dispatch, but the Councell of Spaine is duly informed thereof. But *Rocheport* being called home, as we haue said, it depriued this Traitor of all meanes to continue his Trafficke, and by consequence to merit the payment of the Conuentions which he had made and ratified. He must therefore discouer the secrets of the Councell in France, and finds meane to returne into his first masters seruice: But he was kept backe by a controuersie which *Villeroy* had with his mother, vpon some remainder of Accompts. Notwithstanding, hee was farre engaged in the affections of Spaine, and had rather beare this losse out of the portion which fell vpon him by his father, then to see himselfe by his mothers disgrace excluded from all entry into his fauour which he affected. The Ambassador also hauing at his instant suite giuen testimony of his fidelity and diligence, made his returne easie into his Masters Cabinet. Being thus restored, he becomes more subiect, more aduice, and more diligent, then all the rest: yea he offers to helpe his companions: but with a designe, that hauing also knowledge of the dispatches which passed through their hands, he might giue the better aduice to the Ministers of Spaine, and assure them of his deuotion to their seruice.

He did often visit and conferre with *Taxu* Ambassador for Spaine; and after his Ambassage ended, with Doctor *Balthazar* of Suniga his Successour, yea so slyly as the dispatches came sooner to the Councell of Spaine, then to *Des Barreaux* Ambassador for France, who aduertised the King, that when he propounded his Maiesties commandments to the Councell, he found them as well and sooner instructed then himselfe, neither could he discouer by what practice it came. It must be of necessity (said the King) that one D of my Councell hath great intelligences with him of Spaine, and yet I know not whom to suspect. The eternall Providence doth often draw very good effects from exceeding bad causes; as one nayle driues out another: so hee suffers that the wicked shall discouer the trecheries one of another. *Losse* had had secret conference with one *Raffis*, who had bene sometimes Secretary to *Lausac*, and a fugitiue into Spaine, for many disloyalties which had made him become a Pensioner to Spaine. But they had begun to shorten his pension since the treason of *Fontenelles* Gouvernor of Dornauent in Brirany, whereof he had bene one of the chiefe instruments: and as by the discouery of his treason, *Raffis* had no more meanes to serue the Councell of Spaine, so they held him for an vnprofitable mouth, and cut off his Pension. From that time hee receiued no other commoditie but a free access and vncontroleable admittance vnto some of the chiefe of the Councell, who notwithstanding did not looke on him with so chearfull an eye, as when they drew from him instructions conformable to their intentions.

Raffis finds himselfe now reduced to that extremity, as he is ready to fall into great poverty & misery, on the other side, he sees a goodly occasion offered to preuent it, and a great gate opened, not onely to returne into his Countrey, but also to merit an abolition of his fautes, with a notable recompence for so great a seruice which he might do vnto his naturall Prince. Hee therefore directeth himselfe to one in whom the Ambassador did much rely, and tels him how much hee is grieved to haue bene a dealer in the troubles and Rebellions of France, whereof hee did confesse, that God had alwayes shewed himselfe Protector against all assaylants: That he desired to deface the memory thereof, and to repair them by a notable seruice, which did very much import the King, France, and all Christendome. That although hee did little esteeme the hazard of his life, for so iust and holy a worke, yet would he not aduenture it, but with a generall abolition of that which made him guilty towards his Maiesty. This report made vnto the Ambassador, hee heares *Raffis*, who tels him in general termes, that the King is betrayed, that his designes and most secret affaires are discouered, but he would not name the Traitor, but vnto his Maiesty himselfe. That his pardon being come, hee will free himselfe both heart and body

Losse discouered by another Traitor.

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body from those which he hath sufficiently known to be sworn Enemies to the Realme. A The Ambassador doth aduertise the King hereof by a confident man. The King gives him authority to treat with *Raffis*. Hee could not verifie his accusation, but by two Letters written by *Losse*, to a great friend of his named *Blas*, a man of the same metall, the which he knew were in a box which *Blas* had, who lodged with him, for the getting of them they find meanes to send *Blas* vnto the Escuriall. In his absence, *Raffis* and *Descardes* the Ambassadors Secretary, breake the Boxe, and take out the Letters, by the which *Losse* did greatly extoll the bounty of the Spanish Ambassador, as exceeding the merit of his seruices. With this iustificacion, and the French Ambassadors dispatch, *Raffis* made them go vnto a Monastery neere vnto Madrill, there to passe the Feast of Palme Sunday, as he had bene accustomed to doe at solemne Feasts, being opposite to the way of France, to take away all suspition: but he came to Bayona with *Descardes* at a certaine day. *Blas* returned, the Feast-day being passed, his Boxe being opened, and the Company absent, made him thinke what it was. The King of Spaines Ministers are presently aduertised, who instantly dispatched two Carriers to the Ambassador, to let him know that there was one gone, who without doubt would discouer the intelligences & practises of *Losse*. That he should haue a care of his safety, that being not able to be auerred but by his mouth, he should be instructed (if he were taken) religiously to obserue the lawes of Silence.

Descardes and *Raffis* being come to Paris vpon Easter Tuesday, they shewed a great fidelity, but not so much discretion as a businesse of that importance did require, *Villeroi* C went the same day to lye at his house, to be the next day at Fontainebleau, where the court was. And hauing met them at Luvill, they did accompany him vnto *Villeroi*, but did not aduertise him on the way of the cause of their coming, nor speake of the treachery of his man, but in deliuering their dispatch at his arriual. Without doubt hee would haue neglected all other affaires, to assure himselfe of his traitor, who then finished his deuotion at the Charter-houise Convent.

The next day he doth earlly acquaint the King with the coming of *Raffis*, and the detestable and vnexpected Treason of an vngratefull wretch, whose father and himselfe had neuer had better fortune but in his house. As he returns to his lodging, hee vnderstands that two Spanish Carriers are come to the Post-houise. He commands one of the Deputies of the Poste to carry them into a Chamber, and that no man might speak with them: and to *Descardes* to watch for the coming of *Losse*, and not abandon him but presently to aduertise him thereof. But both the Deputie and *Descardes* doe commit a great error: for *Losse* being come in Post about Noone, this vnadvised Deputie tells him, that there were two Posts come out of Spaine, who inquired of him, and had letters for him: and to adde more to his indiscretion, hee suffers him to goe vp to their Chamber, and to see them. Hauing saluted them, one of them told him in his care, that hee was vndone vnlesse hee fled, and that *Raffis* had discovered him. Terror, amazement, his conscience (whereof he could not suffer the testimonie) and the horror of the iust punishment of his wickednesse, doe easily perswade this wretch to fly, whom the Furies of hell doe violently pursue. Yet he assures his countenance as well as he could. Hee goes out with an intent to take horse, and to recover some place of safety. *Descardes* and *Raffis* find it. *Descardes* salutes him; who (it may be) thinking himselfe sufficient to giue an accompt of his person, was not curious to aduertise *Villeroi*, who was then in his Cabiner with the Bishop of Chartres. The presence of *Descardes* was troublesome to *Losse*: to be rid of him, he said, he would go to his master who attended him. *Descardes* offers to accompany him: he then pretended that hee had not dined, and thinking they had done at the lodging, he would seeke it in a Tauerne. Neither haue I (sayd the other) we will dine together. Finding *Descardes* to follow him in this manner, hee seeks another euasion. I am weary (said he) my Bootes trouble me: *Descardes* adds, that hee desired to drink with him, and that he would be better after dinner. Thus discoursing together, they entred into *Villerois* lodging. *Descardes* leaves him in the chamber, being ignorant that the Carriers had spoken with him, and draws neere vnto the Cabiner, thinking that he had brought him into the snare. But when as he found himselfe free, he goes downe into the Stable, where finding his horse saddled, he flies directly to Paris. *Villeroi* is in the meane time aduertised that his man is come, he commands that hee should enter: but they finde him not, nor his horse in the Stable, neither can they coniecture which way he is gone.

Losse escapes
and is pursued.

Villeroi

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Villeroi aduertiseth his Maiesty of his escape: and they send out of all sides to follow him. *Losse* coming to Paris about nine of the clocke at night, he went to take counsell of the Spanish Ambassador, and before the breake of day he departed disguised like a Spaniard, with the Ambassadors Steward to conduct him, taking the way to Meaux to recouer Luxembourg in profile. To encourage all men to seeke after this traitor, it was giuen out, that one of *Villerois* Secretaries had attempted against his Maiesties person. They described his stature, his age, his apparrell, and his horse. The Prouosts of Marshalls went to field. They had forbidden all Poste-masters to giue any horses. But hee of Meaux had notice giuen too late, he was already on horse-backe. But when he began to gallop, his horse falling, B gaue his rider a heauy peflage of some occurrent ill. Being re-mounted, hee seemed so amazed, as the Guide thought hee had committed some wicked act, for the which he fled. He aduertised his master thereof at his returne, who remembering the defence which had bene made, presumed that this was he which was in question. Hee presently went to the Prouost Marshall, who prepared to pursue him. Passing the Riuer of Marne, the Prouost learns that hee could not bee farre from the first Poste: and coming to the second Boat neere vnto La Ferte vnder Iouarre, hee findes that hee was then passing the riuer: but the force and feare which those Runaways offered vnto the Fermien, preyaued more then the Prouosts commandements and threats. Being past, they thought their Poste-horses would be presently ouer-taken by the great horses which C they imagined to be at their backes, who leauing their Guide, commit their safety to the swiftnesse of their feet, during the darknesse of the night, through the thick bushes which did grow vpon the banks of Marne. The Prouost disperseth his Archers, makes fires in the field, and sets the Country-men to search. The Spaniard got away: *Losse* went creeping from bush to bush, so terrified with the apprehension of Iustice which he could not auoid, as hearing the Prouost and his men beating the bushes with their swords, hee desired rather to free his body from the feeling of the punishment which his treason had deserued, and to abandon his soule to the iudgement of God. At the breake of day his hat being seene betwixt two posts whereas the current of the water had stayed it, made them presume that the carcase was not farre off. He was found there by the *Abbesse of Iouarre* men D who (as Lady of the Iustice of that place) required that the processe might be instructed and made by her Officers. The Prouost of Paris and hee of the Kings house did also consent to haue knowledge thereof. In the end it was renoued and retained in the Parliament by a decree made the 10 of May: the body was drawne from the Chaflet (where they had exposed it to ignominie, according to the custome in such actions) and caried to the prison of the Conciergiere, and the 15 day following, was layd vpon a hurdle & dragged into the Greue, and drawne in sunder with foure horses, and his quarters set vpon foure wheeles at the chiefe approaches of Paris. A worthy reward of an vnworthy Treacherie, which he deserued, if the eternall Prouidence had not otherwise disposed, that he should haue bene sensible of those torments, whose desperate death was happy for E those which could not hope for any health, if any other more pittifull end had giuen him meanes to discouer their practises. This was very displeasing vnto the King, for that this wretch had smothered with his life, that which might haue giuen him light in many things importing his seruice, but exceeding griuous vnto *Villeroi*, for that the full knowledge of the Traytors designs, and of the wickednesse of his Confederates was forbidden: moreover, that hauing bred him vp, and bound him by the effects of his fauour and loue, hee was so sensible of the ingratitude and treachery of this monster, as hee could neither ease nor sleepe. Besides, as the greatest dignities are most subiect to enuy and slander, hee did foresee that his enemies would take occasion to taxe his loyalty, to blemish his reputation, and if they could, to ruine his fortune. Yet hee had this great consolation, F that although hee held the estate of this Realme as it were in his hand, the King knows that he doth not breathe any thing, but what is of his seruice. His Maiesty visiting him to confirme him in this consolation, would haue the world know, that he hath alwaies caried the marke of a good seruant, and the integrity of his conscience did serue him as an inextinguishable rampart against all his ill-willers.

Soone after, the King discouered a new practice against his seruice, and the Dauphins. The windes are inuisible, but they that blow them to gather these clouds together were well knowne, and from what coast they came. They were but sparkes of fire, as soone quenched

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quenched as kindled. The King did write vnto some of his chiefe and principall seruants A in these termes: You must take it for a good signe, that you heare so seldome from me by letter, for it is a signe that all is well, God be thanked, as well for my person, as for my affaires. The Spaniards would willingly haue more matter and oftner, for they cannot desist from their ordinary practices to corrupt my seruants. I haue of late discovered some new designe, in the which my Nephew the Count of Auvergne and the Seigneur of Entragues are named, the which they haue willingly aduowed and confessed. But I haue taken for good an order as no inconuenience shall happen.

Creating of
new Cardinals.

The ninth of Iune, the Pope created eightene Cardinalls, not according to the passion of great Princes that had intreated him, nor to the liking of his kins-men, knowing that his Predecessors had conferred those dignities vpon vnworthy persons, set Scarlet Hat vpon heads without vnderstanding, and giuen *Pasquin* occasion to complaine, that some approached neere to Saint Peters Chaire that were more stones, and had lesse braines then he had: The King had recommended many great Prelates of France to be remembered at the first promotion, to supply their places that were dead. Among them that were newly created, there were two French & two Spaniards. The Spanish Ambassador made great instance to haue more, and not to haue his Master equalled by the French King. The first in the list was *Seraphin Olinari* Patriarke of Alexandria, by race an Italian, but borne at Lions, one of the most iudicious Prelates of his age: only vertue advanced him to this dignity, and the King made great instance for him by *Bethunes* his Ambassador. C *James Day* Bishop of Eureux receiued the like Honour by the Kings recommendations. His seruices in reconciling the King with the Pope, his learned Writings, and his knowledge in Diuinity, did worthily purchase him this honour. The rest were all Italians except *Bernard Maizetion* Bishop of Cracovia a Polonian. Cardinal *Aluobrand* did also advance *Hermínio* his Secretary to this honour, of whom there is so much spoken in the discourse of the Warres of Sauioy. *Anselme Marzat* a Capuchin of Monopoli was forcibly drawne into the number by the Popes expresse commandement, hauing once refused this dignity, and professing with teares of the iniurie that was done vnto Saint Francis and the strict rules of his Order. Of all the eightene that were made Cardinalls, D there was not any but this Capuchin but did affect it, and many others that did expect it were disappointed. There was some teare left the controuersie betwixt the Count of Fuentes and the Grisons should draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religion. The reason of this trouble grew, for that he would force the Grisons to breake the alliance they had made the last yeare with the Vencians, and to make that which they had with France fruitlesse. The King aduertised of these practices, commanded *De Vic* his Ambassador to goe vnto Coire, and to represent vnto that people the wrong they should doe vnto their reputations in forsaking their faith and obseruation of their Treaties. Out of the discourse which *De Vic* did vnto them, to perswade them to the keeping of their word, these points were collected of the inuolable firmnesse of their word and oath. There must be many acts of vertue to purchase and maintaine a great and good reputation, one only action to the contrary doth ouerthrow it, and smoothers the remembrance thereof. It is gotten by many commendable and vertuous actions, but that which proceeds from constancy and generosity in the obseruation of promises, is so much the more commendable, for that it is grounded vpon Faith and Religion, which bee the two pillars that doe assure and maintaine Estates.

Troubles be-
twixt the Gri-
sons and the
Count of
Fuentes.

De Vics dis-
course vnto
the Grisons.

Religion one
of the pillars
of a State.

The Ancients haue said that Faith was the Foundation of Iustice, the honour of Heauen and Earth, without the which the world could not continue in peace, and they erected her Altar neere vnto that of thundring *Iupiter*, to shew that God is the Rewerger of the breach of Faith. And Religion is so proper to Man, and to the society of Men, that as Man cannot be Man without it, so there is no Nation how barbarous soeuer, that liues without some shadow of Religion. As they haue the best part of essence and the solemnitie of Alliances and confederations, in the which God is called on as a witnesse and Iudge of their intentions that doe promise and binde themselves; so is hee greatly wronged in the breach of promises. And therefore the commendations that are giuen to many Nations are held vaine and ridiculous, being separated from this constant and immutable affection of keeping their faith. As the Greekes haue beene commended for many actions of Valour and Vertue, the which notwithstanding vanish away shamefully, in

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A in the reproach which hath alwayes beene made vnto them, to deny their words easily, and neuer to binde themselves, but with an intent to hold. And contrariwise, the memory of the Faith and constancie of the Romanes is immortal, who abhorred the breach of promises, and held it an inexcusable crime to violate Treaties. It is not armes alone, but the constancie of Religion and their faith giuen, that had raised them to so great a power, as they held in their hands the Reynes of all the Prouinces of the habitable Earth. In the beginning, the neighbour people did not esteeme them as a City; but rather a campe of Thebes, a nest of Tyranny, and a Citadell in the midst of them, to trouble and practise all the furies of their ambition. But when as they vnderstood that Faith only and a simple path (all feare of punishment laid aside) did gouerne the Citie, they grew to such Reuerence and respect, as they held it a greater happinesse, to obey a people so generous in their actions, so constant in their words, and so religious in their oaths, then to command over others. The formes of the Common-weale of the Grisons haue great conformities with the politicke and militarie Lawes of the Romanes: and as it yeelds nothing vnto them in Valour and Generositie, so hath it alwayes preferred (like vnto them) the Religion of their word and promise, holding publique faith the Foundation and Ground-woke of Estates, as Treachery is the plague and ruine thereof. This sufficeth to shew how odious the perswasions or rather practices and Inclinations of those should bee, that counsell them to reuoke the Alliance, made and sworne with the Common-weale of C Venice.

The estate of
ancient Rome.

Wee must cherish and respect the counsels and remedies of such as loue the sick Patient, but wee must suspect all things that come from the hand of a Neighbour that is an enemy; they minister nothing, how sweet so euer, which causeth not great motions and alterations in the body. His Hony is worse then that of Cholchos, which did not infect the heart, nor trouble the vnderstanding but for a day. In the distinction and choice of aduice, wee must preferre those that preserve Honour, and augment Posteritie, before those that dissolve the concord and quiet of an Estate. Those (saide a great Orator to the Athenians) are to bee credited that counsell to entertaine alliances with friends: for there is nothing more befitting a free City, then the care and loue of Equity and Iustice. Those D that by their policies and ruggenesse, would separate the Grisons from the alliance of their friends, haue happely some designs vpon their liberty, the which they cannot execute better then by cutting off the number of their friends, the which can neuer bee too great, how great and mighty soeuer they be: And if they haue not this designe, yet their counsell is alwayes vniust, seeing the effect concerns the shame and ignominie of this Nation, which cannot goe from the truth of their promises, vlesse they will bee generally taxed for treachery and basenesse. A reproach so much the more to be feared, being certain that as soone as a Common-weale hath giuen any subiect to doubt of her faith, the must inuent new formes of Religion to purchase credit with other Estates, and vnknewne people, to trust vnto their promises: for such as know the deceiuers, will auoid the deceit. And although among the corruptions of our age, sinning and dissembling bee esteemed vertues, and haue in the opinion of the vulgar, notable qualities and operations, yet among those that haue contained themselves within the bounds of ancient Integrity, and know not the policies and deceits of the new-comers, the people that are defamed for treachery and disloyalty lose all their friends.

And in the end this alliance hath beene sworne by the most solemnne acts of Religion. The name of the liuing God (who should not bee taken in vaine, and is polluted by the lightnesse of an oath) hath been called vpon. It is an extreme impiety, to make that Soueraine spirit, that Infinite, Immutable, and Incomprehensible Essence, who is all Iustice and all Truth, a witnesse of our basenesse and lying, that the Holinesse of his name should counter our dissembling; his Iustice, our wrong; his Truth, our deceit; and approue that which naturall reason cannot allow of. And this bond of faith giuen, is of such necessitie, as it must be kept euen with enemies, whereof that great Captaine *Iulius* hath left a memorable example, refusing to breake the Treatie which he had made with the Gabionites, Pagan Infidels: although he had discovered their Deceit, and was intreated by the chiefe of the army to lose their alliance. The answer he gaue them, was grounded vpon Reason, saying; *That they had giuen them their faith, and that they must feare lest the fury of God (by whose name they had sworne) should come vpon them.*

Aa aaa

There

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The great promises of the Count of Fuentes to the Grifons.

Refutation of the Grifons.

An alliance purchased did honorabie.

There was great difficulty to retaine these people inclining to change, vpon the huge and copious promises made them by the Count of Fuentes. They could not resolute in their Councils. The weight and burthen of will and hope caried them away. Hee would reduce them to extreame necessitie, taking from them the Commerce of Milan, without the which they could not live. The Grifons estate is meere popular, consisting of six and twenty Commonalties, the which are divided into three Cantons. It is a difficultie to finde any thing equall, constant, or well aduised among so many heads bred vp in the Maximes of a Democratic. The Count of Fuentes had debauched foure, who had like to haue corrupted and polluted the rest, as a little Leuaine marries a great lump of Dough. For they stucke onely vpon money, which the one demanded, and the other offered. Hee gaue so go od entertainment to the Ambassadors that came to him to Milan, as they passed as many Articles as hee pleased, applying themselves to his humour of Peace, which being dishonorable, is of worse condition for Free-men then Warre it selfe. But when at their returne they would haue drawne the people to allow thereof, the Ambassador of France arised so happily, as he let them vnderstand the preiudice and wrong that they did vnto themselves. So as the best aduised being informed of this surprize, rescolued not to stray from the obleration of the Alliances of France and Venice, nor to depend for their passages, vpon the aduice and command of the Count of Fuentes nor of his successors, as he had bound them by his Articles, presuming that he could defend with the sword, that which hee had gotten with Gold. True it is, that they made offer to enter into a new Capitulation of all that might bee without preiudice to their Alliances, to assure a good Neighbourhood with the State of Milan, so as the Count of Fuentes would demolish the Fort within fix moneths vpon their Frontier. The great Cantons of the Suisses were actors in this businesse, perswading the Grifons to trust rather to courage then to the safety of their Mountaines. Matters continued in great suspence. They sent often to Milan, and what was concluded there was dissolved in the Assembly of the people, by the friends of this Crowne, and by the wisdom of the Kings Ambassador, who said plainly that his Maiesty would leaue their Alliance, if they made not a Declaration that might content him. Those iudgements that were found and not preiudicate, found it reasonable, and in this reason the honour of their faith, and the reputation of their estate; as contrariwise they thought it could not bee an act of glory to sell their alliance, as it was not commendable for the Spaniards to buy it, if they were of the Romanes humour, who neuer fought that by gold, which they might doe by the sword. But against these apparant reasons, the Count of Fuentes had so many tricks and deuices, as the Ambassador of France had much adoe to retaine this people; who promised in words not to forsake the Alliance of France and Venice, doing the contrary in effect. In former times it was incredible that the Suisse, so great an enemy to the House of Austria, from whose subiectie they had revolted, and the Grifon so contrarie to the Spanish fashions, would incline that way, and contradict the very feeling of Reason and Nature. The Truth hath freed the doubt, and let vs see that it is of this people as of Vinegar, the which neuer freezeth for that it is extremely cold. The Suisses and Grifons (for that they are enemies to the Spaniards) will not haue the power of Spaine to be their enemy.

The bad successe of this busines did not concerne France and the Venecians alone; the best aduised did fore-see that it might draw a ciuill Warre into Italy, vnder the pretext of Religion. Many Commanders and Captaines Grifons, not able to endure the rigour and threats of the Count Fuentes, were solicited by them of their Beliefe and Religion (lurking in Italy) to hold good, and to attend vntill the Lord came from Edom to disperse their enemies, and to beleue that as there is no warre more glorious then that which is vnderaken to free their Countrey from seruitude, so there is none more iust then that which is made to deliuer Consciences from Tyranny, and that both in the one and the other occasion, it is a great happinesse and delectation to sacrifice their liues. The King sent aduice thereof to Rome for the consequence and danger of Religion. Hee did also pacifie the diuision of the people of Valais, who were in Armes, and ready to come to a generall combat for the same quarrell. In the meane time the Grifons remained betwixt the doubtfullnesse of Warre, and the discommodities of Peace, and as in the breeding of such Diuisions, free and curious spirits cannot retaine their passions, they made

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A made Pasquins in Italy vpon this subiect, and the Spanish braueries were not mute, the which the Grifons answered with like humour. If the Venecians who were the cause of all the mischiefe, would haue spoken and set their hand to the worke as they ought, the Count of Fuentes (who did more by example then by any authoritie) would haue intreated the Grifons more mildly. But besides, that Common-weales are not good for an offensive Warre, these Seigneuries who would not hazard any thing, but preferre present and assured things before that which was past and perillous, would haue beene content to haue enjoyed that which they desired without any trouble.

There was a generall assembly held at Illant, at one of the corners of the Grifons, where after great diuersitie of opinions, it was concluded by the greater part, that (seeing the Ambassadors had through their auarice defamed their Legation, and siffered the Count of Fuentes to binde the liberty of their aduice with chaines of Gold, and had exceeded the instructions that were given them) the last Treatie made at Milan, should bee declared void, and of none effect, if the alliance of France and that of Venice were not expressly reserved. The Nobles of Spaine had wrought wonders, giuing motion to the most heauy, and speech vnto the dumbe, to fauour the Count of Fuentes inuentions, with a Nation that loues money beyond all measure. But in the end the consideration of their owne health, and the ruines of their liberty were of more force, making them to chooe the hazard of armes, and of all discommodities, rather then to suffer the fort which the Count of Fuentes had caused to be built, to stand vnrined. And for that (inceded with this resolution) he had made shew to seize vpon Valteline, they made a leauy of eighteene hundred men in six companies to oppose against him. The Kings intention was, that the Treaty of Milan should not alter the alliances of the Crowne of France and Venice. But if the Grifons should breake with the French, and dishonour their reputation with so foule a defection, the French had no great reason to regard it, seeing it were a losse but of inconstant friends, whose faith was ruined by the same meanes it was preferred. True it is, they should lose a goodly passage into Italy, but when they had any desire to go thither, it should not be by the Grifons. The French Armes were neuer led that way to passe the Alpes. It is true that when the Kings of France held Milan, this passage was necessary for them to draw in Suisses and Germanes for their seruice. But enioying this no more, they need not to care much to lose that which cost them so deare to maintaine. This was the beginning of the thirteenth yeare of Pope Clement the eight sitting in the pontifical chaire. In his youth a Mathematician told him, that he should be a Cardinall then Pope, and should sit in the seat twelue yeares. A Friar had told Leo the tenth as much (hauing faued himselfe in Mantoua after the battell of Rauenta) assuring him that he should be Pope, before he came to the age of forty yeares. A terme which made this prediction seeme ridiculous and impossible, and yet it was true, for after the death of Iulio the second the yong Cardinals being banded against the old, chooe him Pope. The Astrologian, hath spoken very truly in the two first aduentures of this Pope, but hee hath missecked himselfe in the third, yet some feare it is but one yeare, for this which we shall shortly begin is full of bad confellations vpon that sea, as they hold that haue studied the booke of the Abbot Isachim.

About that time there was a Iesuite that maintained an opinion that was held very hold throughout all the Catholike Church, but most dangerous at Rome. That it was no point of the essence of faith to beleue that Clement the 8 was the true and lawfull successour of S. Peter. He was committed to prison, and if the Ambassador of Spaine had not dealt in it, he had sped worse, and tryed that the body hath often reason to complaine of the paine which the spirit causeth. Another Iesuite propounded a proposition which was held very strange for the nouelty and the consequence thereof. Which was, That confession might be done by Letters and by Posts. These with some other questions were decided before the Pope and the Cardinals in the following yeare.

There fell out halfe a sedition in Rome by the meanes of Cardinall Farnese. One being pursued by the Officers to be caried to prison, fled into the Cardinals Palace as into a Sanctuary, where he found a backe doore to escape. This flight was fauoured by the in-courtesy of some of the Cardinals Gentlemen, who walking in the Court and seeing the Sergeants make a noise at his escape whom they thought to apprehend, they gaue them bad words with some threats, for the small respect they had borne vnto their Masters house.

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The

Predictions of
Friar Seraphia
of Mantoua.

Curious
questions.

Halfe a sedition
at Rome.

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The Pope was aduertised thereof, and the Gouvernor of Rome went thither with his officers. The Cardinall *Farnesze* beleued that all the Confitory was offended at this affront, the which troubled all Rome. They had giuen the Pope to vnderstand that this did concerne the authority of his iustice, without the which the City could not continue happy. They had layd open this boldnesse vnto him by many considerations of his owne private interest. They said that this did but increase the discontents which many had conceiued against the House of *Aldobrandin*. The tumult grew so great, as one sword drawne had put all the City in armes. The Ambassador of Spaine came to the Cardinals Palace with all his friends, and there spent the whole night, looking on the Romane Gentlemen that played in the Hall, and asking who had wounde or lost, they told him that the Duke *Gastan* had lost six hundred crownes: Seigneur Duke (sayd he in Spanish) assure your selfe that you lose nothing this night for the notable seruice you doe vnto the King. Hee was often heard to say these words, which were fuller of vanity then of necessity or reason, *qui quitero morir*, as if the Pope, who had no forces, would come to besiege him.

The next day the Cardinall *Farnesze* retired himselfe to a house of his called *Caprarola* five and twenty miles from Rome, whither he was accompanied with the principall men in Rome. The Pope sent the Gouverneur vnto him to receiue his government from him, as if he had lost it for that he had entred into his Palace with his Sergeants. He quenched the heat of those fiery spirits with his teares, and complained that they did not loue him as he did loue, and that therein the intention of true friendship was decieued. But he commanded his Nuncio in Spaine to complaine of the King of Spaines Ambassador, who had openly discovered his passion against him. In the end, the Duke of Parma brought backe the Cardinall to Rome, and all was pacified. As he came from Monte-cuallo where the Pope was, he was well accompanied and followed into the Court of his Palace, with cries of joy; *Viva la Casa Farnesze*. These were the peoples violent passions, not so much for any loue of him, as in hatred of the Cardinall *Aldobrandin*. But none of them trusted to this reconciliation. The Cardinall, the Duke *Gastan*, and many others of the greatest of the City went out of Rome. The Pope caused fix hundred Cordes to come, and two hundred Harguebuziers on horsebacke for the guard of *S. Peters* Bourg, and if he had had the spirit of *Sixtus* the 5, or of Popes that were Predecessors to *Paul* the third, this small beginning had been the cause of great accidents.

The King hauing promised to restore the Iesuits; Father *Cotton* came to Paris by his Maiesties command, with father *Armand* the Prouinciall, and father *Alexander*. They not onely found all things easie, but beyond their conceiued hopes: for the King grew presently into such a liking with Father *Cotton*, as he did nothing but he was called, and in the end his Maiestic granted their returne vpon certain conditions, and the Edict made for their establishment, (notwithstanding any opposition made vnto the Court to hinder the confirmation thereof) was confirmed in the beginning of this year, and their Colledges restored at Lions, Rouan, Bourges, and Dijon. The Seigneur of Varenne (Controllor general of the Posts, and now Gouvernor of the Towne and Castle of Angers, who loued them of this company) becougth the King to build a new Colledge at La Fleche in Aniou, with priuiledges like to the other Vniuersities of this Realme, the which the King made of a Royall foundation, and gaue them his owne house, with pensions, for the instruction of a good number of yong Gentlemen, whom his Maiestic would haue bred vp, and instructed there in all Professions, Tongues, and Exercises.

The Edict was: That they might lawfully reside in the places where now they are established within the Realme; that is, in the townes of Tholose, Auch, Agen, Rhodes, Bourdeaux, Perigord, Limoge, Tournon, Puy, Aubenas, and Bezieres. And moreover, to settle themselves in the Townes of Lyon, Dijon, and especially in his Towne of La Fleche in Aniou, there to keepe their residences vpon the conditions which follow.

That they shall not erect any Colledges nor Residences in any towne or places of this Realme, Countries, Territories, and Seigniories of his Maiesties obedience, without his expresse permission, vpon paine to lose all that is contained in this present grace.

That all they of the said Societie, being in this Realme, together with their Rectors and Prouincials, shall be naturall Frenchmen, and that no stranger shall be admitted into their Colledges and Residences, without his Maiesties permission: and if there be any at this present, they shall bee bound to retire themselves into their countries within three

moneth

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A moneths after the publication of these presents. The inhabitants of the towne and countie of Aignion, being not comprehended vnder this word of Strangers.

That they of the said Societie, shall haue neere vnto his Maiesty one of their company, which shall be a Frenchman, with sufficient authority to serue him for a Preacher, and to answer for the actions of their companies vpon all necessarie occasions.

That all Iesuites within the Realme and others which shall be receiued into the said societie, shall take an oath before the Officers of those places, not to doe nor attempt any thing, against his Maiesties seruice, the publike peace and quiet of the Realme, without any exception or reservation whereof the said Officers should bee bound to fend the said B acts vnto the Chancellor. And if any of them present or to come, should refuse to take the said oath, they should be forced to depart the Realme.

That hereafter all they of the said societie as well such as haue made the simple vow, as others, may not get any immoueable goods, either by purchase, donation, or otherwise without his Maiesties permission. They may not also receiue any succession, be it direct or Collateral, no more then other Religious men. And in case hereafter any shall be dismist from the said company, they may returne into their rights as before.

They shall not take nor receiue any immoueable goods from them which shall enter into their societie, but it shall be referred for their heires, or for such to whom they haue disposed them before they entred.

C They shall also be subiect in all things to the lawes of the Realme, and shall be tried before his Maiesties officers, like vnto other Clergy and Religious men.

The said company shall not attempt nor doe any thing, neither in spirituall, nor in Temporall things, to the preiudice of Bishops, Chapters, Curats, and Vniuersities of the Realme, nor of other Religious men: but shall conforme themselves to the common Lawes.

In like manner they shall not preach, administer the Sacraments, neither confesse any but those of their owne societie, if it bee not by the permission of the Bishops within the iurisdiction of the Parliament where they are established, that is, of Tholose, Bourdeaux and Dijon.

D The which permission shall not extend to the Parliament of Paris, except the townes of Lyon, and La Fleche. Where they are suffered to reside, and exercise their ordinary functions as in other places which haue been granted them. And to the end that they of the said societie, which are now restored, may haue meanes to liue in their Colledges and Residences, his Maiestic suffereth them to enioy their rents and foundations present and past, with a full discharge of all seizures which haue been made.

The Iesuits being thus restored, many others demanded leaue of the King to receiue them and to giue them Colledges, as Rouen, Bourges and Amiens. The Vniuersities of Orleans and Poitiers could not like of them, notwithstanding they sought much to bee receiued there, they returned in the end by the Kings fauour and clemency, into their co- E uent of Saint *Lewis*, neere vnto Saint *Paul* at Paris, and had restitution of all their goods and of their Colledge of Clermont in Saint *Iague* street, to enioy their reuenues without infrustion. Then the goodly spirits of their Order began to step into the Pulpit, and were heard with great applause in diuers Churches.

During these great Royall fauours, Father *Cotton* tasted of some private disgrace, for returning one night somewhat late (about the end of February) and passing by the street of the new bridge, to goe vnto the Louvre, there were certaine Pages and Laqueys, which calling for him at the doore of the Carosse, wounded him with their Rapiers, hauing one great wound in the shoulder going towards the necke and the throat, whereof notwithstanding hee was soone after cured. There was great search made F for this attempt, but the King himselfe discovered presently whence it might proceed. The Pages and Laqueys of Court had beene whipt by commandement for their infolence, in crying with dirision, *old Wall, old Cotton* (vpon the complaint of certaine Princes and Noblemen.) Those that say this blow was premeditated by the enemies of the Iesuits, were decieued, and his Maiesties onely opinion (who iudged that it came from the Pages and Laqueys) was true. Some were taken and examined, the King himselfe heard the examination; first they excused themselves of the fact, then they said that they meant onely to strike the Coach-man, so whom they had cried to goe farther off, and that hee

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would

The Iesuits
restored.Iesuits at La
Fleche.Father Cotton
wounded.

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would hurt them, coming so neere the wall, the which hee would not doe, and that thinking to strike the Coachman, they had hurt Father *Cotton*. If Father *Cotton* had not bene an earnest sutor vnto the King to pardon them, it had gone ill with them, but notwithstanding they were banished the Court, and forbidden euer to come there vpon paine of death.

This yeare the King, besides in his goodly buildings, which shall make his memorie commendable to posteritie, would also shew vnto future ages, that hee had a care of the good of his subiects, who for the commoditie of their commerce and trafficke, caused a channell to bee made, by the which all Merchandize should bee caried from the Riuier of Loyre into the riuier of Seine. At the same time when as hee began his channell from Seine to Loyre, which will cost a hundred and fourescore thousand crownes in three yeares, they propounded vnto his Maiestie, an enterprise of greater difficultie, to ioine the two Seas together, and to make the Nauiation from the one to the other through France, and not to passe by the straight of Gibraltar. By the meanes of a channell more easie to be made betwixt the two riuers, which passe the one from Tolouse into the Ocean, and the other from Narbone into the Mediterranean sea, then that which is made to ioine the riuers of Seine and Loyre together. The vnderfaker offered Caution to ioine the Nauiation of the said two seas by this channell, within one yeere for 40000 crownes onely, the which should carie a vessell of foure sadome breadth from one sea vnto the other, for a certaine prooffe of his desigine. Which was to make ships to passe afterwards, within a small time, and for little more charge.

There were many new inuentions for workes deuised and brought into France this yeare by strangers, as wauing of gold after the manner of Milan, and the making of cloth and lincs of the barke of white Mulberry trees, more easly then of Nettles or any other trees, and more strong and of longer continuance then any other, the which was inuented by Monsieur *Serres* in Prouence. The making of all sorts of Cipres both curld and smooth, and of all other sorts, which were not made before but in Italy, is now established in the Castle of Mantes. Hangings of guilt leather, of all sorts and colours that may be wished, fairer then Imbroidery, better cheape, and of greater continuance, for the easinesse and inuention to make them cleane, and to amend, they are in great shops in Saint Honores, D and Saint James suburbs, to let poore people on worke. There were cutting Mills inuented, and set vpon the riuier of Estampes, where they cut iron into many peeces, and into what forme they will, the which was not done before but by the Smiths. The turning of iron (whereof France abounds) into fine Steele, the which they were forced to seeke in Piedmont, in Germany, and in other strange Countries, for five or six souls the pound, hauing neuer found any thing in France but iron, the which for the excellency they call courle Steele of Brie, or of S. *Desfer*, the which is sold for two or three souls the pound, at the most. The founnailes are to be seene in Saint Victors suburbs. Vpon the mouth of the riuier of Bieure, the which deserues to bee admired for the excellency thereof, the making of white Lead, the which is a kinde of drogge or quintessence, drawne out of Lead, very necessary and common for Painters, Farriers, and many other vses, the which they were forced to seeke and buy dearly out of France, is now made there, better and better cheape.

The like inuention there is of pipes of Lead, as long and as bigge as you will, beaten, and as light as iron for Cuirasses, stronger and more lasting then the ordinary pipes of Lead, and better cheape, and which make the waters that passe through them more hol-some for the body of man, by reason of the ingredients of the folding which corrupts the water that passeth by them. Besides the folder doth still leaue some little tongues or drops pierced, the which stayes the slime of the water, and makes the pipe to bend: with many other secrets and commodities that depend thereon, inuented by *Ferrier*, dwelling F in the suburbs of Saint Germaine.

Some parts of France as well as of Sicilia were this yeere much afflicted for want of corne. The Dukes of Guise and Vantadour besought the King that he would be pleased to suffer Prouence and Languedoc to be supplied by the other Prouinces of his Realme, where there was abundance. The King hauing giuen liberty, there passed great store by the Citie of Lions, who fearing to fall into the like want, besought the King to reuoke his grant of the passage.

The

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A The Kings answer seemed to proceed from the heart, not of a Prince onely, but of a father, who desires to prouide equally for all the necessities of his family, and hath a care that nothing be wanting. The principal reasons were, that there is nothing more necessary for the well ordering of an Estate, then to entertaine communication betwixt Prouinces to succour one another, and to haue the trafficke as free and as easie as may bee: Nature hauing so framed them, as they haue need one of another, for if the one restraines on the one side, the other may doe the like on the other side: so as if one Prouince annoyes another, it may also recieue the like annoyance from them: as if they stop the passage of corne at Lions, they of Languedoc and Prouence, may keepe from them, oyles and spice, and B many other necessary commodities. That the Citie of Lions hath no interest in this passage, being lawfull for them, to make what prouisions of corne they please, in Bourgongne, and other places. That he must also haue care of other Prouinces which haue need of relief, whom they might easily perswade that this liberty of passage, depended vpon the fauour and good will of them of Lions, and not vpon his commandement.

There wanted nothing in France, but permission to trafficke in the King of Spaines and the Archdukes dominions. The searownes endured great difcommodities, and in the end, if this prohibition had continued, they would haue said of the greatest, as was said of Megalopolis a great Citie in circuit of walls, and little in number of Inhabitants. *Magna Ciuitas, magna solitudo*, A great Citie, a great wilderness. The Spaniards found this inhibition much more grieuous and insupportable: there was nothing to bee heard amongst them, but publike complaints, for that all things grew extremely deare, and the Artisans desperate. This grievance depending vpon the execution of the treaty of Veruins, the Pope commanded his Nuncio to deale in it. The King would not yeeld to any thing, before that the Spaniards who had troubled the water, did make it cleare againe in reuoking the imposition of thirty on the hundred. There he forced his nature, for being so good, as he desired onely the good of his people, and feels in his soule that content wherewith God himselfe cannot be satisfied, he could not heare speake of this commerce, if the King of Spaine did not discharge that Impost of thirty for the hundred, which made the liberty of trafficke an extreme seruitude, and the profit an assured losse. This was most seuer and rigorous. There is not any but is bitter to the Merchants, couetousnesse hauing changed the first cause as well as the quantity of Impositions and Customes. In former times they were not payed, but for the safety and liberty of the passage from one place to another, and for that Princes haue publike wayes in their protection, which for that reason are called, *The Kings high-wayes*, they haue acknowledged this right of protection with some consideration.

In like sort when the Nauiation was vnderaken to the Indies, into Arabia and Ethiopia, the Emperour for the purging of the sea Pirats and Routers, imposed the Gabel or Custome of the Red Sea, for the entertaining of ships of warre against the attempts of Pirats, with the money that should be raised thereby. Such Impositions for so necessarie occasions cannot be iust. Others are not so, and yet they must beare them, being no more lawfull for the subiect to murmure against the Customes, and Imposts, wherewith his Prince doth charge him, then against the hayle, raine, stormes and tempests of Heauen. Obedient children kisse the rod wherewith they haue bene whipt. Reuenge is referred vnto God, who forbids the Soueraigne Magistrates to oppresse the people with such charges. He let *Pharao* know so much, when as *Moses* turned his Rod into a Serpent, to let him vnderstand that his Scepter and his reigne was changed into a tyrannie and extreme cruelty. Some said that Spaine (which deliberates long, and resolues constantly) would neuer reuoke this Impostion, for that they would not lose the reputation of the constancy and firmnesse of their Lawes, and not to bee taxed of lightnesse, applying themselves to the time and occasion. But they must endure it, and the Deputies of the two Kings, and of the Archduke, being resolved vpon that point, there was no difficulty but that the commerce was restored to the first liberty. The Constable of Castile returning into Spaine, came to the King at Fontainebleau. The King went to recieue him at the entry of Paris by the Duke of Montbason, who was well accompanied, and the next day at the entry of the forest of Fontainebleau, he found fiftene Carosses full of Gentlemen of the Court, who left them to offer them to him and to his traine, & so mounted vpon their horses which did attend them. It cannot be spoken how royally the King recieued him.

Amongst

No Region, Prouince, or Citie can passe without it to its neighbours.

Difcommodities by the exaction of commerce.

God neuer tyred with doing good.

Nauiation to the Indies.

The trafficke open with Spaine.

The Constable of Castile comes to the King.

A channell from the riuier of Seine to Loyre.

New inuentions of workes brought into France.

Making of Cipres.

Cutting Mills.

Turning of iron into fine Steele.

White Lead.

Pipes of Lead without solder.

Scaritie of corne.

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The King re-
ceives him with
all hon. war.
He puts with
the Constable.
The House of
Velaques.

Among many testimonies of honour and affection, this was not ordinary. *Zames* invited him to supper, being ready to wash, the King accompanied only with *Bellegarde* and *Roguelare* enters, saying that he would sup with them. The Constable offered him his napkin, and would have kneeled, the which the King would not suffer; saying unto him, that it was not for him to yeeld honours, but to receive them, for he was of that House, being allied to the House of Velaques, to whom the dignity of the Constable of Castile and Leon is hereditary, and is an honour in a manner equall with a Souveraigne; the Emperour *Isidorian* finding no other place wherewith to honor and advance his brother *Valence*.

The Marquis
of Rohou gen.
into Poitou.

The commerce which had bene forbidden for some months, being restored, there was nothing contained in the Treaty of Veruins but was duly executed, but that which concerned the private interest of the Earle of Saint Paul. As for the generall, all went so well, as it might be said the two Kings had never had better correspondency, and that their wils (although contrary) had bene like unto wine and water which cannot be separated. As for the affaires of the Realme, the King found so great respect and obedience in all places, as if there remains any passion in the hearts of his Predecessors, they must be grieved that they were never so well obeyed. The Marquis of Rohou, going to take possession of his Government of Poitou, was at Rochel, where he was received with all sorts of honours, causing his Maiesties intentions to be entertained and executed with so great affection, as it did amaze them that knew that since King *Francis* the first, this towne had not bene so obedient as the rest. There are secret murmurings, discontents and distrusts, but they are clouds without water. These are corrupt vices which draw vnto them bad humours, but the disposition of the body is no whit altered nor changed: In shew all goes well, and we have nothing else to care for, for men are commonly satisfied with that which seemes, as well as with that which is. It sufficeth that a Prince be well obeyed, be it either for feare or for love. France being never so miserable as when shee had Kings that cared not to be well obeyed.

The Dauphins
for vnd voyage
at Fontaine-
bleau.

And what wants a Prince, that is at peace within his Realme, admired of Strangers and redoubted of his enemies, who hath so great designs in hand, for the increase and beautifying of this Estate, as his Predecessors durst neuer thinke of them? One Arceall alone can furnish him a hundred Cannons, with powder and munition for a hundred thousand shot, armes for ten thousand horsemen, and fifty thousand foot, and treasure ready to pay a greater number. This Prince who knew what it was to make warre without money, will neuer undertake it without a iust cause, nor being in want. Warre which is attempted without cause is seldome happy and successfull, and although they bee iustificable, yet is there alwayes some scruple. He spent the best part of the yeare at Fontainebleau, and found his abode there so pleasing, and the season so faire, as he sent for the Dauphin. It was the first voyage to the place of his birth, and the second by Paris. Hee made shew that he did partiticipate of the fathers good disposition, for he neither feared nor felt sunne nor Serein, although it be much felt in that place. Thus the yeare past, when as France could not furnish wherewithall to make a perfect Narration. We may now say as it was heretofore sayd of the Gaules that they were more giuen to tillage and to the Government of their families, then vnto Warre and Armes. The most factious thinke of nothing now but of planting of their Orchards. The Grifons doe still pursue the demolition of the fort. They talke of a truce in Hungary, and of a treaty of peace in the Low-Countries. This will be matter to write on the next year following.

Interview of
the Dukes of
Sauoy and
Mantoua.

But we may not forget the interview of the Duke of Sauoy with the Duke of Mantoua. It misinformed matter of discourse, and made the Princes of Italy somewhat iealous: to see two Princes send Ambassadors which had continued so long in bad rearmes, and two Princes that were Neighbours which had this advantage to haue made warre in person, was not without scruple. And although in shew they talked onely of peace, yet are they not the first that haue had peace in their mouthes, and warre in their hearts. *Matthiuel* faith, that a Prince of his time neuer talked but of peace and faith, and if he had kept either of them, he had lost his Estate and his reputation.

These two Princes haue lands lying on either side of the riuer of Po. The Duke of Sauoy was discontented that the Duke of Mantoua people had vnrped something vpon his subjects. This was a great dispute of their confines, the which notwithstanding was soon reconciled: the Accord is neuer difficult betwixt persons neere allied. The Duke of Man-

tous

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A toua came to Montferriat, which gaue the occasion of this interview, whereof the cause is vnknowne, if it be not for the mariage of his sonne to the Dukes second daughter. They met in the open field on Sunday the twelfth of December. The Duke of Sauoy was in carrosse, and the Duke of Mantoua and his sonne on horse-backe. They lighted to entertain and salute one another. The Noblemen & Gentlemen which followed them made a great Ring, in the which these two Princes did walke and talked together 2 or 3 houres. The D. of Sauoy feasted him at dinner the tuesday following, in a little house vpon the frontier of the Marquitate of Salusses. They continued together vntill night, when parting, the duke of Sauoy gaue vnto the Duke of Mantoua foure goodly horles, with very rich furniture. B To conclude this yeares worke, there was new matter presently, but it is alwayes bad when as the Princes clemency is forced to yeeld vnto his iustice, when as France doth bring forth spirits so easie to corrupt, as intelligences with the enemies of this Crown are not held for crimes, and their honor as vaine smoak, the which notwithstanding should be so carefully preferred, that rather then to see it blemished or charged with any reproach they should desire and offer themselves to death. The King, offended with the practices of the Count of Auernegre, commanded him to come vnto him, and to trust vnto his clemency, the which was not vnknowne vnto him, *Desferres* made some iourneyes vnto him, from whom he brought nothing but delays and excuses.

The King sends
for the Count
of Auernegre.

The Kings iustice was once contented to make him change the ayre for a time. It was C the best counsell his friends could giue him: it was the surest resolution he could take: for it was better to be absent with the Kings good liking, then to bee retired and in disgrace. The King was wonderfully grieved at this relapse, and did impute it to an error which great courages detest more and pardon lesse then all other faults: for compare vice with vice, euill with euill, ingratitude is the most odious and the worst. This Prince notwithstanding (who cannot leaue pardoning) sent *Desferres* backe vnto him to cause him to come. He promised to goe, if they would bring him a pardon formally made. The King disliked this kind of capitulation, whereas his owne authority was wronged, and his word held deceitfull. A great King so much feared and obeyed, and of so great authority, should haue his words as much credited as anothers oath. It is not with this Prince as with some D of his predecessors, who vnder the most smiling and calme countenance smothered most dangerous and troublesome tempests. Hee sent him his abolition in the same forme and manner as he desired, containing all the euill that he had done, and all that he would haue done. It toucheth the honour of a Prince to iustifie himselfe, when as his innocency is any thing mistrusted or suspected of his King. In these encounters hee must leaue the charges which he holds, as *Catus Menenius* did: he must returne in the midst of his voyage like vnto *Marke Anthony*, he must quit all Legations to prevent all occasions, and he must oppose his innocency boldly and courageously vnto slander. But he that hath once offended his Prince, he hath no other remedie or refuge, but to his clemency, or to flight.

A pardon granted
to a condition.

This pardon had a condition that he should come vnto the King, without the which the E effect thereof should be suspended and without assurance. Hee got nothing in growing obnoxious not to goe out of Clermont, representing vnto himselfe that hee could find no better counsell then in the remembrance of his last imprisonment, as *Craesus* did in his miseries. Hee did build much vpon the loue of the inhabitants of Clermont, and of the Countrie. But hee did not consider, that although hee had many hearts at his deuotion, yet would he hardly draw them all together to oppose them against the Kings commandements, when it should please him to seize vpon him in that City, and that it were more safe for him to be free without the Vineyard, then to remaine there, not being absolute master thereof.

He refuseth to
goe.

Aduertisy doth
instill.

The King giues
order to haue
him taken.

The King therefore seeing that he would not come but with conditions that did not agree with a perfect obedience, resolved to haue him by one meanes or other. The first O- F rures were made to the two Brothers of *Murat*, the one Lieutenant General in the Presidiall Court at Ryon; the other, Treasurer extraordinary of the warres; both vehemently affected to the Kings seruice, and for this reason greatly suspected by the Count of Auernegre, who to let them vnderstand the actions that he would haue knowne, did often conferre with them of his affaires, but in like manner as Princes doe communicate with Ambassadors and Spies, and the more freely for that hee thought they were not men to lead him to Paris, But there were others to execute his commandements, and more then of one condition,

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Nothing can be kept secret that many know.

The Kings patience mounted.

They resolved to take him by what means soever.

The Duke of Vendosmes company was not in good order at the voyage of Metz.

He is presumed by the diligence of D'Enrre.

condition, all resolute to take him, yea though he were shut up in a tower of brass. So A there must be some to take him, and others to conduct him when he was taken. It was necessary that such as had the Kings authority in the Province, and the disposition of his forces and of justice should deal in it. The Kings intention was imparted to the Vicont of Pont du Chasteau, to D'Enrre Lieutenant of the Duke of Vendosmes Company, to the Baron of Camille, to la Boulay Lieutenant of the Company of the Marquis of Verneuil, to Nereffan Colonell of a Regiment of foot, and to so many others, as it is a wonder it was not divulged being in so many heads. In this action all shewed the duties and affections of good men which respected their honours. Many means were attempted, but they were encountered with great difficulties and crosses. True it is, that if Nereffan had not come with tuocation of the Kings first commandements, his taking had been certain when as he went a hunting to la Tour of Brusseire, where as a Gentleman should have bidden him to dinner. The order was changed for that hee had given the King to understand that he had means to doe him a great peece of service in the discovery of great secrets. Some dayes past in the expectation of this miracle, but in the end it proved nothing. The Kings patience wronged, would beleue no more, but commanded that they should force him to come, and if his bounty had not restrained him, we should have seene him as extreme in reuenge, as he hath alwayes beene in bounty and clemency. He earnestly recommended vnto his subiects the execution of this prise, as a thing of great importance for his service, for the preservation of the State, and the assurance of safety of the Lord the Dauphin. The surest means (and that wherein there was least trouble and scandal) was the mustering of the Duke of Vendosmes Company, who by the aduice of the Count of Auvergne himselfe, and to please a Lady who desired to bee reuenged of some Country-men, dislodged from Saint Porcin to come to Balsac and to Yornie, where shee entreated her guests in such sort as they left not provision for three dayes to some one that had bene furnished for three yeares.

D'Enrre who prest Murat (Treasurer extraordinary for the wars) to pay his company a muster, intreated the Count of Auvergne to see it, to the end hee might assure the King that he had gallant men, and good horses, and that all his companions should be wonderfully honoured with the presence of their Coronell. I will part to morrow, said the Count of Auvergne, to hunt at Alezou, and will returne againe on Monday at night, I pray you be here at supper, and lodge your Company at Normaine, to the end that the next day, after wee haue drunke, runne at the ring, and dined, we may see it.

This was done as he had appointed, and it seemed he was an Agor in his owne misfortune, and an instrument of his misery, not being able to discover the bitterness of those golden pills which they presented vnto him. D'Enrre came to Clermont on Monday at night, and goes vnto him where he supped in one of their houses that managed this business. When as he espied D'Enrre as farre off, he said vnto him, Now sir, am I not a man of my word? D'Enrre thanked him for the paine it had pleased him to take to see his companions, beseeching him to thinke that hee desired it with great affection, to the end the King might know they were not in so bad estate as at the voyage of Metz. The next day the ninth of Nouember, the morning was spent in running at the ring, of foure courses heooke three.

He had intelligence that they meant to take him, and distrusting all, he had resolved to come so early to the place of musters, as not finding the company there ready, he should be excused if hee did not attend them, meaning to passe on a league farther, where a Lady that loued him did expect him. D'Enrre hauing foreseene all, leauing nothing to hazard that might be governed by iudgement, vfed such preuentions, as the subiects of this spirit prevailed nothing. He commanded la Bady Marshall of the Company, to see his companions in order. He aduertised Nereffan and the Captaines that did assist him, of the place whither they should come, and wrought so, that diligence and courage, which are the wings of great executions, were so supported by the secret of discretion, as none of the troop once dreamed of that was to be done.

They went to dinner, and it was well obserued that the Count of Auvergne had some distrust. He hath since confessed, that he was ready to call the two brothers of Murat into his cabinet, and to cause them to be searcht, for that he was well aduertised that they alwayes caried the Kings letters and his commandements. But a great resolution thinking that

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He goes to horse with two more with him.

A that there is more harme in feáring, then in the thing that causeth feare, feares extremely to make shew that he hath any feare. After dinner D'Enrre asked, if it pleased him to goe to horse to see the Musters. He answered him: That it should be presently, and that he should use speed. He retired himselfe soone after into his Cabinet, and went downe, being followed by Maillonville onely, and Liuerne, mounted vpon a Scottish horse (which verry had given him) the which would haue outrunne all the horses of France. Hee would not attend the other Noblemen for that he distrusted them, having an intent to passe on, if hee found them not ready. But being come to the place, hee found the company in battell. This great diligence made him somewhat ieaalous, and they might perceiue him, that B pulling vp his Cloake, hee drew his Sword foure fingers out, yet without any amazement.

D'Enrre seeing him make euen the reines of his horse, came to him trotting, with his hat in his hand, and hearing him sweare with a great oath that he had bene very diligent. You see my Lord (answered he) I haue caused my companions to aduance, for that I would not trouble you with attendance. Monsieur D'Enrre (replied the Earle) you are one of my friends, I cannot make any long stay here. To whom D'Enrre sayd, All my companions are not yet here, but if it please you, you shall see this troope, and iudge of the whole by a part. Hereupon hee sees some horsemen come, and demands what they were. D'Enrre told him, That it was Nereffan who had bene at Ryon about a sute of his daughters. He beleued it, for hee knew C that Nereffan had staid some dayes at Ryon, and yet his heart beganne to suspect more. But it was too late, he was enuironed on euery side, and hardly can one resist many. Nereffan lighted to salute him, and hauing entertained him with some discourse vpon the occasion of his stay at Ryon, or of his returne to Court, he went presently to horsebacke, and thrust on one of the Lacqueyes with his foot, for a signe and token of the beginning of the execution.

One of Nereffans three Lacqueyes takes hold of his horse by the bridle. D'Enrre seeing that Nereffan had taken the right side to salute the Count of Auvergne, went vnto the left, and laying hold with his hand vpon the hilt of his sword, hee said vnto him, that hee had commandement from the King to take him; the other two Lacqueyes pulled him so D roughly from his horse, as he had like to haue fallen to the ground: hee was moued to see himselfe so intreated by Lacqueyes, intreating D'Enrre to cause two of his companions to light, and that he might not see those rascals any more: Nereffan said vnto him, that they were souldiers so attired, to serue the King in this action. A peece shot into the ayre by chance, made him to doubt worse measure, so as he intreated D'Enrre that hee would not vse his pistolet. D'Enrre freed him from these apprehensions, intreating him to resolute vpon the Kings will, and not to force them to entreat him other wise then they desired. Well, sayd he, I yeeld: what would you haue me to doe? That you mount vpon the Trumpets horse, said D'Enrre. It was feared that he would not haue suffered himselfe to be taken so easily nor so quietly, as we haue seene many great courages choofe rather to bee cut in peeces, then to see themselves referred for some shamefull end, and others that haue willingly died, for that they would not dye by force.

When as he sees himselfe in the toyle, enuironed on all sides, Liuerne his confident follower in flight, and his friends the ministers of his captivity, he said, Ab in the deuils name, I doubted all this. Being mounted vpon the Trumpets Nag, they conduct him presently to Aigueperfe. Before he had gone a hundred paces, hee entreated D'Enrre to lend him one of his troop, to carry some message of his remembrance and of his misery, to a Lady that attended him. De Pleche had the charge. She who had not prepared her heart to withstand the assaults of a most extreme and sensible griefe,ooke D'Enrre for the object, against whom shee poured forth the fury of her passions. If I knew (said shee vnto this Gentleman) that I might saue him in forcing through your troope, I would willingly doe it, and if I had but tenne Men of my courage and resolution, you should not carry him where you thinke. But I will neuer die vntill I haue giuen D'Enrre a hundred shor with a pistoll, and to Murat a hundred blowes with a Sword.

These were the passions of her loue transported with a resolution beyond her sex, and which did participate of a man, of a troubled mind, and of loue. This last makes miracles of maruells, and maruells of miracles, in wils that are equally toucht with his inspirations, so it is neuer perfect, if it be not fully and neerly toucht with the accidents of both fortunes,

They set him vpon the trumpet horse.

They conduct him to Aigueperfe.

The extreme griefe of a Lady that loued him.

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tunes, as the Moone is not pleasing but when it is at the full. Shee loued him well, and was well beloued, for the Count of Auvergne had bene heard say, that if the King did set him at liberty, and send him backe to his house, vpon condition that hee should not see this Lady, he would rather desire to dye. Shee presently ordered the affaires of her house, the disposition of her furniture, and the retreat of her seruants. This passion going from the memory to the thought, from the thought to the heart, from the heart to the eyes, made her poure forth so many teares, as she lost the sight of one eye for a time.

The Count of Auvergne writes vnto the King.

Being at Aigueperles he writ vnto the King. At the same place hee told the Baron of Camillac, that he was acquainted with the designe of his taking. It is true, said he, I knew it well, and I beleuee you thinke I am a very honest man. He said that he submitted himselfe to all the rigours of the Kings iustice, if he had said, done, thought, or attempted any thing since his abolition.

All the way he seemed no more afflicted, then when he was at liberty. He told youthfull and idle tales of his loue, and the deceiuing of Ladies. Hee shot in a Harguebuze at birds, wherein he was so perfect and excellent, as hee did kill Laikes as they were flying. Sometimes he would cast forth words of apprehension to enter into that great heape of stones of the Bastile, where he had already tried his patience for the space of foure or fise moneths.

He assures them of his innocency.

Defeuces met him at Briarre, and there he entred into a Carosse, and was guarded and led vnto Montargis, and from thence he was imbarcked vpon the riuier, and presently conducted vnto the Bastile, without passing by the Arcenall and entring into the Duke of Biron's chamber, he knew his bed with some feeling of grieft, and taking leaue of them that had conducted him, he assured them that he would goe out of that place as he had entred, and if they found him more guilty then he had said, he desired them not to pity him. Entering in, he said vnto *Ruvigny*, that he had rather lodge in a Tap-house in Paris, then in the Bastile. Those that beleuee that he is not lodged there to get out, so soone as hee did the other time, thinke also it is the worst that can happen vnto him. But it shall be an incomparable misery to be alwayes deprived of the Kings grace and fauour, without the which the best conditions are most lamentable, and a life of this manner, how florissouer, is a tedious and a languishing life, it is no life, it is to languish and to abuse life.

A tappe discourse of conspiracies.

The happy discouery and so fully, of all that was done, and in a manner thought against the Kings seruice, is no small signe of the prosperity of his reigne, and of his fortune; and an assurance that those heads which shall strike against this rocke of Diamond, will proue Glass. The designes of his enemies haue sometimes shewed themselves like vnto Comets and Exhalations, which drawne out of the earth, haue bene lost in the ayre of their vanity and inagination.

The conspirators amazed.

All these practices in the end were like vnto those poore wretched Cottages, built vp of durt, and covered with stubble. And if all the Conspirators be not yet taken, yet they doe nothing, being discouered and knowne to the eyes of the Kings iustice. Conspiracies are like vnto coales, which in the shadow doe flame, but when as the Sunne shines on them they fall into ashes. It is not the severity nor the rigour of his iustice, neither the terror of examples and punishments, that hath discouered these Conspiracies. He hath not caused the Bell of *Ramire* King of Spaine, to be rung to terrifie all the conspirators with the sound thereof. This King being offended with the conspiracies of his subjects, said, that he would show them a Bell, the which he had caused to be cast, the sound whereof might be heard throughout all the whole world. Curiosity made them goe, and they found in a great place the heads of the principall men of the Realme, set one vpon another in forme of a Bell. It is the great obedience that is yielded vnto the King, even by them that are least injured to obey, that hath discouered these practices: It is the great wisdom of his carriage, and the order hee hath taken to be aduertised of all and to know all. It is the authority and respect which neuer was so absolute & perfect in his Predecessors as in him. This apprehension was a famous president. For the time was when he must haue had more men to take the Count of Auvergne and to conduct him to Paris without lett.

Considerations vpon his taking

We may obserue in this apprehension many things that may breed admiration and amazement, and which shew that men doe in vaine furnish themselves with wisdom against heauen, and with intelligences against the King. The Count of Auvergne had aduertisements

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A uertisements from all places that they should take him, and that the Kings Pensioners were in the field to that effect. His most inward and nearest friends, and amongst others *Floras* knew it, and said nothing vnto him, preferring his duty to his Prince, before all affection.

He must be deceiued, and the King well serued. As Mint-masters say, that it is impossible to refine gold of twenty foure Carats, without a little of some other mettall, so it is impossible to make an execution perfect, if there be not dissembling mixt with friendship, deceit with wisdom, neither must the tongue alwayes speake according to the heart. The Constable was also as well informed thereof as any other, and yet he made no shew thereof. A shew of great wisdom. His duty prescribed him a law to all the bounds of Nature; so there is not any one but is more bound to the seruice of the King and his Country, then to his owne health, or to that of his children. A Gentleman being at his Table, speaking of this taking, said, *Sir, if the King should command me to take you, I would doe it, although I be your most humble seruant, that you march in the first ranks of greatest in the Realme, and that all things touching armes, depend vpon your commandements. I beleue it (answered the Constable) else you should doe it, for the King is both your King and mine. I am your friend.* There is no loue nor affection to dispence any one from the Kings commandement.

Wisdom of the Constable.

The Count of Auvergne long before and since his taking, hath not said nor done any thing whereof the Kings seruants haue not kept register. He complained of those that were daily about him, that they said nothing vnto him; and they all answered, that they were too honest to tell him anything. He is a Prince of great vnderstanding, capable of all sorts of designs, of a quick disposition, warlike, vigilant, and full of inuentions and subtleties. But all this auailed him nothing against the King, of whom we may say, that he hath wicked wretches enough in his kingdom that would deceiue him, but they are not cunning enough to doe it.

Soone after that the Count of Auvergne was lodged in the Bastile, *D'Entraignes* Gouernor of Orleans was committed to the Concergerie of the Palace, and the Marquesse of Verneuil his daughter guarded in her house, by the Knight of the watch. She cried, that this is capable to loue earnestly, may also hate extremely. Wee can say nothing of the causes of this change, but what may be learned by the issue of the proccesse. They be affaires which concerne the King, his person, and his State, and if it bee tolerable to heare what is sayd, yet is it not lawfull to speake or publish it.

D'Entraignes committed to prison, and his daughter, the Marquise of Verneuil re-tyed.

His Maiesty himselfe hath not yet declared the cause of the Count of Auvergues restraint, and in the Letter which he did write vnto the Gouernor of Lions vpon that subject, he did onely send him these words: *You haue understood how that I haue againe caused the Count of Auvergne to be apprehended, being aduertised that hee continued still in his bad practices, and that hauing sent often for him, he would not come. At the least I will keep him from doing ill if I can.* They doe basely abandon their honours, which flye to the practice of strangers, who embrace all occasions with vehemency to trouble the tranquility of the Realm. In cases of this quality suspicion makes the crime: yea the children suffer for the iniquity of the fathers, and wives of their husbands, as we haue said. Notwithstanding, the King suffers the beames of his naturall bounty and clemency to shine. Hee proceeds not rigorously in a notorious crime. He obserues as hee alwaies hath done, the order of his iustice. He giues time and place to the guilty to know themselves, and to flye to his mercy. Hee seekes himselfe all meane to iustifie them, for knowing that the Earle of Auvergne and *Entraignes* were found guilty of crimes which deserued the separation of their bodies from their soules; and that by a sentence giuen by the Court of Parliament the first of February, they were condemned to dye, and the Marquesse to be led with a good guard to the Abbey of religious women at Beaumont neare Tours, there to be strictly kept vntill the Kings Proctor generall should enforce more amply against her his Maiesty addes now to all his victories that of clemency: he causerh the execution of the sentence to surcease, and changeth the punishment into perpetuall imprisonment for the Earle and *Entraignes*; the which he did also moderate for the last, suffering him to remaine in his house of Bois Malet herbes in Baillie; he did also suffer the Marquesse to remaine in her house at Verneuil.

The Kings letter to the Gouernor of Fontainebleau the fifteenth of November 1604.

Decree of the Court of Parliament.

Changed by the King.

At the same time, when as the Count of Auvergne was taken, the brute was, that the *D* of Bouillon had like to haue bene surprisid. When as he could find no other refuge for

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his

his affaires, but to retire himselfe out of the Realme, he hath vsed the liberty of his retreat wisely, and hath always sought the Kings fauour, for the assurance of his returne. Some foraine Prince of his friends aduised him not to returne to Court, to hold all reconciliaton suspet, and to beleue, that when a Prince is once offended, he is neuer quiet vntill the offence be reuenged. That he must not trust to that which he promisseth, nor to that which he sweares, holding both the one and the other lawfull for reuenge. That the word of a Prince that is offended, is like vnto *Zenxis* cluster of grapes, which takes birds; but his oth is like vnto *Parafus* vaile, which deceiues men. Those which haue lost the fauour of their master (for that they had intelligence with them whom they could not serue without crime) are alwayes in continuall distrust, the which followes the offence, as the Boat B doth the Ship, vntill they haue quenched and smothered the cause, and made it knowne that they are diuided, and enemies to all their wils, that would distract them from their duties; for men that are double and dissemblers, are neuer tamed, no more then a Bat, which is halfe a Rat, and halfe a Bird, or the Chaftor which is flesh and fish. The Duke of Boulton patience hauing giuen the King time enough to consider of his intentions, is ready through the Kings clemency, to obtaine all that he could desire to returne to a greater fortune, in the which lesse is allowed then to a meaner estate.

He had beene taxed with many capital crimes, whereof the chiefe accusations were to haue beene a partaker of the Marshall of Biron's conspiracie: And although they had severall designs, and were of very different humours, yet they were both of one mind to C ruine the King, and haue their shares in his spoile, by the means of the King of Spaine. It is true, there were no Letters found written from him to the King of Spaine nor his Ministers, nor from them to him, but those that were mediators for the other, dealt also for him: and he was more cunning they sayd, to couer his intent. It is no sufficient iustification to say that he did neither write nor receiue any Letters, the Treaty was made without writing: whereunto he made his answer.

After that diuers crimes had beene diffused and publicly spoken of to his dishonour, being also priuately aduertised thereof, he wrote a Letter of protestation to the King, to iustifie his innocency in these tearmes.

" Sir, hauing more carefully caused me so many true miseries, among the which I may " whereof false imputation doth cause me so many true miseries, among the which I may " iustly hold for the greatest and most insupportable, my debarring from your presence, and " the interruption of the faithfull seruice which I owe vnto your Maiesty: God in the end " hath sent me this consolation by *Monsieur de Montluc* who hath informed me particularly " of that which the common brute of the world could not teach me but in generall tearmes " and confusedly. I giue God thanks who hath by this speciall knowledge made me an easie " way to satisfie your Maiesty more particularly, hoping that he will dispose the cares and " heart of my King and Master to giue a favourable beleefe vnto the true iustification of his " most humble seruant.

" I vnderstand then from him, that I am accused to haue had intelligence with the Mar- E " shall of Biron. That I haue treated with him, or others, to receiue money from the King " of Spaine. That I was resolu'd to quit my Religion. That I had attempted to treat a peace " betwixt the King of Spaine and the Estates. That I was acquainted with a conspiracy a- " gainst your Maiesty, the Queene, and my Lord the Daulphin, and that I made secret lea- " ues of men without authority. To all these crimes and others which approach neere " them: I say and protest, that if euer my thought, tongue, or hand, my heart, or the least part " of my body or affection haue bin infected or once touched therewith, I will be held for the " most disloyal man liuing, not only vnworthy to taste of your Maiesties clemency, but also " to see your face, yea to tread on the ground which owes you obedience, as polluted by me " in so many sorts, as all the blood in my body could not wash away nor cleanse the spots of F " so foule an ingratitude vnto my King, my Master, and sole benefactor next vnder God. All " the fauours which your Maiesty might impart vnto me, would not serue me but as a free- " ing from punishment, which the most cauterized conscience in the world would continu- " ally giue vnto such a monster of men.

" Againe, I sweare and take the Searcher of all hearts to witnesse that I am wholly inno- " cent of the aboue mentioned crimes how small soeuer, beseeching your Maiesty, in the " name of God, the protector of the innocent, & the Father of truth, rather to giue credit to this

A this iust and true oath made by your most faithfull subiect and seruant, then to the flanders " of those whose actions shew that they haue neither God to feare, King to serue, nor lawes " to keepe. 1605

In the meane time Sir, as I am as free from all these crimes as any one within your " Realme, and haue no more need of the vse of your clemency, then I do feare your iustice: " yet I am neither so presumptuous, nor so ignorant of the infirmity of man in generall, or " of mine owne in particular, but that I doe freely confesse that I may haue offended your " person in diuers sorts, as erring in the iudgement which your Maiesty might haue made " of some action of mine: as to haue feared your presence, and not to present my selfe vnto " B your iustice, before that I had a speciall approbation from your owne mouth, thinking " that I was sufficiently warranted so to doe by that which is comprehended in your Ma- " iesties Edict. To haue vsed some speeches to the Earle of Saint Paul, which called your loue " in question in regard of the vsage of some. To haue sayd that I would neuer see your " face but in a picture, words which were represented vnto your Maiesty in a sense contrary " to my intention, hauing spoken them rather by way of complaint, and prediction of the " continuance of my miseries, by means of your displeasure, then for any designe or de- " sire of my will, which cannot be so inconstant as to fly her owne felicity. I vnderstand also " that your Maiesty is offended for a Letter which I had written vnto the Churches touch- " ing *Renant*, your bounty hath so shined in the obseruation of these Edicts, as you cannot " C imagine that I should perswade your subiects to retire themselves: my feare of the inter- " ruption of your Edict could not make me to incense them: for the maintaining thereof " your Maiesty hath beene offended, I am very loy, hauing had no intention to draw your " subiects to any other motions then the obedience which they owe you. I know and ac- " knowledge freely that these things haue displeased your Maiesty the more, for that I haue " had the honour to serue you priuately. I sorrow in my soule and am much grieved, most " humbly beseeching you to pardon me, and to restore vnto me the honour and onely hap- " pinesse of your fauour: resting fatished with this long and serious repentance which you " haue imposed vpon me, and attributing these faults to indiscretion or rashnesse, or else to " ouermuch confidence of your bounty, whereof I haue had too great a tryall. Vouchsafe to " D receiue of me the seruice which my God, my birth, my conscience, and especially your " ben:fits, bind be to yeeld you, and to continue, not with more fidelity (being able to adde " nothing to this qualitie) but with more circumspection and care not to incense hereafter " him of whom I desire to liue and die,

*The most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull
Subiect and Seruant, Henry dela Tour.*

The Duke of Tremouille ended his fortune by death. He might haue died when as the " King would haue lamented the losse of him more, for he was not now well pleased with " certaine words which had beene reported vnto him; and if he had liued, he would haue " E beene in paine to excuse himselfe of the commandment hee had made him to come " vnto him to answer it: From hence springs two fruitfull considerations; the one, that " there is nothing so fearefull and terrible as the threats and disgrace of the King; the " other, that it is alwayes dangerous to speake ill of his Prince. For the first, *Cassander* " greatly feared *Alexander*, euen when hee was dead, for that hee had sene him once " transported with choller against him. And although that after the death of *Alexander* hee " was aduanced to the throne of Macedon, yet walking in the city of Delphos, and hauing " sene an Image of *Alexanders*, who was now rotten in his graue, hee did so tremble as his " haire stood right vp, his knees failed him, and the palenesse of his countenance shewed his " amazement, by the terrible assault which his memory gaue him: for the second, when a " F free speech hath once escaped against the respect of the Prince, he must haue a great and " a strong citie as *Lisander* laid to defend his liberty of speech. They haue neither friends " nor counsell against the King, and if their misery finds any shadow or protection, it is " but like vnto *Ionas* gourd of one night. Let them not flatter themselves in the great- " nesse of their houses nor their alliances, this quality doth but increase their offence. Prin- " ces are not so much moued with that which the common people do, as with the licentious " words of great men. *Caius* disguised himselfe into as many fashions as he imagined there " were gods. A Cobler seeing him set in his Palace like *Iupiter*, with a Scepter in one hand,

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a thunder-bolt in the other, and an Eagle by his side, burst out in a great laughter. *Cains* A
causing him to come neerer, asked him why he laughed. I laugh at this foolery, answered
the Coblent. The Emperour laught also, suffering it to passe freely without choller, yet
punishing other speeches severely which came from persons better qualified.

Ten Juries
make a penny.

Edict for pay-
ing of the
Paulet.

To end this year, the King made a Declaration, containing a dispensation of the for-
ty dayes, granted by his Maiestie in fauour of all the officers of this Realme, that desire to
enjoy the benefit thereof, paying euery year four deniers vpon the liuer or two shil-
lings, vpon the value of their offices, as shall be set downe by his Maiesties Council.

Vpon the demonstrances made vnto the King in his Council, by some of the chiefe
and most ancient officers of his seuerall Courts of Parliament, and other companies of this B
Realme, that it would please him to set downe some order for the demissions and resigna-
tions of their offices: and also auoyding the losse of so notable a summe, as the value of
their said offices, they may be no more constrained when they grow old, and by conse-
quence are more capable to execute them worthily, to put them into the hands of youn-
ger men, and of lesse experience. His Maiesty hauing caused this to be propounded in
his Council, and desiring to testifie his loue and fatherly affection to all his subiects and
seruants, hath ordained in his said Council, that hereafter all the offices of this Realme,
as well of iustice, finances, as others of what quality soeuer, falling voyd to his benefit,
and being subiect to the rule of forty dayes, except those which shall be found compre-
hended in the contracts of engagement, and concessions made in consequence of those

lands which haue beene heretofore alienated, as well by his said Maiesty, as by the Kings
his Predecessors, shall hereafter be dispensed with from the rigour of the said forty daies,
which euery of the said officers should suruiue after the resignation made of his said office,
accompting from the day and date of the quittance, for the money paid into his casuall
parties, euery one paying yearly (that desire to enjoy the said grace and dispensation) four
deniers vpon the liuer, of the value and estimation made of their said offices, according
to the order which shall be set down by his Maiesties Council: That is for the next year,
within the monthes of January & February, and for the following yeares in lann: & vntill
the 15 of Febr: comprehending the said day, which being past they shall not be receiued:

vpon payment of which money if they shall chance to die during the said year, their of-
fices shall not be declared voyd to his Maiesties profit, but shall be kept for their behoofe
to whom they haue resigned them, in regard of the offices subiect to suppression: and
for those which are not subiect, to their widowes and heires, who may make their best
profit thereof as they shall thinke good, as a thing belonging vnto them, paying onely
into his Maiesties casuall parties the eight denier by the said officers or their widowes and
heires, for the resignation thereof, to be taken of the valuation which shall be made. All
which officers which haue thus purchased the said right, shall enioy the dispensation of
the said forty dayes, during that year, shewing onely an acquittance for the payment
made by them for the said right of dispensation, duly signed by Master *Charles Paulet*,
Secretary of the Kings Chamber, and Farmer vnto his Maiesty, as well of the reuenues E
of the said right, as of his casuall parties, together with an acquittance of the eight denier
paid by them. Vpon which acquittances, his Maiesties pleasure is, that all necessary letters
of prouision shall be granted, vnto the said officers, their widowes and heires, or others
to whom they haue resigned, to enioy the said offices fully and peaceably, with the same
honours, authorities, prerogatives, preeminences, freedomes, liberties, fees, rights, taxa-
tions, profits, and emoluments, which those officers which were last in possession did en-
joy, so as they be found sufficient, capable, and pleasing to his Maiesty. And if any of
the said officers shall neglect in any one year to pay the said right of four deniers vpon the
liuer, they shall be deprived for that year of the said grace and dispensation of forty daies,
to the which notwithstanding they may be restored the following yeares, paying the said
rights yearly by the 15 day of Febr. And the more to gratifie & fauor the officers, which

shall pay the said rights, his pleasure is, that when as they shall come to resigne their of-
fices, they shall not be bound to pay aboute the eight denier of the last value, in stead of the
fourth denier, whereunto resignations were accustomed to be taxed. And as for those
which haue nor paid the said right of four deniers vpon the liuer, they shall be bound at
their resignations, to pay the fourth denier of the iust value of their said offices, as hath bin
alwaies obserued.

But

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A But for that there may be many frauds committed by some, who abusing his Maiesties
bounty and fauour, will not resolute to pay the said right of four deniers, but when as
they haue an intent to resigne their offices, that by this means they might bee discharged
in paying the eight denier in stead of a fourth: his Maiesty desiring to set some order
therein, intends that this next year, all they that shall pay the said right of four deniers
vpon the Liuer, shall enioy, if they resigne within that year, the grace of the eight denier;
but if in the following yeares they shall discontinue the payment of the said right of four
deniers vpon the liuer, they shall be deprived of the said grace of the eight denier, vntill
they haue paid the right two yeares together after the payment whereof, although they
B haue discontinued some yeares, yet may they enioy the said grace of the eight denier,
that year wherein they haue begunne to pay the right of four deniers vpon the liuer,
within the time prefixed.

And as for those that without paying the said right shall chance to dye, before the ac-
complishment of the forty dayes, the said offices shall remaine void to his Maiesties be-
hoofe and profit, as it is now obserued: but to the end the said officers may be eased of
their paine and charges, being forced to take the said right of dispensation from the said
Paulet, his Maiesty doth allow him to establish one or more deputies, in euery generality
of this Realme, who by vertue of their quittances; may within the said time, receiue the
money due for the right of dispensation, from such officers as desire to haue the benefit
C thereof.

And to preuent the abuses which are committed by concealments in many of the
Prouinces of this Realme, many offices which fall voyd by death to his Maiesties profit,
whereof notwithstanding he is frustrate. His said Maiesty doth command all his Bay-
liffes, Scheneshals, Lieutenants Generall, and all his other royall and ordinary Iudges, as
also his Proctors, and their Substitutes, to transport themselves, with the Deputies of
the said Paulet, at the first instance they shall make, into the houses of the said officers, thus
dead and concealed, whereof they shall be bound to make a certificate, the which they
shall deliuer vnto the said deputies, who shall send them vnto the said Paulet, to haue them
put to the tax: and for an exemplary punishment of the said concealment, his Maiesties
D pleasure is, that the rigour of the ordinances shall be exactly obserued, against the wi-
dowes and heires which haue committed such faults, by all due courses, as for his owne
proper money and affaires, notwithstanding all oppositions or appellations what-
soeuer.

And to the end that all officers may be enformed of the grace and fauour granted them
by this present Decree, his Maiesty doth expressly enioyne all the said Bayliffes, Schen-
eshals, and their Lieutenants generall, Prouosts and other his Royall and ordinary Iudges,
euery one in his iurisdiction, to cause it to be read and published in open Court, whereof
they shall be bound to deliuer certificates vnto the bearer hereof, enioining them expressly
to haue a care to the entertainment of the said Decree, the which his Maiesty will haue
E inuolubly obserued in euery point, according to the forme and tenure thereof, notwith-
standing all oppositions or appellations whatsoever, whereof if any shall happen, his Ma-
iestie hath referred the knowledge vnto himselfe: forbidding all his Courts of Parliament,
and other his Iudges whatsoever. Made in the Kings Council of State held for the Fi-
nances. At Paris the 7 of December 1604.

The King hauing receiued sundry complaints from his officers and household seruants,
of the breach of their liberties and priuiledges granted vnto them as well by himselfe, as
by his Predecessors, he thereupon made a declaration of his intent and pleasure, after this
manner.

Notwithstanding any letters Patents heretofore granted by vs, as well in forme of an
F Edict as otherwise, for confirmation of the ancient priuiledges, granted by Kings our pre-
decessors of happy memory, to our household officers and seruants, yet we receiue daily
complaints, of the infinite troubles and vexations which they suffer in the enioying there-
of, by the officers of Iustice, Maiors, and Magistrats of our townes, where our said offi-
cers are abiding, who haue instantly required vs to provide some conuenient and neces-
sary remedy.

Wherefore desiring rather to augment then to diminish the fauors and priuiledges granted
in former times to those which haue had the honor to approach neerer to the persons

B b b b b

of

Priuiledges
granted to the
Kings household
seruants.

of our said predeceffors, and to take away all difficulties which doe arise to ^{the} execution of our will, to the end they may not be of worse condition then those which haue gone before them, who were no more careful of their charges then they are. For these causes and other good considerations vs mouing, of our speciall grace, full of power and royall authority, and with the aduice of our Counteill, we haue to our said household seruants, to them of the Queene our most deare Spouse, our deare and well-beloued sonne the Daulphin, of our most deare and well-beloued daughter, and those which haue heretofore serued the Kings our predeceffors, the Queenes our most honored Ladies mother-in-law, and sisters-in-law, our most deare brother-in-law the deceased Duke of Aniou, & our most deare and only fitter the deceased Duchesse of Barr, which haue bin, or shall be hereafter enrouled in our Court of Aydes, and to their widowes during their widowhood, continued, confirmed, and approued, and by these presents (signed with our hand) continue, confirme, and approue the said priuiledges, freedoms, liberties, immunities and exemptions granted vnto them by our said predeceffors.

We will and our pleasure is, that hereafter, without any other recourfe then these presents, that all the said officers and others aboue-named, with their widowes during their widowhood, shall fully and peaceably enjoy these said priuiledges, and shall be free and exempt from all manner of contributions, both in generall and particular, borrowings to be made as well for vs as the said townes: and in like manner for the prouision for victuals, and munition for warre, conduct money, and from all taxes, aydes, and impositions, watches and wards of Townes, Ports, Bridges, Passages and Straits, furnishing and contribution for Staples, and for lodging of Souldiers both of horse and foot: and generally from all other subsidies, contributions and subventions, made or to be made, for what cause soeuer, although they be not here particularly exprest, whereof we doe free, acquit, and exempt them, nor withstanding there be mention made in the commissions sent and to bee sent, of exempt and not exempt, priuiledged and not priuiledged, and that they haue omitted to make expresse mention of the exemption, exceptions, and reservation of our said officers and household seruants, with their widowes during their widowhood, meaning not that they should be comprehended, but that they should peaceably and quietly enjoy the said freedoms and liberties. Enjoyning our faithfull Councillors, the Treasurers of France, Generals of our Finances, and our well-beloued Prouosts of Merchants, Sherifes and Capitaines of our City of Paris, and all Bayliffs, Scheneshals, Prouosts, E-sleuz and Controulers for matters of Subsidies, Mayors, Jurats, Capitous, Consuls, Sherifes and Capitaines of other Townes of our Realme, Farmers of our Aydes, and other Subsidies whatsoeuer: that in the enjoying hereof they shall not trouble nor molest them, vpon paine of confiscation, with the charges, damage, and interest.

We doe also expresse forbid all Mayors, Sherifes, Consuls, and Commonalties of Townes, Churchwardens and Collectors of Parishs, not to take any of the said officers, hauing a good and sufficient certificate, which if they doe, they themselves shall pay the said taxes.

We also command our faithfull Councillors, holding our Courts of Aydes, Bayliffs, Scheneshals, Capitaines, E-sleuz and Controulers, of our Aydes and Taxes, and others to whom it shall belong, to keepe and obserue our present graces, gratifications, continuations, confirmations, approbations, freedoms, and exemptions, and to publish and enroule it wherefoeuer it shall be needfull; causing the said officers, and their widowes during their widowhood, to enjoy them fully, peaceably, and perpetually, and to discharge them of the said impositions, Aydes, and Subsidies, causing all lets and troubles to the contrary to cease, for such is our pleasure. Notwithstanding all Edicts, Ordinances, Decrees, Orders, Commandements, Defences, and Lets to the contrary, to the which for this regard only, and without prejudice to other things, we derogate by these presents, and to the end it may bee firme and stable for euer, we haue caused our Seale to bee set vnto it.

Giuen at Fontainebleau in May 1605. The like exemptions and freedoms, were granted vnto the officers and household seruants of the Prince of Conde, and of the Duchesse of Angoulesme, which did serue them actually and had their names inrolled.

A Speech made by the Ambassadors of Germanie to the King in the kebale of the Duke of Bouillon.

SIR, the Electors, Princes, Common-weales and Earles most desirous of your prosperity, and of my Lord the Daulphins, whereon they thinke the whole state of your Realme depends, haue deputed vs vnto you to renew the vowes of this sincere & hereditary affection, which they protest alwayes to maintaine most carefully. The reason which now moues them to make this protestation, is, that some finding themselves bound by alliance, and others ride by the bond of cordiall friendship, to participate in the long and painful suffering of the Duke of Bouillon, Marshall of France, who they know is much grieved, to see himselfe deprived of the fauour and honour which your Maiesty hath heretofore so bountifully bestowed on him: and breathing no other thing in his languishing, then the recouerie of this felicitie by your fauour. To obtaine the which he doth continually call vpon God, and humble himselfe vnto your greatnesse. Our Masters ioine their prayers with his, to the one and the other, that it will please him who holds the hearts of Kings in his hand, to mollifie yours, towards one of your most faithfull subjects and seruants, and to restore him to that which his misfortune and no crime committed hath made him lose. We beseech your Maiesty to beleue that they which haue sent vs cannot receiue a more worthy Testimonic of the esteeme you make of their loue and affections, then by the fauourable reception of their request in this behalfe: and moreover, it will bee an assured prooffe vnto them that the enemies of Religion haue laboured in vaine to bandy your desires and designs against them that make profession thereof.

Behold the third year which good men see him banished from your presence, fauour and Realme! This exile is not felt by him alone, wee know that the griefe extends to your most faithfull subjects of either Religion, who participate of his affliction: His house makes him allied to the greatest of your Realme, who will take the like part in the happinesse of his reconciliation as they doe now in his disgrace, and we doubt not, but they would haue beene ready to second our Petition if they thought it would haue beene pleasing to your Maiesty, the which hath made our Masters the more bold to undertake it. It is an exact search which they haue made of the behauiour of the said Duke since hee left your Realme, the which hath giuen them such knowledge of his integrity as they assure themselves that there will neuer be sufficient prooffe to touch him in any sort.

We also assure our selues that the Testimonies of so many great Princes and common-weales, whose faithfull affection vnto your person and Crowne hath bin so well knowne, being put in ballance against the doubts and ialousies of those who louing neither the person nor Religion of the said Duke, seeke to incense you, will easily ouerway them and preuaile, considering that any man of wisdom and discretion which shall take the paines to examine the crimes imposed vpon the said Duke, will finde them incredible, as well for their enormities, as for the contradictions: And it is no matter of light consideration in the minds of our Masters the oath made vnto your Maiesty by the said Dukes Letters, deliuered into the hands of the Lord of Silery by the Seigneur of Montet whereof they haue a Copy, and which they thinke should be of greater weight then all the suggestions made to the contrary, if they bee not verified by proofes as cleare as the day. These reasons with the precedent Declarations made by your Maiesty that you would pacifie your displeasure if some formalities were obserued by the said Duke: makes vs hope that you will yeld to the intercession of our said Masters, ordaining what shall be necessary for the said Duke to doe, to attaine to his former dignity, whereby they shall receiue so great a contentment by the fruit of this Legation, as they would make no difficulty to interpose their Cautions betwixt your Maiesty and the said Duke if need were, to giue you full assurance of the fidelitie which may proceed from the hand, tongue and heart of him whom God hath made your subject, and is an officer of your Crowne by your fauour, to employ himselfe wholly to your Maiesties seruice; for your Royall prosperitie and for the whole Realme: for which bounty and fauour our Masters will hold themselves for euer bound to ioine their vowes and hands, to witnesse their

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their deuotion as truly by effects, as they haue now begunne to represent it by mouth A vnto your Maiestie. To whose speech the King being somewhat discontented, made answer.

That it was the third time the Elector had prest him vpon this subiect, but hee could giue him no other answer then the former. That it rested in the Duke of Bouillon to come and confesse his faults and to demand pardon: the which if he had done, he would willingly haue receiued him with open armes as a father doth his children. That Bouillon had done him bad seruices, and did continue them still. That he was accused, but hee desired that the accusations might not be verified as they are. That their informations were not good, as Monsieur the Elector knew well, neither was it needfull to tell it vnto them. That he was not bound to giue any account to them, their Masters, or to any others. That they should remember where they were, and in what estate he was.

That he had meanes to doe good to his friends, and not to feare his enemies. That *Monsieur de Bouillon* was subiect, and that hee desired not that they should offer their Cautions for him, or that they should deale with his affaires, no more then he would with any others.

To conclude, if *Monsieur de Bouillon* desired restitution, he should come and submit himselfe. ly craue pardon. That he had giuen his promise by word vnto the Elector *Palatine*. That he made no doubt of the continuance of their masters affection towards him, who hee confessed had assisted him at his need, and that they should not repent them to haue done it, C that he for his part would alwayes remaine their friend.

The Iesuits doe cunningly make their profit of this goodly humour wherein they now saw the King vpon the termes of clemency. They had obtained their repaile as wee haue said: at the voyage of Metz: but the Pyramide set vp for an eternall mark, of a most detestable Parricide, and a perpetuall memory of a iust publike reuenge, was a very troublesome moete in their eyes, wherefore they would not returne into Paris vntil they had obtained a demolition. In the end it was granted them in the moneth of May at the instant pursuit of Father *Cotton*. Iustice had caused to be built, and Mercy to bee ruined: a blow with a knife giuen vpon the face of our great King, had caused it to bee set in the most eminent place of the world. All men thought it should haue stood after a thousand Ages, but it scarce continued one age. Such is the certainty of humane things: Thus the strongest resolutions are subiect to change: Thus counells alter according to occurrences.

But we must subiect our selues to the pleasure of the Prince, to whom his estate is generally bound, to will what he wils, and not to accuse any one for this demolition, lest wee should accuse his commandement, who hath onely right to say amongst his subiects, *Such is our pleasure*. But from second causes let vs ascend to the first and Soueraigne, who gouernes the hearts of Kings by himselfe, and disposeth them to receiue such counells as hee thinkes good. The eternall providence provides for accidents according to the necessitie of the State, and the continuall vigilancy of our *Henry* knowes the motiues which presse him to the resolutions which he takes. It is not therefore lawfull for any to iudge of that with impatience which they vnderstand not. The King perswades himselfe that if the Iesuits haue heretofore beene blinshed in their honours, the remembrance of his bounty and fauour will binde them the more hereafter.

The like fauour he also shewed vnto the Marquesse of Verneuil: for shee hauing the space of seuen whole moneths effected the intention of the Decree giuen against her, his Maiesty thought that his Proctor generally, had not onely had time enough to bring new informations against her if there were any; but also that her actions and carlage had giuen an ample testimony of her innocency. Shee therefore besought the King to giue her leaue to take her course in his Court of Parliament, and required that a briefe delay might be giuen to the Proctor generally to furnish her accusation, and to make his proofes: And that for want thereof he should be no more receiued, and she declared innocent of the crimes wherewith she had been charged.

Thus his Maiesty holding it not reasonable that his clemencie & accustomed bounty, should suffer the Marquesse to passe the remainder of her dayes in the doubtfulness of such an accusation, and that she should bee exposted to the perill of the hatred and slander of any one that should haue will to annoy her: he declared by his Letters, giuen in September at Fountainbleau, that as she had not forgotten her selfe in the particular affection where-

Pyramide of the
Iesuits ruined.

quest of
success at
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A wherewith he had honoured her: So had she made proofe of the obedience and fidelity which she did owe him, desiring nothing more then to bee iustified of the fact for the which shee had bene called in question: In like manner hee would not forget the affection hee had borne her, and the naturall children hee had by her. Wherefore he ordained that all pursuits and searches against her should wholly cease, and that from that time shee should bee restored and liue in full libertie of her person, and goods, in the same manner as shee had bene before the beginning of the Proceesse. Hee did abolish and suppress for euer the memory of the crimes wherewith shee had bene charged, so as she hath no feare hereafter to be called in question by the Iustice: And hee dispensed B with her for not presenting her selfe in person to cause these Letters of Abolition to be registred in the Court of Parliament, the which were verified there the sixth day of September.

The taking of the Count of Auvergne had ouerthrowne one of the strongest pillars of this tower of confusion, which threatened to aduance it selfe against France: but the whole building was not like to fall at this blow. For many wrought silently vpon the foundations which the Marshall of Biron had laid in diuers Prouinces of Guienne, namely, in Perigord, Quercy and Limosin, and they sprung vp also in Auvergne, where as the coales did yet smooke which the chiefe fire-brand of this combustion had lately kindled. Languedoc was not free. The Luquisses and others their Adherents had diuers enterprizes vpon the C townes of Narbone, Agde, and Beziers; the which were discouraged by a singular fauour wherewith the Soueraigne Protector of this Monarchy hath alwayes blest it, and the confederates rewarded according to their meritis.

There were already a thousand or twelue hundred Gentlemen which had giuen their faith to declare themselves vpon the first occasion. The faction fortified daily: This Ganguene did hourly seize vpon some new member, and might in the end corrupt the whole body. The Seigneurs of *La Force*, *Themines*, and others who commanded in those quarters vnder the Kings Authority, had charge to crosse the attempts of these mutines. *La Force* hauing intelligence of an assembly which was made in Gascony, whereas some of his owne allies did assist, preferring the publike interest and his Maiesties commandement, D before all other respects, he came suddenly vpon them, tooke foure or fise, & dispersed the rest, some here, some there. *Themines* was as troublesome vnto them in other places. *Belin* a Captaine of Gascony, of the faction of Guienne, a bold and resolute man, promisheth to kill him. But God would make him an instrument to discover some part of this Cabal, which was not yet well knowne. His courage failed him, being ready to doe the execution: And finding his designe diuerted by some heavenly motion, hee came secretly to the Court, where casting himselfe at his Maiesties feet, hee demanded pardon, the which he obtained, and declared that the practice was great and common to many Prouinces, but as yet they had no other designe, but to send some of their company vnto his Maiesty to make complaint of the peoples charge, and of the bad Iustice which was administered by E his Officers, and other things whereof they would demand reformation. These were ordinary and goodly pretexts for such as sought to fish in a troubled water, and vnder the shew of publike good make themselves fat with the wretched povertie of the people, alwayes more susceptible of bad then of good impressions.

The King called one thousand and two hundred Frankes to bee giuen to *Belin*, hee commanded him to returne amongst them, and to discover particularly the Authors and their motiues. He returnes soone after, being gratified with a second liberalitie for the second voyage: He reported, amongst other particularities, that about twenty of the conspirators were at Chapelle Biron with the Lord of the place; That sending them a Pardon they will giue ouer the enterprize, who might informe his Maiesty of more then he, who could not pierce into the depth of it. *Themines* carries it them in forme, and doth summon them to returne to their obedience, from the which they had salne to their own ruines. They answer, that the pardon must be general for them of Auvergne, and for the rest of Guienne: that moreover, hauing not attempted any thing against the Kings seruice, they did not thinke they had need of any pardon.

Notwithstanding some companies of horse and foot, sent by his Maiesty to quench these first flames of rebellion, and to assist a Chamber of enquire appointed by the King at Limoges, consisting of the Parliaments of Paris and Bourdeaux, caused most of this troope

The Discouery
of practices
within the
Realme.

Sixscore pound
stealing.

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troope that was ready to reuolt, to come before the punishment, and not to grow obstinate against force and duty. Some offered to come and demand their Pardons in person. And his Maiestie knowing that great offences haue not alwayes great punishments, but in the most culpable; he was contented that few should suffer the punishments due to the rashness of many.

Martins punishment
in Guienne.

The Baron of Caluerac of Quercy: the Seigneurs of Gaispel, Lymosins; *Penigondan* and *Chassain*, Perigourdins and Capitaine *Mathelin* base brother to *Caluerac* lost their heads. *Chapelle*, *Biron*, *Tayac*, *Gyuerac*, *Balsignac*, *Lugagnac*, and *Reygnac*, were executed in Picture, and some others imprisoned, did coole the courage of many hot braines that were ready to reuolt, and restrained such as finding no worse houses then their owne, fought and tooke an occasion for a cause to better their priuate affaires by a publike reuolt.

The Prince of
Orange, re-
turned to his prin-
cipalitie.

The Churches which carie the title of Reformed in France, were for their affaires assembled at Chasteleraud. *Maurice* Earle of Nassau, takes occasion to write vnto them in fauour of *Philip* Prince of Oranges his brother, and to complaine that many as well of the Nobility of the country, as of the Inhabitants of Oranges, did seek to hinder the restoring of his authority, which the liberty of the last troubles had expelled; although that he had often promised, and did now passe his word, neuer to alter any thing touching their safety, but to suffer them to enioy the like liberty that the other Churches of France did, and to deliuer the government of the castle into the hands of a Gentleman, whose piety, zeale, valor, and integritie might not be called in question. *Blacons* a Gentleman of Dauphiné, held it by succession since the death of his father: Neither *Philip* nor *Maurice* had any occasion to loue him: for he had alwayes neglected their requests and reiected their commandements. The Prince had often complained that he couered his policy with the cloake of Religion, to vsurpe his goods and authoritie, and that hee had lately thought to pre-occupate the Deputies of the said assembly, to giue them an impression of a sinister intent of their lawfull and naturall Lord against the Church of Oranges, contrary to the declarations and promises which he hath often giuen them.

Count *Maurice* doth now make himselfe caution for the assurance thereof: and intreats the Synode to assist his brother with all fauour for his restitution to the Inheritance of his Grandfathers, and to take for assurance the faith which he gaue them by his Letters; and which he promised to giue more expressly (if need were) to any one amongst them that they should chooe to receiue it from his mouth. That by the dismissal of *Blacons*, and the change of the Government which he called tyrannous, into one that should bee lawfull and well ordered, there should be nothing altered nor diminished concerning the safety of the Church of Oranges, nor any prejudice done to the Kings seruice, who had long desired that the Prince of Orange should be put in full possession of his principality. Thus the Prince countenanced by his Miesties expresse commandement, together with the testimonie which the Earle gaue them, touching the intention of his elder brother, recovered that which he had long feared, and afterwards he married *Eleanor* of Bourbon, sister to *Henry* of Bourbon, Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and first Peere of France, a faire and virtuous Lady.

The death of
Theodore Beza.

They of Geneva doe now weepe for the death of the first and most ancient Pastor of their Church. They loued *Theodore Beza* liuing, and they lament him dead: for God had adorned him with graces which may make a man amiable, profitable and commendable amongst men. He was borne the 24 day of Iune in the yeere of our Lord 1519 at Vazelay in Fougundy, his father and mother being Noble, hee was bred vp by *Nicholas de Beza* his Vncle, a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris vnder the discipline of *Melchior Volmar* a Germane, professor of the Greeke tongue in the Vniuersitie of Orleans, and afterwards at Bourges. Vnder whom he professed so well in seuen yeares, as at fiftene he not onely gaue a good and sufficient reason of the Doctrine contained in the most famous authors of Greeke and Latine, but also did answer pertinently in all humane and liberrall Sciences. He had a naturall inclination to Poetry, and being very yong, did publish some licentious Epigrams, whereof he sought to deface the memory, as of the first flowers of his Spring.

At the age of twenty yeares, he was made Licentiate of the ciuill Law, and was furnished with good reuennues in benefices, but he left all, to retire himselfe where that he might

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A might liue according to the Religion, which did then multiply in Christendom vnder the name of the Reformed. He serued the Seignury of Bearne for the space of ten yeares, as professor of the Greeke tongue in their Vniuersitie of Lauzanne; and that of Geneva, in quality of Minister and Professor in Diuinity, from the yeare 1560, vnto the 13 of Ianuary 1600. On which day he expounded for his last Sermon, the third Petition of the Lords Prayer, *Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven*, in the eightieth yeare of his age. For hee would not suffer his decrepitude to liue in idleness, as long as he should haue any strength to labour in his vocation. Hee concluded the rest of his course with a firme iudgement, a sound vnderstanding, and a memory not altogether decayed, in prayers, meditations, and serious discourses: giuing alwayes graue and solid reasons of that which was propounded vnto him, either in matters of Diuinitie, or in Politicke affaires: saying hourly with *Lord Augustine*, *I haue liued long, and sinned long: Blessed be the name of the Lord.* And, *Lord finish that which thou hast begonne, that I suffer not shipwracke in the Port.* And thus repeating many other Oracles, drawne out of the Authority of the holy Scripture, vntill that the Eclipse of the Sun, which was in October, had somewhat increased his infirmitie, yet without paine. His Colleagues thought it fit, that at least two of their company should alwaies be about him to assist him with their faithfull exhortations, and recommend him to the grace of God. Thus attending the last will and pleasure of God, the 23 of October, hauing caused himselfe to be taken vp about seuen of the clocke in the morning, hee made his accustomed prayers in his family, and walked a litle vp and downe his chamber, then as it were feeling the time come wherein he must end the trauels of this life, he demanded if all were well in the town: being answered, yea, hee caused himselfe to be laid in his bed, whereas his senses did suddenly faile him in the midst of a prayer made by *Perrot* a Parisien, one of his Colleagues and neighbours, hee yeelded his soule happily vnto God, without pangs, without conuulsion, and without sighs, hauing liued fourescore and six yeares, three moneths, and nineteene dayes. A man of a reuerent aspect, of a sound iudgement, and happy memory, learned amongst the most learned, alwayes ready to resolue suddenly vpon all questions propounded, practised in any thing that did concerne the Church and government; capable of all abstruse matters, wonderfull eloquent, high in conceptions, quick in his deliuey, and graue in his carriage and discourse, but of an affable, sweet, and most pleasing conuersation.

Comets for the most part are prodigious, said an ancient Poet. Their Decrees are martiall and Mercuriall, that is to say, violent, cruell, fatall, mortall, vncertaine, diuers, mutable and warlike. All that followes, threatens nothing but stormes and tempests. The beginning of this yeare hath giuen vs one, the which shewed it selfe, the third of October the yeare before, in the seuenteenth degree of *Sagittarius*, *Jupiter* holding the nineteenth, *Saturnus* the eleuenth, and *Mars* the two and twentieth degree of the same Signe. At which time there was seene in Hungaria, a Rain-bow as red as blood, which staid at diuers times vpon *Cocker*, vpon *Strigonia*, and vpon Mount *Saint Thomas*, and then vanished away. This bearded Starre was neere in greatnesse and likeness to that which was obserued in the yeare 1573, whereof France, England, the Netherlands, Spaine, Portugall, Hungaria, and in a manner all Europe in general, haue felt but two mournfull effects. Many vnfortunate confellations which meet together, make the Astrologians foresee that it shall produce in that yeare and the following, great and diuers euents, which are so many Trumpets to summon vs to reforme the peruerse actions of our liues, so many warnings of the wrath of God, vpon those Nations which cannot vse those graces well which he giues them in his peace: yet his diuine Prouidence hath alwayes a watchfull eye, to guard those Princes whose reignes he blesteth.

That seditious mutiny in Guienne, that fearfull and prodigious powder-Treason in England, the violence whereof he hath so miraculously diuerted, are sufficient Lessons for them whom hee lately threatened. Behold now another, which teacheth vs, as at many other times, that the blowes of a secret enemy are hard to auoid, and that they must equally esteeme the conscience and friendship of those that shall breake it, at the first aduantage which treason or infidelitie shall open vnto them, without consulting with their consciences, whether it be lawfull to put the sickle into another mans corne, to reape the fruits which they haue not sowne; and whether with their honours they might treat with the subiects of another Prince to the prejudice of the publike peace, and the faith sworne in the

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the name of God, Doubleſſe ſuch practiſes are more dangerous then the force of an open A enemy.

Ambaſſadors are ſacred perſons, and muſt be ſo held and intreated : but it followes not that their priuiledges are not reſtrained within certaine bounds and limits, the which they may not infringe without forcing of the law of Nations: they are not to be blamed if they be careful to aduertſe their Maſters of all occurrents. The very duty of their charge, the loue and ſeruice of their Maſter, and charity to their country doth excuſe them, when they bind thoſe vnto them which may fit them with intelligences. But curſed be thoſe ſubiects whom couetouſneſſe and ambition tranſport to practiſes of Rebellion and Treachery.

Don Balithazar of Suniga, Ambaſſador of Spain, will not haue the King his maſter thinke him leſſe indutious then his Predeceſſor, to win thoſe vnto him that would open their cares and hearts to the inticement of Strangers. *Iohn Taxis* hath conſidered all he could with the Duke of Sauoy, and the Earle of Fuentes, in corrupting many of the beſt qualified within the Realme, and others of meaner ſort, as the courſe of the Hiſtory hath obſerued. *Suniga* hath imitated them but too much ſince his coming into the Realme: as the Treaty of *Entragues*, and the laſt of the Earle of *Auvergne* doe witneſſe. They haue reaped nothing but ſhame and conuſion, as bad counſell is alwayes worſt to him that giues it. He is now ſuſpected to haue raiſed a Leuaine of the ſame Dough, whereof he ſhall eate the Cake with bitterneſſe.

Conſpiracie of
Mairargues.

Mairargues a Gentleman of Prouence, was deputed vnto the King by the States of the country. But he was not long at Court before he made it appeare that they had giuen the purſe of the verieſt theefe. Some years before, hee had propounded vnto his Maieſtie to haue two gallies armed, for the defence of the port of *Marſeilles*, and the coaſts thereabouts : one of the ſlaues in theſe gallies, a man of ſpirit and cunning, giues him inventions to play the Pyrat, with great profit and ſmall ſhew, and he puts them in practice with happy ſucceſſe. Thus *Mairargues* finds him to be an active vnderſtander, and thinks him fit for ſome greater enterpriſe. He therefore vnſolds vnto him the web which he was weaving with the miniſters of Spaine : to deliuer the towne of *Marſeilles* to King *Philip* : a matter (ſaid he) which would not be hard to effect, ſeeing that by meanes of his gallies, he was maſter of the Port : beſides, to make his deſigne the more eaſie, he had by his practiſes gotten a promiſe to be choſen *Viguier* of the town for the next year, by which office having all power at *Marſeilles*, with the keyes of the ports and forts in his hand, hee ſhall hold the towne at his deuotion. The *Galerien* makes himſelfe capable to vnderſtand all the Quinteſſence of this Caballe, and of the meanes which the Author pretended to follow for the execution. Being well inſtructed in every point, hee lets the Duke of *Guiſe* vnderſtand, that if it pleaſe him to mediate his pardon and liberty, hee will diſcouer a matter vnto the King which imports his Eſtate, and adds withall, that he will deſire no liberty if it be not found true. The Duke giueſt aduice vnto the King, and the King commands him not to neglect any thing, that he ſhould learne all that might be knowne : for in matters of that conſequence, he muſt ſecke all meanes, and ſet all ſtones to worke. So the King E

Diſcouered by
a *Galerien*.

is aduertſed that *Mairargues* draws from the King of Spaine the pay for the whole entertainment of his Maieſties gallies, and that euery year hee puts the Kings pay into his coffers, beſides the penſion which he hath from the Spaniard, of whom he is (as it were) Admirall in the King his maſters veſſels. That he hath ſo aduanced his traffike, as hee was within a ſhort time to make the King of Spaine maſter of *Marſeilles*. At the ſame time *Mairargues* came to Court: the King cauſeth him to bee ſecretly knowne to *La Varenne* *Gouernor* of Angers, who vnder colour of his familiarity, obſerues him, and ſets ſuch watches over him, as the ordinary going and coming of a Flemming named *Bruneau*, Secretary to the Ambaſſador of Spaine into *Mairargues* lodging, made them iudge that they hatched an egge which would bring forth a bad Rauin. In ſurpriſing them they F might by the ſame meanes ſurpriſe the papers and inſtructions of their negotiations. *La Varenne* and *de Fontis* *Lieutenant* to the great Prouoſt, had the charge from the King. They do it ſo diſcreetly, as the 5 of December, being aduertſed that the Secretary was entred into *Mairargues* lodging, at the Signe of the Pantofle in the Cloiſter of *S. Germaine* of *Auxerois*, they goe and enquire to ſpeake with him about nine of the clocke at night: but vpon his ſeruants anſwer, that they could not ſpeake with him, being buſie with one in his cabinet touching ſome affaires, they cauſed one of the Archers to entertaine his men with

A with a tale, and in the meane time goe vp to his chamber, whereas they heare at his Study doore a part of their diſcourſe. Coming out of the Study, *de Fontis* laid hold vpon *Mairargues*, who euen then pronounced his owne condemnation. I am a dead man (ſaid he,) but if the King will giue me my life, I will diſcouer great matters vnto him. The Secretary would haue drawne his ſword, but they put him preſently into ſafe keeping. The Preſident *Tarin* being appointed, with *Sillery* Keeper of the great Seale, to examine them in the preſence of *Lomenie* Secretary of State, they diſcouered that they ſhould ſoon put in execution, that which they had long before profeſſed. The Secretary was carried priſoner to the Chaſſeler, and *Mairargues* to the Baſtile. The Papers which were found as well in B *Mairargues* chamber and Study, as about the Secretarie being hidden vnder his garters betwixt two ſtockings, did ſufficiently proue the fact.

Notwithſtanding his Maieſty according to his cuſtome tempering the ſeueritie of his iuſtice, with the mildneſſe of his clemency, knowing, that *Mairargues* was allied to the Duke of Montpenſier, and to the Cardinall of Joyeuſe, by reaſon of his wife, he ſent them word, that in reſpect of them, and for their ſakes, he gaue *Mairargues* his life, but he ſhould remaine in perpetuall priſon. Their anſwer merites to be regiſtered in our Hiſtory, being generous and like true French-men: to ſerue for a leſſon to poſterity, that the Princes ſeruice, and the loue of our country, is to be preferred before all reſpect of friendſhip, alliance, or kindred. They moſt humbly thanke the King, and beſeech his Maieſtie not to C breake the courſe of Iuſtice in fauour of them; That they ſhould bee alwayes glad, that France ſhould be freed from ſuch ſoules: That treachery is ſo hateful vnto them, as they themſelues would be the executioners, if there were not any other to be found. So the Proceſſe being already inſtructed in the Councell, and by the great Prouoſt, it was ſent to the Court of Parliament to be finiſhed according to the accuſtomed forme. The Ambaſſador hearing of the detention of his Secretary, and of the cauſe thereof, he demands audience : where hee complains, that by his Maieſties commandement, his Secretarie was committed to priſon: he cries out with great vehemency, that it was to violate the priuiledges of Ambaſſadors, and to doe him great wrong by impriſoning him, a greater in detaining him, but moſt of all in examining him. That hee had not practiſed *Mairargues*;

The complaint
of the Ambaſſador,
doe.

D but contrariwiſe *Mairargues* had very importunately ſought him. That neither the Ambaſſador, nor the Secretary of a foraine Prince, are bound to reſuſe the Kings ſubiects to haue acceſſe vnto their houſe, nor to forbear to heare ſuch as would make propoſitions and offers vnto them, for their Maſters ſeruice. That they are bound to aduertſe him of ſuch offers, and are not tyed to reueale to the King of France the bad ſeruices of his ſubiects. That there is not any good ſeruant nor miniſter of the King of Spaine, which doth not wiſh and procure by all his endeauours, the increaſe of his greatneſſe, yea, of the abſolute Monarchy of the whole world if it might be. That the King of Spaine their Maſter, hath not made ſo great brute of an enterpriſe made by the French in *Granado*, vpon ſome places of importance. He doth not ſtorke at their ordinary practiſes in *Nauarre*, *Biſcay*, E in *Flanders*, and other places of the Archdukes country, nor the ſuccours of men, money, artillerie and munition, which the King doth viſibly giue, vnto his maſters rebellious ſubiects. That the King of Spaine was a little moued, to heare that the King reioyced too openly at the good ſucceſſe of Cont *Maurice* and the Eſtates, & was grieved at their loſſes. That the world will witneſſe with the Catholike King, that hee doth patiently beare the bad offices which are done him dayly by the Kings ſubiects, to the preiudice of the peace ſworne betwixt France and Spaine. That *La Boderie* being with the Archdukes for the Kings ſeruice, had ſought to praſtiſe the Earles of *Vanden-bergh*, and a Secretary of the Archdukes, yea, by the inducions of his Maieſties chiefe Councellers and Secretaries. And yet neither the King of Spaine, nor the Archdukes, did euer make any complaint, or demand Iuſtice. To conclude, that hee neuer made any motion to *Mairargues*, but to haue him to goe into *Flanders*. That his Maieſtie ſhould be better pleaſed to haue them fauour that party, rather then that of the Enemies of the Catholike Religion. And that if his Secretarie were not deliuered, hee profeſſed of violence done to the liberty and ſafety of his charge, which is the greateſt offence that may be done to the King his Maſter in his perſon.

But he that will haue credit giuen to his words, muſt beware that his writings doe not contradiſt them. The inſtructions lately ſurpriſed ſing another note of a contrary tenor:

C c c c c

And

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Mairargues taken with the
Spaniſh Ambaſſador's Secretary.

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And who knowes not that the King of Spaine, since the peace of Veruins hath openly A supported the Duke of Sauoy his brother-in-law, against the King, to maintaine him in the possession of those places which he had vnrped of this Crowne? how much doth the Fort built by the Earle of Fuentes import his Maiestie, not only for that it doth annoy his Allies, but also for that it doth hinder the passage and intercourse of the French into Italy? What be the ordinary practices both open and secret of the Ministers of Spaine, to distract the Swisses and Grisons from the Kings friendship? The onely treachery of *Loffe*, who discovered all the secrets of the Councell, hath he not done more wrong to his Maiesties seruice, then all that which the Spaniard can pretend against vs? The defection of the Marshall of Biron corrupted by the presents and hopes of strangers, is it not a sufficient B proofe of the small esteeme, which King *Philip* makes of an oath, which he had sworne to obserue the peace? A stranger to be found treating at an vn due houre, with a treacherous subiect, against the publike faith, against the duty of an Ambassadour and Minister to a King, who makes profession of friendship with ours, to cause him to lose one of the most important Townes of his Realme: and shall there bee no law to assure himselfe of his person, nor to cause him to be examined, to discover the truth, and vncloud the face of Diffimulation in a matter of such consequence? The priuiledges of an Ambassadour are not so generally, but they are restrained, not to seeke by sinister meanes to suborne the subiects of a Prince, neare vnto whom he doth reside: and vnder colour of Peace and friendship, to practice against his Estate. Notwithstanding, the King assures him by the vertue of C his royall word and promise, there shall be no wrong done vnto his Secretarie: hee is too great a friend, and a fauourite to Iustice and Equitie, to violate the Rights of an Ambassadours charge.

Finally, as the Ministers of Spaine haue giuen the King great occasion, to hope for little friendship from them, since the peace of Veruins, hauing either begonne or nourished to many fittall Designes to the pruiidence of this Estate, and the publike tranquillity, as the truth of the History doth teach vs: so future ages will not finde it strange, if hee hath desired that they should not subdue them whom they rearme their Rebels. In this consideration, his Maiestie hath bene more ready and willing to restore them the money, wherewith they had supplied his wants during the warres. Hee hath not in truth D made shew to desire their ruine and destruction: yet hath hee not assisted them with Artillery nor Munition, as the Ambassadour pretends. Many of his subiects bred vp in martiall discipline, goe to seeke their fortunes in Hungary, with the Archdukes, and with the Estates, neither is it in his Maiesties power to make them change their inclinations, to serue the one rather then the other. The warre of the Low-countries hath not Religion for the obiect. It is a meere warre of State, covered with a goodly and plausible pretext to giue the greater lustre to the cause of the assilant. This maske cannot serue him any longer, to disguise the truth of his conceptions. And if there were any question made to fight for the Catholike Religion, France would neuer attend to haue a summons from Spaine: shee would alwayes display her Ensignes first in field, as shee hath E cuer done in former ages. As for the Conspiracies pretended by *Suniga*, against the Estates of King *Philip* and the Archdukes: it is well knowne, that some broken by the Racke, and excess of torments, others terrified with the horrour of threats, and some wonne by the promises of recompence, hath babbled something. But what likelihood is there, that a people which knowes not how to pardon, would haue sent backe so many prisoners, if they could haue conuicted them of any crime? The King denies not but hee hath sometimes suffered his seruants to make such propositions of themselves, to haue wherewithall at need to crosse the ambushes and bad offices of the King of Spaines ministers. Yet it can neuer be verified, that his Maiesty hath commanded them to proceed, nor that he hath caused his Ambassadors to make Treaties to the prui- F dice of the Princes, where his Maiesty doth entertaine them, as the Ambassadors of Spaine haue often done, and now lately with *Mairargues* the prisoner. The question is not now of going to serue in Blanders, and if there were no other crime, is it not capital in a subiect which goes to serue a foraine Prince without the liberty of his Soueraigne? The Archdukes Agent had likewise engaged *Terrail* and many others, without any respect that he was a household seruant to the King, & particularly bound to the company of my Lord the Dauphin. The Governor of Perpignan hath done the like with the *Luquisses* and

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A and their companions, to deliuer many places in Languedoc, to the Spaniard. As for *Bodieres* treating with the Earles of Vandenberg, his Maiestie is ignorant thereof: while he did happily let them vnderstand how much he did esteeme their valour and generosity: neither are they held to be borne subiects to the Archdukes, but Germanes. *La Bodiere* did feelee the Secretaries pulse, that it was with his priuity, but with no other designe, but to learne newes by his meanes, the which is not reproachfull in Ambassadors, who seeke to serue their Masters wel in like cases. His Maiesty doth excuse the Castilians for the corruption of *Loffe*, to whom he knowes they addrest themselves to the like end. But when these Treaties passe vnto practices, such as they haue pursued with *Mairargues*, the *Luquisses*, B and others named in the History, at diuers times, who had no other end, but to ouerthrow the Realme vpon his Maiesties head, and to ruine it quite. An open warre would be more honorable for Princes, and more profitable for their Estates, then to nourish vnder the ashes of a fained friendship, fuming firebrands to kindle a horrible combustion vpon the first occasion in their Estates, who thinke themselves assured vnder the shadow of publike tranquillitie.

The Ambassadors words had moued the King beyond his owne nature. But behold he is now flung to the quicke by the Castilians reply. The King of England (said he) in that which concerns the estate of the Netherlands, doth better obserue the Peace and friendship which he hath promised vs, although he be of a contrary Religion. Some man thinks C to reuenge a shame, which doth increase it. All comparisons are odious: and this doth not serue his turne that did alledge it. His Maiestie did riet this nayle with such quicknesse and viuacitie, as he would gladly haue recalled his words: For (said the King) the King of England hath begun beimes to know what trust may be expected from the Ministers of Spaine. I thinke also that hereafter I shall haue the like occasion to commend them. Notwithstanding, as I am content to entertaine peace & good correspondency with your Master if he giue me occasion: So I shall alwayes bee ready to encounter him that shall inuite me. I will cause my selfe to be informed of the grounds and truth of those things wherewith your Secretary is charged, and will afterwards cause you to be aduertised thereof, to know if you will aduoe them or not, and according to your answer, aduise D what I haue to doe. Thus the Ambassadour retired, discontent on the one side, that hee could not returne home with his Secretarie; but on the other, being forced to admire his Maiesties courage and wisdom, who doth not any thing in matters of consequence, but with wise counsell, and mature deliberation. Great men doe easily preferre the aduantage of an apparant profit before the breach of Faith.

Our *Henry* doth gouerne himselfe after another manner. Hee knowes that Faith must be inuolubly kept: euen with enemies, seeing it is the ground and foundation of humane society. This *Bruneau* conuicted of crime, hee could not be honestly aduowed by his Master, and to disauow him were to deliuer him into the hands of the Kings Iustice. But hee E is so moderate and temperate a Prince, as hee can quit part of his Right to them, that hee could bring into a tragicke Theater, to play a part there fit for so audacious an enterprife. *Mairargues* alone suffered the punishment of his offence, being condemned the nineteenth of December. The same day hee lost his head at the Greece, and his body was quartered, the which were hung vp at the entry of the chiefe Ports of the City. His head was caried to Marfeilles, and set vpon a Lance ouer the chiefe Port of the Towne. His goods were confiscate to the King, reseruing 12000 Livers to the poore, 12000 to the reparation of the Palace, and 12000 for the Ports and Hauens of Marfeilles. Yet his Maiestie disposed a great part of this confiscation in fauour of the widow. Great summes, which shew that the treachery of this Gentleman, is so much the more detestable, for that he had good reuenues, and was well allied: and that the holy Scripture doth name couetousnesse the root of all euill, ioyned with Ambition and Treachery, pernicious Councillors of State, verifying the Oracle: *That man hath no miseries but what hee procureth by his owne vice.*

Hee might haue ended his dayes as gloriously vpon the Theater of Vertue, as hee died shamefully vpon an ignominious scaffold. Active spirits which cannot containe themselves in the calme of Peace, finde wherewith to make their courage famous, if any generousitie animates them to actions which the spurre of Honour excites in the noblest resolutions. The example of *Guy* Earle of Lauall inuited him to this tryall. Age and Force

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had

Mairargues
beheaded.12000 Livers
12000 pounds
sterling.

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had scarce brought this Nobleman to this commendable ambition, to learne the Art of A those whom Nature had bred of that quality to runne this Fortune. But behold, hee goes to seeke some schoole of Mars, to be as well instructed in the schoole of Honour, as he had beene in the differences of Religion, against the precepts of his birth and first institution. He obtained leave of the King, and parted from Paris the 29 of August, being followed by fiftene or fixtene Gentlemen, with a traine fit for his quality, vnder the conduct of *Marsuilles*, a Gentleman of Sologne, being famous for that he had slaine in single combat with a Lance Little *Marivaunt*, despairing to follow the deceased King his good Master: the King had lately made choise of him, to temper the violent heat of this young apprentice, and to keepe him from running into danger vnadvisedly. He was honoured by the Duke B of Lorraine at Nancy: from thence hee tooke his way to Strausbourg, Stuckart, Vlme, Newbrough, Ingolstadt, Ratisbone, and Vienne. He saluted the Arch-duke *Matthias* in a country-house, (whither, as the brute was, the Plague had drawne him) who seemed to adde something extraordinarily in the honours he did him, it may be by reason of the House of Arragon, whereunto that of Laual is allied. The 13 of October he came vnto the Imperiall Armie, which camped about Comorth, too weake to raise the siege of Strigonia, which the Turke did presse: all the Noblemen of the armie, and especially *George Bass* Lieutenant general of the Emperors, receiued him with all the honour and demonstrations of loue they could.

Strigonia being yeelded by the treachery of the Germanes, the Turkes dis-banding by C troops, gaue him occasion, to make prooffe of the affection which hee bare vnto this holy warre, in many encounters, skirmishes, alarms, taking of places, and other stratagems, whereas men of honour shew their resolutions. The 25 of Nouember gaue him a favourable opportunity, wherein hee did shew himselfe the true sonne of his father, who with the greatnesse of his courage surmounted the finalnesse of his body, and Grand-child to a Grand-father, who in the flower of his age, had purchased the title of *Knight without feare*. Fourteene or fiftene thousand horse charged a Regiment of Reistres, which made the retreat; when as the French and Wallons with the whole army following flaid their fury, and made them to recouer the top of a mountaine: yet often turning head, and witnessing that Feare had not put wings to their feet. In this retreat the Earle of Laual D was noted to haue done as much as any noble spirit encouraged by the sight of an enemy might do, alwayes the last with his followers in the reer-ward, and the first to make head, if the enemy did offer to charge.

But he had scarce made the first flames of his heat to shine, when as behold the 3 of December quencht him in an instant, when as they began to promise more glistering beames. The Turke came to charge the fore-ward in the morning: at this alarm he armes, but so hastily as he gaue his people no leisure to make fast the Garter which should tye his tassets at the knee. He leapes into the saddle, and runnes with his traine into the hottest of the fight. The ioy he had to be in so good an encounter, making him to lose all apprehension of danger. His Armes being guilt, made the enemy to note him for a man of quality. E They discharge a shewer of Arrowes, and shot vpon him: one pierceth the neather plate of his tassets hanging loose, and so past through his thigh into his body. *Le Frasny* Lieutenant Colonel to Cont *Bingraff*, who led the French and Wallons, and Captain *Bourgle-Roye*, who commanded a company in this Regiment, are commended for that they desired to succour him being thus charged, if the Marshall of the campe had not forbidden them to breake their ranks, vpon paine of death.

The enemy sometime chafing, sometime chafed, desired nothing more then to retire, seeing all the Christian armie to aduance: when as the Earle of Laual breathing more courage then life, returned to the charge, and pursued them a good League, vnto a riuers side, whereas there were one thousand and fye hundred slaine and drowned, F and nine Cornets, with many good horses taken. The riuer, and the greatnesse of his wound stayed him suddenly: hee begonne to stagger. They laid him vpon the ground, and finding himselfe to grow faint, hee called for a little Wine, the which hee had no sooner taken, but lifting his eyes, and hands to heauen, hee ended the trauels of this miserable life, to exchange it with the rest of the most blessed. Happy to haue dyed in the bed of honour, in a iust and holy quarrell, which many of his ancestors had sealed with the same seale; and most happy to haue left that commendable memory to

Death of the
Earle of Laual.

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A posteritic, neuer to haue giuen any man subiect to complaine of him His body was honorably conducted to Vienne: his followers did not forget any thing, to let those Nations know, in what ranke they held their Master. His bowels were solemnly interred in the most honourable place of the Quire in the Franciscans Church, iust by the Queene of Frances tombe. The body was conuayed with honour and respect into France, and dorso now rest at Laual attending the comming of the Soueraigne Iudge.

If there bee an arme to root out the wicked, there is another to maintaine the good. Three years of imprisonment in the Bastille (as we haue shewed) haue giuen his Maiefty leisure to know, that there was nothing in the actions of *Mombarot*, contrary to the fidelity B which he hath heretofore sealed by many worthy acts, in occasions which had bin offered to the establishment of his royall authoritie. His onely sonne had many times cast himselfe at the Kings feet, beseeching him, that seeing his fathers enemies could not conuict him of any crime, it will please his Maiefty to giue him that liberty, which slander, the cruellest torment which a generous minde could feare, had taken from him: Or to suffer him that by his company he might comfort him in his misery, by the seruice which nature binds the sonne to doe vnto the father.

The King moued with the pitie of the sonne, and the innocency of the father, verified by so long a tryall: He presently dischargeth *Mombarot* in the month of December, from all subiect of his detention, disanulling all pursuits, all Decrees and Iudgements gi- C uen vpon this subiect, so as he might neuer bee molested, nor it preiudice his reputation, no more then that which had beene done by him heretofore within his gouernment, during the troubles past, for his Maiesties affaires, the which are heretofore allowed by other Letters Patents. And moreover, he did restore him to his full liberty, & to the possession of all his goods without further trouble. But not to his gouernment, whereunto (to auoid iealousie, and to entertaine concord among his Officers) he had aduanced the Seigneur of Bethunes lately his Ambassador at Rome.

Thus the King hauing disperst the clouds which threatned France with a Chaos of diuers confusions in general, and taken away the subiect of great partialities for the gouernment of the town of Rennes, there is nothing now that doth afflit his spirit but the affairs D of Sedan; being resolute to bring him to that estate as his Maiefty should not need to haue any feare hereafter on that side, no more then on the other, whereas he hath lately quencht the first flames which haue caused a dangerous fire within the Realme.

The King prepares with all the speed he may, for the siege of Sedan; whilst the people of Paris view the rich beautifyings and new decorations of their capitall City. It hath the last obligation to Master *Francis Miron* Councillor of State to the King, Lieutenant ciuill in the Prouosty of Paris, and heretofore Prouost of Merchants. Dignities where- with the noble Families of the City thinke themselves honoured, as with the first public Magistrate of the first citie of the world; Paris doth now glory to see her towne- house beautified with a pleasing fore-front, and other goodly buildings. To see her pub- E like commodities increased, with a stately Port at the Tournelle, & that of the temple repaired, which the miseries of former ages had kept shut about forty years. To see before the gate of the sacred temple of Royall Iustice, a goodly Fountaine to spring vp, which doth wash that foule and detestable fury lately marked by a Pyramide, for a Monument which they presumed should haue beene eternal. To see the corners of the streets watered with many other Fountains, which will for ever refresh the memory of their restorer. Many streets opened, and paved to void the filth and the corrupt waters. Many bridges of Stone made. Many Ports built anew, and paved for the common ease: and many waterings restored. Finally, Paris commends him to haue done more for her ornament in two years, then his Predecessors had scarce done in twogages: and doth honour so many acts F done by *Miron*, of piety towards the poore, and strangers, to the sicke and diseased, and to the Church; of wisdom and fidelitie to the common good, to the administration of the publicke Treasure, in his good husbandry, and employing it for the beautifying of the City, in discharge of her debts. in the charges and rents of her demeanes, for his loue to his country, and his care and diligence to produce fo many goodly effects, which recommended his Magistracie, for his painfull indeauours, for the which hee hath made this abridgement of the world to flourish. For his great affection, by the which knowing that his owne health was ioyned with that of the common-weale, hee hath not respected

Mombarot's at
liberty and de-
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enue, nor hatred, which doth commonly follow vertue (as the shadow doth the body) A in regard of that pleasing contentment which a good conscience brings to man, whose actions feare neither censure, nor Ostracisme, to that sweet consolation to leave his charge with lesse gaine, but more honour; and to haue by his commendable actions, giuen the King himselfe subiect to propound vnto the successor, the example of his predecessor when as he went to deliuer into his Maiesties hands the keyes and scales of the towne. A graue and sufficient testimony of honour, whereon slander can take no hold.

Supplications
of the Clergy
to the King.

The Kings
answer.

His Maiesty at the same time gaue audience to the Petitions and Declarations of the Clergy being assembled at the *Augustines* in Paris. They insisted vpon the afflictions of the Church which was troubled. They required with great vehemency to haue the Council of Trent receiued. They shew the abules of symonies, and confidencies: And do recommend the choise of capable men in elections. The King acknowledged that all which they had said was true. The Church is afflicted: so he desires to do any thing that depends of him for the restoring thereof. If the publication of the Council be sufficient to restore it, he hath desired it, and doth desire to see the effect: but humane considerations doe many times crosse them of heaven, notwithstanding he will alwayes imploy both blood and life, for that which shall be to the good of the Church and seruice of God. As for Symonies, & confidencies, his Maiesty did exhort them to begin the cure by themselves, and to prouoke others by their examples to doe well. They are witness how he proceeds in elections. Those which he hath established differ much in sufficiency and merits, C others of former times; and the report which the Clergy it selfe hath made vnto his Maiesty, will double his courage to doe better hereafter.

To conclude, the King assured them as a good Prince, of his affection and sinceritie to any thing that did concerne the peace of the Church, and the protection of them which seruie at the Altar. But wishall he spake some words vnto them like a good father: that he was offended at the length of their assembly, at the great number of deputies and the factions that were among them. Remember (said his Maiesty) that you are now readie to enter into Lent, what your charges bee, and that your presences are necessary in your Churches. By your tediousnesse you driue the poore Curats to hunger and despair. I will ioyne with them, and with the honestest of your company, to take order for the long D time which you haue spent in your assembly, finally make accompt of my firme affection, to the seruice of God and to your protection. The Marshall of Bouillon had in the meane time by his submissions disposed the King to impart vnto him an equall or greater fauour, then before his disgrace: but his Maiesty did not yet finde them so free, as he might conceiue a full assurance, for the intercessions of the Queene of England, in the beginning of his retreat, of the Count Palatine, of the Marquis of Brandenburg, of Anspach, of Bade, and of many cantons of the leagues, by expresse Ambassadors, together with the Marshalls long stay without the Realme, as wee haue seene, made them presume that hee had forsok himselfe with diuers forain friendships, so as the King would haue him come in person to iustifie himselfe, and to see him of this imagination. His Maiesty doth summon him like a good Master and his best friend, and being alwayes more inclined to clemencie then seueritie, he desired rather to induce him by amiable callings, then by Soueraine Authoritie, or lawfull commandements.

Duke of Bouillon
cannot be
used to come
so Court.

Heretofore hee had sent *Montlouis* vnto him; and of late dayes *La Noue* to that end, yet their persuasions were not of sufficient force to disperse all the subiects of distrust which he had conceiued: neither could hee resolute to come but with speciall warrant, his friends doe what they can to entertaine this good will which the King doth now witness vnto him: but with all they know what his Maiesties resolution is if hee obeyes not, and exhorting him speedily to content his bounty, by a full and not limited satisfaction, they incite him to follow his duty, and to fly his danger.

The King
goes out will
out an este
demand.

He demands a
pawnee, his
half pay.

The King was well pleased with the mediation of the Princeesse Dowager of Orange, by whom his Maiesty grants him freely all that he demands, so as (saith he) he doth witness by his actions that he deserves my fauour. But it is reason (addes the King) that granting vnto the Duke of Bouillon all the assurance he requires, he should giue mee such a pawnee of his fidelity, as I may not hereafter doubt of his duty. This pawnee which the King demands, is the guard of the Cattle of Sedan; giuing his word not to place any gouernour, nor garison, but of the religion receiued in the estate of Sedan: and not to praiudice the

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A quiet of that Church, nor the rights and reuenues of the Lord; but onely to bee assured that this place hereafter shall not be in case to hurt him.

The Duke of Bouillon is amazed at this newes, he thinks that to deprive him of this possession, is to exclude him from all tolerable conditions. He makes many offers. He beseecheth his Maiesty to take both his person and the Souerainie of Sedan into his protection. He offers to receiue his Maiesty with all the honour that is due vnto him, with what company he pleased, without limitation, without restriction, and to beat downe the Cattle gates for his entry, the conditions of the protection being by the Kings good pleasure concluded, signed, and verified as they ought. He consents that the Gouernor of the B Castle should take an oath of fidelity to the King conformable to the Articles of protection. And in case the Duke should infringe it, the Gouernor should be freed of the oath which he owes him, to keepe the faith which he hath sworne to the King. That the like oath should be taken by the garison and inhabitants of Sedan. That hee will absent himselfe, if it did not please the King he should remaine there, and would lodge his wife and children, in some one of his houses within the Realme, to serue for an assurance to his Maiesty, with all his goods, and remaine so much the more bound to the full obseruation of faith which he owes vnto his said Maiesty.

But for all this, the King will not receiue him into grace, nor trust him vnlesse hee may haue this caution in his hands. The Duke on the other side will by no means dispossesse C himselfe of the guard of his Castle, and will rather endure all fortunes, all extremities, for it is no lesse troublesome vnto him to be spoiled of this place, then to bee separated from his owne moiety, from his flesh and bones: his Maiesty then resolues to constraine him to quit that by force which he will not doe by free will. The inhabitants of Sedan are much troubled, now they hold the Wolfe by the eare, they know not how to keepe him, nor how to let him goe. The Duke of Bouillon is their Lord: his affliction is theirs. Can they or may they abandon him whom God hath giuen them for their Lord? But on the other side, shall they grow obstinate against a mighty King, who is alwayes victorious, a King, against whose force they confesse themselves to be but dust? they therefore humbly beseech his Maiesty to spare a people, which heares nothing in their Assemblies but D vows for his prosperity, who see nothing but the Flower Deluce vpon the Cattle gates, who breathe nothing but seruice, and desire nothing more then to spend their bloods for the encrease of his Estate, and who abhorre to be reduced to that extremity, as to defend themselves for their owne preferuation. His Maiesty giues them his word, yea with an oath, that if he should take the place by assault, he would leaue the inhabitants of Sedan in the same estate they were, and would maintaine them in the same priuiledges, wherewith he did gratifie them of his Realme. That he had iust occasion to bee incensed against a subiect who runnes voluntarily to his owne ruine, for a thing without the which he might well subsist. That he will take this place from him, to take from him the meanes to doe ill, and will not touch the priuiledges of the towne, nor meaning to appropriate another mans E inheritance vnto himselfe, for he knoweth that the Lord giueth portions to Nations, and separates the children of men one from another; he will not that any man shall remove his neighbours bounds.

The King
resolues to be
geehim.

The place imports his Maiesty as well for the situation, as for the strength. It is seated vpon the Frontier of France, much stronger then any of that quarter: and by consequence fit to trouble the estate of the Realme, and to breed ambitious counsels in them which seeke for all occasions of inuouation. Out of doubt these were strong reasons: but both the inhabitants of Sedan, and the Marshall of Bouillons friends, together with those that desired to haue these matters managed after some milder course, produced other reasons, considerable both for waight and number, to diuert this designe. Sedan (saith they) is fortified vpon a rocke, inuironed with goodly great Bastions, and deepe ditches cut out of the rocke, the which cannot be taken but by filling of them vp: you must come vnto it by degrees to take the outward part, the which cannot be kept by reason of the good counter-scarpes, flanked of themselves, and flanked moreover by the Cattle, and by the Bastions, so as it cannot be taken but by length of time, with great expence of money, munition, and losse of men. The importance of this conduct will force the King to bee there in person: for he knoweth that he is neuer so well serued as in his owne presence: and can he more assure himselfe of the fidelity of many, then of their sufficiencies. And the furni-
ture

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niture for fifty Cannon which his Maiesty prepares, with an army answerable, led so neere A the Low Countries, almost into Bourgondy, shall they make so little brute as the King of Spaine will not startle thereat? will he not be careful to man his frontier with another army? for Princes conclude their safeties more by that which they see, then by that which they heare. And he which gapes after all occasions of greatness, who thinks he hath more iustice to succour a Soueraigne assailed within his Estate, then they have to assist his rebellious subjects against him: will hee let passe this opportunitee if hee can, to make the Duke of Bouillon stand obstinately vpon his defence? will hee faile to suggest all necessary meanes, to crosse him whose prosperity he doth not behold, but with a malignant and enuious eye? Is it not credible, that both he and the Archdukes had rather haue the present possessor for their neighbour, then so mighty and redoubted a Prince? And is Sedan at this day lesse able to kindle dangerous combustions, then it did betwixt Francis the first, and Charles the fifth? So much needy Nobility which bow their necks vnder the burthen of the last warres: so many malecontents which thinke they haue merited more then the King thinks he owes them, would they not goe to field to foster their old designs, and to breed new? A royall army planted in one of the corners of the Realme, can he extend her wings farre enough to couer the remote Prouinces? His Maiesties Lieutenants, are they all of one temper? a change of affaires, may it not change their affections? doe they all loue, are they equally beloued, to hope for equall seruice, equall fidelity? will not the season make them vary their reason? The ashes of former combustion, doe they not couer some little fire, which some may take delight to kindle, when as the army shall haue least meanes to bring water to quench it? But what a displeasure were it to be forced to raise a siege from another mans Towne, to goe and plant it before one of his owne, assailed by the stranger. There is danger to lose the principall for the accessory.

As for strangers, England is so wonderfully scandalized at the monstrous attempts, lately discovered against their Princes, as they will neuer like of a war begonne against them of their belife, what lustre soeuer it carry. Italy promitteth it selfe great assistance of the French against the designs of the Earle of Fuentes: but it hath not so great prouision of courage, but it will be much daunted, seeing their forces turned another way. The Swisses will blame this designe, some for that it is against a Nobleman, and an estate of their confession: Others, for that they will say they are abandoned to the Sauiyard and Millanois. The Grisons are in the same predicament, and saile in the same Sea. The Estates of the vnited Prouinces will feele a great preiudice in their affaires, by the cutting off the commodities of France, being appointed for other places: The Empire will grow ialous of this approach, and the Germanes by the peace of Hungary which they hope for, shall want neither care to thinke of it, nor meanes to prevent it. The French army shall haue Liege behind them. The people are already ialous. The conquest of Sedan doth also purchase a title to the Duchy of Bouillon. They desire neither the one nor the other: and will crosse the first all they can to be assured of the second.

All these inconueniences may be auoyded. Sedan hath serued the Kings of France no lesse profitable vnder the title of protection, then can be hoped for vnder that of possession. And the Duke of Bouillon recovering the Kings fauour, brings vnto his seruice both his place and that which is more precious, his great sufficiency, well knowne to his Maiesty, and to all men, well knowne to the Councell of Estate, and to the affaires of warre; so as a perfect Amnesty may assure his returne. But the King cannot rest assured of the Marshal of Bouillon, nor of Sedan, but by the yeelding of the Castle, and the placing of a Governor, and a choice garison.

His troopes march, with an intent to haue five and twenty thousand men, and more if need were, with artillery and munition necessary to doe a great exploit. There were many commissions granted to leauy horse and foot: young men came from all parts; he was not held the sonne of an honest woman, that did not desire to make his apprenticeship of armes vnder so famous a Captaine, and to shew his valour in this warre of Sedan, yet this war was not like to be very violent. The King knowes better the state of Sedan, then those which haue distastd him, and the Duke of Bouillon who knowes that the shortest follies are the best, will not lose his Maiesties fauour by his contumacy, the which he will willingly redeeme, at a higher price then the towne of Sedan: rebellion fits not, but with such as

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A are borne for the ruine of their Country. The King before his departure from Paris, declared openly and freely, that he marched towards Sedan, with an intent to receiue the Duke of Bouillon with open armes. Doubtlesse the best way to vanquish an enemy, is to doe him good when we may.

These gracious words gaue them occasion (who were grieued to see his Maiesty march against a place where the trauell and danger seemed more certain, then the purchase might be profitable, considering the difcommodities of the Country, and the difficulty of the place) to sollicite with great vehemency this businesse which they saw in so good termes. *Netancourt* a Gentleman of Champagne, noted for his piety, moderation, and integrity, B shewed so great zeale and affection in this negotiation, as then the King thought him capable to serue him, according to his heart in this action: The which being well auanced, his Maiesty depured the Lords of Inteuille (Gouernour of Champagne) and Villeroy, both wholly addicted to procure the good and tranquillity of his Estate, and his Maiesties seruice.

The Duke of Bouillon went to meet with them at Torcy, the last village of the realm, and there all conditions being examined, debated, and imparted vnto the King without any act of hostility, effusion of blood or sweat, his Maiesty knowing that mildnesse is the best remedie to cure the wounds of an Estate, and tempering his iustice by his clemency, and practising that goodly Oracle, That hatred must be mortall, and friendship immortall, C he gaue two great blowes with one stone: for hee assured himselfe of a place that would haue troubled him, being at the deuotion of men enuious of the prosperity of this Realme, or ialous of his greatness: and restored vnto his fauour so much desired, one of the chiefe Noblemen amongst his subjects, the second officer of his Crowne, a great man of State, active in counsell, and well practised in warre, and whom the trial of a long aduersity will make more fit to doe his master good seruice.

In worldly affaires, if some crosse of affliction should not temper the spirit of man, in the end prosperity will make him drunk. He came vnto the King being at Douchery the eleuenth of April, and presented himselfe vnto him in the morning before his rising: He deliuered vnto him by mouth, the humble submissions which his Maiesty required, and demanded an abolition in forme according to the treaty. His Maiesty receiued him as graciously as if the Sunne of his fauours had neuer been eclipsed before his fortune. The Queen shewed him as good a countenance as she was affected to this reconciliation.

Their Maiesties being accompanied with the Princes of the blood, the officers of the Crowne, and others, entred into Sedan. The Syndics and Sheriffes receiued him vpon their knees, protesting generally, that they had neuer attended or desired any more assured protection then that of his Maiesty: to which end they wished all prosperity to Henry the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, most christian, most mercifull, and most victorious: to the Queene, the happinesse of his long and fortunate company: to my Lord the Dauphin, encrease of vertues, and the fathers felicity. And they receiued from this sacred E mouth the answer which a people might hope for, being transported with the ioy and cordial loue of a Prince, louing his subjects as a good father doth his children: I haue nothing diminished (sayd he) nor altered the loue and affection which I haue alwayes borne you: I will neuer diminish it, whereof I will alwayes giue you good proofes.

Then were the Cannons heard (which seemed to bee planted for the defence of the towne) to applaud by their thundring this vnusuall action. The ayre did ring againe with cries of ioy, and with acclamations of God *(sue the King, God sue the Queene, God sue my Lord the Dauphin)*, sent vp to heauen with vovs of eternall prosperity: and the inhabitants and Burgeses did not breathe any thing but a generall fidelity. Their Maiesties were much moued with the affections of this people, the which did merit this testimony from the King, *See how this people loues me*, (speaking to the Princes, which did assist him) *I know they loue me*. The Bonfires which were made at night in the streets and publicke places of the towne, did witness that they were pure and free from dissimulation and fraud. The thankes which they gaue solemnly vnto God, did shew that they tooke this warning for a threatening of his diuine punishment, or an exhortation to a more holinesse of life, and a continuance of the fidelity which both the Soueraigne Prince and the people of the towne and lands depending, owe vnto his Maiesty. The preaching and ordinary prayers made in the accustomed places with all liberty (whereas many of the Court assisted) are the certain

The Duke of Bouillon makes his accord.

The Duke of Bouillon comes to the King.

The King and Queene entering into Sedan.

taine effects of the inuincible promise giuen by his Maiestie, that the Church of Sedan A should suffer no alterations nor change in the liberty of conscience.

The small traine wherewith the Duke of Bouillon presented himselfe before his Maiesty, and the company which the King had when he gaue him this fauourable reception, did witnesse the assurance they had one of another: a good master receiues a good seruant with an open heart: a good seruant prepares himselfe to yeld vnto his good master the good seruice which he hath promised and doth owe him: finally, the gratifications and shewes of loue which the King had made vnto this people lately trembling, and now assured, made them know by experience, and confesse by effect, that they had no lesse subiect to praise God for the fatherly care which his diuine prouidence had now as heretofore of their good & preferuation. They commend the Kings wisdom and iudge- B ment, being able wisely to discern the capacity of his subiects, fit to serue him in great affaires. He left *Nenancour* for Gouvernour of the place, whose merits were no lesse pleasing to the Soueraigne then to the subiects of this petty Estate, and on the third day hee tooke his way toward Paris.

The Duke of Bouillon did accompany his Maiesty vnto Mouzon with a small traine: and the next day he returned to giue order for his affaires: within few daies after he came to hold his ancient place in Court, as he returned into the Kings heart, who to witnesse the effects of his loue, did abolish and suppress the memory of all things done, knowne, or spoken by him against his Maiesties seruice vnto that day, so as neuer any further search might be made. And by his especiall grace, full of power and royall authority, he dispensed with him for his appearing in person, in his Courts of Parliament, to haue his Letters of abolition registred. By the which also he was confirmed in the same estates, honours and dignities, which he had held and did yet hold within the Realme.

There is nothing more lawfull nor more commendable in a well gouerned Estate, then to provide for the necessities of such as for a mark of their vertue remaine lame, and haue no means to liue, after they haue serued the Prince in his warres well and faithfully. Our Kings haue alwayes desired to acknowledge their merits: but by the injury of time, or the negligence and fraud of officers, their ordinances haue bene without effect, to the shame of martiall discipline, which grieues to see many poore Gentlemen and other souldiers made vnprofitable to cary armes, and for all other functions, by wounds, losse of limbes, D and decrepit age: or that haue consumed their meanes in paying their ranlomes, in charges to be cured of their wounds receiued in their seruices, or of other infirmities and diffealties which the toyles of warres doe breed, were reduced in their declining age to a miserable and vnworthy kind of begging.

The King desiring to make them feele the effects of his bounty, to giue them means to passe the remainder of their dayes in rest, and to encourage his other subiects of all qualities, to serue him the more willingly in all future occasions, vpon hope of the like remuneration. He giues them by an irreuoicable Edict,

The royall house of Christian charity, and the money growing vpon the remainder of accounts of hospitals, almshouses, leprous houses, and other such companies, and of the usurpations and alienations of the reuenues thereof, reuisions of the said accounts, and abuses and disorders committed in the government and administration of the said places. Together with the money which shall rise of the places and persons of religious laymen, in every Abbey and Priory of this Realme, being in his Maiesties nomination: As is contained at large in the Edict verified in the great Councell, the seuenth of Iuly. So as all Gentlemen, Captaines, and Souldiers maimed, in doing his Maiesties seruice, in his companies of men at armes, light-horsemen, archers, or Hargu-buissers on horsebacke, taking certificates from the Captains and Colonels vnder whom they haue serued, containing the time of their seruices, their valour, with the combats, perils and dangers wherein they haue bene, and in wharaction F of warre they haue bene maimed for his seruice; the which they shall bring vnto the D. of Montmorency, Peere and Constable of France, to be verified exactly by him, to make a liste signed with his hand, and to note in the margin what annuall pension every one may merit in his opinion, according to their quality, valour, and wounds. And those which haue serued in the Regiments, Garisons, and Companies on foot, shall bring the like attestations to the Duke of Epernon, Colonell generall of the French foot, or (in the absence of the said Constable and Colonell) to the two eldest Marshalls of France which shall

Pensioners appointed for
renewed in
the kings
seruice.

A shall be then in Court, to make the like liste, and in the same forme, verified by the great Almoner of France, one of the Secretaries of State, and the Lords of Souray, Chastcaux, and Rocheport, Knights of the order, and Councillors of State, which lists being brought vnto the King, and deliuered into the hands of one of the Secretaries of Estate whom he shall appoint, there shall every yeare a roll be made of maimed men, and others, whom his Maiesty will entertain, and of the Pensions which shall be assigned to every one, payable by him that shall haue that charge, vpon the paines contained in the order of his Maiesties Exchequer, who to iudge of differences according to the accustomed formes of Iustice, hath erected a Soueraigne Chamber, consisting of the said Noblemen, and other B worthy personages, as you may reade in the Originall.

From this goodly and charitable act, we passe vnto another, which doth witnesse that the King, as a common father to all his subiects, will not onely maintaine them in peace in this age, but will also continue the quiet of their soules, seeing that our ayre cannot be purged from trouble, without the cleareness of consciences in diuine seruice. His Maiesty hath lent one care vnto the Clergy, & now on the nineteenth of August, he opens the other to the humble petitions of them which professe the Religion granted by the Edict of Nantes: and desiring to make them enjoy the contents of his Edict, and the priuate Articles granted in consequence thereof, he ordaines that the modifications and restrictions which haue bene made by his Courts of Parliament, Chambers of accompt, and other officers, C contrary to the tenure thereof, shall be taken away, and to that end all letters and necessary commandments should be made. Moreover, he did enioyne his said Courts, to enroll the said Edicts and Articles (if it were not done) in their Bayliwickes and Schene-shalshes. And commanding all Bayliffes and Schene-shalshes to send them into their iurisdic-tions, to the end that no man should pretend cause of ignorance. Inioyning all Iudges, Proctors generally, and their substitutes, to cause them to be exactly observed, and for default thereof, to answer it in their proper and priuate names. And granting to them of the said Religion, many demands and speciall orders which rise from the Edict: his Miesty enioynes them on the other side, to cary themselves according to the Edict, auoyding all occasion of scandall: and on the other side to Catholikes, to cary the like moderation and D wisdom for feare of stumbling. Thus he makes knowne how desirous he is that all his subiects should enjoy with concord the peace which hee hath heretofore purchased for them with so much toyle and sweate.

As the King seekes by his bounty to entertaine his people with concord, and so to raise them to the top of prosperity and happinesse: So wee now see that God doth giue him euident signes of the fauour and loue which he powreth forth vpon Princes which reigne according to his heart. He doth now seale to vs in particular the wonders of his loue to this Realme, by a gage which makes our hearts to leape with consolation and ioy, to remember the feare wherein we lately liued, seeing our selues in danger to fall into the miseries which threaten Estates wanting an assured successour. And retiring vs from the vallies E and gulphes of this misery, hee hath giuen vs an ample subiect to acknowledge his free bounty. For one of the greatest blessings which heauen can poure vpon man, is to haue many children, which cary the image of the father, and make him as it were to reuiue in their birth. So as from a lucky root grow new plants, which produce the like fruits vnto their stocke. The Soueraigne protector of this Monarchy, hath now supported the peace and quiet of France, with three precious pillars of his bounty, and we behold them as firm supports of his grace.

Their birth hath made them children to mortall Princes, whom the holy Scripture honours with the title of gods: and hath opened vnto them the gates of Realmes, and transitory Principallities: but it was expedient, that by a spirituall regeneration they should become the children of the great immortal God; and that Baptisme giuing them entry into the Church of Christ, it should open them the way also to the immortal and celestiall heauen, printing in their faces the Characters of the children of God, as vpon their fore-heads, the image of God himselfe. The Sacrament of Baptisme had bene giuen them within few dayes after they were borne, but the ceremonies were deferred vntill an opportunity. The King had long desired it, if many encounters had not crost the complement. The death of Pope Clement the eight had stayed it. Leo the eleuenth (before Cardinall of Florence) did in a manner see the last of his dayes with the first of his Papacy: Paul the fifth

Wisdom of
the king to
maintaine his
people in con-
cord.

Ceremonies of
the Dauphins
Christning, and
of the Lady his
sisters.

fifth his successor, being advertised that the celebration of the ceremonies and solemnities A
was appointed the fourteenth of September, he wrote unto Francis Cardinall of Loyeuse, *that he would haue them done by his Ministry in the blessing of the Lord: and thus seeing he could not assist in person, he had made choice of him to performe this complement, according to the dignity of the Apostolike See, and of the children of the eldest sonne of the Church; seeing that by the honour of his ranke, by the nobility of his blood, by his wisdom, fidelity and experience in affairs, he was pleasing unto the King, and acceptable unto the Realme.*

The Princes and Noblemen in Court did contend who should exceed each other in
bravery and expence. A small patterne will make vs to iudge of the whole peece, omitting
to relate it all in particular. In the hilt of a stately sword which the Duke of Epsernon
caused to be made, there were set eightene hundred Diamonds, whereof the richest was B
at twenty crownes price, and the least at foure or fise; which hilt (as the Gold-smith said
that made it) came to thirty thousand crownes. Our Ladies Church in Paris was appointed
for this royall 'pectacle, but by reason of the infection it was translated to Fontaine-
bleau, which the good King *Saint Lewis* called his desert and solitary place.

Thus the fourteenth of September, being a cleare and bright day, was notwithstanding
lighted with many torches and tapers: and the ceremony was performed about fise of the
clocke at night in the Court of the duncion (for neither the Chappell, nor the greatest
hall in the Caste, was capable to containe so many thousands which came to this rare
sight) vpon a great and high Theater, hung about with rich and sumptuous Tapstry; in
the midst whereof was a square with fise fadome in compasse, inclosed with barres C
couered with tapstry, and carpets vnder foot. In the front thereof was an Altar richly
adorned with the ornaments of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and couered with a canno-
pie of the ornaments of the said Order. Behind the table there was a degree of three steps
couered with Tapstry, and in the midst thereof a kind of great floole, adorned with
cloth of siluer, vpon the which were placed the Fontes couered with an exquisite towell,
and ouer them a canopie. On either side of the Altar was a scaffold prepared for the mu-
sicke. Beneath it, and on the right hand, was a forme couered with tapstry for many Pre-
lates. Among others there were three Archbishops, nine Bishops, and three Abbots. On
the left hand were the Noblemen of the Councell: And before the Altar the Cardinall D
of Gondie, enuironed with many Almoners and Chaplaines, and a great number of be-
holders, seated as they are in theaters. About the Theater were all the Suiſſes of his guard,
euery one holding a burning torch in his hand. My Lord the Daulphin, and the Ladies
his Sisters were in their chambers, vpon great beds made like a Tribunal, after a royall
manner, vnder a cloath of Estate, with coverings of powdered Ermines, and they were
caried to the square table, their gentlemen seruants going before, euery one with a waxe
candle in his hand, being followed by the gentlemen of the chamber, with drummes, fises,
trumpets, howboyces, Heralds, and the Knights of the Holy Ghost, with the three honors
following. First, for the youngest Lady, the cup, the bason, the pillow, the candle, the cressme,
and the saltceller, were caried by the Baron of la Chastre, by the Lords of Montigny, E
Rocheport, Chemerauld, Lien-court, and the Marquis of Ferraques; the Marshall of Bois-
dauphin caried the Lady, being followed by Charles Duke of Loraine the god-father, and
by *D. Iohn de Medicis*, brother to *Ferdinand* great Duke of Tuscane, representing *Christi-
erne* daughter to the Duke of Loraine, and wife to the great Duke, after whom marched
the Duchesse of Guise, the Countesse of Guiche and Saulx, the Marquesse of Montlaur,
with other Ladies. The Marshalls of Luerdin and la Chastre, the Duke of Suilly (before
Marquis of Rosny) the Dukes of Montbason, Epsernon, & Elguillon, did the like office for
the eldest Lady. The Lord of Ragny caried her in the place of *Diana* Duchesse of Angou-
lesme, who represented the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, Archduchesse of Austria, being
followed by the daughters of *Rohan*, *Montmorency* and *Mayenne*, who were virgins, & F
the Duchesses of Rohan, Suilly, and others. The third honour for the Daulphin, was serued by
the Earle of Vaudemont, the Knight of Vendome, the Dukes elder brother, (both base
children to the King.) The Duke of Montpensier, the Earle of Soissons, the Prince of Conty
The Daulphin was caried by the L. of Souvray his gouernor, in the place of the Prince of
Conde being sicke. The D. of Guise caried his traine; and the Cardinall of Loyeuse fol-
lowed him, representing *Paul* the fifth being Pope: They were attended by *Eleanor* wife
to *Vincent* Duke of Mantoua, and the Princesses of the blood, richly attired.

The

A The Daulphin being brought to the square Table, the Cardinall of Gondy being appoin-
ted to performe this ceremonie, he came neere vnto him, and hauing heard him answer per-
tinently to questions he asked him, according to the ordinarie forme, and to rehearse the
Lords Praier and Creed in Latine, hee was blest, and annointed, and called *Lewis* by the
Cardinall of Loyeuse the Popes Legat; at the naming of whom they might see ioy appeare
in the Kings countenance, shewing by the exterior, the inward contentment he receiued, re-
membering that *Saint Lewis*, the ninth of that name, King of France, is the Author of that
family or Clermont, from whence is issued that of Bourbon, sitting at this day in the Throne
of his holy Predecessor: and the ioy of the assembly did witness, that his name is very plea-
B sing, and of a good presage to France. The Ladies were afterwards caried to the Table
one after another; and the eldest was named by the Dutcheſſe of Angoulesme, represent-
ing the Archducheſſe her God-mother without a God-father, *Elizabeth*: (which the Span-
iards call *Isabella*) the youngest was named *Christiernes* by *Don Iohn de Medicis*, for the great
Duchesse.

At the banquet, the King was serued by the Princes of his blood. The Prince of Condy
held the place of Butler. The Prince of Contie of Cup-bearer. The Earle of Soissons had
the place of Lord Steward: And the Duke of Montpensier of Caruer. The Duke of Guise,
and the Earle of Vaudemont serued the Queene: and the Duke of Suilly, the Legat. The
God-fathers and God-mothers were set, and then the Princes, Ladies, and Noblemen. At
C the dancing, the Duke of Lorraine did precede by the Kings order, in consideration onely
that he was a good and gracious Father.

The next day was spent in running at ring, and the Duke of Suilly caused an assault to be
given by night to an Artificiall Caste, with an infinite number of Squires, Canon-hot, and
other fire-works. But there was neuer any thing more admirable to the eye, nor more incre-
dible vnto the eare, then the beautie, brauerie, and lustre of the Princes and Ladies of the
Court. Mans eye could not endure the shining of the Gold, the brightnesse of the Siluer, nor
the glittering of the Pearles and precious stones, which couered their robes, and the Princes
and Noblemen were attired in the most rare and precious stufes that could be found out.
The Queenes robe haue two and thirtie thousand Pearles, and thirtie thousand Dia-
monds, made it to be without peare, and without price.

This yeare about Easter, there were such violent winds and stormes thorowout all France,
as the tops of houses being cast downe, many were slaine and sore hurt in Paris, so as
they could not goe safely thorow the streets: In the Countrey old growne Trees were
torned by the roots, but although there were a great spoile of men, houses, and trees at
land, yet was it not so fearefull as at Sea, whereas many suffered shipwracke and perished in
these tempests.

In May the Riuier of Seine being much risen by the abundance of raine which had fallen,
the King and Queene comming from *Saint Germaines*, the Carroch being in the passage Boat
and comming to Land, the Horſes going forth, thrust backe the Boat with the force of their
E feet, and ouer-turned the Carroch into the Riuier, so as the Queene was in great danger of
drowning: the Courtiers leapt into the Riuier to rescue her, but *Castelnery*, (a Gentleman of
a Noble Family) advanced the rest, freed her from danger, and brought her to Land, to the
Kings great content: she rewarded her deliuerer with a rich chaine of Diamonds.

In Iuly, the Prince of Contie tooke to his second Wife *Catherine* of Lorraine, daughter
to the Duke of Guise, that was slaine at Blois, and of *Catherine* of Cleues, who was one of
the Daughters and Co-heires of the Duke of Neuers, visiting the houses of Bourbon and
Lorraine in mutual loue by this Alliance, whereby it seemed all future ialousies being taken
away, both houses would hereafter continue good friends, for there is no greater bond to tie
Noble Families together, then mariages, and the fruitful issue which descends of them.

The infectious plague hauing begun to disperse it selfe, by reason of their holie burials,
and the little care they had to prevent the danger; in Autumne it grew very violent, and to
be generally dispersed ouer the whole Citie: Such as had meanes were forced to retire them-
selves to their Farms, and Country-houses, to auoid the danger.

The straightnesse of their Pest-house did increase the mischief, being easily gotten when
as they did lye and conuerſe together, for such as were infected did infect others being not
lodged apart: the which was not foreſene in time by the Magistrats: besides the Pest-house
being in the furthest end of *Saint Iaques* Suburbs, such as were infected on the other side of

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the

Great winds at
Paris.The Queene in
danger of
drowning.Prince of Con-
ties marriage.A plague in
Paris.

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the Citie, nor able to endure so long a carriage, died by the way, and some yet breathing, were A
barred for dead by them that carried them. To prevent the like inconvenience hereafter they
began to think of another Pest-house of an admirable structure, in another part of the Citie, as
you shall hereafter heare: VVhen coming on, the plague ceased in Paris, and was dispersed
into the Country, whereas many were toucht that had fled from it in the Citie.

I will be bold to relate a memorable accident, though out of France, yet nere vnto the
frontier. A Gentleman of Savoy called *Charmet*, going in September after his accustomed
manner, into the next woods to hunt some wilde beasts, having no other armes but a peece
and a dagger, and for his companion a fierce dogge, of a Mastiue kinde, which would hunt
vpon the scent, and finde out their dens: having wandered long in this wood, & lost his way, B
being very penitue, he comes at last againe into his way, the day being nere spent; he had not
gone farre but he was encountered by foure theeves, who with their swords drawne came to
assail him, who finding himselfe vnable to make resistance against so many, he encourageth
his dogges, and with his peece kills one of the theeves; the other three presse him in such sort,
as he studied how he might tie from them, his dog takes another of the theeves by the throat
and staies him, being thus intangled by the dogge, the Gentleman gets away his sword, and
then refusing courage, he chaufeth away the rest, whom the dogge pursued with all eager-
ness, but his Master beat him backe, who being thus freed from theeves, he went to the next
village called *Saint Albaine*, where he tels his misfortunes, and shewes both his and his dogs C
wounds, perswading both the Iustice and the Inhabitants to pursue these theeves, who pre-
sently went into the wood, and followed them by their footing, having bene often mole-
sted by their deceuing; They could not be long hidden: In the end they found three young
men in an holtry standing out of the way, being a receptacle for such people: one of them
being hurt in the arme, argued their guilt, so all being carried to Chambery, they were broken
and laid halfe dead vpon wheels, suffering a condigne punishment for their murders
and thefts.

The King had another Sonne, a great increase for France, the Flower-de-Luce is neuer in
danger when there be Males, they be the ruine of home-bred seditions, and a perpetual sup-
port of the Satiue Law: this last borne sonne had the title of Duke of Orleans given him.
It is one of the goodliest Dukedomes in the whole kingdome, and is next vnto the Dauphin; D
the Citie of Orleans stands vpon the River of Loyre; It is very ancient, as appears by nat-
ional Councils, and decrees of Popes, and in the first race of our Kings it had the title of a
Kingdome, when as *Clouis* diuided his Realme to his three Sonnes. There were bonfires and
shooting of Ordnance for the birth of this Sonne, and all France did reioyce, to see the old
decayed tree, reviuie againe and grow young, by these new plants, vnder whose shadow they
should finde refuge, in heat, raine, and tempestuous weather.

Henry the fourth, when he was but King of Nauarre, enioyed goodly hereditarie posses-
sions, as well in Gasconie, Guienne, Vendosme, and generally thoroughout the Realme, as in
the Low-countries, and other terraine parts: being come to the Crowne of France, and to a
greater fortune, he made an Edict in Aprill, one thousand five hundred ninetie and two: by E
the which he would haue all those his reuenues of Nauarre, with the rest, managed distinctly
& a part, hauing a charitable care of his only Sister, whom he loued deerey, and of his Cre-
ditors, to whom he had ingaged his Lands before his coming to the Crowne: wherefore
vntill this money were paid, he held it no Iustice to wnite those Lands vnto the Crowne. The
Kings Proctor opposed himselfe against the Kings will, saying; That by the lawes of France,
all that was the Kings, did accrew vnto the Crowne, as small streames which fall into great
Riuers, and those into the Sea, lose their names. But when as the King had lost his Sister,
(who died without children) and had paid those priuate debts, this year in Iune, by his
Edict, he wnted his Realme of Nauarre, with those other dignities and possessions which he
held from his Ancestors, vnto the Crowne, as they might not afterwards be diuided. So as F
his Officers of Nauarre lost both their places and fees.

Pomponius Belieuerre Chancellor of France, & the Nestor of our Age, left the corruption of
this world, to get an incorruptible life in heauen; He dedicated the first fruits of glory vnto
the Senate of Lyon his native Country, but being called to Paris that great light, he was well
knowne vnto Kings, and finding himselfe more fit for the secret counsels of Court and diffi-
cult affaires of the kingdome, then to plead causes, notwithstanding that it was his profession,
and had supplied the place of President, yet following his owne humour, he gaue his minde
wholly

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A wholly to terraine employments, being sent in many Ambassages, the which he did happily
performe. He was buried with as much honour as could be desired for a man of his fashion,
being followed at his funerall by many Bishops, Knights of the Order, and the whole
Court of Parliament, *Fenouillius* appointed Bishop of Montpellier, made his funerall Ser-
mon: he had a Monument of Marble erected, on the which was grauen this Epitaph in gol-
den letters.

D. O. MA.

PONTONIO. BELLEVRIO. FRANCIE. CANCELLARIO. VIRO.
PIETATE. DOCTRINA. MAGNITVDINE. ANIMI. SVMMA. IN.
PRINCIPEM. FIDE. CLARISSIMO. QVI. SVB. V. REGIBVS.
HONORIBVS. AMPLISSIMIS. AC. VARIIS. LABORIOSISSI-
NISQVE. LEGATIONIBVS. PRO. REPV. GESTIS. PACE. DO-
MI. FORISQVE. CONFECTA. LEGIBVS. ET. SIGILLO. PRIN-
CIPIS. INTEGERRIME. PREEVISSET. GLORIA. NON. OPI-
BVS. CVMVLATVS. OBJIT. ANNO. SALVTIS. 1607. ID. SEPT.
ETATIS. 70. MARTIA. PRYNERIA. LIBERIQVE. MOEST. POS.

In France, to the end that future ages might know, there is a kinde of men whose Parents
C were neuer knowne by name, when as they come with their griping Tallons to manage the
Publike or Princes Treasure, they sodainly become all gold, as if they had bathed themselves
in the riuer Pactolus; in their diet, apparell, traine and pallses, they exceed the greatest
Dukes, how rightly many doubt, how freely all men know; yet they are terrified by an E-
dict made euery third yeere, but as it were with a still lightning, for hauing paid a small
more renewen out of a great prey, being freed from all their villanies, they giue themselves
boldly to theeuing.

This yeere Iudges were chosen to presse this sponge, or rather appointed to reuenge these
publike thefts, abundance of wealth was now fall vnto the owners, neither wanted they any
other witnesses, then to enquire of their birth, patrimony, and what they had gotten together,
D capital questions were not troublesome, the matter was apparent.

The Marquesse of Allegre had during the ciuill warres traitorously murdered *Hallot* at
Vernon vpon Seine being vnarmed, coming vnto him vnder a colour of saluting him,
being armed with a traine of fouldiers: He presently left the Kings partie (the which hee
had maintained constantly) and fled to the League: And to the end he might free both him-
selfe and the rest that were guilty of this foule murder, he procured that a young man who
had serued him as a Page should publicly carry Saint Romans Chafe, not without the emu-
lation of other malefactors. As many as had bene conforts in this murder were by the
Court of Parliament condemned and executed in Picture, and as many as could be taken,
died for the fact: for the seruuing wife with an incredible charge did offer vnto him the
E bloud of the guilty, or of those which with a dry hand and ignorance of the Treason were pre-
sent at the fact; after the restless rage of a courageous wife, at length this young man *La*
Mot fell into her hands, being in bonds he pleads his cause before the Parliament at Rouen,
he seeks to proue his innocency by his tender age, by his duty to his Lord; by his hands
that were not imbrued with bloud, hauing not at that time euer drawne sword, it is not any
guilt for him to looke on, that could not auoid it; the Law doth not condemne any but such
as when they might haue forbidden it, would not: The dishonour lies vpon them that be-
hold and wink at violence offered, and not vpon them which are vnable to repell force, but
must of necessity be silent and still, *Pisicri* out to his companions which beheld his ruine,
by your stillnesse you make the guile common.

F *La Mots* Advocate did adde, that his case was farre otherwise, then that which *Iohannes*
Papa describes vnto *Lewis* the Emperour: He offends as well as the actor, who when he can
revert, neglects to amend: notwithstanding *La Mot* being doubtfull of his life, and loth to rely
too much vpon the conceiued hope of his innocency, he hath his refuge vnto the Alcars and
Churches, as if they were safegards for wickednesse. Whilst his cause is in question, he ap-
peales vnto S. *Romane* the reuenger of a pardoned crime, he calls the Archbishops Ioyeuse,
and the Chanons of Rouen to assist him in this controuerfie, and to defend the priuiledges
D d d d d 2 of

Death of the
King of France
1607

Death of the
King of France
1607

Remains of
Nature en-
dured to the
Crown.

Death of Bel-
lieuerre Chan-
cellor of
France.

Edict against
them that rob
the publicke.

Had traitor-
ously murder-
ed.

of their Saint. It is be a guilt to sinne with the eies, for him whose hands were free from murder, nor with standing although he were the most detestable murderer living, by the onely carrying of this chafe, the offence being pardoned, there was no more question to be made vnto him; the ancient priuiledges of Neutrity were broken, force and reproach was offered vnto their household-god, the custome had beene obserued for many ages, not newly inuented, when as by the Hebrew law, euery yeere before Easter their custome was, to let a malefactor free: neither were some Cities in Palestina vnlike to *Romulus* Sanctuary, being built as a refuge for offenders, *Gregory* of Tours doth generally in his Annals witness in what reuerence the Altars and Churches of the gods were, and how many offenders haue by that means escaped present and capitall punishments. Crimes are not wiped away with blood onely: there is nothing of greater efficacy to pacifie Gods wrath, then repentance, and how acceptable it is, our Saviour teacheth, when as he fet the Adultresse free, who was ready to be stoned by the severity of *Moses* law: whilest he liued vpon earth, hee did not condemne any Malefactor, but did bleis euen the most wicked with his company and table: as *Paul*, who was afterwards the light of the Gentiles; Publicans, as *Mathew*; Adultresses, as *Magdeline*. He did so often wipe away the reproches of insulting circumcised men, as he did publicly confesse, that he came into the world to cure the diseased, and that the whole had not any need of a Physician. It is no fable that is reported of *S. Romulus*, who slue that monstrous Dragon which anoted Normandy, as of *Hercules* and his Lernean snake with leuen heads. Saint *Romulus* drew this raging monster out of his den, and as it were made tame and bound, brought it to a publike fire in the middle of the City, with the helpe of a Malefactor. It hath bene a custome obserued for many ages, that euery yeere an Offender should be fet at liberty, and haue his life giuen him.

Antiquity is a great testimony, and of more force then any Records: it came vnto posterity by tradition: in the affirmation of miracles the faith of Antiquity is more ancient then all monuments. Saint *Augustine* to the end he might confirme the faith of miracles, did thus write vpon them that doubted; *I haue not seene Christ, who was seene and did appeare, neither haue I seene them that saw him, but I haue beleued the confirmed opinion of Nations, and the report which is very antient, this was commended from Heauen, this was deliuered vs by our Ancestors, and hath bene obserued vnto our time, to seeke to alter and peruerse this, is nothing else but to take a sacrilegious way to Religion.*

It hath bene obserued in all ages, that Malefactors were freed from punishment vpon the sight of their gods. *Ninus* did first erect Statues whither offenders might fle: he did set vp an Image like vnto his father *Belus*, whither if any one came, he was pronounced free from the crime and punishment. The Athenians had an Altar of Mercy. The Ephesians gaue refuge to Malefactors in *Diana's* Temple: *Osiris* to the Egyptians, *Apollo* to the Allyrians, *Iupiter* to the Itacenses, *Minerua* to the Lacedemonians, who were their Tutelary gods. Finally, they ascribe to Devils, that which Christians doe now giue vnto the true God. At Rome the day before the Assumption of our Lady, there are two offenders brought forth to execution, and giuen to the Virgin, who left examples of mercy to be imitated, and pretences of Christian clemency to be embraced and followed. On Palme-sunday Eue there is one deliuered out of the Chasteler at Paris.

At Vendosme in the Abbey of Saint *Trude*, a Malefactor, after that hee hath gone naked with a great Torch on his shoulder thorow the towne, being followed by the whole Clergy, and admonished by the Crier to leade a better life, he is not onely freed from his bonds, but being refreshed with good victuals, is fet at liberty. The new Bishop of Orleans, at his first entrance into the City, sets all criminal persons at liberty. This was giuen to God, not that through hope of impunity offenders should grow more bold; but that their liues not being taken away, they should acknowledge to haue receiued them againe from God. Who will thinke that our fathers (as some malicious people say) being abused, would so long haue endured this impollution? as if this age (which is but a step-dame to the Ancient, and hath fallen into Heresie) had discovered this fraud. But we (a more wicked generation then our fore-fathers) are not wise in heart and beliefe, but with our eies onely: We giue not credit to that wee see, but what wee feele with our hands, when as faith comes by hearing, neither doe we approach to neere vnto God by any vertue, as by Mercy, which consists chiefly in sparing of the guilty: for as *Seneca* said; *The whole world should perish if mercy did not semper angere.* There was much more pleaded by the Aduocates for *La Motte*, and in defence

A defence of the ancient priuiledge of the Cathedrall Church at Rouen, the which for breuitie Iake I omit.

On the other side *Halots* incensed wife, an implacable reuenger of a wicked murder, powered forth many bitter words: That the Altars of the gods were much defiled with this rabble of wicked men: that they were better pleased with chaffity and cleanness then with sacrifices, and therefore it was vsuall among the Ancients, before they beganne the sacrifice, to cry out with a loud voice: *Goe furre from hence ye men that are prophane.* And the Hea then thought that the gods dwelt in their Temples: neither was it vnworthily spoken of one, *The true power of dedication is that which brings in God, and sets him in his appointed place: it is not lawfull for euery man to doe this, but for such as haue chaste hands and holy hearts.* And who would endure the Temples of the gods to be polluted by wicked murderers and theues, who defile all they touch and breathe on? They wrongfully produce many examples out of the Heathen, Hebrewes, and Christians, when as all Sanctuaries were instituted to protect them only that were guilty of murder committed by chance, or an vn-premeditated crime: for lo God the Reuenger commanded: *If any one hating his neighbour, hath laid wait for his life, and hath slaine him flying, and then shall flee vnto one of the above named Cities, the Elders shall take him, and deliuer him vnto his neere kinsmen, whose blood he hath spilt, and he shall die.* Neither was the severity of the Churches in old time to be remoued, when as *Meroue* moued with the hatred of *Fredegond* his step-mother, had fled vnto Saint *Martins* Church, (which was then very religiously worshipped by all men) King *Chilperic* his father (yeelding too much to a bloody woman whom he loued) wrote a threatening letter to *Gregory* of Tours: *Curt that Apollina* (said he) *out of the Church, or else I will fire the whole Country.* The Emperours would not haue their Statues to protect any other, but such as were oppress by the enemy, and power of their enemies. *Tacitus* the 3. commands that publike theues and way-layers should be excluded from the immunities of the Church. *Vidus Pape*, the light of the French lawes in his age, makes mention, that being Councillor in Dauphiné, there were two murderers drawne from the Altar to execution. The Ancients did rightly call that the Altar of mercy, to the which they were detacted by the stormes of angry Fortune, and vnable to satisfie: or that had vnwittingly stricken, or fallen into any other casual crime, had fled. Neither were parsons granted but to them that were guilty of vnpremeditated murders. When as *Constantine* the great at the birth of his children granted these kinde of graces, he excluded murderers, way-layers, witches, and adulterers: They that maintaine this wonder of *S. Romulus*, to absolve offenders, haue it not confirmed by any Annals and Records, but only by Antiquity. What ancient Writer (being then in a manner all Monkes) would haue past ouer in silence so great a miracle of a diuall power? haue set downe most trifolous things, yet no man writes of this serpent, which was brought round to a publike fire, whereby we may rightly beleue there was not any such wonder. Neither is it credible, that vnder religious Kings, one Malefactor carying the chaine, a multitude of wicked men should be freed from bonds and punishment, which is the sinew of ciuill gouernment, especially vnder *Lewis* the ninth, who was most sparing of pardons, and if he did with a trembling hand grant any, yet he still made his Almoner, who was his Confessor, acquainted therewith. But let vs allow that which is written of the most hidden secretes of the Hebrewes, that it is neither recorded in parchment, nor grauen in the barks of trees or stones, lest Time should weare it out, but left vnto vs by our Fathers by long Tradition: yet in maintaining the priuiledge, the abuse is to be corrected, euen by *S. Romains* will, who when as in that worthy act, he had but one Malefactor for his companion, would haue but one afterwards to be pardoned. But in our age what a summe of wicked men, being protected by this brazen wall, doe freely laugh at publike lawes? For by this the company of offenders is freed, any one that is past shame, that respects not his reputation, and blusht not at the faces of men, submitting his shoulders to this holy burthen, which he had so often subiected to the Stake, by his only act of heffres all the rest from ignominie, and absolues the absent, the which were insolent with all other Nations. Wherefore the widdowes Aduocate demanded *La Motte* head, with a longer speech, as a sacrifice to the ashes of her deare husband: the cause had many hearings, and much was written by the Clergy of Rouen for the defence of their priuiledge.

In the towne of Metz there was an Ensign of the Garrison called also *La Motte*, an insolent man, and dissolute in his life and conuersation, who being extremely in loue with a young Virgin within the towne, resolved to win her by all allurements; if not, to get her by force.

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In this wicked deligne he employed a drunken Goffip, whose profession was to be a bawd: the A abusing this Virgin with an honest shew, brings her into the souldiers house, like a sheep to the wolfe and slaughter; being thus vt into a prison, he rauisheth her: her miserable parents are continually tormented for the want of her: they run vp and downe weeping and crying that their daughter is stolne away, they moue the Iudges to seeke her out and to reuenge: they hauing sent forth the Capitaines of the Garrison, who were suspected of this rape, aduised them speedily to deliuer the virgin vtouched vnto her complaining parents. *La Mot* the rauisher flood by, who being struck with the Prætors voice, and the horror of his offence, trembles and apprehends the punishment of his fact: he goes home, and resolues to adde one wickednesse to another, and performs it; if he should restore the Virgin deslowered, there were no meanes B to escape punishment: wherefore the first villany must be hidden by another. This cruel man, who had learned in warlike slaughters not to feare bloud, doth not keepe his cruell hands from the murder of this Virgin: he bereaues her both of life and honour: and left there should be some markes of this murder to discover him, he cuts the body in peeces, and putting it into a sacke, casts it into the next Riuier. This foule fact lay hidden vntill that this libidinous Ensigne-bearer had taken away another maid from a garrison Souldier with the like lust, who not bearing this indignity, complained to the Gouernour. *La Mot* with the bawd (who was accustomed to corrupt young maids) and the bawds seruant, were committed to prison: they refuse to be tried by the Iudge of that place. But soone after, the first fact, which he thought time had worn out of memory, began to breake forth: for the bawd and his seruant being examined apart, the truth began to shew it selfe, but there wanted a competent Iudge to proceed in the cause.

At length the matter was referred to the great Councell, there to be tried: and they were all carried bound to Paris, where being put to the Racke, the Bawd and her seruant not being able to endure the extremity of the torments, did willingly confesse all the fact, whereupon they were condemned to the Gallowes, and *La Motte* to lose his head, who hearing of this fatal sentence, beginne to storme, and refused to be bound and lead to the place of execution: he rushes with the Hang-man and Sergeants; in the end being cast vpon the Ground raging like a mad man, they binde him and carrie him out vpon their shoulders, and put him into a Cart: being come vnto the Scaffold, he shewed no more mildnesse, but much D lesse modolie and resolution then was befitting an Officer that professed Armes. He reuenges his rage and violence, and presteeth his friends that were about him to goe to the King to sue for his pardon: He that was now dying did still liue in hope. The Duke of Effernon, remembering his valour, had sued for his pardon: and Queene *Marguerite* going late to the King at night, had bene very importunate for him, but the King, overcome with no prayers, commanded hee should die. *La Motte* being told that the King would not bee moued for his pardon, and being aduised to take his death resolutely, and to forbeare these intemperat humors which did not become a gallant Souldier, the which in publike were taken for signes of basenesse: That hee which had so often sought death in the thickest troupes, should not now feare a Hang-man: Being at last made more calme, E he knelled downe, suffered his eyes to be couered, submitted his necke to the blocke, and lost his head.

In the beginning of this yeere the cold was so violent as it killed Corne, Vines and Trees, especially those that had any froth. There had not bene so hard a Winter scene in many ages. The swiftest riuers were so frozen, as Carts laden with great Burthens, went as freely ouer them, as vpon the firme land, the stockes of Vines euen to the very root withered away, with the force of the cold, neither did they spring againe, vnlesse they were cut off: all Nuts although they were old, and had very hard shells, withered away; and which is wonderfull, Medlar trees and other which are most firme dried away. The breath going hot from the mouth, grew presently white with cold, water taken hot from the fire grew presently hard, F and the Wine which was in the Caves would not runne out of the Vessels: so as in many places they were faine to cut it with Hatchets: as *Belloy* reports happened in his time, when as the Kings Army wintered in the Duchie of Luxembourg: The riuier of Seine was so frozen, as the King and Courtiers attending vpon him, pulled it daily out without feare or suspicion of danger. The people who liued vpon their daily prouision, were much oppressed for want of wood.

Henry of Bourbon, Prince of the bloud, Duke of Montpensier, and Prince of Dombes, hauing

Rage against
the King
and his
servants

Death of the
Duke of Mont-
pensier.

1608

A hauing languished two yeeres of sicknesse, and waited to the very bones, being not able to receive any sustenance, was nourished (as they say) with womans milke. A little before his end, the Duke of Orleans, the Kings second sonne, was made fure to his onely daughter; his house hauing this support, by the perswasion of father *Angelo* his father in law, he left all worldly cares, and applied himselfe to heavenly meditations. The sharpnesse of the Winter did hasten his lingring end: for the force of it was so piercing, as it not onely dried vp his bowels being weak, but many (the cold growing milder) went away suddenly, as the Physicians said. Being then of the age, which makes a man of a goodly representation, rich in wealth, fauoured by his King, followed like a Prince, and abounding in the gifts of fortune, and the vertues of the minde, remaining still constant in the Catholike Faith: He died in the armes of his father in law and wife, without any motion, like vnto a Lampe whose oyle is spent. His funerall pompe was prepared: an Image of Wax was made like vnto himselfe liuing, and laid in a stately bed with golden Furniture, and the Armes of the House of Bourbon about it, whereas his Table was serued eight daies together in the same state and magnificence as if he had bene liuing. His funerall rites were performed in our Ladies Church.

Petrus Fenouillius the Kings Preacher, and appointed Bishop of Montpellier, did after the accustomed manner commend the Prince, with a learned Oration, where as all the Courtiers mourned. But his death hapning about Shrouetide, all their vsuall sports were laid aside, C many grieuing at the cost they had bestowed for this pompe. The Dauphins maske with the young Noblemen about him (for that it had bene importuned in this time of mourning) was deterred, till that *Montpensiers* obsequies were ended according to his dignitie: which done, his bodie was carried to his house at Champigny in Poictou, and there laid in the graue with his Ancestors, with the like princely pompe.

The Iesuites could not be contained in one Kingdome: as they had bene received into France, so they did desire to haue free access into Nauarre, and Bearne, for the propagation of Religion: That there was no cause of difference why they should not be admitted into the one Realme as well as into the other, seeing they were subiect to one Lord. They of Bearne opposed themselves with all violence, who hated the Iesuites, no lesse than D *Philip* did *Demofthenes*, and the other chiefe citizens of Athens, who were the defenders of the Atticke Libertie.

The King being at Bloies in the yeere 1599. granted by the Ediēt to them of the Religion of Nauarre, and Bearne; That no Iesuite should come within their Confinnes, lest they should breed some inuouation that might trouble the publike quiet: yet the Bishops in the country requiring the contrary, the King changing his resolution, decreed, That they should be admitted into all places as well as the other Orders, abrogating the contrary Ediēt; and protesting that his meaning was to send the Iesuites thither, to assist the Bishops to re-plant the Catholike Faith. All the Iudges and Officers in the Country were wonderfully discontented; for they hated the Iesuites about all creatures liuing, keeping them far from their limits, E and in former times they put them to death like Spies, if they found any: but the Maiestic of *Henry* the fourth is growne so great, as his power is feared as well at the foot of the Pyrenees Mountaines, which distinguish France from Spaine, as in Paris, and is as willingly obeyed. A rare felicitie of a Prince, which happens not to many, whose preferences are respected, but when they are retired, they are like vnto the Sunne, which being let, clouds arise, so doe Factions by their absence.

We will relate a memorabile fact, and the fatal end of a most wicked man, and cunning Impostor, of whom all Europe hath spoken. He was another *Proteus*, and transformed himselfe into sundry shapies. Sometimes he called himselfe *Cesar Florio*, another time *Francis Fava*; sometimes a Geneuois, another time a Neapolitane: sometimes he counterfeited himselfe a Physitian, and sometimes a Merchant, but at his triall he termed himselfe *Francis Fava*, F which we will keepe. He was borne in a little towne called Capriola, in the territories of Genoua; he spent his youth in many voyages, professing Physicke: being foure and thirty yeeres old, he came to Nouara, and there making gaine of his physickall profession, he becomes a suter to a Merchants daughter called *Catherina Olina*; the father fearing that this stranger had another wife, desired to haue some certificate of his country and parents. He who was exceeding cunning in counterfeiting of any hand, draws an instrument himselfe, annexing a scale vnto it, whereby the Iudge of Saint *Smerin*, a little towne nere vnto Naples, doth certifie

Marriage of the
Duke of Orleans
to the
Duke of Mont-
pensiers daughter.

Order of Prin-
ces obsequies.

Iesuites admit-
ted to goe into
Nauarre.

Francis Fava a
cunning im-
postor.

He all men, that *Fana* was borne there, a frugall man, of the Tribe and Familie of *Fiore*, the *A* which was an ancient, and no obscure house. The Merchant of *Nouara* knowing no deceit, giues him his daughter in marriage; being at length weary of the place and name, he gets him into a Towne of the Iurisdiction of *Placentia*, called *Castellara*, with his wife and three children remaining, and small store of stouffe: and being impatient of his fortune, finding himselfe vnable to maintaine a familie with so little meanes, he gaue his minde to incredible villanies, and hauing gathered together fiftie Crownes in Gold, he comes to *Naples*, whereas when he had fought out among the Bankers, that *Alexander Bosfa* was the chiefe, he gets him a long gouerne, and counterfeits himselfe an Abbot. He insinuates with this Banker, and persuades him that he hath a Nephew at *Venice*, which deale in his businesse, desiring him to make him ouer fiftie Crownes to be paid at *Venice* by exchange by his Correspondent, *B Bosfa* who suspected no deceit, writes his letters, and hauing receiued the money, deliueis them to this Impostor, who doth imitate it daily, vntill in the end he could counterfeite *Bosfa's* hand. After fiftene daies he restored the letters againe vnto *Bosfa*, and receiued his owne, pretending that his Nephew, hauing ended his businesse, was gone from *Venice*. Conuerling thus with the Banker, he gathered vp some stragling letters, which lay disperfed, being of no moment. And he being from home, he goes vnto his booke-keeper, and desires him to lend him paper and a seale, hauing good opportunitie to write vnto his friends, the messenger being in haste; hauing good leisure in the absence of *Bosfa*, being a speedy writer, he writes six letters suddenly, and seales them with *Bosfa's* seale; he deuised this fraud that he might obseure the forme of his paper, and the manner of his seale. Finding no such paper at *Naples*, he buies *C* the like at *Ancona*, and counterfeits the seale, the which he keeps for to effect his villanie.

During his abode at *Naples*, he was encouraged by a pardon granted for the like offence; There was one that had counterfeited a Bankers letters condemned to be hanged, going to execution, and meeting with the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the Cardinall of *Agnania*, he was deliuered, so as he expected the like grace, if he were taken in the like offence. Soone after he came to *Padoua* with a shauen crowne, counterfeiting himselfe to be a Priest. In this habit he goes in the euening to visit the Bishop of *Concordia*, and faines himselfe to be the Bishop of *Venafrey* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, who was forced to flie his country, vpon suspicion of adulterie with the Duke of *Caietans* Neece, whereof he was falsely accused by his ill-willers: that being banished from his country and house, he had bene at *Rome* to purge *D* himselfe vnto the Pope of so foule a fact, but the hatred of his great enemies had made him to yeeld to their enuie, who hauing often fought his life by poison and force, he had secretly escaped out of *Rome* in a poore Priests habit, and had fled vnto him as vnto a Sanctuary and safe refuge. He intreats him to fauour a miserable man and a vagabond, and that he would finde him some trustie man, vnder whose name he might safely receiue at *Venice* ten thousand ducates of gold which he had left in trust at *Naples* with *Ian Baptista Carraciola* Marquis of *Saint Elmi*: That in his aduersitie the said Marquis and the Archbishop of *Bari* his brother, had bene his great fauourers: and that he might requite this kindnesse with some good turne, he had betrothed his Neece vnto the Marquis with a dowrie of a hundred and fiftie thousand crownes, and the money which he had left in deposit was to buy *E* chaines, jewels, and other ornaments for women, whereby he might purchase his returne into his country. The Bishop of *Concordia* greeting at his misfortune, promitteth him all helpe, and to giue him a faithfull man to negotiate his businesse, namely, *Antonie Bartholomius* a Banker, by whom he might safely receiue the money at *Venice* which he had left at *Naples*. This counterfeite Priest answered that he thought it very conuenient, and hauing giuen him thanks he retired himselfe secretly.

This practise was confirmed by one of the Bishop of *Concordias* seruants, who said he had seene him at *Rome* in a Bishops weed, so as if there had bene any suspicion of fraud, the Bishop by the testimonie of his old seruant had easily freed it. *Fana* faines that he had written to *Naples* to *Caracciola*, and letting passe so many daies as a post might goe from *Padoua* *F* to *Naples*, and returne from thence to *Venice*, he giues a packet to *Ostauus Olina* his brothers brother, being acquainted with his coulensage; the which like a flying post he brought to *Angelo Bosfa* at *Venice*, being vnto *Alexander* at *Naples*: hauing opened the packet, he read the letter that was written vnto himselfe, and other three written from the Marquis *Caracciola*, whereof one was to the Bishop of *Concordia*, another to him of *Venafrey*, and the third to *Anthony Bartholomius*.

Thefe

A These three letters are sent from *Venice* to *Padoua*, to the Bishop of *Concordia*: hauing read that which was written to himselfe, he sends for the counterfeite Bishop, and deliueis him his, the third vnto *Bertholomius* being then at *Venice*, with charge that he should receiue the money for his fellow and friend the Bishop. All these letters were counterfeited, and written by *Fana*, that written by *Alexander Bosfa*, was of that paper which he had bought at *Ancona*, and sealed with his seale, the other of the Marquis of *Caracciola* was as cunningly counterfeited. *Alexander Bosfa's* letter to *Angelo* contained these words: You shall understand that the Marquis of *Saint Elmi*, within three daies after that the Archbishop his brother shall be come to *Naples*, is to deliuer vnto me ten thousand ducates, to the end that you deliuer so much to *Anthony Bartholomius* a Merchant at *Venice*, to buy pearles, precious stones, and other Jewels of *B* that kinde. The letter to the counterfeite Bishop of *Venafrey* was written in this sense: I haue vnderstood by your letters that you are safe in the Bishop of *Concordias* house, who hath promised you the helpe and assistance of *Anthony Bartholomius* a Merchant at *Venice*, by his meanes you shall receiue ten thousand ducates, which you left with me, within three daies after that my brother the Archbishop shall be returned to *Naples*, I will send a letter vnder *Bertholomius*, certifying, that you may receiue that money for the buying of Jewels. That which was written to *Bertholomius* contained these words: I vnderstand by the Bishop of *Concordia*, that I am to pay ten thousand ducats to buy Jewels, within three daies he will be here that should deliuer the money, hauing receiued it, I will presently deliuer it to *Alexander Bosfa*, from whom I will take a bill for the *C* payments of so much to you at *Venice*.

C Within three daies after, *Fana* suggests that he had receiued five other letters by a Post, one was written to *Francis Bordenis* factor to *Alexander Bosfa*, another from the said *Alexander* to *Angelo*, the three others to himselfe falsely called Bishop of *Venafrey*, to the Bishop of *Concordia*, and to *Bertholomius*, all counterfeited. The bill of exchange went in these words: Hauing read this letter, within three daies after or sooner, without expecting any other aduice, pay vnto *Anthony Bartholomius* a Merchant and Banker of *Venice*, ten thousand ducats, the which we haue receiued from the Marquis of *Saint Elmi*, to buy pearles and Jewels, and if *Bertholomius* will exceed this summe, doubt not to giue it him, for the Marquis hath left a thousand ducates more in deposito with vs. The letter which was written to *Bertholomius*, spake thus: I send you bills of exchange for ten thousand ducates, whereof I made mention in my former writing, three daies *D* since, you shall deliuer it to the Banker, and hauing receiued the money, you shall buy precious stones, pearles, gold chaines, and such like, according to the direction of my Lord Bishop of *Concordia*. He aduiseeth *Fana* to goe himselfe to *Venice*, and to make choise of that rich ware, wherein there was much deceit: he yeelds to his aduice, and hauing letters of commendation to *Bertholomius*, taking for his companion *Ianua Peter Olina* another of his wifes brethren, he goes to *Venice*, salutes *Bertholomius*, and deliueis him the Bishop of *Concordias* letters. He not knowing what a Scorpion he did nourish in his bosome, entertained *Fana* for his guest, and did reuerence him as a Prelate: hauing receiued the bill of exchange from him, he presents it to *Angelo Bosfa*, who accepts it, and promitteth payment accordingly, whereupon *Bertholomius* goes about to make choise of his pearles, he giues a scantling vnto the Goldsmith,

E hauing seene the ware, he payes the price that was agreed vpon: During this businesse, this counterfeite Bishop staid some daies in *Bertholomius* house, where he carried a very religious shew, hauing alwaies a Breuiary in his hand, still mumbling his prayers like an Ape, so as he was held to be very deuout; and when as he went abroad, he put on such a countenance, as he was taken of all men for a reuerend Bishop, and was much esteemed by the Generall of the Venetians Gallies, hauing carefully inquired of *Bertholomius* of the fame and life of this Prelate. And to the end he might more safely abuse *Bertholomius*, he told him of his misfortunes, of his profcription, of the malice of his enemies, and repeats vnto him what he had said vnto the Bishop of *Concordia*, adding that he had an intent to goe to *Turin*, to speake with the Marquis of *Este*, who was going into *Spaine* about the mariage of the Duke of *F* Mantouas sonne, with the Duke of *Sauoies* daughter, to intreat him to procure him letters to the Viceroy of *Naples*, that he might be restored to his country and Bishopricke. Whilest he remained with *Bertholomius*, he discoursed of matters of State, especially about the controuersie betwixt the Venetians and the Bishop of *Rome*, seeming often to take their parts, yet with such moderation as he dissented from the Venetians onely for religions cause. He often and very silyly talked of accidents which hapned vnto him, that he had bene sent Nuncio from Pope *Clement* the 8. vnto the Emperour *Rodolphus*, that besides his entertainment, he

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he had spent of his owne in this Ambassage 15000. crownes, for the which charge he had A
received no grace, when as by the iudgement of the Archbishop of Barry and other States-
men he had defended a Cardinals hat: *Bertholinus* looking wilthly on him at the Table, said
vnto him: *Vnlesse I be much deceiued I haue seene you else where, the which Fausa did affirme,*
and vnlesse my memorie and mine eyes wander, I thinke it was in the Marquis of Palatinus Palace,
upon the street of Sallo, where we did recreate our selues with fishing.

True it is that *Fausa* was neuer there, yet whether that he had learned of some other that
Bertholinus had bene in the Marquiss house, and there taken delight in fishing, or that he
had some diuining spirit, he did so intermix truth with his lies, as *Bertholinus* was forced to
confesse that which had neuer hapned. The businesse being thus effected by this counterfeite
Prelate, he writes vnto the Bishop of Concordia, that the Jewels being bought according to B
his desire, he meant to depart the next day early, that they might be at Padoua before noone,
desiring *Bertholinus* that going into Piedmont he would let him haue *Martin* his oldest ser-
uant for a companion. *Bertholinus* hauing taken a discharge from the Bishop of Concor-
dia, deliuered all the Jewels to *Fausa*, who gaue him a note for the receipt thereof. *Fausa* hauing
packt vp all, he offered *Bertholinus* a largeword for his paines, besides his brokeredg, the
which in regard of the Bishop of Concordia he would by no meanes receiue. But heare the
villanie of a most wicked guest, who fearing if for want of money he should make sale of
any Jewels, he should discouer his fraud by his want: Whilest he lay in the Venetians house,
he had obserued that there was money in a chest in the Chamber where he was lodged; he
picks open the locke, and steals fise hundred crownes from his Host, and locks the chest C
again, so as his theft could not be discouered. He goes to Padoua with *Bertholinus*, who
was ignorant of this villanie, and hauing giuen many thanks to the Bishop of Concordia, and
commended his care who had giuen him so carefull an Host and Factor, being impatient of
all delay, making haste as he said to Turin, he retired himselfe. *Bertholinus* returning home,
and opening his chest, he found it empty, but to suspect the Prelate of this, his dignitie and
profession did forbid him.

Fausa sees his Host.

imposture dis-
couered.

The next day *Bertholinus* received nine thousand ducates from *Angelo Boffa*: but behold
there comes a Post with all speed from Naples, to aduertise *Angelo* that his Nephew *Alexan-*
der had giuen no bills of exchange to the Marquis of Saint Elmi. The fraud being discou-
ered, inqurie is made for *Charles Pritius* professing himselfe Bishop of Venafrey, and a war- D
rant granted to apprehend him. *Bertholinus* & *Boffa* certified the Bishop of Concordia, how
they haue bene all abused, so as they hunt ouer all Italie for him, but in vaine: And they
giue notice vnto forraigne Nations of the villanie of this man, of his theft and flight, but they
make particular mention of the Jewels, and of the weight of the pearle, with the colour and
forme of the scales. The description of this theft is sent to *Lumagne* a Banker at Paris, who
giues notice thereof to all the Goldsmiths.

Fausa went not to Turin, as he made him, but gets him home, and acquaints his wife and
children with his intent to goe into France, that he had store of gold and pretious stuffe,
whereupon he instantly changed his abode, and went backe againe to Venice with his wife,
three children, and *Ottauio* and *Peter Oliua* his wiues brethren, and *Ottauio* milking this E
voyage into France returned home. Passing from thence with all his familie through the
Grisons and Suisses, he came in Nouember to Paris, and there hired him a chamber. *Fausa*
thinking himselfe in a safe country, studied where he should settle himselfe, not at Paris, by
reason of the concourse of Italians and other Nations, alwaies fearing the misfortunes which
fell vpon him, but at Poytiers, or Angiers: He writes to *Francis Corfina*, who gouerned an
Apothecaries shop at Brussels, requiring him to come speedily to Paris, that he had store of
gold wherewith they would buy drugs, and set vp a shop for Physicke, and that he should
haue an equall share in the gaine. Whilest he expects an answer from *Corfina*, he offers some
Jewels to sell to a Goldsmith called *Burgeio*, intreating him to help him to a broker, by F
whose meanes he might make sale thereof: The Goldsmith promisseth him his owne labour,
and receiues foure cakes, for the which he giues him a note of his hand. He shewes one of
them to *Maurice* and *Turket*, two Jewellers, who viewing by their notes the forme and red
colour, finde it to be stolen: They make an agreement betwixt them to diuide the reward
which was promised vpon the recouerie of the goods, and then they acquainted the Lieute-
nant Criminall therewith, who leauing his habit, did counterfeite himselfe a Merchant, and
attended *Fausa* returne, who came soone after, inquiring of the Goldsmith, if he had found
out

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A out any one to buy his Jewels, yes marry haue I, said he, very sufficient and wealthy men,
the which *Fausa* thinking to be true, he that had often circumvented others, fearing no deceit
in this counterfeite Chapman, he drew forth his cases of Jewels, the which by the marke that
came from Venice were knowne to be the same. *Fausa* seeing the Merchants to obserue the
scales very precisely, began to feare, and to the end he might withdraw himselfe, he preten-
ded that he had some present businesse with another Merchant at home, and that he would
returne presently whilest they were viewing of the Jewels. But the Iudge discouering who
he was, apprehends *Fausa*, he examines him of his other cases, who doth not denie but he had
ten more, the which could not be hidden, whereupon the Iudge went with *Burgeio* the
Goldsmith to *Fausa* lodging, where they finde the number of the cases, and the weight of
B the Gold and Jewels, and take an Inuentorie thereof. This cunning wretch seeing himselfe
brought into these straights, intreats that he may not be ouerthrowne with the losse of so
rich Merchandise, when as his life, good name, and the health of his wite and children were
vnder the protection of the Law and Iustice.

Fausa seeing his
villany discouered,
studies how to the

The day of his apprehension he was examined of whence he was; how old he was, and
of what profession? He answered that he was called *Francis Fausa*, borne at Capriola, a towne
in the Territories of Genoa, that he professeth Physicke, and was fise and fortie yeeres old. That
although his chiefe profession was Physicke, yet he had bene accustomed to deale for
Rings, Jewels, and Pearle: that he had bought this Merchandise at Placentia, from one that
C was knowne, and two other vnknowne, to the end he might sell them againe in France and
the Low-countries. Being examined againe the thirteenth day of Ianuary, he fals vpon his
knees and craues mercy of the Iudges, saying, That whatsoever he had formerly confest was
false, that he was guiltie of the theft which was in question, and so relates the whole manner
of it, as you haue heard.

Examination
of Fausa.

But he determining to do that vnto himselfe, which he expected from the Iudges, he re-
solved to prevent the infamy by a voluntarie death: Being wrapt vp in his clothes & couerlets,
to the end the warme blood might flow more freely in the cold of winter, he cut the veins of
either arme with a Penknife: but the violence of the cold congealed the blood, and forced
him to liue, that would gladly haue died, his strength failing him, he calls for his keeper, his
D armes were bound vp, and his life saved.

Fausa confes-
seth the fact.

In the meane time Polts fle to Venice with newes of his taking: They presse him daily
with new questions, and bid him tell why he demanded *Martin* of the Bishop of Concordia
to accompany him in his way? He answered, he did it that he might more cunningly hide
his fact. Being asked why he returned to Venice after so memorable a fact? He answered,
that he had made choise thereof as his safest way, and that such as pursued him would thinke
he had bene gone farre from thence. The Iudge inquiring whether his wife were guiltie of
all these villanies; He answered, that the secrets of such waightie businesse were not to be
committed to a womans wit; that he was of an innocent life and conuersation, as all Italian
wives be, to whom mariage is a willing seruitude: that he had bene alwaies modest and
E obedient, and neuer questioning of his affaires, notwithstanding the wife (as if she should
be a witness) was confronted with her husband, he hung about his necke, and could not
speake for sobbing, but he hauing more courage, spake thus vnto her: *O wife, either my life*
(shall be saved, or else I shall haue a certaine death; If I liue, thou shalt enioy a loving husband; if I
die, thou shalt lose all cause of sorrow. When as hee viewed the cases with the Jewels
and Pearle, he accused his want of iudgement, hauing still left them with the same wax and scales
as he had receiued them at Venice.

Fausa seeks to
kill his wife.

But being often vrged that it was not his owne worke and industrie, to counterfeite so
many letters and hands, for that when hee had written to a Bishop, he did vfe pontificall
phrases; to a Marquis he wrote like a Souldier and Courtier, and to Merchants he vfed their
F owne stile: He answered, that he himselfe was the inuenter of all those deceits; that hee was
not ignorant of their manner of speaking, and could so well counterfeite any mans hand, as it
should not be discerned from the right; he had no lesse skill in scales, as he contended with
any grauer in his art. Whilest his cause was in question, *Corfina* comes from Bruxelles, he visits
the prisoner, and promisseth him all help and assistance. *Fausa* craues onely this fauour, that he
would aduertise him daily what past in the Venetian Ambassadors house concerning him.
Vpon the fise and twentieth day of February *Corfina* informes him that there was a Post
come

He confeseth
himselfe to be
a notable
counterfeite.

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come from Venice, assuring that *Bertholomius* would be there the same day, and therefore he *A* should speedily resolve of his escape. *Faua* having conferred with *Corfina*, he bewraies his minde vnto him, how he meant to escape; that he would slip into the keepers chamber in his absence, and so get downe into the Court; if he might be assisted with a Ladder of ropes, he would get vp to the top of the wall, and so into the street. *Corfina*, or some other fits his turne, and makes fast such a Ladder vnto the wall about fix of the clocke at night, and cast a rope into the Court, with the which *Faua* should draw the Ladder vnto him.

This practise had like to haue taken effect on the seven and twentieth day of February in a very darke night. *Faua* having sent a seruant of the house forth, to fetch him Wine, in the meane time he gets into the keepers chamber, strips himselfe, and with a rope slips downe *B* into the Court: being there he was long searching for the rope which was tied to the Ladder, for that the night was darke and raينه: hauing found it, he goes vp, but being too short, he could not get to the top. Whilst he strues to come to the top of the wall, he that went to fetch him wine returns, and finding him not there, he tels the keeper: he with his seruants finding *Fauas* clothes, take him hauing one foot ouer the wall, and shut him vp close: they presently goe forth with lights to search where this Ladder was cast, and meet with a man flying with his sword drawne. The keeper examines *Faua* of his premeditated flight, and of the Ladder, and he freely confest all, yet he knew not whether *Corfina* or any other had provided him this meane to escape.

Bertholomius
comes to Paris.

Bertholomius comming to Paris with letters of commendation from the State of Venice, *C* he is brought vnto the King by the Ambassador, who giues him a fauourable hearing, and promisseth to doe him iustice, commanding the Chancellor that he should not suffer this wickednesse to goe unpunished. *Bertholomius* to proue him guiltie, produceth all things that might discouer the fact. Hereupon at the suit of *Angelo Bessa* his proccesse is made. *Faua* despairing of all helpe, being weary of his life, hee seekes all meanes to die; The fourth of March he sends for a Barber to cut his haire; he intreats him to helpe him to halte an ounce of Arsenick, Currans, Roses, and Sugar, with the which (being mingled with the whites of Egges) he would make a medicine for the swelling of his eies. The Barber did as he willed him, but when as he saw the poison mixt with all, the keeper looking on, he told him what it was, the which being taken from him, and asked to what end he made it; he answered, for *D* the paine in his eies, and although that *Antimonie* was taken for a poison, yet being beaten and tempered it lost his force; that he was so farre from offering himselfe violence, as euer since the cutting of his veines he had sought to preserve his health. He did abhorre to bee condemned to the Gallies, rather wilking death then seruitude, finding himselfe vnable for that labour by reason of his wounds.

Faua receives
humilitie.

All proofes being made, his proccesse was ended the two and twentieth day of March. *Faua* *E* haueing some notice that his sentence drew neere, he resolved to prevent his Ignominie by a voluntarie death: The violence of the cold had stopt his blood, poison had bene taken from him; and he had callt it vp often hauing drunke it: he must not now attempt death in vaine; he intreats his wife to make him a certaine cake, the which hauing sent by his eldest sonne, he brake it in peeces, and rowling it in Arsenicke he swallowed it: soone after the poison wrought on him with great torments; he tels his wife that his last houre approached, but he speaks nothing of the poison, and requires a Priest to haue pardon of his finnes: the violence of the poison increasing, he desired to be laid out vpon the straw, and soone after died on the foure and twentieth day of March.

Sentence gi-
uen against
Faua.

His bodie was opened and the poison found in his bowels, whereupon they gaue sentence against his carcasse. *Faua* was found guiltie for that he had changed his name, counterfeited other mens hands, stolne Gold and Jewels, and poisoned himselfe: his bodie was condemned to be drawne goulding vnto the common Gibet, and there to be hanged by the heeles: His goods were forfeited to the King, hauing first paid the price of the Merchandize: There *F* was a warrant granted to apprehend *Ottauio* and *Peter*, who had bene companions in all his villanies. It may be I haue bene tedious in relating of these Impostures, but I thought good to set downe this notable villany particularly, that hereafter other men may take heed of such Counsellers.

Alferianus Muscardus
commits a cruell
fact.

I will adde another without any fraud or deceit, but more cruell. *Alferianus Muscardus* not *impacient* unknowne vpon the frontiers of Picardie for his valour, during the combultions of France,

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A impatient of peace, and to liue quiet in his owne home, he murders a Gentleman his neigh-
bour, his poore mournfull widow calls her selfe at the Kings feet, and sues for reuenge for
the murder of her husband. The Prouost of the Kings houle had charge to apprehend the
murderer, whereof being aduertised, he presently flies into a strong Castle called Moyen-
court, and there hides himselfe.

He was summoned by a Trumpet, to yeeld himselfe vnto the Kings mercy, the which he
refuseth to doe, vnlesse hee might haue his pardon granted vnder the broad seale, or that
Monsieur de Cregui, or the Earle of Saulx his Brother would passe their word for his safety.
The Prouost seeing he could not bee perswaded by good words, sends for all the garrison
B Souldiers thereabouts, with an intent to force him: approaching neere, he shot five or six of
them; Being thus obdurate, they sent for Artillery to Noyon, but before they planted it,
they summon him againe to yeeld vnto the Kings mercy, who had long hands which no pri-
uate man could escape; but they talked to a deate man.

Being againe thought fit to moue him by the Parish Priest, who discoursing vnto him of
the cares and contempt of this present life; of the future blessednesse, or of the eternall
paine, he lost all his labour: They then resolved to attempt that by force, which they could
not effect by faire meanes. Whilst they prepare to force him, they sent the murderesse mo-
ther (who had bene a companion to him in his impudency and villanie) vnto them: being
let into the Castle, she intreated her daughters and her suster with teares to yeeld, assuring
C them of the Kings mercy, but the vnfortunate old woman not able to moue either of them,
returned; telling the Prouost, that they were both resolved to die willingly, and to prevent
an ignominious death. He first let downe a Boy and a Girl in a basket, to the end they might
be preferred, then shewing themselves, and intreating the lookers on to pray for them, they
went into a pinacle, where seeing they had no longer time to protract their yielding, the
gates being forced, they shot one another thorow, and died. The Castle being forced, their
carcasses were found bloudie and halfe burnt (for they had gathered much straw about them,
to the end they might be consumed with fire) and were balmed to the end they might be re-
served for publicke infamy.

The five and twentieth of Aprill the Kings third sonne was borne at Fontainebleau, on the
D same day that *Lewis* the ninth his Predecessor was borne, he was titled Duke of Anjou: *Birth of the*
I doe not reade that there hath duke of Anjou.
looke for a fourth who shall bee called Duke of Alancou: I doe not reade that there hath
bene more Sonnes of France. *Henry* the second had so many, but their liues were short, and
their ends were not happy: but our Queene is fruitfuller and more blessed then the first *Me-*
dicis, and promisseth more, which is the true meane to settle the quiet of the Kingdome, to
bless their friends and confederates, and to curbe their enemies, enuironning it as it were
with strong towers and defences.

In Iuly *Dau Pedro* of Toledo was sent Ambassador from the King of Spaine to the
French King, he was entertained at Fontainebleau, with all the delights and sports that
the Court could afford: being gladdened therewith, he went to Paris, where either the beautie of
E the place, or the importance of his Ambassage staid him long.

Ambassage
from Spaine.

This yeare the Country-mans Prouerbe was found true, *That after a sharpe Winter, fol-*
lows a hot Summer; as passengers were frozen with cold, so did labourers in Summer fry with
heat, and many were smothered, as if they had bene in the Desarts of Arabia, so as the ex-
treme cold of Winter and the violent heat of Summer spoiled their Vintage, hauing scarce
had any raينه in three moneths. This yeare the Duke of Vendosme, the Kings base sonne,
was made sure to the Duke of Mercuers onely daughter. The marriage had bene con-
cluded at Angers in Aprill 1598, and a great penaltie imposed vpon him that should detract.

I doe not hold it vnto the History, nor to be left to posteritie, to relate the memorabile
Decrees of Courts, wherein you may obserue their great equitie and severitie, whereby young
F people may be terrified from whorish and vnequal marriages, and contempt of Parents by
the example of the parties condemned. *James Drouet* a Gentleman borne, sonne to an Auditor
of the accounts in Normandy, being seduced by the perswasions of *Joan Andrew* a base
woman, he marries her secretly, the Parents complained to the Court of Parliament against
the woman for the rape of this young man, pretending that such marriages were forbidden
by the Law of God, and an Edict made at Orlance, without the consent of the father, and
sufficient witnesses, and all Priests were forbidden to consummate such stolne marriages: the
Parents say that a youth yet vnder the rod, had bene abused by the Inchantments of a base
woman

Sentence for
a clandestine
marriage.

woman and of a doubtfull fame, that their sonne was not to dispose of himselfe, and that he was forced. That these clandestine marriages had bene often punished, and that it was a rape.

In the end at the great Instance of the Parents, and in severitie of publike discipline, the Parliament decreed, that the stolne marriage betwixt *James Dronet* and *Joan Andrew* was void and of no effect, being made without the consent of the Parents, and against the lawes of the Kingdome. *Joane* was condemned to goe with a Torch in her hand, her face couered, and a halter about her necke, and to aske pardon of God, of the Parliament, and of the Parents of *Dronet*, then to be whipped three daies together at the corner of euery street, and so to be banished the Realme, or if he did not obey this Decree, to be hanged. All her goods were confiscate to the King, hauing first paid the charges of the sute. *James* was also deprived of all the inheritance which he could pretend from father and mother, and condemned to a yeares imprisonment, untill that his Parents should be sureties for him. *Dronet* and *Joane* were forbidden euer to see one another, or to speake together, by word, writing, or messenger, and not to renew this marriage. Those which had consummated this clandestine marriage contrary to the Decrees of the Councell of Trent, and the Edict of Blois, were also condemned to come into the Court, and vpon their knees with a torch in their hands, to craue pardon of God, the Parliament, and the Parents, being also condemned in a great fine.

It was also decreed, that the Edicts of *Henry* the Second, and *Henry* the Third, made at Blois vpon that same subiect, should be euery yeare published on a certaine day, in all the inferior Courts of Normandy, and commandement giuen to obserue them strictly, nor to suffer the banes to be asked by any hired Priests or Vicars, but to pronounce them themselves in open pulpit, three Sundaies in the presence of the Parents. The Officials were also charged, not to admit of these banes, vnlesse they were required by the Parents and Kinsfolkes. *James*, *Joane*, the Priests that were condemned, and the Clergie of Normandy ioyning all together, make great instance to the Kings priuy Councell to haue this Decree disannulled, and declared void, but it was irreligious to offer violence to so religious a Decree, yet with this moderation, as the King was moued to pardon the pecuniary fine, and the banishment of this wretched woman.

The Clergie of France had by their Deputies held a long assembly at Paris the yeare before: their conclusions (which were then kept very secret) burst now forth into a great complaint made vnto the King by the Archbishop of Bourges, in the presence of the Cardinals of Ioyeuze, Gondie, Sourdis and Perron, and thus hee spake in the name of the whole Clergie.

Most inuincible amongst mortall men, if it be lawfull for sorrow to speake, if nothing afflicts miserable men more then imposed silence; The Church plunged in so many calamities and miseries, so that it is ouerflowne and drowned in a Sea of griefe, hauing no passage but thorow thornes and bushes, whose Cup is Worme-wood and bitter Drege, shall receive no small comfort this day, if it shall please your most sacred Maiestie for to lend a fauourable and attentue eare to their iust complaints. The Edict hath exceeded, and farre extended it selfe beyond the torments and crueltie of *Julian* the Apostata, who forbade Christians to sigh and weepe, and did enuy this bitter comfort to wretches, more wicked then the Heathen which sung;

*Elete meos casus, est quadam flere voluptas,
Pacatur lachrymis egeriturque dolor.*

Beweale my case; weeping brings some content;
Sorrow by teares findeth both ease and vent.

But now the Church hauing overcome tyrannous Impietie, and being laden and crowned with the spoiles of her enemies, adorned with the fauours of Emperors and Kings, and supported by their power, is not afraid to shew her bloudy wounds vnto the King. To the King, I say, whose Predecessors haue graced and beautified the Churches wedding with a Ring, and other Jewels; an eternal monument of the Kings, and of France her pietie. And for that thou hast more then once heard her sighes and groanes being vnworthily intreated, and received her (being assailed) into thy armes, she comes more confidently relying vpon your helpfull fauour, being againe deformed with the impuritie and corruption of the world, and with teares of griefe, doth prostrate her selfe at your most Royall feet; she speaks vnto you

Parliament
of France.

Complaint of
the Clergy vnto
the king.

A you not fearefully, but with a free voice, being worthily bound vnto her; hauing powred forth so many teares and prayers vnto Almighty God, for your preferuation and advancement vnto the Crowne, hoping you will not be vnmindfull of so great a pietie.

But oh! *Henry* thinke there is nothing more worth of a King, then a care to plant, preferue and propagate Religion: It is the cie of an Empire, the life of Government, an arme of thy Armes; and as I may say in a word, a Kingdome hath not a more firme support. The Kings of Persia held it most true, or else their Heathenish superstition did not suffer the children to be advanced to the Kingdome, before they had learned the Mysteries of their fathers Religion. Religion & Government are the two supporters of humane society: happy is the coniunction, if one requiring anothers helpe, they concurre friendly. The Tribes of Israel how did they flourish, when as *Moses* praised vnto God and *Iosua* fought and vanquished? They are much deceived which impute the ruine of Kingdomes to climactericall and fatall yeares: Farre be it from the thoughts of Christians, who should rather beleuee that the fates of Kingdomes depends of Religion, the which being maintained, stand firme, but neglected they goe to ruine: It is a parcell of Gods fauour, and a coniunction of mortall and immortal spirits, and a seale, and bond of the eternall couenant, the which the fates conspiring cannot dissolue: And therefore the wise Romans would haue the names of their Tutelarie Gods, kept from their enemies, lest they should goe into forraigne Cities; they had an Imagination that *Sagunt* could not be forced, vnlesse the God which did protect it were called away. Wherefore the Heathen did thinke the coniunction of Religion and Government to be an inexpugnable fort.

Beleue oh most Christian King! that thou art linked vnto God by Religion, and that there is no greater signe of a declining estate, then when Religion is banished, being apparent by many ancient examples, that God flies the company of mortall men, when as Religion and his worship is neglected. Thinke oh King! that thy state is not fetled by any politike Government, or by wise Counsellors; there is a secret power from aboue which rules it, euen God who giues and takes away Scepters, he watcheth for thy safetie, preferues thee from thy enemies, and makes thee a spectacle to all Europe by thy victorious triumphs. The same God hath broken the yoke vnder which France lay bound, wiped away the teares, pacified the ciuill warres, erected the ruined Altars of peace, cured the wounds, restored the Lawes, and (lest I should be tedious) renewed France that was almost dead, and hath made it a terror to other Nations. Thy glorie is so great as thou hast brought this ship being readie to be cast away by the violence of the storme, into a safe Port, thou hast broken the confederate Armies, and passing so many dangers, dost shine with the spoiles of thine enemies, thou hast releued languishing France, which despairing of all helpe ranne willingly to ruine, if thy inuincible courage had not exceeded the greatnesse of her extremities.

These, oh *Henry*! be the Monuments whereby thou hast bound future ages vnto thee. But this is not all: to make thy glory immortal, there rests one thing the which the Church must finish and make euerlasting; Namely, that thou wilt command the Decrees of the Councell of Trent to be obserued, whereby corruption, filthinesse, symonie, bargaines made in trust, and such like wickednesse may be punished. The Synod was celebrated by a general assembly of the world, confirmed by the Pope, and is obserued of all Christians; The which if you shall refuse to publish, that vndiuided garment shall not be cut with any other sheeres, nor the Vale of the Temple rent with any other whirlewind.

Antiquitie which is an incorrupt witnesse, hath worthily honoured France, for that it hath alwaies assisted the Church and saved it from tempest and shipwracke: A field which the heavenly Husbandman hath manured with his owne hand, and purged it from Tares, and Darnell, that the Lilly may flourish, vnder whose shadow it might rest secure from all heat and stormes; a Garden set with most pleasant and sweet flowers, neither is there any Nation more obedient to their Pastors and Ministers. France should lose these goodly Titles, if it should reiect the Councell of Trent.

The Astronomers hold, that the Planets are governed by the motion of the heauen: onely the Moone they ascribe hath a peculiar and contrary motion. It is most certaine, that sacred Oracles doe in like manner depend vpon Generall Councels, and that the wheele of Gods chariot (which *Ezechiel* saw) is greater, the which forceth the rest with his violent motion. The Councell of Trent is like a Sphere, which doth gouern the Planet of the French church, to requester the which from Synodall decrees by the pretence of priuileges & priuate Immu-

ities, what is it else, but to giue a priuate and opposite motion like vnto the Moone? They A that looke into the secrets of Nature, say that the eye, which is the window of mans body, is instructed with seuen Arteries, by whose violence it moues, yet the eye is not vawillingly moued. It is not vnlke the liberty of the French Church, the which depends of a greater motion, neither should priuileges make it proud, and moue against the eye whose beame it is, but by the motion of Synodall constitutions. It is the Load-star of the vniuersall Church, according to the which the French must direct her course. Your Maiestie is not prouided herebv. neither doe we with any other expostulation sigh at the taking away of elections: If we complain with more bitterness, the thing it selfe giues vs leave to speake for this shield taken away, sacred and profane things are confounded; the government of the Church is troubled; the censor is taken out of the Priests hands; the wall which diuides the holy Vestry, is broken; and the mytticall oyle of the Tabernacle is spilt.

It rests in your singular iudgement to make choise of Pastors, not according to the ambition of the Court, giuing men to spiritual liuing, and not spiritual liuing to men: By this choise the Church doth shine, thou hast made choise of corner stones to support it; thou hast prouided wise Mariners for this mytticall ship, and now the Order of the Leuities being cleaned, defends the Altars and holy things: Although in this age there are many things required to purge the Church, yet the glory is to be attributed to the hauing aduanced worthy Prelates, to as vertue hath no cause at all to complain that there is neglected, the which it may please you for to loue and embrace still, and to persecute it with honours and rewards, that it may glory and shine in all good arts and discipline. There remains how much we are grieved, and how iustly we exclaime against Symonie, the payson of spiritual liuing, the reproach and pollution of the Church, *Give us trafficke*, possession of spiritual reuenues giuen vnto Lay-men; Alienation of Church-lands, contempt of the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and erroneous appeales, receiued with all impunitie, so as that which was held a great offence, custome hath made it nothing. It is like vnto the *Leuitian*, or *lobs* euill spirit, which doth no more lurke in darknesse, but shewes it selfe boldly: these finnes (like vnto *Abeles* innocent bloud) cry for reuenge. *Leuis* the Godly hauing polluted himselfe herewith, and flaying from the steps of *Charles* the Great his Father, treading Lawes vnder foot, he was not onely a reproach vnto France, but also a contempt and scorne to his children, whose righteous God did reuenge.

That all-piercing eye of heauen, which looks into the secret finnes of mortall men, with what an angry countenance doth he behold the holy pledges of the Church, the price of sinners, the godly deuotions, the bread of the hungry, and the cloathes of the naked bestowed vpon Lay-men, and employed to filthy vses, as in the time of the Gentiles by a wicked King in despite of the Christians, *Adams* Idoll was set in Christs place, the holy Ornaments of the Sanctuary so prophaned, in the banquets of the Kings of Asiria, as the Almighty hand of Heauen did by the learned vail denounce reuenge.

Pardon me, oh King, if I say that *Adams* Idoll is now set in Christs place, that the holy Ornaments are polluted, the Sanctuarie defiled, and the corner stones shaken and pulled away, if you shall any longer suffer the proposition bread and the holy corne to be stolne from the Altars by married men, Knights and Souldiers, whose hands are siter for armes and murders, than for incense and mytticall things.

In the Canticles the mytticall Spouse complains, that falling amongst souldiers in the night shee was spoiled of her ornaments: The goods of the Church, proceeding from the bounty of religious Kings, may well be taken for the ornaments of the Church: and if you shall suffer her reuenues to be waied by Courtiers, what is it else, but to abandon the Spouse to be spoiled by souldiers: and although it were with the consent of the Clergy, too indulgent to this mischiefe, yet there are many reasons which should perswade you not to fauour it. *Adam* as soone as he had tasted of the forbidden fruit did presently blush at his owne nakednesse: the reuenues of the Church is like vnto a tree, which God hath forbidden to touch, whose fruits being once gathered, our nakednesse is presently discovered.

There are many things whereof wee might complain vnto your Maiestie, but lest I should be tedious, I will end with this petition in the name of all the Prelats of the French Church here present, that you will confirme that which hath beene granted to our order, the which hath beene often neglected. Vnto the end your affaires may prosper, that God may bleesse you and your Kingdome, and that your Empire may be permanent, and haue no

ting

A ting but the whole world, stretch forth your assisting hand to releue the Church which faints, helpe her, grieve at her misfortune, ease her afflictions, and cure her wounds. Looke vpon so many hundreds of Parishes with pittie, who whereas they feed their flocks with the food of Angels, they scarce eat the bread of mortall men, liuing most hardly, so cold is pittie, and so sparingly they offer vnto God. Wherefore vnto you God that you will hereafter be a sacrifice vnto him, and labour continually at his Altars, leauing a Testimony to posteritie that Kings should haue a continuall care of the Church and worship of Almighty God.

The Tribes of Israel were forbidden to contract mariage out of their kindred, onely the Tribe of Iuda had a prerogative, for that it did gouerne the rest, to marrie with the Tribe of *Leuie*, the which had the Government of the Altar and Priest-hood: By this Simbole the Hebrewes did fitly obserue, that the Priest-hood and Government were fitly ioyned. But oh most Christian King! shall it bee lawfull to speake vnto thee as the Israelites did vnto their King? *Flesh of my flesh, blond of my blond, and bones of my bones: Let vs heresie be one, and an vndiuided couple: thy weepings are teares to me, thy sobs shall force me to sigh, and being conuerted one into another, I can comfort thee with these words; Daughter of Sion full of sorrow, leaue off thy teares, I am he that will free thee of thy sack-cloth and mourning weed, and wipe away thy ashes and deformitie, and will make thee shine with Balmamm and sweet smelling ointments.* And as the Hebrew Daughter-in-law did thus flatter her King; I will that posteritie shall know that I haue clad thee with Purple and Scarlet, and enriched thee with the first fruits; thy Sabbots and Holy-daies haue beene worshipped by me: I haue armed thee with the Target of the strong: I haue girt thy thigh with the sword of Ionathan against thine enemies, which cannot be blanted, being accustomed to be goared with his blond. Gue then oh King! vnto the Church her Rights and Tributes; reioyce with thy mother, who hath called thee her first begotten sonne, and hath giuen thee the first kisse, whom about all others she would haue kept in her bosome. For so many worthy Titles grant he may bee free. That if *Thyanen* the Philosopher did sometimes say of *Titus Caesar*, *Titus did vanquish Iurie*, and Apollonius Titus; the Church may speake thus; *Henric crowned with victories and happinesse, hath ouerthrowne and conquered all his enemies Armies, but the Church hath vanquished Henric with her teares and*

D/suplications.

I may not forget the reception of the new Bishop of Orleans, being rare and singular about all the Prelats of France. *Aubespine* being chosen Bishop the first day of September, he caused a Proclamation to be made, that on the fourteenth of the said month, after the ancient manner, he would make his entry into Orleans, promising impunitie to all malefactors, not onely to such as had slaine men accidentally, but euen for premeditated murders; and for all other crimes whatsoever. Thither flocke the most wicked among men: On the thirteenth the Bishop lay in the Abbey of Saint *Hubert*, where the next day the Abbot hauing said Masse, he put on his Myter and other pontificall ornaments. Staying there, the Chanoins of Saint Croix came vnto him, with the Doctors and Officers of the Vniuersitie, and the Magistrates of the Citie. The Bishop goeth forth bare-footed: being come to Saint *Amians* Church, the Chanoins receiue him, who holding his hands close together, protest that they are free from his Iurisdiction: yet they bring him to the Altar, after which, his feet are washed and cleansed, and white shooes of Silke put on: then hauing taken an oath not to attempt anything against their Rights and Priuileges, he is carried by foure of the chiefe of them in a chaire without the walls of the Towne: there they call forth foure Barons, who are subiect to the Bishop by their fees, and are euery yeare bound on the day of the Invention of the holy Crosse, to bring foure great Wax-lights in forme of gutters, euery one weighing an hundred pound weight. These Barons presented themselves to carie the Bishop, but he of his grace freed them of this seruice. Then the Clergie went before in order: being come to Bourgondie gate, he was met by the President, the Baylife of Orleans, the Lieutenant criminal, and all the Councillors of the presidiall Court. There all malefactors were let out of prison, who with great acclamations cried for mercy. The Bishop commanded the laylor to say if the prisons were empty, and whether there were not some malefactors detained, who being assured that all were freed from bonds, two of them were commanded to goe before all the rest: being come to Saint Croix, the Bishop rung a little bell, and then he made himselfe readie to say Masse: which done, he ioyned apart with the Chanoins, the Iudges were seated in another roome, and all the malefactors in the Bishops hall.

Entry of the Bishop into Orleans.

Drawing of
the Duke of
Loire.

Inundation of
the River of
Loire.

Duke of Ne-
vers sent to
the Pope.

hall. After dinner the Crier being a Divine, makes them a sharpe admonition, and wils them A to live better hereafter: the Bishop confirms his speech: which done, they cried often for mercy. In the end, the Bishop giuing them his blessing, dismissed them with this charge, That they should pay all Fines and the charges of Sutes. Thus by the coming of the new Bishop, there were about an hundred freed from the Gallowes: the parents, children, and widowes grieved that they were deprived of all meanes of reuenge.

Father Angelo of Ioyeuse going out of France, had past the Alpes bare-footed, by the commandement of his Superior. At Turin a Feuer tooke him, the which when he felt, being no longer able to goe on foot, he caused himselfe to be carried in a Litter to a religious house of that Order at *Riuoli*. The Duke of Sauoy hearing of his sicknesse, sent his chiefe Physician, and an Apothecarie with all kinds of comfortable things fit for the recovery of his health, and Cooks to dresse his meat, being so carefull of his health, as twice a day he sent men in post to bee aduertised thereof. There was nothing omitted that the art of man could inuent: but the violence of his Feuer did make frustrate all their skill. The tenth day of his sicknesse, being the five and twentieth of September, his soule leauing the prison of his body, went happily to heauen. He died as he liued, not in the Court of Turin, nor in a bed of Downe with rich furniture, but in his garment of haire, and coucht vpon straw, in the prison of his Conuent he left the burthen of his flesh. *Remold Walter*, one of the Presidents of the Kings great Councell, being there by chance to negotiate some businesse for a Prince of the Blood, as he had beene deare vnto him liuing, so he was still by him in his sicknesse, and receiued his last dying words. His body was embalmed and laid at *Riuoli*, vntill that France his natieue Country should require it, as it did the yeare following. *Walter* aduertised the King on the feuen and twentieth of September, of the whole manner of his sicknesse, of his happy end, of the Duke of Sauoy's singular care, and of his last words, by the which he would haue his fatall houre made knowne vnto the Duchesse of Montpensier his Daughter by father *Joseph* of the same societie. So the good father did fore-see his daughter might receiue the easier wound: he knew well that *Joseph* was an excellent Artist to pacifie minds thus plunged in sorrow, and without doubt he did much mollifie the bitterness of this fatall message.

The Riuer of Loire did this Autumne swell so suddenly, as breaking the banks it overflowed the whole Countrey with strange whirle-pooles, rooting vp corne, woods, and old trees, drowning herds of cattle, and overflowing houses and farmes, or whatsoever withstood the rage of it. At Blois, Amboise and other townes, the arched bridges being broken, and the riuer swelling suddenly, many were drowned. The Duke of Sully receiued great losse by this inundation: when as he feared nothing that the violence of the Riuer should any way hurt his castle standing vpon Loire, behold it swels suddenly with such whirle-pooles, as it ouerthrew some towers of the castle which were very strong. Some Countrymen were seen escaping vpon tables, some climbing vp trees, and to the tops of mountains, and some by swimming laboured to flie death. And to speake in a word, all was Sea. The ruine and spoile it made, mans wit could not estimate, the which was fatal to the husbandmen for many yeares, their fields being so spoiled with stones, sand, and bushes, as they could not cleane them but with an incredible charge: for the Riuer arising out of the Mountaines of Auvergne, fragments of Rocks came rolling downe, which made the land barren: much vnlike to the Riuer of Nile, whose mud doth make their fields fat, whereupon the Country-men say, Egypt is fertile without raine.

The most Christian King sent an honorable Ambassage to Pope Paul the fifth, to acknowledge his obedience, by *Charles* of Gonzaga Duke of Nevers. Having made great preparations at Paris for his iourney, and taken his leaue of the Kings, he came to Mantes, where he was transported with his whole traine in foure of the Kings Gallies; and landed at Saona, from whence he went to Genoua, where the Duke and Common-weale receiued him with great honor, sending forth troups of Souldiers to meet him: being come into the citie, he was brought into the Senate by foure Senators, set in the highest seat, & had leaue to giue his voice. Having giuen thanks to the Genouoi's, he went on his iourney, and came to Ciuita-vecchia, a towne belonging to the Church, where the Popes officers receiued him with a princely entertainment, and that nothing might be wanting, *Fabio Gonzaga* the Duke of Mantua's Lieutenant, with many other Noblemen, came to congratulate his coming: at their departure, he presented them with a great chaine of Gold, the which they refused, not in disdaine of him that offered it, but that they desired no reward from the Kings Ambassadour but his loue.

The

A The Duke proceeding on his iourney, he was met by Monsieur *De Breuiss*, the Kings Ambassadour resident at Rome, the Marquis of Malatesta, the Bishop of Abrincenes, *Marchmont*, and all the French Nobility which was then in the City. Comming neere to Rome, there went forth to meet him, the Duke of Carpineta, the Marquis of Pallavicino, and *Marke Anthony Victorio* the Popes Nephew, whom the Duke of Neuers did much respect; him hee tooke into his Caroch, and entertained him very familiarly. The Cardinals stood at the entry of the City to receiue the Duke, with the Archbishops and other chiefe Prelates: the Pope had sent forth trumpets, and troups of horse, with his Guards and an hundred Suisses (being in all two thousand armed men) to guard him. The Duke of Neuers was accompanied with about three hundred of the French Nobility, all mounted vpon Genets of Spaine, Barbary horses, and coursers of Naples. He entered the City by the gate, which goes to Castle Saint Angelo: after the shooting off of the Ordnance, there was all sorts of musick: the windowes were full of Senators, Gentlemen and Ladies, and the streets pestered with people: hauing rested himselfe two daies, he had audience of the Pope, and deliuered the Kings letters, the which being read, he was brought vnto Saint Peters Palace, where he was lodged with the French Ambassadour at the Popes charges. The feasting being ended, he had a second audience, treating of matters of great importance; then after much honour done him by the Pope he returned.

There was a troupe of desperat theues, which did wonderfully annoy the Prouinces of C Poitou, Aniou, Britaine, and the neighbour Countries with their murders and spoiles, whose infoleny and power was such, as they durst encounter the Prouost Marshall with their armed Archers, who being too weake, these theues (who were called *Guilleries* of their Leader) had free liberty to continue their theeuing: being accustomed in the ciuill warres to cruelty and theft, hauing no meanes to entertaine their licentious life at home in peace, they returned to their former villanies. They drew into woods and vnouth places, Bankrupts, Forgers, men branded for villanies, Rascalls, Theeues, and the summe of all the world. They say that *Guillerie* the elder brother (for there were two of them) shewed some greatnesse in his theeuing, for if he did chance to meet any poore passenger, he tooke nothing from him, but gaue the poore man so much as he thought, would suffice his iourney. If a rich man fell into his hands, and had no present money for his redemption, he would take his Bill, and so dismiss him, with this charge, that if he failed to make payment at the day appointed, he would remit no kinde of cruelty to be vsurged of their breach of promise. This elder *Guillerie* did so despise them that fought after him, as he would often mocke them. He came into an Inne, whereas the Prouost Marshall of Rheims with his Archers was lodged, alighting from his horse, hee sat downe with them, and entertained them with discourses and playing at Dice, till it was very late: rising early in the morning, hauing payed for his and their charges, he willed his host to tell the Prouost and his Archers, that they were imprudent, seeking in vaine for *Guillerie*, with whom they had supped the last night, who hauing wonne their mony at Dice, had paid for their supper. Hereby you may coniecture E that a bold and vndaunted theefe this *Guillerie* was: But now heerein what denne this *Camus* lodged, in a deepe Valley, and in the furthest part of a thicke wood, hauing no ordinary passage vnto it, where he had built him a lodge like vnto a Fort. Hauing taken a Gentleman of good note, he brings him thither blindfold, being come in, he shewes him all his thefts, store of victuals, and a good armory with a wall, rampier and ditch to repell force: Hauing dined well in his denne, he dismisseth him, taking an oath that he should not bewray what hee had seene: he keeping his faith, for that he could not discouer what he had not seene, yet he observed the wood, and all the passages, and by this theefe they went into the Minotaur, who could not bee drawne forth but by a siege, and foure or five field peeces. Seeing himselfe inuironed by the Prouost Marshalls, the Nobility, and the whole Countrey, and prest with F smoke, fire, and sword, going forth with his Horse-men, hee brake thorow the thickest Troupes, but being kept backe by their shot, he forced them vnwillingly to kill him, for that he threatened death to them that prest him. The younger *Guillerie* and about threecore others were taken, the rest escaped, who finding no safety and became Pyrats: the prisoners were carried to Xaintes, and from thence to Rochell, where they were broken vpon the wheele, and executed according to their merits and deserts.

This month, that which was sometimes called the Millars bridge, was finished and began to be passable: That which was drowned in the Riuer, is now made more beautiful, from

Millars bridge
at Paris.

ruine

ruine and shipwracke, it hath received increase and glory : being before contemptible for the A
base vfe, it is now famous for the worthy trades : being despised before for the ruinous
houses, it is now glorious for the uniformity of the building, losing the antiquity and the
name both together : it hath not his name from milles and grinding, but from the flupes of
birds which distinguish the houses, or from the builder, as passengers may obserue by these
two Verses :

Pons olim submersus aquis, nunc mole resurgo,

Mercator fecit, nomen ex ipse dedit.

I was a bridge late drown'd with flood, now rais'd in richer frame,
Marchant was he that made the worke, and gaue the worke his name.

But now hearken to an admirable and bloudy fact, proceeding from blinde loue : *Peter*
Arvices Bourdeus, a Spaniard borne, an *Augustine* Monke, being for his great learning made
publike Professor of Diuinitie at Tholose, before all his competitors : who besides his
schollership, exceeded all others in preaching of the Word, honesty of life, and sincerity of
manners. In the presidiall Court there was an old Councillor called *Franciscus Geraldus*, an
observer of the Law, free from fraud, and of good fame ; but mans life is not knowne but by
the last act. Both being austere in their manners and behaviour, fall in loue with a young maid :
she was borne in Portugal, and came to Tholose with her father and Familie : her name was *C*
Violantilla of Castro, whose bewitching eyes and alluring countenance had set on fire the weak
and decayed Councillor, and this Stoicall Monke. Neither doth loue disdain white haire,
nor withered cheekes ; and although loues fire doth flame in this old man, yet he ioynees with
the Monke, they diuide *Violantillas* loue and embracings betwixt them, and onely these two
Cornials agree together, admitting no other competitor : they had both one care, to enjoy the
wench with equall liberty. In the end they thought it fit to hide the stolne and vnchaste fire
vnder the ashes of wedlocke. *Geraldus* hee procures the marriage, with a young Advo-
cate borne in a towne neere to Tholose ; the marriage is concluded and consummated, and
these two Solicitors pay the dowie. The feast being ended, the new spouse resolves to carry
his wife home to his friends ; these two Sutors repining at it, especially *Geraldus*, who pro-
mised to procure him many Clients in the Court of Parliament of Tholose, or at the least in
the presidiall Court. But he (whether finding himself vnfit for the City eloquence, or
doubting of his wifes honesty, by reason of their riuals) stood firme in his resolution to carry
her to his owne home. But they storming at the departure of the woman, for that the
marriage procured for their stolne loue, had not succeeded according to their intents, they
study how to draw them backe to Tholose. *Geraldus* follows the married couple, he feasts
there with them a moneth together, and perswades them to returne to the City ; but finding
his words to be of no force, he returnes much grieved at the husbands imperious command,
relating to *Bourdeus*, the mans austere disposition, and the poore womans seruitude : they con-
sult how they may recover their old loues, and take away the mans life. To attempt it by
poyson they thought it not safe, they therefore resolved to doe it by the sword : and to
the end it might bee the more easily effected, they call the husband to Tholose, vnder
colour of a suite which was then in question. *Geraldus* agrees with a Scholler ; or rather
a murderer called *Candolus*, and another named *Esbaldus*, to kill him, and pates them halfe
the price of this wicked bargain. The vnfortunate husband, being ignorant of the plot,
came to Tholose, and was invited to a solemne feast by *Geraldus* ; the guests were *Bour-
deus*, *Candolus*, and *Esbaldus*, where their fare was great, and their entertainment in shew
answerable : after supper *Bourdeus* retires himselfe, and the rest went forth to walke, being
in the heat of Iuly : in the meane time *Geraldus* entertained the husband with a long discourse
vntill it was late, lest the light should bewray the murderers : at length being darke, hee
was let forth, and soone after was taken and led into solitarie and vnknowne places,
where he was murdered with seuentene wounds. The perswader of this murder hearing
thereof, cries out that his friend and guest had beene set vpon by Threemes, who seeking
to take away his purse, and he resisting, had slaine him. Hee sends for the Officers of
the City, and the Captaine of the Watch. *Esbaldus* sweating, and terrified with the foulness
of the fact, was taken flying, the dead body was brought vnto the Towne-house, the Monke
hearing that one of these murderers was apprehended, hee resolved to flee presently with
Candolus

A *Candolus* the other murderer, going without his Frocke to Tonius a towne held by them
of the Religion. Being still tormented with the testimony of his owne conscience, hee
demanded of a Minister, whether hee might safely remaine there ? but being doubtful of
his life, he presently fled to Millan, and from thence he went to Nismes. This mans flight,
and the casting away of his protested habit, made the Court to hold him guilty of the fact,
sending forth letters to apprehend the Monke. The President *Ferdun* giues charge to
the Prouost Marshall to make diligent search after them, the Monke was apprehended
at Nismes ; where they of the Religion tooke him from the publike Magistrate,
pretending that hee was of the Religion, that hee was maliciously accused for that cause,
and that hee could not be tried but by the Chamber of the Edict, wherein they presumed
so much, as he was deliuered to the Judges of the said Chamber, both Courts concurring for
their right.

The President *Ferdun* hauing by his letters informed the King of this controuersie, there
was at length a Decree made by the Kings priue Councell, by the which the capitall questi-
on was referred to the Court of Parliament of Tholoua, they of the Religion complaining
that the Edict was broken. At the length *Bourdeus* and *Candolus* being taken out of prison
from the Chamber of the Edict, were brought bound to Tholoua, the Court was diuided
vpon *Bourdeus* triall, some concluding for his present death, others requiring a stay, vntill
that *Candolus* (being put to the racke) should discover the whole matter : But in the end
they resolved not to protract his punishment any longer. *Bourdeus* hearing his sentence
read, and seeing the Racke before him, he laid open the whole matter as we haue reported
it. He accused the Countellour as the perswader and companion of the murder, having
with him paid the murderers for the fact. He commends the Court for the equity of their
iudgement, and giues God thanks, who by a momentary punishment had recalled him
from a sinke of sinne and heresie, whereunto hee was running, hauing fled to them of
the Religion only with hope of impunity : he accused *Candolus* and *Esbaldus*, that with their blou-
dy hands they had done that premeditated villany. He was carried to execution with teares
in his eyes, and a contrite heart, detesting much the fact : passing by the *Anglijnes*, hee said
awhile exhorting his fellow Monkes to a more holy life, and entreating them to pardon him,
for that he had so much deiled their Order by this false fact : and being come to the place
of execution he made a long Prayer, and so had his head cut off, and his body quartered.
After the Monkes execution, the Countellour denies the fact so oblutately, as if hee would
haue all men beleue he had bene free from this wickednesse : he was put to the racke, yet the
bitternesse of the paine could not draw a word from him : remaining thus vnfully silent,
the first President by a witty fiction, and without any force, wrested the truth from him, he threat-
ened him that his sonne should be tortured : to whom the father answered, that his sonne had
not deserved it ; that he was an innocent and altogether ignorant of the fact ; then being vr-
ged to declare the matter and to free him from the present danger, the father was more moued
with a fatherly affection, then with all their torments, confessing himselfe to be guilty, that he
might free his sonne from danger ; who relating all as *Bourdeus* had done, was condemned to
the like punishment. *Bourdeus* was executed the fifth of February, *Geraldus* the twelfth,
Candolus the thirteenth, *Esbaldus* the fourteenth, and *Violantilla* the sixteenth, being the onely
cause of the adultery and murder. Shee comming to the place of execution, made this speech
vnto the company.

O you that asist at this fatal spectacle, to you my friends I speake : Having obtained con-
fiancy from God to suffer death, I doe now intreat the helpe of your prayers at my approach-
ing end : Learne by my vnfortunate mischance, how deceitfull and fraile vanity is ; be-
hold I am (he who euen now abused with the alluring baits of Beauty, despising others, pre-
ferred my selfe before all, thinking that for beauty and wit not any one did equall me. But see
F the fruits of vanity and pride which I now reape. The enticing baits of the world, bankers,
dancing, and such like follies did bewitch me, and haue forced me to act this fatal Scene, an
eternall reproach in respect of the world, but to God-ward a testimony of a contrite and peni-
tent heart. I grieve him thanks, whom it may be in some other kinde of death I should haue
forgotten. These are the fruits of my youths wantonnesse : hauing not past the age of fix
and twenty yeeres, I die a sorne to the world : But I would to God in the beginning of my
being, that my cradle and funerall had bene inseparable. O fortunate and happy death ! if
my life had bene longer it had bene more wicked ; and more yeeres had increased my sins,
dying

Bourdeus execu-
ted.

Geraldus con-
demned and
executed.

Speech of a
woman
condemned.

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"dying a naturall death I should scarce haue repented: good God pardon a sinner, pardon A
 her I say, who exceeds all others in the multitude of her offences. Looke not to my crimes,
 but to a heart wounded with repentance, forgive a wretch, which hath forgiven so many
 Martyrs; they testify glory with their blood, and I walk away mine owne guilt with
 mine. I am a Sacrifice only for my selfe, although I am ignorant of the conspired murder;
 yet sufficiently guilty, for that my vnchaste manners were fatal to so many as haue died be-
 fore me. This onely grieues me, that my country and kindred are dishonoured by this in-
 famous spectacle: If I had given credit to their admonitions, I had not now bene brought
 forth to open infamy, but let not innocents be despised for my guilt. I aduise you againe,
 O you marions and virgins of Tholousa! let not your Sutors (which is the first precept to B
 preserve your chastities) abuse you with curlings, paintings, gay clothes, libellal speeches, ban-
 quets and coaches: these are snares and baits for your chastities: I was weary of my beauty,
 and my naturall hue did not please me, the which I did abuse with art. But to what end? that
 I might inflame a Spanish Monke blacke with rust, and an old decrepit Lawyer, who hauing
 bought my chastity, grew companions of my shame. But why doe I abuse your eares any
 longer with my filthinesse, but rather being penitent for my offences, let mee intreat your last
 prayers and vovves for an expiation, deny not this passage to a soule which is going to heauen,
 She was speaking more, when as the axe interrupted her last words, and left them vnperfected.

Death of the
D. of Cleues.

This yeere in March the Duke of Cleues hauing languished long of sicknesse, hoping of
 some recovery, was intercepted by death, going a hunting, to the great griefe both of his C
 subiects and neighbours, for that dying without children, he should leaue a doubtfull con-
 tention to them that pretended the inheritance, which did seeme to threaten warre and de-
 solation: the sparkles which did shew vpon his death, gaue cause to feare a great fire, as you
 shall after heare.

Discourse of
Terrail's appre-
hension and
execution.

I must now relate vnto you an enterprife vpon Geneua, made by *Lewis* of Combourfieur,
 Seigneur of Terrail, and other places, Vicount of Rauell, Knight of the Order, Cornet to the
 Dauphin, and Baron of Moyllac, being executed there the ninth of Aprill. About three
 yeeres since there was intelligence giuen, that *Terrail* being much discontented, that the Span-
 iards had not assisted him well in his enterprises in the Low-countries, foreseeing that in the
 end they would ruine him, he gaue it out that he would serue the Gobet (for so he called the D
 Duke of Sauoy) saying openly that he had a notable enterprife vpon Geneua. Soone after he
 came to Paris, vpon colour to recouer the Kings fauour, but they were aduertised that hee
 should come into Sauoy. His designs were then disappointed by the murder which hee
 committed in the Louvre before the King, who treated of his peace with the Gentleman
 whom hee slue: so as to flie the Kings indignation, he returned to the Arch-duke, where hee
 remained, vntill that hee vnderooke a voyage to Loreto with *La Basside*, an Engineer, whom
 he had taken to assist him in his executions. They went on foot, and in their returne had con-
 ference with the Duke of Sauoy. Notwithstanding that the Earle of Fuentes had disswaded
Terrail, telling him that the Duke would ingage him in his enterprises against Geneua, and
 that it would be his ruine. At which time the Duke imparted vnto *Terrail* and his man, his B
 designs vpon Geneua: from which time they continued in Sauoy, hauing made two voy-
 ages to that effect to Thurin. They of Geneua grew presently into ielousie, hauing had sun-
 dry aduertisements of a great and almost inuitable enterprize against them, managed by
Terrail: being in this perplexity, God sent them some more light, the which did serue them as
 a meane to enter into the ground of the businesse, and to consult *Terrail's* man, and afterwards
 himselfe. Hauing plaied at Tennis at Chambery, and being hot, he retired himselfe into a
 Chamber, where lying vpon a bed, a seruant of the Tennis-court ayiring a shirt, he saw *La*
Basside and some others, present a Paper to *Terrail*, (which was a plot of the towne of Ge-
 neua) discoursing secretly as of affaires of importance. This seruant hearing them name
 some of the Forts of Geneua, gaue more attentive eare, and perceived for certaine that they F
 deuised of some enterprife against the towne, hearing *Terrail* (after a long discourse) make no
 difficulty, but of the meane to draw a sufficient number of men together for this enterprife:
 wherein being satisfied by the Assistants, he said openly: They are taken, they cannot avoid
 it. This being vnderstood by the young man, he hauing a brother in the Garrison of Gene-
 ua, and desirous to saue him from this danger, went and discovered all to a Burgesse of Ge-
 neua, who was then at Chambery. This Burgesse made a faithfull report vnto the Magi-
 strates of Geneua, and to the young mans brother, from which time they set spies to obserue

Terrails

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A *Terrail's* actions. In the end they were aduertised that they were past the mountaines, conferred
 with the Duke of Sauoy; and that he returned by the Lake Lemman, whereof they aduertised
 them of Berne, sending all the marks of *Terrail*, and intreating them to seize vpon his per-
 son if he past thorow the Country. The which they had exprefly commanded, hauing no-
 tice of the D. of Sauoyes practises against Geneua, their Ally, and against their owne Coun-
 try. It happened at the same time, that a Deacon of Yuerdun, a towne belonging to the Ber-
 nois, neere to the Frontier of the County of Bourgondy, being at Geneua, came to salute the
 second Syndic of the Towne, and brought him letters. After some other discourse, hee ac-
 quainted him with the aduertisements they had receiued, of the enemies enterprises against
 B Geneua, and the country of Berne, but especially vpon the towne of Yuerdun, a place very
 important, being the key of the country ioyning vpon Bourgondie: hee gaue him also the
 markes of *Terrail's* person, whose picture they had gotten at Geneua, doubting that he him-
 selfe would come to view the towne. Some daies after *Terrail* returning from Thurin, he past
 the lake, but with some ill preface by the falling of his mans horse into the water, which
 made him in a manner resolute vpon his returne, yet in the end being perswaded by his man
 he passed on, he came into the Country of Berne, but not into any frequented places: passing
 thorow their Country, he diligently obserued the places of most importance, neuer lodg-
 ing in any towne, but in villages, hamlets and peasants houses, vntill hee came to Yuerdun,
 where he stayed not, but passing the bridge he found the Bailiffe and others, whom hee saluted,
 C but they obserued him not. Hauing past the bridge, seeming to stay for some other cause, he
 turned towards Yuerdun, and viewed the situation and defences of the place: the which was
 well noted by them that were yet vpon the bridge, thinking (imply that hee had staid vpon
 some other occasion: but hauing past a little further, the foresaid Deacon being in a Garden,
 saw him come a faire off, and hauing obserued his countenance, he beganne to doubt that it
 was *Terrail*, and the better to discover him, knowing that hee was bald, he made him a low
 courtesie, to moue him to vncouer, the which hee did, and the Deacon being now assured, ran
 speedily to the Bailiffe, deliuering his opinion. All the Assistants which had noted the coun-
 tenance of the man to haue turned, and obserued the place, perswaded the Bailiffe to send af-
 ter him, the which hee did by two men onely, who should obserue what course he tooke; that
 D if he went not toward Bourgondy, they should returne without any farther purpose, but if
 he went that way, they should follow him to his lodging, without making shew of any thing,
 and obserue particularly the markes which he gaue them of his person. There hapned ano-
 ther act of Gods prouidence, *Terrail* hauing past a village called Villeboeuf, which is within
 halfe an houres journey of Bourgondy, meaning to lodge that night in the Country, passing
 thorow a quag-mire, where his horse being mired, he returned and went out a planke; vpon
 the which his horse stumbling hurt himselfe, which made him halt: this made him re-
 solve to lodge that night at Villeboeuf. Being lodged there, the two which were sent from
 Yuerdun, obserued him diligently, and one of them returned speedily to carry newes to the
 Bailiffe, who presently sent foure horsemen led by the Captaine of Yuerdun to bring him
 E backe, giuing them charge also to require aid of the Peasants: arriuing in the morning, they
 found *Terrail* ready to goe to horse, to whom the host and others, being aduertised of the fact,
 had said that hee could not passe the mountaines, where there were two great guards, which
 staid all men that had not giuen an account to the Bailiffe of Yuerdun. This was confirmed
 by them that came in the morning: and although that *La Basside* stormed at this affront, yet
Terrail seemed willing to returne to Yuerdun, with 4. or 6. horse, whom hee might haue de-
 feated, if he had foreseene his calamity. After his detention, he repented him often that hee
 had not shewed his great courage at that time: but God blinded him, for from that time hee
 shewed no signes of valour or dexterity, whereby he might often haue escaped, as wee shall
 see. Being returned to Yuerdun, and examined by the Bailiffe who was witty and of great
 F experience, he answered, that he was a Gentleman of Dauphiné, called *Paul* of Confians,
 and that hee went into Lorraine to follow a sute, which did import him much, intreating the
 Bailiffe to dispatch him presently. His answers hauing no greater ground, bred more iea-
 lousie in the Bailiffe, so as hee resolved to seize vpon his person, vntill hee had better adue:
 whereupon he demanded his sword, the which hee deliuered, and caused him to be lodged in
 an Inne very carefully guarded by foure men. Among other causes to breed suspicion, being
 at Villeboeuf, seeing that he must returne, and that there was no meane to escape, the pas-
 sages being guarded, he called for a Candle, with the which he burnt a long letter written on
 both

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both sides. Being demanded thereon, he answered that it was a letter written to Monsieur de A
Creyg from his kin's woman, to be a mediator vnto his Maiesty for him; the which hee still
maintained, and that he burnt it, left his name and quality should be knowne. The Bailiffe
for his better satisfaction sent presently to Geneva, to haue some one that knew *Terrail*: to
whom they sent one of the Magistrates of the towne and a souldier, who had serued vnder
Terrail in the Low-countries, and had giuen many aduertisements of his enterprises, where-
of he had the knowledge from his owne mouth, by the meanes of some of his seruants. These
two being come to Yuerdun, it was held good the souldier should enter suddenly into the
lodging, where *Terrail* was at supper: he enters, and at the first sits downe at the table with-
out making shew of any thing. *Terrail* seeing him, was much troubled, seeming to be very B
ill, and desiring them to warme his bed: thus he retired to his Chamber much dismayed, wheth-
er he sent for the said souldier, whom hee entertained very courteously, intreating him to
tell if he were not sent to discover him, the which the souldier hauing iustified, he began to
vie strange speeches vnto him: That he knew not why they of Geneva did malice him: That
he had had diuers aduertisements from Chambery, that they laid wait for him at Geneva:
And that they would employ the said souldier to discover him: That he should die a gallant
Knight and an innocent. That the Earle of Fuentes, the King of Spaine, and the Arch-duke
would reuenge his death: That he neuer had had to doe with the Duke of Sauoy, who he said
was an vnworthy and an ingratefull master, witnesse the end of *Albigny*: He beganne to sub-
orne the said souldier to helpe him to escape, promising him a thousand crownes, if with all C
speed he would write to the Earle of Fuentes, and goe into Bourgondy, to the Earle of Cha-
nite, to aduertise him of his extreme danger. And *La Bafide* would haue deliuered the said
souldier an hundred crownes, which he refused. *Terrail* intreated him to returne early in the
morning, for that he had matters of importance to deliuer vnto him. In the meane time the
Bailiffe being aduertised of the truth, & finding it not fit the souldier should confer any more
with him, caused him with his man to be conueyed to the Cattle, where they were lodged a
part, and well guarded. They of Geneva hauing notice of his detention, the Councell resol-
ued to send to the Segnieurs of Bearne to demand him, giuing the charge to one of the *Sin-*
dics of the towne, who being first heard in the Councell of five and twenty, he let them vnder-
stand the great and iust grounds they had at Geneva, to desire to haue *Terrail*: that they D
had certaine proofes of his practices: that the witnesses which they had at Geneva, could not
be without danger transported: that the cause of both Townes allied was common: that
the enterprises concerned them inseparably: that in the like case, they of Geneva had deliuered
prisoners to Bearne: that the Kings men not long since had granted them a prisoner for
the like attempt: that the consequence would be very great to diuert vnder takers, if they lay
they could not without danger come about Geneva. In the end the petty Councell of Bearne
being perplexed in this businesse, assembled the great Councell of two hundred, where the
like matters being propounded with vehemency, it was generally concluded, that *Terrail*
should be deliuered into their hands with his seruant and goods. The Kings Ambassador re-
siding at Soluerre, did greatly allow of this resolution.

The aduice of this grant being come to Geneva, they vsed wonderfull diligence and dex-
terity to perswade his brother (which dwelt in the Tennis-court at Chambery) to goe thither
to fetch him with goodly promises: the which he effected faithfully and speedily, as was wish-
in three daies he was at Geneva, and did serue much in the discovery. They also sent the
Souldier which had knowne *Terrail* to Monsieur de Lions, where they knew there was
a souldier which had sometimes bene his horse-keeper, and had heard his speeches touching
the enterprises of Geneva, the which he had oftentimes told to *Baleine*, (which was the souldier's
name of Geneva) but the horse-keeper was absent: but the said *Baleine* found another
souldier at Lions, his Camerado, who assured him that the said horse-keeper had often con-
ferred with him of this businesse, whereof the said *Baleine* tooke an iest by a Notaries hand: F
Terrail was deliuered to the *Sindic* of Geneva, and conducted with a guard from Yuerdun
to Morges, a little towne seated vpon the Lake Leman, 8. leagues from Geneva, where hee
was deliuered in guard to the Bailiffe of Morges, vntill they should send for him to Gene-
ua by water. This was done by a Decree of the great Councell of Bearne, with this purpose,
that before he went out of their territories, they should send them letters vnder the Seale of
Geneua, that it was done without prejudice to their iurisdiction, & of meere grace and clemencie.
Terrail was brought alone from Yuerdun, his seruants remaining behind, lest they should con-
ferre:

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A ferre: vpon the way he vsed strange speeches to the *Sindic*, asking him often, of what death
will ye make me to die at Geneva? he seemed to feare much to be deliuered into the Kings
hands, for which he had changed his name & fashion: that the King hauing him he will keepe
him long in the Bastile, whereas being farre off, he might make his peace with greater aduan-
tage, yet vnice seeing him selfe taken, he said he had no will to fall into the hands of them of Ge-
neua, but to be deliuered to the King, hoping by this meane to make his peace very easily. He
said also, that he had dissuaded the Duke of Sauoy from the enterprise of Geneva: but with
such insinuous reasons, as they might easily see they were inuented of purpose. Being at Mor-
ges, he so bewitched the Bailiffe with goodly words and promises, as he refused him to them
that came the next day to fetch him to Geneva by water, giuing *Terrail* meane to escape, B
God had not deprived him both of courage and iudgement. There were some of M. Des *Di-*
guieres men which past by Morges, entreating the Bailiffe to keepe him vntill hee had a new
warrant from Bearne, whether they went to that end: there was a weake guard in Morges, he
had the liberty of the Cattle, and meane to speake with whom he pleased, and to write to his
friends, hauing sent a very artificiall and passionate petition to the Seigneurs of Bearne. Hee
had also won the fauour of the people of Morges, by his good behauiour, iustificacions and
bounty, so as if there had come but twenty resolute men to his rescue, he had bin safe, and this
had bin ealie to execute, the lake in this place being but 3. little French leagues over, and right
against Morges, all being the Dukes, if he had had the assurance to haue gone out of the Cattle,
C he had escaped by the meanes of them of Morges it selfe, so much they fauoured him. They
of Geneva felt speedily to Bearne to complaine, and to re-demand him, the which was con-
firmed with much indignation against the Bailiffe of Morges, who before any answer made to
the Segnieurs of Geneva, had recieued letters of inuincation, commanding him speedily to de-
liuer *Terrail* vnto them, the which he was forced to doe. For which contempt the Bailiffe was
in disgrace, and there were presumptions, that *Terrail* had promised him ten thousand
Crownes to keepe him from going to Geneva, or at the least that his man might not come: the
which the Bailiffe had promised faithfully, hoping to effect it by the meanes of his great credit
and alliance, but it fell out otherwise. The Earle of Fuentes, the Catholike Cantons, and
Terrail's kin's men laboured much at Bearne to free him, but some came too late.

D He that was sent from the Earle of Fuentes, was entertained till the afternoon without
audience, vntill that *Terrail* was deliuered into the hands of them of Geneva. The Segnieurs
of Bearne did carry themselves very affectionate and zealous in this action. *Terrail* was con-
ducted in an armed Frigate: vpon the way one of the chiefe of the Towne which did accom-
panie him, entertained him with very honourable and kinde words: That if he would de-
clare that which concerned the safety of the Towne, he promised him in the name of the
Seigneurie, pardon, liberty, courteous vsage, and intercession to the King: but he denied all,
yet he was much perplexed, saying that he was no man of iron, and if they put him to the
Racke he should speake any thing. Being come to Geneva the fourteenth of Aprill about
midnight, he was lodged in the Towne-houfe well guarded. The next day being sent for to
E the Councell, they did in like manner let him know how desirous they were to free him, re-
quiring him to speake freely, and to helpe himselfe, for that they had sufficient in their hands
to conuict him, promising him liberty and all good vsage, if he would voluntarily declare
the businesse. This was repeated aboue ten times vnto him: but still he persisted in the nega-
tiue, with great execrations and oaths, so as in the end they told him, that seeing he would
not saue himselfe, there was no more grace for him. Whereupon they caused him to answer
criminally, vsing some rough speeches vnto him, which amazed him much: being confron-
ted by *Baleine* the Souldier, he denied all, yea that which was most apparent, so as they be-
gan by his doubtful answers to discover the whole truth. On Monday morning being the
17 of Aprill, he was led from the Towne-houfe to the prison: about the same time the said
F *Sindic* with a Secretarie of the State, brought his man from Yuerdun to the prison, and pre-
sently brought him to his answer, causing the young man of Chambery to see him, from
whom they had had their best intelligence, who hauing viewed him, affirmed confidently
that this was the man which had presented the paper to *Terrail*, and had vsed the aboue-men-
tioned speeches vnto him. This young man being examined apart, what apparell *La Bafide*
did wear then, he told what hee had seene, the which *La Bafide* did confesse, but he denied
the paper and the speeches, and so did *Terrail*. In the end, seeing that the young man did con-
stantly maintaine his saying, it was resolved that *La Bafide* should be put to the Racke; who
F f f f f hauing

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haueing endured the strappado twice, being ready to be put to it the third time, he said he would A
 confesse all. This resolution to put him to the Racke, was also grounded vpon another oc-
 casion; for that a Burgeesse of Geneua hauiing by chance seene *La Basfide* the same day in the
 Court of the prison, did witness that he slept one night with him in a neere Village, and that
 in the morning the host had told him, that *La Basfide* had handled many maps and plots of
 Fortification, before he parted, so he was knowne by the host to be an Enginier, to whom he
 confessed it, and yet in prison he denied all. After *La Basfides* confession, he was confronted
 with *Terrail*, who began to disauow him, but *La Basfide* persisted in his confession, where-
 upon *Terrail* being presented the Racke, with teares in his eyes he confessed the whole act vo-
 luntarily, and had no torture: The French King, and the Estates of the vaited Prouinces, B
 were presently aduerted of that which did concerne them. *La Basfide* confessed that he was
 an Enginier, hauiing long serued the Arch-Dukes, that since he had giuen himselfe to *Terrail*,
 to execute the enterprife of Geneua, and that he had sometimes bene a scholler. He was gal-
 lant of his person, and cunning in matter of fortification. That about foure or fise moneths
 past, returning from pilgrimage with his Master, passing by Thurin, the Duke discouried
 with them, both of Geneua, & of the great desire he had to be master thereof, demanding their
 aduice: he refused to assaile it, not by sieg or open force, but by enterprife, wherein they
 offered him their seruice, the which he accepted, with many thanks and promises, giuing to
Terrail 700. Duckets, and a Jewell of 300. crownes price, and to *La Basfide* 280. Philips Dol-
 lars. To effect this designe, the Duke gaue them charge to view the gates, Guard, Port, and C
 state of the Towne, whereupon *La Basfide* undertooke to goe into the towne, where hauiing
 viewed all, he brought vnto the Duke a plot of all that which had bin reformed in the fortifi-
 cation, since the Scalade, according to the which, the Duke did renew his ancient plot. That
Terrail and *La Basfide* going to Thurin, they could not agree vpon the meanes of the enter-
 prife, *Terrail* inclining to surprise a gate with a pettard or otherwise, and *La Basfide* shewing
 that it was a matter of infinite danger, by reason of the great number of defences which were
 at the gates, and their careful guard. After some dispute, the Duke inclined to *La Basfides*
 opinion, to attempt the Port, where there was not so strit a guard, and the which being sur-
 prized by a sufficient number of men, they should be in the heart of the town, and could not
 be in danger before they were entred: the which being executed, *La Basfide* made no difficul-
 ty, to accomplish the enterprife, being very easie (as he said) to seize vpon the Port De Riue,
 which was neere. *Terrail* hauiing heard all, yielded to his opinion, and went with *La Basfide*
 to passe the Lake about Euan, where he remained eight daies, informing himselfe particu-
 larly, from all the Water-men which went to Geneua, touching the disposition, guides, and
 deuicenes of the Port, visiting of boats and other things belonging to the nauigation of the
 Lake, by whom he discovered many errors in the Guard: and to be the better assured, he caused
La Basfide to goe ouer the Lake to Morges, to the end that he might passe in one of the
 Barkes of Geneua, which on certaine daies goe thither to market, and obserue the state of the
 port, and enter into Geneua without iaculosity; the which he performed so cunningly as no
 man suspected him. The like spie had bin taken some two yeeres before, hauiing grossly visi- E
 ted the chaires, who being amazed, and wauering in his answer, confest by force that he had
 bin sent to view the place, not knowing any more of the enterprife, nor who had sent him, for
 the which he was hanged. Some thinke he was of *Terrails* faction. From that time they had
 fortified the fort with another ranke of double chaires, but that did not serue to warrant them
 against this last enterprife. *Terrail* and *La Basfide* (who returned vnto him by land) hauiing
 againe visited the Port of Riue, by the which he past, he returned to the Duke, assuring him of
 the certainty and facility of the enterprife, taking vpon them to be the Leaders and conduc-
 tors of the execution. The enterprife was plotted after this manner: *Terrail* and the D. had
 made their desseigne to provide 4. or 5. great flat-bottomed boats, such as doe usually car-
 ry wood vnto the town, especially in May, when as they make their prouision, and to lodge F
 vnder the wood 150. or 200. choise men in euery boat, the which should approach without
 suspition, for that their counterfeite water-men should be attired like vnto them of Geneua. As
 for the farch which was heretofore made within the town, they did not regard it, hauiing re-
 solved to kill the farchers suddenly, & to leape all together out of their boats: they should at
 an instant gather their troups together, farre from the commerce of them of Geneua, and at a
 prefixed time ship them, when as they should see a fauourable Northern wind arise. *Terrail*
 should be in the first boat, and the D. or his eldest son in the last. The first exploit being done,
 the

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the D. or his son should also haue other troups, especially horsemen ready, the which might
 well be drawne together, vnder colour of the D. of Nemours marriage, which should be cele-
 brated at Anilly in Sauoy, 8. leagues from Geneua: and although the stay of the said marriage
 did cause some difficulty, yet they had so many other encounters, as they held the enterprife
 infallible: the facility was, in that they might imbarke them secretly, a fauourable wind car-
 rying them in a quarter of the time that is required by land: they thought that 500. men or
 more being entred, would be able to slay all the people, & seize vpon the Caouan at the Port,
 and also at the Port de Riue, by the which the Duke or his son should enter with their land-
 troups. The enterprife was appointed at such a time, when as the town seemed to be moit
 vnarmed, by reason of their country labours, & at dinner time when it seemed euery man
 retires himselfe. They haue confest also (since their condemnation) that their voyage thorow
 the Country of Bearne, was to obserue it, for the pursuing of their victory, after the taking of
 Geneua: for although the D. entred alone into this enterprife, and that the Earle of Fuentes
 had not discovered himselfe to be of the party: yet *Terrail* said, that the D. had assured him,
 that the Spaniards which were in Sauoy, had commandement to follow and obey him, as he
 pretended in this enterprife. *Terrail* went into the Low-countries to take his leaue of the Arch-
 duke, to retire such meanes as he had yet remaining there, & to bring some of the best execu-
 tioners that he could finde, with some Mariners. He and *La Basfide* agreed both in their con-
 fessions, being examined apart, whereby they had drawne from them the grounds of the en-
 terprife, against the which they themselves did afterwards giue them direction to defend them-
 selues, especially *Terrail* made a draught in paper of the meanes how to preserue any Port
 from the Pettard: he said, that the D. was so bent vpon this execution, that notwithstanding
 his imprisonment, if they kept the confessions close, & gaue it out that he had not discovered
 any thing, but continued in prison till, vntill that time, the Duke would continue his enter-
 prife, and might be easily taken both he and his son: but this was a forged meanes to delay his
 punishment, and to giue time to the intercessions which he knew would be made for him, by
 his kinsmen of Dauphiné, the expedient also was too dangerous. Being demanded if they
 knew not that it was a capital crime, to make like desseignes in a time of full peace, sworne
 and well obserued, the which they both confessed freely: *Terrail* desired that he might be kept
 D
 alive betwixt 4. walls, and *La Basfide* intreated, that they would not make him lose his soule
 by some cruel punishment: being both condemned, *La Basfide* disposed himselfe to die with a
 constant resolution: being vpon the ladder, he said vnto the Spectators; My masters I pray you
 pardon me, I am more ioyfull to die here ignominiously, then if the enterprife which I had in
 hand had succeeded: pray vnto God for me that he will pardon me, for the loue of his sonne,
 who shed his blood vpon the crosse for me and for all true repentants. *Terrail* was condemned
 to lose his head vpon the place of Molard, where he was executed the 19. of Aprill, and *La
 Basfide* was hanged at the same place the 21. They both died very resolutely, especially *La
 Basfide*, who neuer changed his countenance, neither shewed any gesture vnworthy of his fore-
 passed life: *La Basfide* was much grieved that torture had made him accuse *Terrail*, of whose
 E
 death he vnderstood, desiring rather to haue bene drawne in peeces with foure horses. *Ter-
 rail* was interred on the Bulwarke of Loy, whereas the heads of those which were executed at
 the Scalado were buried. If *Terrail* had made vse of the grace which was offered him in the
 beginning he had bin saued: but he did not thinke they should be able to conuict him, relying
 vpon the promises of the Bailiffe of Morges, that his man should not be deliuered to them of
 Geneua, as indeed he was staid at the instance of the said Bailiffe vntill a second voiage. It was
 held for certaine that the government of Sauoy had bin promised by the Duke vnto *Terrail*,
 if the enterprife had succeeded happily. On the eleuenth of Aprill there was a conference
 betwixt Monsieur du Moulin, one of the Ministers of the reformed Church of Paris, and Fa-
 ther *Gontier* a Iesuite, being seconded by the Baronnesse of Salignac: after which it was br-
 F
 ted abroad, that *Gontier* had confuted du Moulin in diuers points which they of the Religion
 did hold, *Gontier* himselfe writing a glorious letter vnto the King to that effect. du Moulin
 finding his reputation touched, and the truth mis-reported, was forced to publish a true dis-
 course of the whole conference. The particular Arguments I must omit, being a more pro-
 per subiect for them that treat of controuersies of Religion then for History.

On the nineteenth day of Aprill being Easter day, the vines hauiing thrust forth their buds
 vnseasonably by the forwardnesse of the spring in March, were withered with the mornings
 frost, and the Sunne rising, burned them vp quite, so as that moneth which doth open, and

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Conference
 betwixt Du
 Moulin and
 Gontier.

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The King, per-
suaded to alter
the Law.

gave them great hope, did presently extinguish it, and they were deceived of their vintage, A especially about Paris, the which was the more grievous, for that three yeeres before they had had small store of wine, so as the poore labourers were terrified from the charge: whereupon they drew so great store of Brewers of Beere out of the Low countries to Paris, as the signes of Alehouses were more ordinary then of Tauerns.

France is not unlike vnto a fat fertile soyle, the which with corne puts forth Cockell, Darnell, and such like, so as that kinde of Vultures are more greedy then any Farmers of Impoll, who make trafficke of diuine and humane things, and know nothing but to suck the marrow from the poore people, employing all their policies, cares, and counsels, to scrape what is remainings, and to shake the whole state of the Kingdom by their dangerous intentions, like B vnto Horleeches, which neuer leaue the skin vntill they burst with bloud: They were the authors of new Edicts, the which when they had bought for little, they opprest the subiects, ruined and spoiled them vtterly. Some of these bloud-suckers perswaded the King to abate his coine both in goodnesse and weight, by which wickednesse all mens fortunes would be shaken, and both ours and foraine trade vtterly ouerthrowne. This publike infection had so posselt the King, as he was fully resolu'd to alter his coine, and an Edict being vpon the Presse, should presently be published, yea against the will of the Court of Parliament.

They in whose perpetuall guard the Kingdome is, made it knowne vnto the Kings Council how dangerous it would be to alter the old coine, and what clamours and innovations it would breed. That they had read of examples in former times of great ruine which had growne thereby, the which should make them more warie to runne into the like: Next vnto ciuill warres and a generall desolation, the abatement of coine is the greatest mischief: By this line, traffick is maintained, the which being dissolued, France would languish, like vnto the Arteries which want nourishment. In the end the courage of *Achilles* preuailed, or rather the eloquence of *Harley*, that *Nestor* of our France, with whom the whole Councell assented.

The King heard his speech willingly and commended it, chasing those caterpillars tare from him.

There was a kinde of people, who hauing gotten great credit by their great trade, taking vp great summes of money at interest (they finde many desirous rather to lue vpon the vie D of their money, then to purchase lands;) In the end finding themselves opprest with vsurie, and vnable to make payment of their debts, they are forced to breake, and to runne away. They are the wickedest amongst men, who hauing purchased places of authoritie for their sonnes, and married their daughters with great dowries, hauing conueyed great store of gold, wares, plate and stuffe into foraine parts, they change their soile; the which hath hapned often within few yeeres. But the boldnesse and impunitie of these publike theenes, which in others haue bene neglected, was punished in one. It was a Merchant called *Pingre*, very well knowne for his great trade, whom the fame of his former life, and his abundance of Merchandize, had purchast great credit vpon the Exchange. He hauing defrauded his Creditors, and conueyed away his goods and his state to his friends and neighbours, and being E fled into the Low countries, was found by his Creditors at Valentia, and was brought backe to Paris, where he was called in question before the Masters of Requests: his Proccesse being made, he was condemned to come into the Court in his shirt, and a torch in his hand, and to aske forgiveness, then to be carried thorow Saint Denins street where his house had bene, hauing hanging at his backe these words written in great letters, A TREACHEROVS DEFRAYDER OF OTHER MENS MONEY. Whereupon there was an aduertisement made touching this crime, in these termes.

As good Lawes spring commonly from bad manners, so we from two great mischiefs which began to grow in this Realme, see two very wholesome Edicts made in one month, to suppress so many Duels, which tend to the ruine of the flourishing estate of the Nobility; F and to prevent Bankrupting, which we see so ordinarie, or at the least to punish such as shall be conuicted thereof, with their complices and adherents.

Leauing Duels for a more ample discourse, we will only speake a word vpon the subiect of the Decree against *Wil. Pingre*, condemned for Bankrupting, and fallhood, both foule crimes, the which draw others after them, as theft, coufenge, the robbing of the publike treasure, and counterfeiting, all capitall. There hath bene some doubt vpon the interpretation of these words, to punish them extraordinarily, and capitally, by the Tenor of the Ordinances of

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A of Orleance and Bloys; if the new Edict which it hath pleased his Royall Maiestie to send vnto his Court of Parliament this month of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1609, had not taken away all cause of further doubt, appointing death for such offenders, to the great content of all good men.

But for that no Law is good or commodious to euery man, and that *Iupiter* himselfe (as the old prouerbe faith) whether he send raine or faire weather, cannot content all the world; I will yeeld some apparant reasons to them, which hold there is too great seueritie and cruelty in this Iudgement, and more in the Kings Maiesties Edict. They say there must be some pitie and commiseration had of those, who hauing lost their goods not by prodigalitie or B fraud, but by some great force, or by mischance, or by the breaking of some one of their Creditors; and that our custome and the Ordinances haue often allowed them, respits, delais, and surceallings by letters or Iudgements, which the Soueraine Courts haue confirmed. But admit it were so, and that there are some which are not vnworthy of the miserable remedie of cession of their goods, carrying the marke which is a Greene boner and hat, I say, a Greene hat, to prevent the fraud of such as hauing made cession doe still weare a blacke hat, and a little Greene night-cap vnder it, so as it can hardly be seene: Yet can we not too rigorously punish, not onely with a ciuill death, which is the losse of their goods and honour, but also with naturall death, those that are duely conuicted to haue by fraud or dissembling taken and carried away great summes of money out of diuers good purses, and then C into foraine countries, where they enioy their spoiles, an infinite number of good families being ruined, and brought to beggery.

These are (saith *Tacitus*) the fruits of vsury, whose biting is like vnto the wounds of cerata Serpents, whereof he that is stung seemes to feele no paine in the beginning, but in the end it brings them to a death full of anguish and paine. There is not any Bankrupt, but hath bene an Vsurer, actiue and passiue in diuers sorts: And if *Cato* compared an Vsurer to a murderer, we may well say that a coufenger is a very theefe, seeing he doth with a fraudulent intent get, and maliciously carry away the goods of so many poore men, and that by subtle and malicious practises, whereof the fraud depends, the which shall be called coufenge, if there be no other more significant.

D Robbing of the publike Treasure, is not often found, as it was in the dealing of this *Pingre*, yet most doe deale in it that manage the publike Treasure, whence growes the shame of either side, as well his that takes, as his that giues.

There remains the most grievous crime of all, which is fallhood, whereof no man breaking fraudulently, can excuse himselfe: for in stead of making good and loyall bookes of accounts, they make them false: If they say that all such faults, that are not punishable with death, as in a Notarie, Register, or some other publike person, and that by some Iudgements they haue bene content to cause them to burne the day: I answer, that by the Roman Lawes, such Registers of Bankers which are called *Argentarij*, *Argyropatrae*, *Menfularij*, and *Cernatistae*, of whom *Seneca* speaks in the preface to his Declamations, is a sufficient testimony E in Iudgement, and it hath bene iudged by infinite Decrees, that their Iournall is a good prooffe. He then that falsifies that rule, or makes it double, merites no lesse punishment then forgers, by a capitall punishment, not onely by the losse of reputation and credit, but by losse of life, as the Edict will haue it, and is practised in some soueraine Courts, namely at Rouen. But the equitie and necessitie of this *Senatus* consulto, fortified by Edict, will appeare and defend it selfe, and the profit and commoditie will appeare hereafter more and more. To stop the passage to all those that prepare themselves for the like frauds, and to coole their heat, who to affect a greater gaine vpon the place, contemne all honest meanes to employ their money, either in purchasing of Land, which is the most safe, or else in buying of rents by constitution, which is lawfull both by the Lawes of God and man, which is the F onely honest meanes to make profit of money with a good conscience. The King therefore to prevent these fallhoods, published an Edict in May as followeth.

HENRY by the grace of God King &c. To all present and to come greeting. Desiring to provide for the disorder and most frequent crimes, which the corruption of manners proceeding from the liberty of the forepassed troubles, hath brought in, and to restore Iustice to her authoritie, and former beauty, to the end that vnder her our subiects may be preferred and maintained in their duties: We haue considered that one of the things which we are speedily to redresse, is the abuse and apparent deceit which is committed vnder the name

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An Edict
against Bank-
rupts.

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and pretext of playing Bankrupt, to the prejudice of poore Widowes, Orphelins, and other A of our good and loving subiects, by the means of which crime, which is growne frequent and in a manner common, for want of being punished as it deserves, the publike faith and trust amongst our subiects is greatly diminished, and the trafficke and commerce almost wholly decayed.

And for that the ancient Kings our predecessors haue ordained small punishments against Bankrupts, for that during their reignes, infidelitie and corruption of manners had not fully crept into the hearts of their subiects: King *Francis* the first, our most honoured Lord and great Vncle, vpon the aduice which was giuen him in the Citie of Lyons, ordained in the yeere of our Lord 1536. that they should proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts, which B did breake fraudulently, their factors and dealers, by informations, confrontations of witness, and all other extraordinary means, and the fraud being discovered, the culpable to be punished corporally, by condemnations, asking forgiveness, to the profit of the parties interested, standing on the pillory, or otherwise, as it shall be determined by the Iudges, and to be kept close prisoners vntill they had made full satisfaction. And *K. Charles* the 9. also, our most honoured Lord and Brother, vpon the complaints which were made vnto him in the Assembly of the Estates held at Orleans, that the said crime of Bankrupting grew too common: He ordained that such as should fraudulently breake, should be punished extraordinarily & capitally, which Ordinances the last King deceased, had confirmed by an Edict made at Blois, in the yeere of our Lord 1579. and declared his intention to be, That they which C should fraudulently breake, or make cession of their goods, should be punished exemplarily. The which hath made the said crime so familiar, as many of our loving and loyall subiects, haue suffered, and doe suffer daily great losses. Desiring therefore to make these complaints which haue beene made vnto vs to cease, after mature deliberation, we haue held it very fit and necessarie to renewe and augment the said punishments against Bankrupts and cessionaries, which haue broken in fraud.

For these causes and many other considerations vs mouing, with the aduice of our Council, and of our certaine knowledge, full power and royall authoritie, by this our present Edict perpetual and irrevocable haue said, decreed and ordained, and doe say, decree and ordaine, will, and our pleasure is, that according to the Ordinance and Lawes of our said D Lord and Brother, vpon the complaint of the Estates held at Orleans, they shall proceed extraordinarily against Bankrupts and Debtors, breaking & making cession of their goods to defraud or beguile their Creditors, their Factors and Dealers, of what estate, qualitie and condition soeuer they be, and the fraud being proved, they shall be exemplarily punished with death, as theues and publike assaunters.

And notwithstanding for that most commonly the said Bankrupts breake with intent to enrich their children and heires, and the better to couer their malicious designs, make Transports and Cessions of their goods to their said children, heires, or other of their friends to keep them for them: We haue by the same means declared, & doe declare such Transports, Cessions, and Sales and Donations of goods, moueable or immouable, made to defraud or E beguile the Creditors, directly or indirectly, to be void and of no force at all; forbidding all our Iudges to haue any regard thereof: But contrariwise if it shall appeare the fore said Transports, Cessions, Donations and Sales shall be made to defraud the said Creditors; we will that the Cessionaries, Donataries and Purchasers, shall be punished as complices of the said frauds and breaking.

We will also and it is our pleasure, that they which, contrary to the truth, shall iustifie themselves to be Creditors to the said Bankrupts, as it often happens by Monopolies and Intelligences, to the end they may draw the true Creditors to composition, shall be also exemplarily punished, as complices of the said frauds and bankrupts: forbidding all men expressely F to retire the said Bankrupts, their cautions, factors or dealers, goods, moueables and papers, nor to giue them any comfort or assistance in any sort whatsoever, vpon paine of being punished as Complices, as is said. We doe also inioyne all those that are true Creditors (vpon paine of losing their debts and actions) not to make any accords or contract, or to giue any time vnto the said Bankrupts, or their mediators, but to pursue them by the course of Iustice, according to our intention. Allowing any one of our subiects, yea without Decree or Warrant, to slay any Bankrupt flying away, and to present him vnto Iustice, notwithstanding all Iudgements, Decrees, and Customes to the contrary. We command our loving and faith- full

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A full Councillors holding our Court of Parliament at Paris, Bayliffes, Seneshals, and all other our Iudges to whom it shall belong, to cause these presents to bee read, published, inrolled and oblerued, according to their forme and tenor.

And to our Proctor Generall and his substitutes, to haue a care thereof, and to certifie vs of the contraventions which shall be made to our present Edict, as they will answer to the contrary, for such is our pleasure. And to the end it may be firme and stable for euer, we haue caused our Seale to be set to these presents.

Giuen at Paris in May. 1609.

Signed Henry.

THe King at the same time being much troubled with the daily combats of his subiects, one calling another to field vpon euery light occasion, whereby many Gentlemen of noble families did vntimely lose their liues, by the aduice of the Princes of the bloud, the Constable, the Marshalls of France, and other Officers of the Crowne, hee made an Edict to suppress it, as followeth;

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. To all our subiects greeting. The Kings our Predecessors and we haue made diuers Edicts and Ordinances, for the reitraming of the too frequent vse of Duels and single Combats, in this our Realme, moued as most Christian Kings with our duty and the discharge of our consciences towards God: and as loving and good fathers tending the safety and preferuation of our subiects: hauing likewise a care to maintaine our soveraigne Authority, which is much interested by the disordered and vnbridled liberty of the said combats. To this end we haue by our Edict dated in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeeres of our Lord 1602. with the aduice of the Princes of our bloud, Officers of our Crowne, and others of our Council, which did then assist vs, declared all such as vnder colour of drawing satisfaction from any one, for a pretended iniury, shall challenge, or cause to be challenged, guilty of high treason; and withall we did ordaine they should bee punished accordingly, as also they that should answer to any such priuate challenge, or assist and second them; expressely forbidding all our Officers, of what quality soeuer, to dispenze with any that are guilty of the punishments prescribed by the Lawes of our Realme; for treason, or to moderate the same vpon any consideration. Hoping that the terrour of the said punishment would be a means to suppress that detestable custome of combats.

E But we are so farre from attaining to our iust desire, as to our great griefe, and the contempt of Almighty Gods Commandements and ours, these Duells haue since beene farre more frequent then before, which we haue chiefly obserued, for to proceed from a false, erroneous and long conceiued opinion, too deeply rooted in all the hearts of our Nobility (who haue alwaies more valued their honours and dignities then their liues) That they ought not to seek for satisfaction for receiued iniuries, but by armes, without disparaging and disgracing their reputations, and incurring some blemish of cowardise, especially in those cases which they thinke cannot be sufficiently repaired but by armes.

Notwithstanding that, we, to free them from this doubt and colour, haue by our said Edict shewed that we haue beene willing to charge our selues with whatsoever might bee objected in this regard, against those that should subiect themselves to the obseruation thereof.

Moreouer many, as malicious, as rash, not considering how severely we doe censure such actions, doe oftentimes willingly ingage themselves, to the hazard both of soule and body, thinking thereby to increase their reputations, and to get the aduantage of others. Howbeit in effect it is contrary to true honour, no way becoming a true Christian, and altogether displeasing vnto vs. So as they are to hope for so little fauour from vs, as we hate those that practise these Duels, as a more then brutish madnesse.

Being

Being therefore very desirous now to satisfie them that build such opinions vpon so dangerous and deceitfull foundations; and by the same meanes provide (as much as in vs lieth) for the inconveniences and discomforts which fall out daily by this vnrestrained liberty; Experience teaching, that it is sometimes necessary and commodious for the publike good of the whole common-weale, to alter and change Lawes and Decrees, and to accommodate them to such accidents as shall happen in succeeding times, to make them the more profitable and beneficiall: wee likewise haue thought it good and requisite, with the aduice of the Princes of our blood, Officers of our Crowne, and other great personages neere vnto vs, who by expresse commandement haue often met about this subiect, to adde to those precedent Edicts and Ordinances, made by our former Predecessors and our selfe against the said combats (without reuoking or disannulling them in any sort) this Edict, which wee will and command to be inuiolably obserued and kept by all persons of what estate and condition soeuer they be. Expressly forbidding all persons: As also the Queene our deare and welbeloued Spouse, with all the Princes of our blood, and our chiefe Officers and Seruantes, not to make any petitions, supplication or suit vnto vs to the contrary, vpon paine of our displeasure. Protesting and swearing by the euerliuing God, neuer to grant any grace nor pardon, that may derogate from this present Edict, nor to dispence with any man for the punishment thereby prescribed, in fauour of any whatsoeuer, nor for any cause, colour, or particular respect, that may be propounded, pretended, or vpon what ground soeuer alleaged.

He enioyned all his Subiects to liue in peace and concord, not to prouoke one another by priuate scandals or open iniuries. That they should respect all men according to their births and dignities, and that they in like manner should forbear to wrong others. That all Controuersies amongst his subiects, whereof the decision did belong to Iustice, should be ended by the ordinary course of Law, vpon paine to lose the thing in question, for him that should attempt the contrary. That no man should demand the combat of the King, Constable or Marshalls of France, by another, of any supposed wrongs done vnto them. That they should address themselves to the Gouvernours of Prouinces, & in their absence to the Kings Lieutenant generall, to deliuer their grievances, and to demand their combat; which if it could not be otherwise ended, they should aduersite his Maiesty, and receive directions from him. That the party offending should appeare before the King, the Constable, and Marshall of France, or before the Gouvernors and Lieutenants generall, when they should be called; who not appearing after due notice giuen, should be suspended for bearing armes for his contempt, and turned over to the Courts of Parliament, to be punished as breakers of the Kings Edict. That if any one should reuile his Iudges to whom hee was referred, and the causes thereof found frivolous, he should be returned with blame to the said Iudges. That whoeuer should demand the combat vpon so light an offence, should be returned with disgrace. That he that did offer wrong to any other to the preiudice of his honour, should be suspended from all honours, offices, dignities and pensions, for the space of six yeeres, and neuer to be restored, vnlesse he should demand pardon of the King, and satisfie the party interested, and withall receive a new declaration of his Maiesties pleasure. That whoeuer had no office, E dignity nor pension, should lose the third part of his yeerely reuenues; & if he had not any or lesse then 20. pound a yeere (starting, he should remaine in prison two yeeres. That whoeuer should carry a challenge for any other, or be the bearer of a dishonourable message, should be for euer degraded of his Gentry, and kept in perpetuall prison, or put to some infamous death, and withall should lose a moiety of his lands and goods. That whoeuer should make his owne challenge, hauing not formerly demanded leaue, should for euer be held incapable to make his party good by armes with any one, nor receive any satisfaction for the wrong which he shall pretend to be done vnto him; and if the party called should giue notice thereof, as was ordained, then the offices or pension which the Challenger enioyed should be giuen vnto him, if he be a man fit to hold the place; but if the party challenged repaire to the place without giuing notice, hee shall vndergoe the same punishment with the party challenging. If any fight and kill one another, he that killeth shall suffer death according to the Law, and vntill he be taken, he shall be deprived of all dignities and pensions whatsoeuer, and lose halfe the reuenues of his lands, to be disposed of by his Maiesty, giuing no satisfaction to the heires of the party slaine in regard of his disobedience. And if both parties were slaine, their bodies should be deprived of buriall; and the thirds of their land to be imploied at the Kings pleasure. And if they had not any their children should be declared ignoble, and sub-

icct

A iect to tax for the space of tenne yeeres; or if they were taxable, to bee held vnworthy for euer to be counted noble, or to hold any royall dignity or office. That all which should assill at such combats, if they did once draw their weapons, should lose life and goods: if they were but lookers on, and yet went to that end, should be degraded from bearing armes, and lose their offices and pensions. If they came accidentally, and did not seek to part them, should be suspended from their Offices and pensions for six yeeres, and not restored vntill they had asked pardon from the King. That whoeuer did fight in single combat, should incur the paines of death, or perpetuall imprisonment with the losse of halfe their goods, and vntill they were apprehended, should be degraded from their Nobilities, and deprived of all their liuing during their liues. In the end he enioyned the Constable, Marshall of France, and all other Officers belonging to the Crowne, to whom the decisions of the point of honour did belong, to haue a carefull regard of the obseruation of his Edict, and not vfe any moderation, nor to suffer it to be infringed by any fauour or conuience, notwithstanding any command that should come from him, as they desired to please and obey him.

There was a Turke of Constantinople, a man of good yeeres, who had bene taken prisoner by the Knights of Malta: he spake the Sirake tongue very well, and did write it perfectly. A Dominican Friar at Malta, learned both in Diuinity and Philosophy, and very delicious of the tongues, obtained his liberty, and brought him to Paris, where he instructed him in the principles of Christian Religion, and vpon our Ladies day he was brought to Saint Bennets Church to be Christened. Being examined of his demand at the Church doore, the Dominican being his interpreter, he answered that he desired to be a Christian, whereupon (hauing aduised the superstition of the Alcaron) he was baptized, hauing noble witnesses. *Alphonso d'Ornano*, Marshall of France, and the Kings Lieutenant in Guenne, was the one, and *Mary* of Seneton, a Lady of an honourable house, was the other. There was so great a concourse of people, as this spectacle was preiudiciall to many, who being fore bruised and hurt, could hardly retire themselves out of the presse.

Turke baptised at Paris.

Charles of Gonzaga Duke of Neuers, had laid the foundation of walls in the furthest part of his Country, neere vnto the riuier of Meuze, and caused his surveyors to measure our ground for the building of houses: he determined and resolved to make and erect a goodly New Towne, imitating Sedan, Iametz, and many such other petty Princes, who the neerer they are to Germany, hauing freed themselves from the Eagles talents, which did sometimes oppress the world, tooke vpon him a kinde of command, he drew new inhabitants to settle themselves there, with promise of immunities, and would haue it called Charcuille, making a new coine with this Inscription, *Carolus Gonzaga Dux Niner. Et Resid. supr. Princeps Arthenfis.*

Charcuille a new towne builded by the Duke of Neuers.

Joachim of Chetardy a Councillor of the Court of Parliament at Paris, one of the Clergy, died in Iuly; But why should I ioyn him (though a man of a singular good life, and well deserving his purple robe) with great personages? his goodly Act, deseruing eternall memory, makes him worthy.

Joachim of Chetard es death and his priuie.

E He was Prior of Saint Cosme, neere vnto Tours vpon Loire, the which he repaired and restored, being decayed and ruined, as well by the violence of ciuill warres, as the negligence of his Predecessors, and not onely tooke away the long deformity, being in old time a holy and sweet place, seated in the Elisian fields of France, but also finding great *Ronsards* bones to lie in a base, mute and illiterate coffin, more iust then they that had bene aduanced by his rich spoiles: he would not suffer his ghost to lie any longer neglected, causing a stately Tombe of Marble to be made for *Ronsard*, and a liuely Image to be cut by the Phidians of Paris, with a short inscription; for it was sufficient to admonish Passengers that there lay *Ronsard*; neither did he need this care and charge of mortall men, who in his life time saw his owne eternity, whose glory after death cannot exceed that, which he did reape liuing: yet this goodly and bountifull Councillor, by this good Office hath deserued much of all them that honour learning. And as it was sometimes laid of a Roman, who when he had erected another mans decayed statue, that he had fixed his owne, so *Chetardy* building vpon *Ronsards* monument in dumbe marble, he hath placed his owne in the monuments of writers. Vpon the Tombe these words were grauen.

Epitaphium

Epitaphium Petri Ronfardi Poetar. Principis
& huius Cœnobij quondam Prioris.

D. M.

CAVE, VIATOR, SACRA. HEC. MVMVS. EST.
ART. NEFASTI. QVAM. CALCAS. HVMVM.
SACRA. EST. RONSARDVS. ENIM. IACET.
HIC. QVO. ORIENTE. ORI. MYSAE. ET.
OCCIDENTE. COMMORI. AC. SBCVM. IN.
HYMARI. VOLVERVNT. HOC. NON. INVIDE.
ANT. QVI. SVNT. SVPRSTITES. NEC. PA.
REM. SORTEM. SPERANT. NEPOTES.

In cuius piam memoriam Ioachim de la Chetardie in suppr. Paris. Curia Sena. & illius viginis
post annos in eodem sacro Cœnobio successer, posuit.

Marriage of
the Duke of
Vendosme.

In the beginning of Iuly the King performed an Act of great content to himselfe, which was the marriage of the Duke of Vendosme his base sonne, by the Duchesse of Beaufort, with the sole daughter and heire of the Duke of Mercuer, which marriage had beene formerly concluded vpon at the said Dukes reconciliation vnto the Kings seruice: But the Duchesse her Mother was drawne, and perswasively induced vnto it with great difficulty. She was one of the greatest marriages of France, for besides her fathers inheritance, she was by her mother heire of the house of Martigues in Brittany, a House of great possessions, and issued from the Dukes of Brittany. The King would haue this marriage solemnized at Fontainebleau, with as much pompe as might be, and therefore the Courtiers spared no cost to please the Kings humour: and the more to honour it, he called the Princes of the blood, the Officers of the Crowne, and the chiefe Noblemen to Court: among others came the Prince of Condé, the first Prince of the blood, and the first Peere of France, who some few moneths before had beene married to the Constables daughter, one of the fairest Ladies of France, whom the King did very much affect, and was the chiefe meanes of the making of that marriage. In consideration whereof, they say that the King augmented the Princes pension to ten thousand pounds sterling by yeere, being before but eight, and that he gaue vnto the young Prince a pension of two thousand pounds sterling more. The marriage day at Fontainebleau being come, it was put off vpon some pretended cause, and so was protracted from day to day hiteene daies together vpon many coloured excuses: but those that knew best the humour of the Court, said, that the King did it of purpose, that he might the longer enioy the sight of that faire Princeesse of Condé, whose beauty had made so great a breach in his heart, as hee could no longer dissemble it, nor hide it from the eye of the world. But the Prince was not well pleased with these long delays, protesting that if the marriage were not consummated the next day, he would be gone home to his house, whereupon all excuses were laid apart, and the ceremony performed, after which were great triumphs and sports, especially running at the Ring, where the King himselfe won the prize from all the Gallants of his Court, hauing taken the Ring three times in foure courses. The sports being ended, the Prince of Condé hied him home with his Lady to his house, meaning (if it were possible) to preuent that which he feared, and to keepe his honour vntained. The sequel you shall heare hereafter.

Retire in
France of
waies against
Cleues.

The marriage being ended, the King retired to Paris, where they beganne to consult in Counsell of making warre in the Duchy of Cleues. It was generally thought it would be so, for that the King had called some of his companies of men armes, and giuen them their Rendezvous by a certaine day in diuers frontier townes in Champaigne vpon the way to Luxembourg. There was Artillery provided, leues for forraigne forces set downe, and all preparation for war: but it went so slowly forward, as they might easily iudge of the euent by the beginning. In the end they began to treat of a peace by their messengers with no doubtfull hope,

A hope, the Duke of Neuers (whose mother is issued from the House of Cleues, as appears by the name she beares,) and Henry de la Marke, Earle of Maulevrier, and Titular Duke of Bouillon, being a younger brother of that House, who pretends no small interest to the Earldome of La Marke, sent their Commissioners to an Assembly held at Delpord, where being heard, they were willing to shew their Titles: but the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Newburg challenged the whole inheritance: what the success will be you shall heare in the following yeere.

We haue said in the yeere 1606, that by reason of the straitnesse of the Pest-house, which was built in S. Iaqués Suburbs, the plague was wonderfully dispersed in Paris, and very violent, whereupon the Magistrates of the Citie, and such as had the charge of the publique health, resolved to build a more spacious one on the other side of the Citie. The worke did equal their designe: for in Saint Martins Suburbs they made so large and spacious a building of Free-stone and Bricke, couered with Slate, with such chambers, porches, and walks, as it doth equall or exceed many Palaces. Which worke was finished in three yeeres: vpon the front of it this was grauen in Marble.

Pest-house
built at Paris.

HENRICVS. QVARTVS. FRANC. ET. NAVAR. REX. CHRISTIA-
NISSIMVS. BONO. REIP. NATVS. PACI. DOM. IORISQVE. PARTI.
AD. ORNANDAM. VRREM. CONVERSVS. INTER. CAETERA. ANIMO.
INVICTO. DIGNA. OPERA. PROPTER. QVA. VRBS. RESTITVTOR.
NON. MINVS. QVAM. PATER. PATRIAE. ET. REGNI. FVNDATOR.
DICI. MERIT. HOC. QVOQVE. PROCRISTOPHVM. VETVSTATE.
COLLAPSVM. PRO. SVA. ERGA. DEVM. OPT. MAX. PIETATE. ERGA.
AFFLICTOS. LIBERALITATE. ERGA. OMNES. CLEMENTIA. RESTI-
TVENDVM. CVRAVIT.

On the five and twentieth day of Nouember the Queene was brought in bed early in the morning of a daughter: France being sufficiently supported with sonnes, had now need to be strengthened with daughters, by whose marriages it might get alliances with forraigne Princes. If euer children came happily, they doe at this time, when as the ancient enemies of France renew their old practices, whereby they seek to withdraw the chiefe men from the duty and obedience which they owe vnto their Prince and Country, they receiue such as flie away, who thinking and desiring to returne, they dissuade them with assurance of safety, vainly seeking the ruine of France, which hath fallen out to their owne losse. So in the memory of our Grand-fathers, the Bourgondian receiued Charles the seuenth his sonne, flying from his father, who commanding him to returne, he kept him and entertained him seuen yeeres. But Charles sent the Burgondian word, that he did feed the Fox, which would one day deuoure his puelleine: which Prophecie he proued true: for Lewis pursued his receiuer and nurse with all force and policy, vntill that by his vnfortunate death, at the siege of Nancy, he left France, Lorraine, the Suisses, and in a manner all the borderers in peace.

The Queene
brought in bed
of a daughter.

At this time there fell out an accident which did much trouble the whole Court, but especially the King. The Prince of Condé had during the Queenes lying in, come to Court to doe his duty to the King, who receiued him very graciously, and dealt earnestly with him to bring the Princeesse to Court to see the Queene in child-bed. The King prest him so much, as in the end he promised to goe and fetch her: and so he tooke his leaue, seeming to haue no other intent; but his thoughts were farre otherwise: for being come home to his house which is about 16. leagues from Paris, vpon the confines of Picardy, whither he gaue it out that he would goe a hunting, so as within two daies after he tooke his Caroch with the Princeesse, one Gentleman and a Gentlewoman, and without any other traine or prouision, hee set off with all speed possible thorow Picardy to recover the Arch-Dukes Country. Two daies were past before the King was aduertised of his retreat, who vnderstanding the manner of it, conceived what his intent was, whereat he was very much discontented, holding it a great affront & dishonour to haue the first Prince of the blood abandon his country after that manner, without his leaue or priuie. He sent the Knight of the watch with other in post after him, to bring him backe if they could ouertake him; but they came too late, for he was gotten out of the Kings dominions. At his returne the King vnderstanding where he was, he sent Monsieur de Praslin one of the Captains of his guard to the Arch-dukes, to demand the Prince,

Prince of
Condes re-
treat.

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Prince, and to request them to perswade him to returne into France. He had charge also to A tell the Prince how highly he had offended his Maieity, who notwithstanding would pardon what was past, and receive him againe into fauour: the Archdukes dealt with the Prince to that end, who answered, that he was his Maieities most humble subiect and seruant, but there was no safety for him in France, vnlesse the King would grant him a towne for his assurance. With which answer Monsieur de *Pralin* returned. The King holding it an indignity to haue his subiect (who had offended him) capitulate with him, yet before he would take any seuerer course against him, he refused to make him another summons: whereupon he sent the Marquess of Coeuvre, brother to the Duchesse of Beaufort, in ambassage to the Arch-dukes; who with Monsieur *Brulard*, Ambassador Leager for the King, and some others, repaired to B the Princes lodging, and there in the presence of the Prince of Orange (the Prince of Condes brother in law) did intimate vnto him the greatnesse of his offence, and his Maieities iust discontent. That hee affected him as a father doth his child. That by the mediation of the Arch-Dukes, he had promised to pardon all his offences, and to restore him to his dignity and fauour. And that condemning the Arch-Dukes counsell, he had incensed his Maieity by refusing his grace; yet they said they had commission to make the like offers vnto him, if he would obey the Kings will. The Prince answered, that vntill he might haue some better assurances from the King, there was no safety for him in France; saying withall, *My masters, take not this if it please you for disobedience*: The Ambassadors summoned him againe, in the name of the King his soueraigne Lord, to returne speedily into C France, vpon paine of the Kings indignation, and to be held as a Rebelle, and guilty of high treason. The Prince desired to haue an act of this Summons, vnder the hand of a publike Notary: the which was sent him. The Prince returned an answer in the like forme, intimating that he was the Kings most humble seruant and subiect, borne of the royall house of France, and neuer denied to his Maieity, and that he was ready to obey his Commandements, demanding reasonable assurance for himselfe and his family, beseeching his Maieity that he would not take his answer for any disobedience, and withall he protested nullity for any thing that should be afterwards done to his prejudice. This Act of the Prince was sent by a Notary to the Ambassadors lodging, who grew much discontented therewith, & would haue offered him some violence if he had not beene restrained by the respects he bare to the Arch-Dukes. D

The last yeere was spent in Conferences, Messages, Ambassages, and Treaties touching the affaires of Cleues and Iuliers, to see if the question for the inheritance might be quietly compounded, but being of diuers humors and dispositions, the controuersie is not yet ended. *Sigismund* Marquess and Elector of Brandebourg, before he would goe to armes, published his pretensions after this manner. About some 100. yeeres since, there was a marriage made betwixt *Mary* daughter to the Duke of Iuliers and Berke, and Countesse of Rauenstoung, and *John* Duke of Cleues, and Earle of Marke, and then it was concluded, that all those Estates & Seigneuries should be for euer vntied by an indissoluble knot, and neuer diuided. As wands bound together are hardlier broken then when they are dissolved, so they thought their houses and families well conioyned, would with greater difficulty be shaken and broken. Of this E marriage betwixt *Mary* and *John* were borne *William*, *Sybil*a, and *Amalia*: in the yeere 1526. *Sybil*a married with *John Frederick*, Duke of Saxony, vpon these conditions: That if either of them died without heires male, that then those vntied Prouinces should descend vnto *Sybil*a the eldest daughter, and *John Frederick* of Saxony her husband, vpon condition they should giue dowries to two Sisters answerable to their qualities.

But that *William* was married in the yeere 1545. to *Mary* of Hungary, after that he returned into fauour with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, from whom hee had fallen being in league with the French King. From him he obtained a grant, that if there were no issue male of him and *Mary*, or they should chance to die, that then those three Dukedomes should descend to the daughters of *William* being liuing, or if they were dead, to their heires. *Charles* being dead, F and his brother *Ferdinand* succeeding in the Empire, he confirmed this coniuunction of those States, and would haue it indissoluble: after him *Maximilian* and the Emperour *Rodolph*, now liuing, renewed this first Decree, by a perpetuall Law, that the heires of *William*, in the direct line of either sex, sonnes or daughters, should enioy the whole inheritance. This *William* thinking to haue made a firme coniuunction of his Estates by the Emperours letters, in the yeere 1572. married *Maria Leonora* his eldest daughter to *Albert Frederick* Marquis of Brandebourg, and Duke of Borruia, with these conditions, that if he and his wife *Mary* should

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A should die without any issue male, then the Duchies of Iuliers, Cleues, and Berke, with the Counties of Marke and Rauenstoung, and all their dependances, should come vnto *Maria Leonora*, and to *Albert Frederick* Duke of Borruia her husband, but with this caution, that *Albert* should out of his owne money pay a portion for downe by *William* his Father in law, vnto the Sisters dying, that money which he should receive in lieu of her Inheritance, should accrue to her surviving sisters, with this condition, that at the payment of the money by *Albert*, the future husbands of the said Sisters, should renounce and vterly disclaime all their right vnto the inheritance.

B Of *Maria Leonora* and *William*, the eldest was *Anne* wife to *John Sigismund* of Brandebourg: who by the disposition and conueyance of Duke *William* for want of heires male, was called to the vntied Estates. It happened that the second daughter, being married to *Philip Lodowicke*, Count Palatine of Newbrough, confirmed this decree, referring by expresse words her interest to the Inheritance, if her elder sister should die without children: The like was done by *Magdaleine* the younger sister, marrying with *John* the Count Palatine of Rhine: and with this Caution Brandebourgs right was settled and confirmed, drawing his beginning from the elder: Notwithstanding that by the contract of marriage betwixt *Maria Leonora* and *Albert Frederick*, not only shee and the heires male that were to be borne, but also the women by right of substitution were called to the succession. The Duke of C Newbrough, defended his right, by other letters and grants, but hee soone agreed with Brandebourg, and they two ioyned their forces together, and vntied their martiall powers against the other Pretendants: whereby it appears, the Christian King could not iustly refuse his succours to the confederate Princes of Germany.

The greatest Pretendants against Brandebourg, were the Elector of Saxonie, and *Loepold*, who had obtained a right and inueftiture from the Emperour. He contends that the Duchies of Cleues and Iuliers, are feathers taken from the Eagle, boughes from the stocke, and beames from the Sunne. And therefore a Fee belonging to Males cannot fall to women: for if any one will search into the Record of Antiquitie, he shall not only finde, that the Emperours of Germany, but also of Rome, haue giuen Provinces and Lands conquered from D their enemies in warre, in reward to their old soldiers, vpon condition, that as often as the Empire should be prest with war, they should willingly serue it, by reason of their fees. And no man will deny, but the Electors of the Germane Empire, the chiefe Ministers and Officers, are tied to a manly seruice and duty, both in peace and war, at the Emperours pleasure. The Lawes of the Empire haue excluded women from all iurisdiction and publike charges, yea in priuate causes, much more where the Maieity of the Empire is in question. In France (which falls not to the distaffe) after the death of *Charles* Duke of Bourgondy, who was slaine at Nancy, the Earle of Neuers might iustly haue challenged the Countie of Bourgondie, for that a disposition made in fauour of *Philip* the Hardy, extended to the women, who notwithstanding by the publike lawes of the Empire are excluded. By which example E the Law made in the Contract of marriage betwixt *Maria Leonora* and *Albert Frederick*, is to be held vaine, void, and of no force. *Tacitus* hath obserued in his booke of the manners of the Germanes, that they did not only fauour males, but did hate the women kinde, and that it was their manner and accustomed order to leaue the whole Inheritance to the eldest sonne as his lawful right, lest being diuided into diuers parts, it should runne to nothing, and to their younger children they gaue their cattle, money, plate, lute, and other furniture belonging to an house.

The Electour of Saxonie pretended the inheritance of Cleues by two titles: first, by a grant from the Emperour *Fredericke* the third, who gaue Cleues and Iuliers in Fee to *Albert* of Saxonie, for the great seruice he had done vnto his Maieesty, and *Maximilian* did grant the F same vnto *Ernest*, the Earle of Saxonies brother. His other title was grounded vpon the contract made at the marriage of *Sybil*a with *John Frederick* of Saxonie. These were the words: That if Duke *John* and *Mary* Duchesse of Cleues, Iuliers and Berke his wife die without any issue male, or if the males issued shall leave no heires, in that case it was agreed, that all those vntied Seigneuries should descend to his daughter *Sybell*e, and to the children that should come of her and *Fredericke* of Saxonie.

The Electour of Brandebourg did so impugne the title of Saxonie, as that grant made by *Fredericke* the third, and *Maximilian* the first, Emperours, vnto *Albert* and *Ernest* of Saxony,

G g g g g

was

English title
by the Emper-
ours gift.

Pretensions
of the Elect-
or of Saxony to
Cleues.

was held as abandoned: for after the departure of *William* Duke of Juliers and Berke, the Saxons neuer obtained that possession of the soile, which the Interpreters of Fees became *minum* rule: or if they had it, they lost it for want of vie. Such is the nature of Fees, as he that suffers an Inuelture to be made to another, and makes not his claime within the yeare, is excluded from the Fee: much more he that suffers another to enioy the Fee, ten, twentie, thirtie, or fortie yeares, and neuer makes any question to it. Neither did it auail the Saxons to haue made a protestation of their right, wherein no due forme of Law was observed, and hath bene made void by prescription. Whenas a sute began, and relinquished three yeares together, is void: and sicall causes if they be not produced in time, after a long intermission are reiected.

Duke *William*, and *John* the sonne of *William*, receiued the Inuelture of these States, from the Emperor and King of Romans, without any question or opposition made by the Saxons of their pretended right, so as that first protestation made by words onely, is to be held void. For it is receiued by the ciuill Lawes, that those protestations are void, which are not often repeated, and fortified by formes of Law; and therefore the Saxons right (if they had any) is lost by their owne negligence. Neither is the Saxon to be tolerated, who so much brags, that *Albert* had defrauded the Inuelture of the Emperor, for his warlike exploits, when as he and *Ernestus* by their continual silence foure score yeares, haue silently renounced it. How often did they (being aliue) rearme *William* *John* Duke of Juliers and Cleues, in their priuate letters, writings, and titles? It makes nothing to the question, whether it be a Masculine Fee, and impatient of a womans command: For the clause which is contained in the Emperor *Fredrick* the thirds grant, if the Duke of Juliers shall happen to die without issue male, is to be referred to the first case, that is, when as *John* and *Marie* should die without sons, and that by the opinion of Lawyers, who hold, That every disposition speaking of any Aile, is onely to be understood of the first: and he that is once excluded from the succession of a Fee, is neuer more admitted. For a Right being once extinct riseth no more, as in the yeere 1511. the Estate of Cleues was giuen to *Marie*, daughter to Duke *William*, by *Maximilian* the first, so all true Right of these Estates was giuen by *Charles* the fifth, and after him by a new grant, vnto the daughters of *William* and their heires.

But it appears by the Annals, that the Estates of Cleues and Juliers are falsely termed a Masculine fee, where it is manifest that *Arnold* Duke of Guelders & Juliers, gaue vnto *Charles* Duke of Bourgondy, Guelders, Juliers, and the Countie of Zutphen, who dying, they came to *Marie* his onely daughter, wife to the Emperor *Maximilian*, whence it hapned, that in the yeere 1511, whereas *William* Duke of Juliers died, not the house of Saxony, but his daughter, and wife to *John* Duke of Cleues, challenged her fathers inheritance, with whom there was neuer any controuersie. It hath bene obserued in all ages, that the foure Dukedomes of Juliers, Cleues, Guelders, and Berke, the issue male failing, the inheritance hath by right gone vnto the women. *Marie* after the death of *Edward* her brother, succeeded in Guelders, and afterwards marrying with *William* of Juliers, she brought it as her dowrie.

Renold made *Joane* his Sister heire of Guelders and Juliers by his testament. *Engilbert* Earle of Berke, hauing lost his sonne, hee left the Earledome to his suruiuing daughter. And the daughter of *Theodorick* of Cleues, wife to *Alolph* of Mark, obtained the inheritance of Cleues. In Henault and Holland it is receiued, that such Estates should come vnto the Daughters: neither is that insolent law allowed of in the greatest kingdomes: neither in old time were women tied to their distaunces. Among the Scythians *Tomyris*, and ouer the Egyptians *Semiramis*, *Arjinoe*, and *Cleopatra* did reigne. And now England, Spaine, Scotland, Ireland, and Naples, are subiect to the Government of women; yea women are called to such Kingdomes, not onely by right of inheritance, but also by testament.

Charles the first in his last Will made 1534. and in a Codicile 1538. ordained, that if *Philip* his sonne should die, then *Marie* his daughter, Queene of Bohemia, should succeed in all his Kingdomes. And likewise *Philip* in his last Will made 1597 provided, that if his son should die without heires, his daughter *Isabelle Clara Eugenia* should then be heire of all his Estates. It is therefore manifest by these examples, that women are called not onely to Duchies, but to great Kingdomes. And *Cor. Neofladus* in his booke of Fees, proues, that Cleues is subiect to the rule of a woman. The nature (saies he) of the Fee of Cleues is, That no males remaining, the females are called to the succession in their order.

Whereas the Saxon and others pretend the Emperor to be Iudge of this controuersie, they flatter

A flatter themselves with an error: although it be provided by the Imperiall Lawes, that if there grow any controuersie for a Dukedome, Earledome, or any other great fee, they must goe vnto the Emperor, as to the head of all Fees, that he may determine of the possession, and command them to be quiet which offer violence to the possessors, yet this was not alwaies obserued, but it hath bene often tried in other Tribunals, and euen that hath bene lawfull for the Saxons, when as they were opprest and grievously iniured by the Emperors seueritie, and the preheminece and power of their ill-willers.

Moreover, the grant which *Leopold* hath obtained, it comes not from the Emperor himselfe, neither is it gotten by iust suffrages, but by the sinister practices of Courtiers, the which was not allowed by the Electors and Imperiall Cities, who haue of late required by their Deputies, that it should be made void. The Saxon knowes it well by many familiar examples, that the Emperor decrees nothing priuately in such controuersies, but hath sent for the Electors, Princes, and Vicars of the Empire: In their Decrees they obserued more strict formes, then in these which are granted in fauour of the Saxon and *Leopold*. No man but knowes, that the Electors and Princes cannot be called by any Libell or Edict out of Germany, into a forraigne Court: as the Bohemians and they of Prague may not (by the Lawes of the Countrey) be called out of their owne limits.

No man is ignorant, that *Leopold* hauing left the course of Law and Equitie, hath setled all his Interest in Armes, hath leuiued Souldiers, hath called in the aides of his Confederates: forced Townes and Castles, built new Forts, hath called religious men to accompany him in this warre, who attentive to the Trumpet, as if the question were for their Altars and Religion, and not for a prophane thing, haue promised him money to make a ten yeares warre. If the Saxon be not blinde, he will easily see, that these attempts are not for his good, nor for the dignitie and greatnesse of the House of Saxonie, but that the Spaniards may be the more mightie in Germany, (who haue already swallowed it vp in hope) that they may vndermine it, and quite ruine it, the which his Predecessors of Saxony haue long since made trial of, to their owne losse, when as they like true Germans, and louers of their Countreys libertie, suppressed that violence and imminent destruction which began to disperse it selfe thorow their Countrey.

D Brandebourg who pretended to be before all others in the right of inheritance, when as he had protested his Right by written Tables after the manner of Clients, thorowout all Germany and the Netherlands: yet admonished by the examples of the Ancient, that the controuersies of Princes are not decided in Iudiciall Courts, but that their Right consists in Armes, lest if his Competitors should seeke to oppresse him by force, he should be found vnprepared, He draws his Allies and confederate Princes of Germany vnto him, who were not slow to assist him, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Wittemberg and the Prince of Anhalt, who being sent Ambassador from the rest to craue aide and succours of the French King, he found him very tractable and willing, and the rather in that respect: for if his heires should be debarred or deprived of their Inheritance, it were to be recovered by iust Armes, E and the vniuersall possessors to be expelled by force.

The instance of the Prince of Anhalt, and other Germane Princes, moued him to ioyne with him in this warre: for that when as the King was opprest with ciuill warre, they had sent him great succours. He therefore thought that aide was not to be denied them, who first of all had so well assisted him. And to the end he should not faile his friends being in danger, and might remove all violence and oppression from them, he sent *Bossie*, a man of great wisdom, of sound iudgement and knowledge, who had bene imploied in many Ambassages, and had performed weightie affaires, and important negotiations, vnto a generall Assembly of the Princes of Germany: who whilst he remained there in the Kings name, to obseue their Councels, and to perswade them to that which concerned the libertie and dignitie of Germany, and whilst that in this assembly they contend with words and speeches, they make preparation for warre in France: money is giuen to Captaines to leuy men, Artillerie, Powder, and Shot is drawne out of the Arsenall: it is put into Boats, and carried vp the Riuer in Champagne, that if happily they should fall to open warre for the question of Cleues, all this preparation might be ready, and the Christian King performe that in deeds, which he had promised in words. In the meane time *Bossie* deliuered the causes of his Ambassage vnto the Germane Princes, in these termes:

The beginning of my imposed charge (most renowned, & mighty Princes, Electors, of the sacred

Bossie speech to the Princes of Germany.

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“ sacred Romane Empire, worthy and noble Earles, magnificent and honorable Ambassadors A
 “ of the Cities of the Empire) shall rise from the manifold health, wherewith *Henry* the most
 “ Christian King of France and Nauarre, my foueraigne Lord, greeteth you, Wilhing that in
 “ this Assembly you enter into such found counsels, as the imminent danger which now threatens
 “ Germany, may be repelled, and that you may proceed in your affaires well and courage-
 “ ously: moreover, he wiltheth you, to expect such good offices from him, as you may iustly
 “ hope for, from a most friendly King, your kinsman and associate. But when as by the sin-
 “ gular grace and mercy of God, and the victorious armes of the King my master, the practices
 “ of the most wicked were preuented, and that France began to enioy her ancient peace and
 “ tranquillity, his Highnesse out of his most Royall disposition, thought it not sufficient for B
 “ the glory and honour of his name, vnlesse he might also prouide for the generall peace and
 “ quiet of Christendome. Of which his commendable intent, the ten yeeres Truce in the Ne-
 “ therlands, obtained by his mediation and authority, are sufficient witness, whereby those
 “ Prouinces are now refreshed, and Italy freed from the feare of a most cruell war by the recon-
 “ ciliation made betwene the Pope and the Venetians. But there was nothing, wherof his
 “ Highnesse tooke like care, as the safety and liberty of your country of Germany: the which
 “ when he saw to be many waies infringed, after the example of his worthy progenitors, he hath
 “ profest himselfe a champion and defender thereof. Thus much he thought himselfe indebted
 “ vnto you, both in respect of ancient amitie and league of the Kings of France with the Prin-
 “ ces of the Empire, and for your owne great merits, and good offices conferred towards him C
 “ selfe and his Kingdome, in his greatest extremity: which kindnes that he might sometimes re-
 “ quite, he thought he should doe a matter worthy and becoming himselfe, if he were carefull
 “ for your generall safeties. When therefore not many yeeres since he obserued many things to
 “ be attempted to your ruine, as the depopulation of your countries, and the vsurpation of your
 “ townes and cities, contrary to the lawes and priuileges of the Empire, and that there were fa-
 “ ctions nourished among the Princes, he could not chuse but by the lawes of friendship to
 “ admonish you, how necessary true loue and vnitie was among you, the better to repell those
 “ iniuries; and herein he dealt the more earnestly, for that he did preface to himselfe, that Cleues
 “ and Juliers, and other Prouinces of the house of Cleues would be the subiect of all troubles &
 “ dissensions in Germany, touching the which, he oftentimes treated with you in the Dukes life D
 “ time. And since his death (because that businesse seemed directly to concerne the peace of
 “ Germany) how willing and ready he hath bene euer to vndertake the protection of lawfull
 “ heires, I thinke you doe all know sufficiently. And to the end he might manifest his minde the
 “ more plainly in that cause, wherein the safety of Germany is in question, he thought good
 “ to publish the same to all the Princes in Europe, that he would neuer faile in so iust a cause
 “ to assist his friends and associat Princes, to whom those Estates by lawes descended, the which
 “ he did not, thereby rashly to intangle those Princes in war (for who hath knowne the hazards
 “ of war better then himselfe?) but rather the King his Master out of his great widome was
 “ highly pleased with that Treaty obtained by the labour and counsell of that most excellent,
 “ prudent, and most couragious Prince the Lantgraue of Hesse, touching the getting possession E
 “ of those countries, and referring the contention & variance between the Princes pretendants,
 “ to the iudgement and ordering of friends, which busines that it might be the more safely ef-
 “ fected, he sent afore-hand some troupes of horse to the confines of the kingdome, to be assisting
 “ to these Princes, howsoeuer things should happen: for he knew very well, that some neighbour
 “ Princes had long since plotted, by what means they might adde those countries to their own
 “ Dominions. But after the possession of those countries gotten, when the Princes seemed some-
 “ what remisse, neither did impart their resolutions to the King, he fearing lest that delay might
 “ hinder their affaires, in respect of the warlike preparations then made against them, he thought
 “ good to admonish them by letters and secret messengers, that they should beware that they
 “ were not surprized whilst they were in consultation of their businesse. But in the meane time, F
 “ whilst that the messengers went and came from one to another, the noble Prince of Anhalt
 “ came hither to Paris, being most deferuently welcome to the King my master, as well for his va-
 “ liant & worthy seruice in war with his maiesty vnder your fauours, as also for his great know-
 “ ledge and praise-worthy experience in marshall affaires, wherein he excelleth and is renowned
 “ amongst the Captaines of our age: who by letters brought from the excellent and mighty
 “ Princes, the Elector Palatine, and Duke of Wirtemberg, signified to my Lord the King,
 “ That it was resolved by the confederate Princes, to defend by force of armes the possession of

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A of the Princes the heires, if so his Maiesty would supply them with those aides which they
 “ expected. How royally and friendly he was entertained, and how affable and tractable he
 “ found the King, you haue heard by report of the Prince himselfe. He treated further about
 “ sending an Embassador, that might confirme the Confederates in their resolution, and might
 “ thoroughly certifie them of the Kings intention: to which charge though vnfit for it, I was by
 “ his Maiestie chofen, and sent to be as it were the interpreter of his good pleasure and liking.
 “ Now therefore, most excellent Princes, it is your parts to looke that the Common-weale be
 “ not damaged, nor that the Princes your kinsmen be not vnworthily cast out from their an-
 “ cient seats by forceine Princes that are no friends to you, who by possessing these countie
 “ B lay themselves out a way to invade Germany. As for that which concernes the K. my Lord
 “ and master, although he be not ignorant that by taking your part, he doth (as it were) draw
 “ vpon himselfe much trouble and discommoditie, yet the interest of his friends shall be euer of
 “ more force with him, he will protect and defend you and your Counsels against all violence
 “ and wrong, with men, mony, and all kinde of helpes, which he hath already prouided and in
 “ readinesse, wherein notwithstanding there will nothing be attempted against the Maiestie or
 “ right of the Emperour: neither hath he any priuate respect herein, but this onely he desireth,
 “ that Germany being the Bulwarke of the Christian Common-weale, may enioy all happy
 “ peace and security, and that his friends and well-deferring associate Princes, may still retaine
 “ their owne rights and priuileges, if so as their Ancestors haue done, and you haue constant-
 “ C ly performed, ye doe still remaine in league and amity with the King my Master.

The Marshall *d'Ornano*, famous for his worthy seruice in the wars, brought vp vnder his
 “ father, a Colonnell of forceine fouldiers, that were then stipendiaries to the French Kings.
 “ Afterwards he grew renowned by many prosperous exploits done vnder *Charles* the ninth,
 “ and *Henry* the third: for in the year 1587, he defeated *Chastillon* leading two thousand Suiſſes
 “ by crosse waies throw the countrey of Auvergne for them of the Religion, where he tooke
 “ diuers of their colours, and mightily annoied that partie. *Henry* the third being cruelly mur-
 “ dered, *Alphonso* was a violent and vnreconciled enemie to the league, from whom he tooke
 “ Lyons and many other strong towers and forts in those parts, at length being taken prisoner
 “ by the Leaguers, they offered to giue him his libertie, with the chiefe charge of the Army, and
 “ D other aduancements and preferments, if he would quit the Kings party, yet he rather chose
 “ his freedom by the payment of fifty thousand Crownes, then by his defection to ioyne with
 “ them, which thing in a fouldier is like to a white crow: he was an vsuall and frequent seruer
 “ of God, and more zealous in his praiers, then many that were religious, and had taken holy
 “ orders, as he that had a daily custome to sing his Psalter.

When as the passage of his vrine was stopped, and that with much torment he eased his
 “ bladder, he was content to be cut, which falling out vnfortunately, he died of that deadly dis-
 “ ease at Paris, whose death was a great griefe both to the King and all true louers of the Com-
 “ mon-weale: For he not only shewed by his valour how much he loued his countrie, but he
 “ did also without feare in August last past, dissuade the King constantly and courageously
 “ E from certaine Edicts too grieuous and bitter to the people, and so much preuailed by that
 “ his worthy and manly speech, as he made certaine horseleeches and brokers (which make
 “ sale of our soules) to blush, and tooke the morrell out of their iawes.

He being dead, how few *Alphonso's* hath the court, which play not the claw-backes, but are
 “ vpright and iust Counsellors? In his last words he willed his body should be carried to Bour-
 “ deaux: and because all power of a Testament dieth, if the liuing neglect the beherits of the
 “ dead, his body being embalmed and put in a Caroch couered with blacke, drawne with foure
 “ horses, was brought to that graue which himselfe had appointed; all the States of Aquitaine
 “ bewailed him, not only as the Kings Lieutenant, but as their father, and the want found by
 “ his death, shewed how honest his life was.

F But after that France had lost *Alphonso*, the most Christian King substituted in his Office
 “ and place *Deslignieres*, equall vnto him, if not superiour in valour, who being brought forth
 “ by the Duke of Vendosme, and a most choise company of souldiers to the Court of Parlia-
 “ ment, was for his noble exploits publicly praised, in an eloquent Oration, as truly in this
 “ late ciuill war, he had serued the King very valiantly; A while after he was sent to treat with
 “ the Sauoyard, about most weighty affaires, which I will publish as soon as they come to
 “ light: for whatsoeuer is worth the knowing, both in this and the yeeres ensuing, I will adde to
 “ my Commentaries, if I may reele so much leisure from other lures.

Death of the
 Marshall *Des-
 nario*.

Deslignieres
 made Marshall
 of France.

Butenem.

We shewed in the preceding yeere, that the attempt of *Terrail* and *Bastide* against Geneva A did not only remaine vnexecuted, but that it was publicly reuenged by the death of them both : This yeere an attempt not vnlike the other, not by strangers and Catholikes, but their owne home-bred and native Citizens, was renewed and reuenged, so they will neuer cease from treacheries and stratagems, both within the walls and without, vntill either by surprize or a siege, it lose all command and power. *Canalis*, a man not meanly reputed of, both for his knowledge in physicke, and the languages, was drawne into suspicion of treason, detected by obscureignes, and his inconsiderate speech increased the same : for such is the force of truth, that it will breake forth euen in spite of the offender, and being tortured, he confessed all things more plainly : He being a man of good reckoning, and not the last or lowest B amongst the Treasurers and Decurions of the citie, did by spies certifie the Duke of Savoy of all the counsells of the Citizens, hauing promised him all his faithfull endeavour, and if at any time he intended the surprize of the Citie, by some stratagem in the night or by scalded or wilde fire, that then he would priuily fire the powder, that thereby he might auert the Citizens (being euery where scattered and buied in quenching the fire) from keeping out the enemye : Neither was there ability wanting to performe his treachery, inasmuch as to his custodie the powder and munition was committed : He accused also (as priuie to this villany) one *Maillet*, before that time found guilty and imprisoned for robbing the Treasury, and one *Blanchet*, whose brother for the same cause was before executed. But I heare that *Canalis* being so and guilty as well of that first conspiracy, whereof we formerly made mention, and which was not farre from effecting, as also of this new and fresh remembered treason, was condemned, and his body broken, and so laid halfe dead on a wheele vnbound, he was cast from thence to be burned in a fire vnder him. It is strange that so often treacheries against Geneva haue bene vndertaken in so few yeeres, or rather that before a yeere compleat (the treason of *Terrail* being discovered and punished) another within the same yeere should breake forth.

So neglected is the knowledge of holy things, as they which professe themselves Christians by name, disdaine to expresse the same in deed, being children in faith, so as they are ignorant of the rudiments thereof, and they which are most quicke of sight in prophane matters, are most blinde in matters of faith, which thing when *Nicholas Pellegens* matter in the chamber of the Kings accounts did obseue to be done, to the great despight of Religion, and hindrance of saluation, being a man of singular godlinesse and learning, he instituted for a yeerely stipend a holy Preacher of the Dominican Order, who out of the publike pulpit euery Sunday in the yeere should euidently shew to the youth, & the people, the rudiments of faith by short questions or oppositions (which we call the Catechisme) a Counsellor excellently well deterring of the Christian commonweale, which hath renewed the godly institution of the primitive Church, for they which were willing to beare the name of Christians, before they were baptized, were instructed by preaching of the holy mysteries. Which custome by degrees through the negligence and ignorance of the parish Priests is discontinued, and of so many hundreds of Ecclesiasticall persons, only the Iesuites in their Colledges haue not suffered this light of faith to be extinguished. Many perchance will account me idle to make mention of such a popular matter, although posterity ought not to know any thing more, then those things which are ordained to teach vs how to lead a godly and blessed life: Neither ought that to be a reproofe vnto me, which the Protestants reckon as a great honour to *Sleidan*, who spends himselfe wholly in the commendations of his reformed Religion.

About the end of February it was seriously debated by the meanes of Cardinall *Perron*, *Augustus Thuanus*, and other wellwillers of learning, concerning the enlargement of the Kings, or Cambray Colledge, and the increasing the number and stipend of the professors, and also for the pulling downe of certaine cottages, which hindered the prospect of the Court and Orchard, and now the Surveyors haue set out the bounds of the place, although in deed the Vniuersity haue bene long waste, and like a wilderness, needs not so much large walkes and Colledges, as Students to frequent and liue in it.

We heare also that *Leopoldus* and the Saxon haue had some bickering with *Brandeburg*, as it seemes rather in some accidental light skirmishes, then any set or generall battell. The Marquess of *Brandeburg* had sent afore-hand somethousand foot without ordinance, to winne, or more likely, to surprize a little towne, whilst he kept himselfe with his footmen not farre off in his Campe to bee ready to releue his men, if need required : but the business succeeded

A succeeded not as he expected, for whilst the *Brandeburgers* were ouer-long in winning the place (being vnprovided of Ordnance) *Leopoldus* being aduertised of the townsmens necessity, sending some field peeces before him, set vpon them on a sudden with a great power of horse, at the first vollee of whose Ordnance the Count of *Salm* Colonell, and at the second vollee his Lieutenant were both slaine : the rest being terrified with their death, and afraid of a greater power of the enemy approaching, tooke them to their heeles. The Marquis hearing of their flight by some runne-awaies (who are quicker in coming home, then going to the field) came in all haste with some troupes of Horse, and restrained *Leopoldus* in time, who hauing the victory in his owne hands, knew not how to vse it, for if hee had pursued them B more speedily, whilst they were disperfed, and in that perplexitie, he might vtrly haue defeated them, but by these euents the *Brandeburgers* were well warned to bee more prouident. But oh the inconstancy of humane things ! that no Nation hath peace permanent, and quiet fained with some sure hold, for behold the *Germaines* and the high *Dutches*, who since the death of *Charles* the first, haue so long abtained from domesticke armes, who by their helpe maintained warres abroad, are now enforced to vse them for themselves, and to desire helps from others, shaking off the rust from their swords, and the rest of so many yeeres.

Our Ancestors (saith *Tully*) would neuer suffer a poore man to lose his cause for want of a Patron, or Advocate to defend it. When many in France through their great pouertie vnablenesse defray or sustaine the charge of their suits, being destitute of helpe or counsell from Advocates, were constrained to forsake their intangled, though wealthy inheritances, or whatsoever else they had, and to yeeld them vp into the hands of the mightie and more powerful partie : it was decreed in the Kings Counsell, that in euery Court Parliament as other Courts, there should be chosen Advocates and Proctors of approved integritie, that should helpe poore men with their best counsell and furtherance without any fee or reward : so straightly was the law *Cincia* imposed vpon them, that if they were lame and crippled, they should not take so much as a wand of their needy Clients, but that contenting themselves with the Kings allowance, they should look for a greater reward in heauen : for euen amongst the heathen it hath bene accounted glorious to helpe the distressed, and to defend and support those that are oppressed, as it was also accounted most wicked and execrable to abandon or deceiue the Client : for *Cato* against *Leulius* did earnestly auouch, that there was nothing more religiously obserued of the ancients then to defend Orphans, and to be faithfull to their Client ; inasmuch as it was lawfull for Advocates to witness for their Client against their own Kinsmen, but by all meanes prohibited for their Kinsmen against their Clients : questionlesse a godly decree, but no longer of force then the like good and excellent lawes, whose setting or fall hath not bene much distant from their first rising.

Religion and custome require of necessity to anoint the Kings of France with that sacred oyle which is kept at *Rhemes*, as anointing was necessarily imposed vpon the Kings of Israel by the Hebrew Law : but for the *Queenes* of France to be anointed, it is more of custome E then of precept. Neuertheless, it is now growne to that order, that the *Queenes* also be installed with those Christian ceremonies : Neither ought we to enuy that this honour is done them, from whom spring young graits, and stens for the *Flower-de-Luces*, who are companions of the bed and Scepter, who also are Regents of the Kingdome, either in the sicknesse, or after the death of the Kings their husbands, to whom only the law *Salique* enuient the royall throne, although through them it is neuer empty : with the like step of honor haue the *Cæsars* dignified their Emperresses. For Princes (saith *Papinian*) honor their Princelless with the same priuileges which themselves haue, and *Vlpian* doubts not to mention the Treasury of *Cæsar* and the Emperresse by one and the same title : hence it is, that in ancient Monuments and Coines, we behold the portraiture of Kings and *Queenes*, circled with *Lawrell* and F Corall. After the golden Mines of India were discovered, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* caused both their Images to be grauen in that new gold, as it were the one beholding the other : In like manner *Katherine de Medices*, caused to be coined a peece of Gold with the Sunne vpon it, so made and called in her owne praise and application : and now of late the Archdukes *Albertus* and *Isabella* in the Low countries, haue caused their coine to be stamped with their two faces. The marriage bed makes *Queenes* companions, so as they may well say, according to that old Prouerbe, where Women challenge to themselves halfe the charge and command of the house, *Where thou art Caius, there am I Caius*. They report out of the three willes of Saint

Augustine,

Angustine, that he wished to see the *Cæsars* and the victorious Consuls going vp to the Capitol in their triumphant Chariots, but I wish to see a *Queene* drawne in a golden Chariot.

In such a Chariot as *Cybele* rides,
Therow *Ida's* towred townes.

But now the Court of Parliament (according to the ancient custome in the happy and ioyfull Inauguration of Kings and *Queenes*) prepareth to remove out of the ancient house of *Thames* and the lawes, into the house of the *Angustines* next adioyning, not to returne thither againe, till the publike triumph be accomplished. Not unworthily sometimes, and very seldom in many yeares, doe the Lords of the Councell lend this house (appointed for ministration of right and iustice) to the Kings and *Queenes* for some few daies, as the Kings haue confirmed the same to them for euer; for therein they hold the Royaltie of their Court and coronation. This removing hath hapned three times in this age, as I gather out of the *Annales*, the more ancient of which was, when *Charles* the fifth, Emperor, hauing safe conduct to passe out of Spaine thorow France, advanced himselfe to repress the insolencies of the *Gantois*: the next, when *Henry* the second espoused his daughter *Elizabeth* to *Philip* the second, King of Spaine, and his Sister vnto *Philbert Emanuel* Duke of Sauoy. The third and last, was in the yeere 1562. That I am more tedious in a matter that is yet to come and vnedged, my desire to see it constraineth me, and desire to enioy the pleasure of it, carrieth me beyond my selfe.

The Coronation of the Queene.

The King after he had received the protestations of the King of Spaine by his Ambassador, not to infringe nor alter any thing in the peace, nor to meddle in the action of *Cleues*: hauing bene also intreated by the Emperor, to be an Arbitrator in that bulinelle, knowing that the Pope sent the Seigneur *Risarello* Bishop of Nazareth to that end; that the Protestant Princes did wholly incline to his intentions, and that the Archdukes had assured him of passages, victuals, and of their owne forces: Hauing resolved to see his *Queene* crowned with as much State as might be, all things for the solemnitie being prepared, they came to Saint Denis in France, on Wednesday the twelfth of May 1610. being attended on by the Dauphin, the Ladie *Elizabeth* his Sister, *Queene Marguerite* Duchesse of Valois, and by many Princes and Princesses, with a great number of Noblemen and Ladies: the next day being Thursday, the Act and Ceremony of the Coronation was done, as followeth.

There was a great Scaffold built in the midst of the Quier of the Church in the Abbey of Saint Denis, set before the great Altar, about nine foot high, being eight and twenty foot long, and two and twenty foot broad, to the which there was an ascent made of many steps. About the midst of this Scaffold inclining somewhat towards the backe part, there was another Scaffold about a foot high, hauing two steps vp vnto it, which Scaffold & steps containing about ten foot in length, and six in breadth, were covered with Carpets, on the which was set the throne or chaire of State, appointed for the *Queene*: which chaire was covered with azur'd veluet, imbroided with Flower-de-Luces of Gold, and ouer it a cloth of State of the same fure: the great Scaffold and staires were covered with crimson veluet, imbroided with gold. There were other Scaffolds both on the right hand & the left, as well for the Princes, Knights of the Kings Orders, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and other Noblemen, Captaines, and men of marke, as for Ambassadors, Ladies, the *Queenes* women, and others: within the compasse of the high Altar, there was a forme covered with cloth of Gold, for the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and behinde them was another for the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats, appointed as well to serue at the Coronation and Masse, as to assist there.

Ioyning vnto the Altar on the same side, there was a Table honorably prepared for the great and lesse Crownes, the hand of Iustice, and the ring appointed for the said Coronation: On the other side on the right hand, there was a chaire covered with Violet colour Veluet, imbroided and fringed with Gold, hauing two long cushions, for the Cardinall of Ioyeuze who did the Office, and behinde on the same side was a table richly appointed for the bread, wine and candle, vntill that the master of the ceremonies should come to fetch them, and deliuer them vnto Ladies appointed to carrie them vnto the offering.

The

A The floor of the Quire, and from the great scaffold vnto the high Altar, was covered with crimson veluet imbrodered with gold, with good and rich carpets round about the said Altar, and ouer the said carpets was a covering of cloth of gold.

The said Thursday being the thirteenth day of May, the *Queene* was found ready in the morning in her chamber, attired with a kirtle and bodies of Ermines, a mantle ornament of her head, and other royall habits. Her mantle was of blew veluet imbrodered with Flower-de-Luces of gold, and furred with Ermines, hauing a traine seven ells long. The attire of her head was all garnished with pretious stones, her bodies were also of blew veluet, covered with Flower-de-Luces of fine gold, and her kirtle enriched with great diamonds, rubies and B emerauds, all of such riches and excellency, as the value was inestimable.

Being thus attired, shee was conducted with great state vnto the Church, being attended on by the Dauphin, who carried the traine of her Royall mantle, being assisted by Mounseigneur de Vitry, the Lady *Elizabeth*, *Queene Marguerite*, and by many Princes and Princesses, and other Noblemen and Ladies in very good order. The *Queene* being come into the Church, shee kneeled downe vpon a cushion before the great Altar, whereas shee found the Cardinall of Ioyeuze in his pontificall ornaments, accompanied by the Cardinals of Gondy, Sourdis and Perron, and a good number of Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates, of either side of the great Altar, after which shee did prostrate her selfe, praying very devoutly, which being ended shee was raised vpon her knees, & then bending her head the Cardinall of Ioyeuze pronounced this prayer in Latine: *O Lord God heare our prayers and supplications: that that which is*

to be done by the Ministry of our humility, may be filled with the effect of thy vertue through Iesus Christ our Lord, &c. This prayer being ended, hee tooke the pyhall in which was the holy vnction, and poured so much into a vessell of gold as he thought necessary, and anointed the *Queenes* head, and then her breist, saying, *In the name of the Father, the Sonne and the Holy Ghost, this vnction of oile may profit thee in honour and eternall confirmation.* After which vnction hee said this prayer: *God eternall and almighty, pacified by our prayers poure the abundant spirit of thy blessing vpon thy seruant, to the end that this day being instituted Queene by the imposition of our hands, shee may alwaies remaine worthy by thy sanctification: and that shee may neuer after be separated from thy grace, as unworthy, through our Lord Iesus Christ, &c.*

D The Cardinall proceeding in the said Coronation, hee tooke the ring and put it on the *Queenes* finger, saying: *Take the ring of faith, the signe of the holy Trinity, by the which thou maist auoid all hereticall malice, and by the vertue which is giuen thee call the barbarous nations to the knowledge of the truth.* After which hee said this prayer following: *God from whom proceeds all power and dignity, giue vnto thy seruant by this signe of faith the prosperous effects of her dignity, in which faith shee may alwaies remaine constant, and serue continually to please thee, by our Lord Iesus Christ, &c.*

Then the Cardinall put the Scepter into the *Queenes* hand, and the hand of Iustice, which done, hee tooke the great Crowne which hee offered to set vpon the *Queenes* head, being in the meane time supported by the Dauphin and his sister, and then was taken away, and in stead thereof was set on another of lesse weight enriched with Diamonds, Rubies and Pearles of inestimable value. The Cardinall setting the Crowne vpon her head, said these words: *O Lord the fountaine of all goodnesse, and giuer of all honours, grant vnto thy seruant well to gouerne this dignity which shee hath taken, and fortifie in her by good workes the glory which thou hast giuen her; by our Lord Iesus Christ, &c.*

The Coronation being ended, and the prayers said, the *Queene* was placed in her Throne, which was prepared vpon the Scaffold, and the great Crowne set before her vpon a stoole covered with cloth of tussie, and a cushion of the same, and on the right hand there was a Nobleman which held the Scepter, and on the left another, which held the hand of Iustice.

The *Queene* being thus seated in her throne, masse began to be celebrated by the said Cardinall of Ioyeuze. The Gospell being read, three Ladies carried vp the offering of bread, wine and candle, to the which there were thirteene peeces of gold tied. After the eleuation of the Sacrament, when they came vnto the *Agnus Dei*, they presented the Pix vnto the *Queene* to kisse, who was afterwards lead vnto the high Altar, where shee received the Sacrament with great deuotion and reuerence, which done, shee said her prayers, and then was conducted backe againe vnto her throne, where shee heard the end of Masse.

Masse being ended, the *Queene* descended from her Throne, and was conducted backe vnto her Chamber with the same order and Ceremony that shee had bene brought vnto the Church.

1610

Aquarel-
lion the
bailiades of
Spain and
Venice.

Church. After the end of Masse there was a largeffe cried for the Queene in the Church A bequene by the Heralds, and good fummes of gold and siluer ca't vnto the people at diuers times. All which was done with great acclamations and signes of publike ioy. All which being ended, the King did in some sort reconcile the Ambaſſadour of Spaine with him of Venice, who had giuen him a box of the eare for that he had called him *Pantoloon* in bidding him farewell: And the same night their Maieſties returned to Paris, where preparation was made for the Queenes entry vpon the Sunday following.

But oh the incontinacy of humane things! Man purpoſeth and God diſpoſeth; Yesterdayes ſunne-shine of glory, is ſuddenly ouercast with a darke cloud of heauineſſe and mourning. France which did yesterday ioy to ſee her King triumphing in glory at the coronation B of his Queene, doth now weepe and lament for the loſſe of him, and they apprehend the ruine of their fortunes, and the conſuſion of this flouriſhing Eſtate. He which yesterday ſupported the fortune and felicity of France, like another *Atlas* lies now wallowing in his owne goare, being treacherouſly murdered by the curſed hand of a damned and bloudy villaine, as you may heare by the diſcours.

Discourſe of
the Kings inter-
tier.

On Friday, the day after the Queenes Coronation, the King being aduertised of ſome ominous influence and prediction, which did threaten him that day, hee went to ſee Maſſe with great deuotion: at his returne they brought him ſome of his children, and amongst others the Duke of Anion, whom hee loued dearly, and in whom his Maieſty tooke great delight, but being then very penſiue, hee commanded they ſhould carry him to breakfaſt, C then turning very ſad, hee caſt himſelfe vpon his bed to ſleepe iſſe might (the which hee being full of life and ſpirit was not accuſtomed to doe) but not being able to take any reſt, hee fell vpon his knees and beganne to pray, then he lay downe againe, and prayed againe; and thus hee did three times. In the end he went and walked in the Gallery vntill dinner time.

Protruer ſe'd
in France.

After dinner many Noblemen came into his Chamber, and beganne to tell ſome tales to put him out of his melancholie humour, and to make him laugh; hauing ſmiled a little with the reſt (being by nature of a pleaſant diſpoſition) in the end he ſaid; *We haue laughed enough for Friday, we may well weepe on Sunday.* Hereupon, hee made a partie to goe to the Arſenall at foure of the clocke: whereupon, they ſay, that the Duke of Vendome told him that hee had bene warned to beware of the fourteenth day; yet making no account thereof, he went downe into the Court, whereas a man of a meane condition entertained him a quarter of an houre, then hee went into his Caroch, by the Dukes of Eſpernon (who ſate in the firſt place of the boot vpon the Kings right hand) *Montbazon* the Marſhall of Lauardin, *La Force* and *Praulin*, being followed by two foot men, and one of his guard on horſebacke, hauing commanded *Monſieur De Vigny* and the reſt of his guard to ſtay behinde.

Being betwixt the draw bridge and the Port, this miſerable wretch who watched his opportunity, drew neere vnto the Caroch on the right ſide, thinking his Maieſty had bene there, but ſeeing hee was on the left hand, and hearing them command the Coachman to goe on, he went the neereſt way by narrow lanes, and met with his Maieſty in the ſtreet called *Petroniere*, neere vnto Saint Innocents Church, where ſtaying to make way for a Cart to paſſe, the King leaned downe on the one ſide towards *Monſieur De Eſpernon*, preſſing him to reade a letter without Spectacles; the Duke of Montbazon turned towards them, and one of the foot-men was bulie tying vp his garter on the other ſide, ſo as this monſter had the opportunity to ſtab the King into the left Pap, but the wound was not great, whereupon crying out, *O my God I am wounded*, hee gaue him meanes to giue him a ſecond blow, which was mortall, the knife-entring betwixt the fifth and ſixth ribbe, it cut aſunder the veine leading vnto the heart, and the wound was ſo deepe as it entred into *Cava Vena*, the which was pierced, wherewith the King did preſently ſpit bloud, loſing all apprehenſion and knowledge, for any thing they could perceiue. They had great difficulty to ſaue the murderher from killing preſently, yet in the end hee way conuayed to the houſe of Retz.

Henry the
fourth ſlain.

The King was carried backe vnto the Louvre: vpon the way they met with the Daulphin, who went to take the aire, but they cauſed him to returne, and to be carried into the Queenes chamber. The King was laied vpon a Couch in his Cabinet, whereas preſently after he gaue vp the Ghoſt. Many ſpake vnto him of God, and amongst others the Archbiſhop of Ambrun,

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A Ambroſius, being the 100. yeeres of a Church-man, exhorted him in this laſt action, but he made no more vnderſtanding him. This did the King Henry the fourth, whoſe victories and martiall exploits had purchaſed him, amongst his owne ſubiects, the ſurname of Great, whoſe life and actions future ages will ſayde with admiration. Neuer Prince was more reſpected of ſtrangers, more feared of enemies, nor more beloved and obeyed of his ſubiects. And euen now being in his greateſt glory, and holding himſelfe as it were the moderator of Chriſtendome, it pleaſed God to ſuffer him to be deprived of this light by an vntimely death.

At which time the Duke of Guife comming to the Louvre, he went to comfort the Queene, whom he found wonderfully afflicted with the newes of this lamentable accident: from whence he went with the Duke of Eſpernon to the Court of Parliament where they cauſed the Queene to be declared Regent, carrying a Regiſter with them to the Louvre, to dignifie it vnto her: which done, the Duke of Guife demanded two things of the Queene, the one was, the reſtoring of the Marqueſſe of Vennuel to her fauour: and the other, the continuing of the Duke of Sully in his charge, the which ſhee willingly granted. After which he went thorow the city with five or fix hundred horſe directly to the Arſenall, where he entred with five more in his company, whereas the D. of Sully &c. he embraced one another, and ſware a ſtrict league of loue and friendſhip, and then he returned to his houſe.

An houre before the Duke of Sully hearing of the Kings hurt, was going with about ſome threeſcore horſes towards the Louvre, but meeting with *Monſieur De Villeroi* in Saint Honores ſtreet; and he telling him in his eare, that he was dead, he returned preſently; and put himſelfe into the Arſenall, lodging that night, and the two following in the Biſhops. It was ſtrange to ſee the diſorder, deſpaire, cries and conſuſion which was generally thorow the citie, the people caſſing themſelues proſtriate vpon the ground, nor caring if horſes went over them, nor what became of them. *Monſieur De Villeroi* going to the Louvre, and entring into a little ſtreet right againſt it, he was incountred by a Captaine, one of his friends and familiar acquaintance, who was ſo troubled and tranſported with griefe, as he knew him not, but ſought to ſtop his paſſage, charging him with his pike, and putting him in danger of his life; but in the end knowing him, he caſt away his pike, and craving pardon of him, he ſaid vnto him; *Sir cauſe me to be hanged, kill me, I am ſo troubled as I know not what I doe; for I did not know you.* Whereupon he paſſed on, and entred into the Louvre, where he found the Chantellor, who had bene there before the blow, and there they lodged for three nights together.

The day the King was murdered, the Court of Parliament, hauing notice thereof, (as I haue ſaid) made this decree:

Whereas the Kings Attorney Generall hath informed the Court of Parliament; and all the chambers thereof aſſembled, that the King being now murdered by a moſt cruell, inhumane and deteſtable Paricide, committed vpon his moſt ſacred perſon, it were neceſſary to provide for the affaires of the preſent Kings; and for his Eſtate; and hath required that there

Decree made
by the court of
Parliament.

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there may be present order giuen concerning his seruice, and the good of his Estate, which A cannot be well governed by the Queene, during the minority of the King her sonne, and that it would please the said Court to declare her Regent, that the affaires of the Kingdome may be governed by her. Whereupon having consulted, the Court hath declared, and doth declare the said Queene (mother to this King) Regent in France, for the government of this State, during the minority of her sonne, with all power and Authority.

Made in Parliament the fourteenth day of May in the yeere of our Lords, 1610.

The King goes to the Court of Parliament.

ON Saturday the fifteenth day, the King, being assisted by the Queene, the Prince of Conty, and other Princes, Noblemen, Prelates and Officers of the Crowne, (for the Earle of Soylons was yet at his house and came not till Monday) went vnto the Court of Parliament, where sitting in his seat of Iustice, he made a little speech vnto them without interruption: but the Queene beginning to speake he sunk downe in a swone, but in the end the Chancellour wonne great reputation for the order and successe of this action, the which was as famous for the manner of it, as pitifull for the teares that were shed.

It seemed that Heauen and all creatures did second the mourning of men, all was so horrible and desolate, both in Court and City, and much more in the Country. At that time the King made a declaration, confirming the Decree of the Court of Parliament for the Regency of the Queene his mother, as followeth.

A declaration made by the King.

THE King sitting in his seat of Iustice, by the aduice of the Princes of his bloud, Prelates, Dukes, Peeres and Officers of the Crowne, having heard the request made by his Attorney Generall, hath declared, and doth declare (according to a Decree made by the Court of Parliament) the Queene his mother Regent in France, and to haue the care of the bringing vp of his person, and the government of the affaires of his Kingdome, during his minority. Commanding this present Edict to be inrolled and published in all the Ballewicks, Seneschalshes and other iurisdiccions depending vpon the said Court of Parliament, and in all other Parliaments of this Realme.

Given in the Court of Parliament the fifteenth day of May, 1610.

Iesuits sent for to receive the Kings heart.

THE King vpon the foundation of his royall Colledge at La Fleche for the Iesuites, had resolved to haue his heart layed there, after his death; the which they remembring, sought all meanes to recouer it, and to preserve this precious peece of that cruell shipwrack. Mounseur De La Varenne who had from the beginning laboured to aduance this Colledge, did now shew his loue and affection to them. He remembred the Queene of the deceased Kings will, who willingly granted that it should be executed in euery point; whereupon he presently sent vnto the Iesuites being in their profest house of Saint Lewis, that they should be ready to come and receive this Treasure when they should be sent for, and soone after he sent them certaine Caroffes, in the which they were brought into the Louvre, to salute the King and Queene and to offer them a new their most humble seruice, on Saturday the fifteenth of May.

Iesuits come to receive the Kings heart.

Being come into the Kings chamber, and hauing done their ordinary obedience, his Maiey hauing embraced the chiefe of them, father Cotton made a speech for them all, witnessing the extreme griefe which the company felt, by the incurable wound it receiued by the deceased Kings death, and that they were resolved for to spend and consume themselves in the seruice of his Crowne. The King assisted by Mounseur De Souuere his Gouverneur, assured them that amongst the other qualities which he desired to inherite of his Lord and most honoured father, was his loue to this order, and that continuing to affect his seruice, they should finde the like affection.

Queenes speech to the Iesuits.

This being done they went vnto the Queenes Chamber, whom they found accompanied with certaine Ladies of her Court, and some Noblemen and others. All the fathers hauing humbly saluted her, father Cotton made offer of the like seruice as he protested vnto the King. To whom the Queene said, The deceased King my most honoured Lord and husband loved you dearly, as euery man knowes, and in testimony thereof, he would haue you after his death, to be the depositors and gardians of his heart, I haue commanded it shall be deli-

red

A red vnto you; and that his will be effected. Hauing this precious pawne, and continuing towards the King my sonne in that dutie which you haue shewed vnto him, my loue and affection cannot faile you. Assure your selues I will maintaine you, and will haue a great care of your preservation, as men, who I thinke doe watch for this our Royall Estate.

These words were followed with humble thanks from the Iesuits, who hauing taken their leave, went directly to the Chamber where they did imbalm the Kings bodie. A lamentable sight, namely for those who but two daies before had seene him so pleasant and full of health! The Prince of Conde arrived presently after, who melted in teares: He knelted downe before the royall heart, and his prayers being ended, taking it vp on a cushion, he deliuered it into the hands of Bartolomew Jaquinet, Superior of the house of Saint Lewis, who being attired in a surpise and stole, he receiued it in the name of the whole company, with protestation of the eternall bond which the whole Order should owe vnto the memorie of the deceased King, in that he had honoured them with so precious a page. Then being accompanied by his brethren, and followed by a great number of the Nobilitie, many torches being light, he was conducted to the great gate of the Louvre, whereas the Caroches did attend them. He entered with foure others of the same Order, and two Gentlemen which carried torches in that where the Kings heart was, which was the same wherein this good Prince had receiued that lamentable and bloody wound of death. The guard, appointed by Mounseur de Vigny, did accompanie this dolefull conuoy, the which came to Saint Lewis about eight of the clocke at night, on Saturday the fifteenth of May.

Iesuits receive the Kings heart.

The furniture of this mournfull conuoy, made the afflicted Parisiens (who loue their Kings with passion) easily to discouer what it was; so as many notwithstanding the raine and the great discommoditie of the time, went on with the troupe, the more to witness their affection to their deceased Prince, and not satisfied to haue cast holy water vpon his heart, they would, in imitation of the Iesuites, kisse it one after another, yea if it had beene possible a thousand times, euer detesting the memory of that damnable parricide and wicked murderer that had deprived them of their dearest Jewell, the which was not done without great lamentation, and shedding of many teares.

After three daies rest in the Iesuites Chappell, it was conueyed with a solemne pompe to La Fleche, where after great ceremonies, it was laid in a place of rest, vntill a stately Vrine might be prepared.

This sudden and lamentable disaster did wonderfully afflict all the French in generall, and bred strange apprehensions in the mindes of many, who remembring the miseries and confusions which had growne through the factions of great men, during the minority of former Kings, praied generally for vnitie, and some did write of that subiect: among others, one Pelletier, discoursing of this miserable accident, concludes with an exhortation to great men to liue in vnitie, for the generall good of the Estate.

It is not (saies he) the propertie of greatest sorrowes to speake, for teares and heart-breaking sighes are the best demonstrations of greatest passions; the which maketh me to expresse in few words, the great griefe and publike sorrow wherewith France is now afflicted: Know then, and let future ages for euer lament, that on Friday the 14. of May, the next day after the Queenes coronation, our great Henry (of most famous memory) King of France and Nauarre, passing thorow the Citie in his Caroch, as a Prince which liued without feare or suspicion of his subiects, accompanied with some few of his Nobilitie, and without any of his vvaile Guard, was murdered by an accursed and execrable Assassin, called Francis Rasilac, borne at Angoulême.

A discourse made by Pelletier.

Is it not a wonder to the Christian world, to see France a second Affricke, breeding such deceitfull monsters? How infamous is this age, in regard of that of our fore-fathers? What a misery is it, that a French King should not be free from the rage and furie of a cut-throat villaine, one of his owne subiects? Accursed villaine, thou hast deprived vs of this great Prince, whom we lament with teares, and whose losse we shall euer feel. Thou didst thinke in thy damnable designe to swallow vs vp in a gulf of miserie and desolation: but God in his goodnesse hath preferred vs, and otherwise disposed the hearts and affections of the French, than thou in thy frenzie didst conceiue, or the hellish counsell of Satan suggest. The darke prison wherein thou art iustly detained, where new torments are prepared for thy offence,

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office, will not let thee see how (notwithstanding thy wicked Acts) that all things remaine A
constant in the same tranquillitie they were in before. It is to God alone to whom we are
bound for this grace, yet will we not forget to give due praises to his instruments which he
hath vouchsafed to vicin this Nation: for the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, the famous
Court of Parliament, with the Magistrates of Paris, have all with one heart and common
consent assured the Estate: so as there is not any threat of mutiny or sedition amongst this
great multitude: but resolution and modestie, which make the Patient to be much com-
mended, and serves as an example to all other Provinces of the Realme. ^{Thou (say)} I can not see how the very heart of thy horrible attempt, all the Nobilitie
ran to the Court, making offers and proffessions of their service and fidelity: they felt B
not, though the Luther be taken away, the stone is left vs. to succeed in the Government:
though he be young, yet shall he be fortified with the wise advice of great Princes, and of the
Queene his mother, who amidst her greatest sorrowes, will remember the common good,
and hath vouchsafed for our comfort to accept of the Regency and Government of the
Kingdome: In the presence of the Princes, Peeres, Constable, Chancellor, Cardinals, Mar-
shals of France, and other great Officers of State, all assembled in the great Chamber of the
Palace, with authoritie of the Court of Parliament, his lawfull Successor sitting in his throne,
was solemnly acknowledged and proclaimed King of France.

To conclude, this young Prince is so worthily brought vp, in the love and feare of God, C
with all other vertues, which serve to the ornament of a great King, that treading in the foot-
steps of the late King his father, he will cherish Religion, love Iustice, be generous, meeke,
affable, gracious, and shine in a full lustre, like a glorious Sunne over all France. All things
shall flourish vnder his reigne, his people shall bleesse him, and with cries lift vp to heaven, pray
to God for his preservation.

Thus now we see this Prince happily sealed, and so well supported with the force of armes,
advice of his Counsell, and the love of his subjects, as it shall be in vaine for any one to pre-
sume to attempt any innovation without condigne punishment: seeing then his coming to
the Crowne is so blessed, and seconded by the fauours of heauen, let vs not prouoke the an-
ger of God by our ill dispositions: let vs endeavour to haue this curled murtherer not only
detected of all French-men, but also held in abhormination of all strangers: Let vs remember, D
that as contrary winds cause stormes and tempests at sea, so diuision and factions trouble a
State. If our owne iudgement cannot instruct vs, let the schoole of reason teach vs; let vs
consider, that as in an humane body there is a head, and vnder that head many Noble parts,
that the member appointed for one seruice, dares not execute anothers office, the legges will
not be the armes, nor the lungs the heart: Euen so in a well-gouerned State, one is acknow-
ledged for head, and giueth life to all the other members, which moue not but vnder his
command, so as euery one discharging his duties, by a good vnion and correspondency,
Kingdomes are preferred, and of small become great, whereas contrariwise by diuisions and
factions great States are ruined and come to nothing.

Remember, that it is about 1200 years since this Realme of France hath bene held for E
one of the greatest Monarchies in the world: Let not posteritie reproach vs, that it hath bene
ruined in our time, and that by our intemperate rage; we haue ouerthrowne that which our
Ancestors haue built vp by their wisdomes and valours: and if the publike interest doe not
moue you, yet let euery man respect his owne particular: we are all imbarcked in one vessel,
if it perill, hardly will any one escape: we are all in one house, if it fals, we shall be buried in
the ruines. Let vs not forget, that we are yet drenched with our last shipwracke: that we haue
not bene long freed from ciuill warre, the which neuer comes alone, but is attended on by
plague, famine, and all other calamities and miseries, as losse of goods, imprisonment, ran-
soming of our bodies, the sacke and spoile of our townes, the rauishing of our wiues and
daughters, and the slaughter of our children.

Let vs know, that experience is the mistresse of fooles, and let vs not attend repentance af-
ter our errors. We are now in peace, let vs continue, preserve, and seeke to maintaine it with
the assistance of God. Let vs not be like vnto Magicians, which procure stormes by their
charmes, contrary to the course of nature. Calamities and miseries come but too soone, let
vs not prouoke them, or goe to meet them. You great men which haue the charge and go-
uernment of the State, in Gods name, haue no other obiect before your eyes, but the good
and seruice of your King: flee diuision, which like a bad Counsellor, seeking to ruine others,
ouerthrowes

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A ouerthrowes it selfe. Assure your selues the greatnesse of the Estate is your owne, her tran-
quillitie is the Basis and foundation of your owne families. Studie not who shall ruine his
companion, but who shall serue his Countrey with greatest loialtie. It is incident to men of
weake iudgements to be full of enuy, malice, and diffimulation: carry your hearts in your
faces, loue one another, that you may the better serue one Matter. It shall be your prosperi-
tie, and doubt not but there are more good then bad in an Estate, and that there was neuer
any one so mutinous & factious, but in the end he was curbed by the Authoritie of his Soue-
raigne. You haue at this day a King redoubtable, ouer whose person the eie of the diuine Pro-
vidence doth so watch, as although he be young, yet shall he not be lesse obeyed and feared
thorowout all his Kingdome: the Edicts of the deceased King his Father shall bee observed
as his owne: you shall haue him a common father to all his subjects.

It is said, that Alexander made no distinction betwixt Greeke and Barbarian, but only by
their vertues, not regarding the difference of their habits. So our King will iudge who are
good and bad French-men, by their obedience and fidelity, euery one shall be partaker of his
grace and fauour, as he shall make himselfe worthy by his seruice. So as all things being thus
harmely settled within the Realme, we shall haue no cause to feare any danger from abroad:
The King is in peace with his neighbours, and we assure our selues, that there is not any one
of them but he is so generous, as he doth deplore this lamentable accident befallen our late
King. And although he had before the death of this Prince, some designs to preiudice
C France, yet now he will turne his hatred into loue, moued only by commiseration of this
disaster. And if we may hope for this kinde from forraigne Princes, what ought we to ex-
pect from those which are naturall borne French-men.

God indeed in this dangerous confusion, did heare the praies & vovs of good men, and
did so vnite the hearts of great men, as euery one did strive by emulation, who should doe
best seruice to the King and State: but above all, the Queenes constancy was admirable, who
in the midst of her greatest afflictions laboured continually, and did not neglect any thing,
that might tend to the publike quier of the Realme, causing the King the two and twentieth
of May, to make a Declaration for the entertainment of the Edict of Pacification made at
Nantes, as followeth:

D LEWIS by the Grace of God, &c. Since the most vnfortunate and detestable murder of
our most honored Lord and Father, the King last deceased (whom God absolve) the
Queene Regent our most honored Ladie and Mother, (having alwaies teares in her eyes,
and sorrow in her heart) hath not let to labour incessantly, and with great magnanimitie and
widome, lest this fatall accident should be preiudiciall to our person, our state and subjects,
holding her selfe bound vnto this dutie, not onely for the naturall affection which she bea-
reth vs, but also for that she hath bene declared Regent, and in this qualitie charged with
the government of the affaires of the Kingdome, by the suffrages and consent of the Princes
of our blood, and other Princes, Peeres, Prelats and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, and the
E Iudges of our Parliament, being all assembled there together (we sitting in our seat of Iustice)
wherein her endeouours were so happy, & the affection of all our Subjects which were then
neere vs (especially of the inhabitants of our good Citie of Paris) so great and sincere to-
wards vs, as we cannot with nor desire more in their obedience and loialties, then in the
good and wise government of the Queene Regent, our most honored Lady and Mother:
Having also had intelligence by the advice which comes daily vnto vs, that in all parts of
our Kingdome all our Subjects, as well Catholikes as they of the pretended reformed Reli-
gion of all qualities, strive by a commendable emulation, to exceed one another in readinesse
of obedience, and in actions which may yeeld some testimony of their loialties and durie:
for the which we haue great cause to thanke God, and to hope that as it hath pleased him
F heretofore to preserve this Realme from great dangers, to make it flourish for many ages,
that he will still by his bountie take our young yeares into his protection, and giue vs leisure
to grow in pietie and vertue, hereafter to imploy the greatnesse, whereunto he hath raised
vs, to his honour and glorie. The which we heartily craue at his hands, and that he will in-
spire vs with such counsell, as shall be fit and necessarie for the well governing of our Sub-
jects in his state, and to make them liue in peace, vnitie & loue, one with another, as being the
true grounds whereon (next after God) depends the safetie and preservation of the Realme:
Experience shewing that Kings our Predecessors, that the fury and violence of Armes, had

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not onely bene vnprofitable to draw vnto the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, A their subiects that were diuided from it, but was rather hurtfull: which made them haue recourse by a more happy counsell, to mildnesse, granting them the exercise of the said pretended reformed Religion, whereof they made profession: In whose imitation, the deceased King, our most honored Lord and Father, had made the Edict of Nantes, to reconcile all his louing subiects: The obseruation of which Edict, with the Orders made in consequence thereof, haue settled an assured quiet amongst them, the which hath euer since continued without any interruption. By meanes whereof, although that Edict be perpetuall and irrevocable, and by that meanes hath no need to be confirmed by any new declarations; Notwithstanding, to the end our said subiects may be assured of our loue, and that our intention and will is to cause the said Edict to be inuolubly kept, being made for the good and quiet of all our subiects, as well Catholikes, as those of the pretended reformed Religion:

We make it knowne, that it hauing bene propounded in our presence, by the Queene Regent, our most honored Ladie and Mother, we haue by her good aduice, of the Princes of our blood, and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of our Crowne, and many notable personages of our Counsell, decreed, and ordained, and our pleasure is, that the aforesaid Edict of Nantes in all points and Articles, together with all other Articles which haue bene granted vnto them, and the Orders made, and Iudgements giuen vpon the interpretation, or execution of the Edict, and in consequence thereof, shall be entertained and kept inuolubly, and those which shall infringe it, severely punished, as troublers of the public quiet: inuolubly all our Officers to this effect, to see it very carefully kept, as they will answer to the contrary, whose negligence shall be punished as rigorously as the disobedience of such as haue broken it.

We also command our louing and faithfull Iudges of our Court of Parliament at Paris, to cause these presents to be proclaimed and inrolled, and the Contents to be kept, entertained, and obserued in euery point according to their forme and tenor, not suffering any thing to be done to the contrary. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof We haue caused our Seale to be set hereunto. *Giuen at Paris the two and twentieth of May, 1610.*

Signed. LEWIS.

And vnderneath was written, *By the Queene Regent his mother being present.*Arraignement
of the murder-
ter.

THE State being somewhat settled, and freed from all feare of factions and alterations: the Court of Parliament proceeded to the arraignment and condemnation of the infernall monster of nature, *Francis Ravaillac*, borne at Angoulesme, by profession a Lawyer. Being prisoner in the Concergerie, (which is the prison for the Court of Parliament) his processe was duly instructed and made, in the Chamber of the Tournelle (which be the ordinary Iudges for all criminal offenders,) who being put to the Racke on the 25 day of May, on the 27 day sentence of death was giuen against him, by the which he was declared, duly arraigned & convicted of treason in the highest degree, both against God & man. His execution was according to the sentence, after this manner. He was brought out of the prison in his shirt, with a torch of two pound weight lighted in one hand, and the knife wherewith he had murdered the King, chained to the other; and then he was set right vp in a tumbrell or dungcart, & so he was conducted with a good guard vnto our Ladies church, where being condemned to doe penance, he had bene torne in peeces by the peoples rage, if the Officers had not restrained them. After this he was accompanied to the place of execution by two Doctors of Diuinity, who still perswaded him to saue his soule from euermlasting punishment, by revealing his associates, the which he would not, but still maintained, that he did it only by the instigation of the deuill, and the reason was, for that the King did tolerate two religions in France, in this manner he was carried to the Greue, where there was a strong scaffold built for his execution, *Du Fic* the Kings Attorney was appointed to assist at his execution, and there to gather (if it might be) some further light of this hellish conspiracy. His death was terrible, to wit: all murderers from the like attempts. At his coming vnto the scaffold, he crost himselfe, in signe that he died a Papist, then he was bound vnto an engine of wood, made like vnto a *Sauoir* Croffe, which done, his hand with the knife chained to it (wherewith he had laine the King) was

Execution of
the murder-
ter.

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A was put into a Furnace, then flaming with fire and Brimstone, wherein it was in a most terrible manner consumed, and yet he would not confesse any thing, but cast forth horrible cries, like a soule tormented in hell: and surely if helms torments might be felt on earth, it was produced in this mans punishment, the which (had not the foulness of his fact bene so horrid) would haue moued all the lookers on to pitie and commiseration. After which, the executioners hauing made pincers red hot in the same furnace, they did pinch his paps, the brauens of his armes and thighes, with the calues of his legs, and other fleshy parts of his bodie, pulling out collops of flesh, and burning them before his face: then they powred into those wounds, scalding Oyle, Rozen, Pitch, and Brimstone molt together: after which, they did set a hard roundell of Clay vpon his nauell, hauing a hole in the midit, into the which they powred molten Lead, yet he reuealed nothing, but roared out most horribly, like vnto him that was tormented in the brazen Bull of the tyrant *Phalaris*. But to make the last act of his Tragedie equall in torments to the rest, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his bodie in peeces, where being ready to suffer his last torments, he was againe questioned with, touching the discouery of this truth, but he would not reueale any thing, and so died, without speaking one word of God. But his flesh and ioynts were so strongly knit together, as those foure horses could not of a long time dismember him, nor pull him asunder: but one of them fainting, it is remarkable to see the affection of a Gentleman who was present, mounted vpon a mightie strong horse, who seeing one of the horses straine but faintly, hee C lighted from his owne, and taking off his saddle, hee tied him to one of these wretches members, yet for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh vnder his armes and thighes, with a sharpe Razor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces: which done, the fury of the people was so great, as they pulled this dismembered carcase out of the executioners hands, which they dragged vp and downe thorow the dirt, and cutting of the flesh with their kniues, the bones which remained were brought to the place of execution, and there burnt, the ashes were scattered in the wind, as being held vnworthy of earths buriall: the people shewing by these exterior acts, the great and sincere affection which they bare vnto the deceased King, our common father, and restorer of the estate. By the same sentence of condemnation all his goods were declared forfeited to the King; and moreover it was ordained, that the house where he had bene borne should be beaten downe (a recompence being giuen to the owner thereof) and that neuer any other should be built vpon that ground. That within fifteene daies after the publication of the said sentence, being proclaimed by the sound of a Trumpet in the Towne of Angoulesme, his Father and Mother should depart the Realme, and neuer to returne againe, which if they did, they should be presently hanged without any other forme of processe. His Brethren, Sisters, Vncles, and other his Kinsfolks, were forbidden euer after to carrie the name of *Ravaillac*, inioyning them to take another, vpon the like paines, the substitute of the Kings Attorney Generall hauing charge to see the execution of the said sentence at his perill.

It was an admirable thing after so great a disaster, to see the vnion & tranquillitie which was E generally in the State, there remaining not any markes of so great a mischiefe, but the morning weeds which all men did weare, and the sighes which all good French-men did breathe forth for the losse of their good King: neuer King was more lamented, nor Parricide more detested. This wicked murderer confessed no other motive of his crime, but the booke of *Mariana*, a Spanish Iesuit (so horrible a fact could not be committed if a Iesuit were not an Actor) which booke by a decree made by the Colledge of Sorbonne, and confirmed by a sentence from the Courts of Parliament, was for that cause condemned to be publicly burnt before our Ladies Church in Paris: the Tenor of the sentence was; The Court, the great Chamber, the Turnelle, and the Chamber of the Edict being assembled, hauing scene the decree of the facultie of diuinitie assembled the fourth of this Moneth of Iune, according F to a sentence giuen in May last, vpon the renewing of the censure in matter of doctrine made by the said facultie in the yeare 1413. confirmed by the holy Councell of Constance; that it is an heresie full of impietie to maintaine that it is lawfull for subiects or strangers, vpon any pretext or cause whatsoever, to attempt against the sacred persons of Kings and Soueraine Princes. The Booke of *Iohn Mariana* intitled, *De Rege & Regis institutione*. Printed as well at Mentz as in other places, containing many execrable blasphemies against the deceased King *Henry* the third of most happy memory, the persons and estates of Kings & Soueraine Princes, and other propoitions contrary to the said decree: vpon the conclusions of the

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Parents of the
murderer be-
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Kings Atturney Generall, the matter being propounded; the said Court hath and doth ordaine, that the said Decree of the fourth of this present moneth of June, shall be entred into the registers thereof, and heard at the instance of the Kings Atturney Generall, and read every year on the like day on Sunday, in the Parishes of this Citie and Suburbs of Paris. It doth also ordaine, that the booke of *Mariana* shall be burnt by the Executioner of Iustice, before our Ladies Church in Paris, forbidding all men, of what estate, qualitie and conditions soever they be, upon paine of high treason, to write or cause any bookes to be printed against the said decree & sentence. It doth also inioyne, that Copies taken out of the Originals of the said decree, and this present sentence shall be sent vnto the Bailewicks and Seneshalluses of this iurisdiction, there to be read and published after the accustomed manner and forme. And B moreover at Euenfong, in Parishes, in Townes, Suburbs, and other Burroughes the first Sunday of Iune. Inioyning all Bailiffs and Seneshals to proceed to the said publication, and the Substitutes of the Kings Atturney Generall to haue a care of the execution, and to certifye the Court of their diligence.

Given in Parliament the 8 of Iune, 1610.

They condemn-
ed for words.

Yet those holy men had such power and credit, as they stayed the publication of the said sentence for a time, whereat many were much scandalized. Presently after the execution of this Parricide, there was a young Boy of the age of thirteene yeares, dwelling with a Weauer, apprehended, for that he had said, that if he had the knife and the characters which *Rauillac* C had, he would doe as much to the young King, whereupon he was condemned to be hanged by the Prouost of Paris, from which sentence he appealed to the Court of Parliament. And the Prouost of Pluviers, twentie leagues from Paris, being accused to haue said, the day that the King was murdered, that he was slain or wounded that day, strangled himselfe in prison.

Successors of
Cleues refused
on.

Another man of Meaux making profession of the religion, and reputed for a very honest man, came vnto the Duke of Bouillon (being accompanied with letters from the Minister of that place) to let him vnderstand that the Deuill had appeared vnto him, and had incited him, to kill the King, saying; That if he would not doe it, another should effect it before the end of Iuly. In the beginning of the Queenes Regency, all her care and endeavour was for the preservation of the peace and the safety of the Realme; She sought to giue contentment D to the Princes at home, and to entertaine the alliances of France, which made them resolute (though not without some opposition and difficultie) to pursue the desseine of Cleues, and to send the 10000 men which the deceased King had promised vnto the Princes, but the number of horse was not so compleat; the Marshall of La Chastre was chosen Generall of this Army, and *Monsieur de Montigny* was made Marshall of the Campe; there were foure peeces of Artillery, commanded by the young Marquis of Rosny (who was newly made Master of the Ordnance) to begin his Apprentiship there. This army began to march but slowly in Iuly towards Metz. The Marshall preparing himselfe for the voyage, there came two Iesuites to seeke him out, who told him that he could not goe his journey, nor carrie succours vnto Heretikes with a good conscience, seeking to terrifie his conscience with threats, E as that if he undertooke it, he could not be saved. But the Marshall giuing no credit vnto their words, sent them away with a fowre answer: yet soone after they came vnto him to change their language, and to pacifie him.

They now prepared for the Kings Funerall, and the Duke of Espernon with Mounseigneur de Bélegarde, Master of the Kings horses, were sent to Compiene to fetch the body of King *Henry* the third, which made many thinke that his Funerall should haue bene ioyned with the Kings, but his body was carried directly to Saint *Denis*, where it was interred without any pompe and ceremony.

Earle of Soif-
made gou-
ernor of Nor-
mandy.

The Prince of Conde being aduertised of the Kings death, he sought to make his peace and reconciliation, writing letters full of humility and obedience to the King and Queene R. Regent, whereupon their Maiesties did write graciously vnto him, by a Gentleman whom the Princeesse of Conde his mother sent vnto him with 20000 Crownes to degage him from the Spaniards. At this time the Government of Normandy was giuen to the Earle of Soissons, and that of Dauphine to his Son, which bred great debate betwix the Prince of Conty and the Earle his Brother, the which did much trouble the Queene, who could not well tell how to pacifie the Prince; The Court of Parliament at Rouen, refused to verifie the Earles Parent for the said Government, whereupon they had a new commandement sent them: They

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A They grounded their refasall vpon this reason, for that they had already received the Duke of Orleans for their gouernour, by commandement from the deceased King.

After the execution of the Parricide *Rauillac*, and his confession, that the booke of *Mariana* the Iesuite, had bene the onely mooue to draw him to that damnable attempt; there was a fowle imputation laid vpon the Iesuites, and many condemned them as abettors and fauourers of the murderers of Princes, wherein they were the more confirmed; for that *Mariana* booke had bene condemned to be burnt by a decree of the court of Parliament. Father *Cotton* a Iesuite, who had bene in more credit and fauour with the deceased King than any one of that company, seeing their credits now in question, and that this brand of infamy was like to stick vpon them, hee impleads all his Art and eloquence to wipe it off, and to that end hee writes a letter or declaration vnto the Queene Regent, of the Iesuites doctrine, in the which hee disauowes *Mariana's* Booke in the name of their whole Company. And to winne them the more credit, hee procures them a Testimoniall from the Bishop of Paris, the which he plants in the Preface of his discourse. The Bishop writes, That whereas since the cruell Parricide of the deceased King, there had bene many brutes dispersed in Paris, to the preiudice of the remarkable Order of the Iesuites, we being desirous to prouide for the honour and reputation of the said Order, knowing well that such brutes proceed only from ill will, grounded vpon spleene against the said Fathers: We declare by these presents, that the said brutes are impossibles, and flanders in- C cented maliciously against them, to the preiudice of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, and that not only the said Fathers are free from all such blame: but also that their Order is as well for doctrine as good life, profitable for the Church of God, and to this E state. In witness whereof we haue signed these presents. After all this, *Cotton* begins his declaration vnto the Queene Regent after this manner.

Madame: God ordained in the old Testament, That they should not see the Kid in the mothers milke: to teach vs, (as *Philon* the Iew doth expound it) that we must not surcharge him with new affliction, that is otherwise oppressed. According to this rule being of the same nature, those of our Societie did hope, that after this atall accident which hath shaken the two Poles of Christendome, they should at the least haue had free liberty to fight after their D incomparable losse, a losse which is as particular to them, as it is common and general to all. But it is befallen them, as vnto those that are vnder the ruines of a great building; whereas one stone attends not another, to couer and ouerwhelme those vpon whom it falls. We were busied both hearts and bodies at the translation of that precious gage, which it pleased your Maiestie to cause to be consigned into our hands by my Lord the Prince of Conty, and to the which the chiefe Noblemen of France yeelded the last honours, when as some (ill affected to the Catholike Religion, and to them of our profession, to defame vs, and make profit of our absence) dispersed bruits, so far from likelihood and probability, as no man could thinke such flanders could enter (no not in dreaming) in the conceit of any reasonable creature. This E grew by reason of a bad booke, the doctrine whereof hath bene iustly condemned by the Court of Parliament: some maintaining that the doctrine contained in the said booke was common to all the Iesuites: others, that it was so particular to the Author, as many of the same company had written against it, and altogether condemned it in a Provinciall congregation, some yeeres past. A controuerisie which the least passionate will decide, concluding, that a disauow were a satisfaction, and that they should attend what we could say. Whereupon (Madame) hauing bene particularly named, it hath made me now to set pen to paper, to represent vnto you (as to her who is wholly affected to the true Religion, the most interested in the good of this State, and the most assured Sanctuarie which innocency can finde) that which the Doctors of our Company haue written of that subiect, knowing that the greatness of our affaires will not suffer you to seeke it, nor the little loue which our ill- F lours beare vs, to make you a true discourse of it.

After which he cites some Authors of that Societie writing of obedience to Princes, which held, that it was not lawfull for subiect nor stranger to attempt against the life of a Prince, although he doth abuse his authority: directly condemning the error of *Mariana*. And then he sets downe the opinion of the whole company, touching the question of obedience to Princes, concluding, that it is not onely vnlawfull to attempt against the persons of Princes, but that it is an execrable Parricide, a prodigious offence and a detestable sacrilege.

This

Bishop of Pa-
ris writes in
the behaue of
the Iesuites.

Cotton the Ie-
suites letter in
the Queene
Regent.

This Declaration was no sooner printed, but there was a refutation presently written, called *Anti-Cotton*, maintaining, that the doctrine of the Iesuites allows and maintaines the parricide of Kings, and rebellion of subjects, which he proued out of their owne Authors.

1. *Francis Ribadineira* a writing of the parricide of *James Clement*, he saith, *Forasmuch as the resolution which Henry the third took upon him, was the advice of a Polititian, and a Machinist, not conformable to the rules of our Saviour, behold the reason, that by the iust iudgement of God, the said Henry was killed by a young Monk, and died by the stroke of a knife.*

2. *Carolus Scribanus* a Flemish Iesuite, who calls himselfe *Clarus Bonarscium*, in his booke intitled, *Amphitheatrum honoris*, saies, *That if it so fall out, that a Denis, a Machanidas, or an Aristotimus, masters of their ages, oppress France, shall not the Pope haue absolute power to annuie them some Dion, Timoleon, or Philopœmen, that is to say, tarmers and suppressors of monsters. And afterwards speaking of a tyrant wasting France, Will a man (saies he) take armes against that tyrant wasting France? Will no Pope set free the noble kingdome from the stroke of the axe?*

3. He cites *Bellarmino*, who although he condemneth treason against Princes; yet in ambiguous termes he seems to approuit it, by commending *Garnet* the Iesuite in these words: *Wherefore was Henry Garnet, a man vnmistakeable in all kinds of learning and holiness of life, so punished in the highest degree, but onely for that he would not detect that, which with a safe conscience he could not.* And the same Author in his booke *De Pontifice Romano*, saies, *The Pope may dispose of kingdomes, taking from one, and giuing to another, as being the superiour Prince Ecclesiasticall.* And the Iesuite *Gretzer* saies, *We are not such dastards, as we feare to affirme openly, that the Pope of Rome may (if necessitie so require) free his Catholike subjects from their oath of obedience, if their Soueraigne intreat them tyrannically: yea he addes in the same place, That if the Pope doe it discreetly and warily, it is a meritorious worke.* After all this he quotes the doctrine of *Tolet*, *Mariana*, and *Iohn Guignard*, a Iesuite Priest residing in Paris, who had written a Treatise in praise of *James Clement*, with diuers motives to make away the King which last died, for the which he was executed. But *Franc. Verona, Constant*, exceeds them all: he affirms, *That notwithstanding the Councell of Constance, it is lawfull for any private man to hearth Kings condemned of heresie and tyrannie.* And *Emanuel Sa* writes, *That the rebellion of a Clerke against the King is no treason, inasmuch as he is not subiect to him.* The which *Bellarmino* in a manner confirms, saying, *The Pope of Rome hath exempted Clerks from their subiection to Princes: Kings are now no more superiours of Clerks.* And to proue their doctrine of killing Kings more plainly, he produceth the equiuocations and euasions of *Garnet*, being apprehended for the powder-treason, the which is iustified by many of that Societie: *Iohn l'Heureux* writing thus; *When any man is drawne into question under an vniuersal trial, no man standing bound to informe against himselfe (as the law of nature teacheth vs plainly) he may peremptorily and freely denie that for which he is called into question, without any tergiversation, because he alwaies understands this clause, Vt teneat dicere. Which doctrine is confirmed by diuers other Iesuites: One of them affirming, that the doctrine of Equiuocation is grounded vpon the memorable example of *S. Francis*. In the end he shewes their opinion touching concealing of confession: One, which they hold ought not to be reuealed. *Iohn l'Heureux* writing of that subiect, saies, *That a thing sealed up with the most holy signes of Confession, cannot be broken without detestable sacrilege: and that there cannot fall so great a mischife, for the avoiding of which, it can be lawfull to bewray a Confession.* And *Swarez* addes, *Yea though the safetie of the whole Common-wealth should stand vpon it.* By all which proofes he shewes, that it was not *Mariana's* doctrine alone, to murder Kings, but that all the Iesuites haue erred with him in this, whom *Father Cotton* cannot iustifie in general.*

Anti-Cotton hauing set downe the Iesuites doctrine, he proues it by their actions. And first, by the fact of *Iohn Chastell* Clerke, brought vp in the Iesuites College; who hauing stabbed the King in the mouth the 27. of December. 1604. being examined vpon sundry questions, and among others, whether he had studied Diuinitie in the Iesuites College, he answered; *That he had bene there vnder Father Gueret, with whom he had continued two yeeres and a halfe.* And being asked if he had euer bene in the Chamber of Meditations, whither the Iesuites vie to bring the greatest sinners, there to behold the representation of many deuils, set forth (vnder colour to reduce them to a better life) thereby to cause a perturbation in their minds, and consequently vpon such resolutions, to thrust them forward to the vndertaking of some great action: His answer was, *that he had often bene in this Chamber of Meditations.* And being questioned,

Iesuites doctrine proued by their actions.

A questioned, whether the killing of the King were not an ordinarie discourse among the Iesuites, he answered, that he had heard them say, *It was lawfull to kill the King, and that he was no member of the Church, and that we ought not to obey him, nor hold him for our King, until he had receiued approbation from the Pope.*

Peter Barriere being apprehended at Melun in April 1593. being discouered by an honest Friar, confessed that he came purposely to Court to kill the King, and that he had bene perswaded thereunto by one *Varade* a Iesuite, whose daily practise was to defame the King with vile speeches, by whose perswasion he had prouided a knife to doe the fact. He first of all discouered his intent to *Aubry*, Curate of *S. Andrew des Arts*, who directed him to *Varade* Rector of the Iesuites College, who confirmed him in his resolution to kill the King, assuring him, that in case he were put to death, he should obtaine in heauen a crowne of Martyrdom, and aduiring him vnto this action, vpon the Sacrament of Confession, and the holy Communion. And omitting many other actions of Iesuites both at home and abroad to proue their damnable doctrine, he concludes with *Garnet, Hall*, and others of the Sect, who were complices in that powder-treason, which was practised to ruine the King and the whole Estates of England.

In the end he seeks to proue by many pregnant presumptions, that the Iesuites are guilty of the murder: First, by an aduertisement sent from *M. de La Force*, the Kings Lieutenant in Bearn, that a Spaniard described by him, was come into France with an intent to kill the King, which Spaniard was brought vnto the King by *Cotton*, but the King hauing receiued these letters, shewed them to *Cotton*, and commanded him to bring the Spaniard againe, but he could not be found.

Secondly, the seditious preachings of *Gontier* and *Hardy* both Iesuites, the Lent before the fact was committed; inasmuch as the Marshall d'Ornano told the King, that if *Gontier* had preached so at Bourdeaux, he would haue caused him to be cast into the riuier, and yet he was a very zealous Catholike.

Thirdly, the confession of *Rauillac*, who iustified vnto Father *Aubigny*, that he had told him in confession, that he had bene sent to giue a great blow, and that he had shewed him the knife, hauing a heart grauen vpon it. But the Iesuite protested, that God had giuen him the grace to forget that presently, which was reuealed to him in Confession, whereby he saved his life.

And last of all, the predictions before the Kings death, as at Bruxelles, where the Iesuites domineere, it was spoken of 12. or 15. daies before it hapned. At Prague, a Iesuite had giuen it out, that the King was dead, before it fell out so, and moreover, he told them, that after his death, the Dauphin should not be King, but the King of Spaine, and that for some reasons which *Gontier* gaue in his Sermons in Lent last. And then the prediction of the Prouost of Pluuiers, that the King was either slaine or hurt that day. He was a Iesuite in faction, and hath a sonne a Iesuite.

The King being dead, the Queene with all the Nobilitie, prouounded in Counsell to yeeld him the last dutie in his oblique: three giues order, as well to pray for his soule, as for all things requisite for the ornament of the Funerall of so great a Monarch. Two daies after the death of this great King, his bodie was laid in a bed, his face bare to the view of all, and then they opened his bodie to embalm it, out of the which they tooke his heart to carry to la Fleche, and his bowels to *S. Denis*, as he had appointed in his life time: the which being done, he was laid in a coffin of lead, couered with purple velvet, on the which was a great croffe of white satten. On Whitson-munday about foure of the clocke in the morning, his heart being honourably embalmed, and laid in lead, was carried to la Fleche, as we haue said. The bodie being laid in a coffin, was set in a chamber hanged with rich tapistry, on either side were Altars set, where there were daily an 100 Masses said. In the chamber were many formes richly couered, for the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Cardinals, Arch-bishops, Bishops, chiefe Ministers, and other Prelates, and Officers of the Church: and neere vnto the holy-water-pot, were two Heraults: on either side there were many other seats for religious men, who did ling day and night. Vpon the Kings bodie, were his Crowne, his Scepter, and the hand of Justice, vpon a cushion of rich embroidery. The Kings bodie remained in the said chamber fifteene or sixteene daies together, then was it carried downe with great honour and ceremonie, into the great lower Hall at the Louvre, being attended on by the Bishops, Prelates, and Noblemen of the Court.

Iesuits guilty of the Kings murder.

Predictions of the Kings death.

Kings heart carried to la Fleche.

The

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Hall of Honour
Hall of Honour
Chamber

The said great Hall was hanged with the richest of the Kings Tapistrie, from the top to A the bottome, and the pillars and planchers were covered. Along the said Hall there was a Gallery on either side, for the comming in and going forth of Princes and Noblemen, which Galleries were covered with rich Tapistrie. At the upper end of the said Hall, there was a scaffold made with fourte steps, vpon the which was set a great bed-steed, covered with cloth of Gold, vpon the which the Kings Image (being made in wax) was laid, haueing his hands ioyned together, and attired in his royall Robes, with a Crowne vpon his head, the which did rest vpon a Cushion of rich imbroidery. Vpon his royall Mantle was the Collar of the Order, and on either side, were laid the royall Scepter, and the hand of Iustice, the Scepter on the right hand, and the hand of Iustice on the left.

Neere vnto the said Image were two Altars richly adorned, of either hand one, at that on the right hand was sung a Masse of *Requiem* in Musicke, and at the other were said foure other great Masses: Ouer either Altar was a rich Canopie, and betwixt the Altars were many seats for Prelates and religious men, who sung as in the foresaid Chamber, and at the lower end of the Hall there were many other Altars richly adorned, where they said Masse. The said Image being made as like him as might bee, was daily serued with meat to his table, by his Stewards, Sewers, Cup-bearers, Caruers, Almner, and all other Officers, and all order was duly obserued, as if the deceased King had beene liuing, and then the meat was distributed vnto the poore. The one and twentieth of Iune, the said Image and hangings were taken away, and the said hall both top, sides and floore were hanged and covered C with blacke cloth, and the body of the deceased King being in his coffin, was set in the place of the Image, covered with a paul of black velvet, which hung downe to the ground, with a crosse of white fatten, and a cloth of State ouer it of blacke velvet: vpon the Kings Coffin, were the Crowne, the collar of the Order, the Scepter, and the hand of Iustice. At the foot thereof was a great crosse of silver, vpon a cushion, neere vnto the which were two great tapers burning continually, and a holy water-pot of silver: on either side of which stood a Herald, the which were euery two houres releued by other of their companions which took their places. On the 25. of Iune, *Lewis* the 13. now reigning, dined in Longue-ville house, after dinner he was conducted with great state to the Louvre, to cast holy water vpon the body of the deceased King his father, being accompanied by his brethren, who were carried D of either side of him, the Duke of Orleans on the right hand, and the Duke of Anjou on the left. Neere vnto his Maiesty followed the Cardinals of Loy-uze and Sourdy. The King mourned in purple haueing a very long traine, the which was carried vp by the Prince of Conty, the Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Guise, the Prince Iouulle, and the Duke of Elbeuf: being followed by the Marshalls of France, and the Knights of the Order. Many Bishops, Prelates, and Noblemen, and an infinite number of men of account, Ladies and Gentlewomen were in the said hall, attending the Kings comming, who haueing giuen holy water, retired himselfe into the Louvre. The next day the Iudges of the Court of Parliament at the rising of the Court, went also after their accustomed manner to the Louvre, to giue holy water, being followed by the Iudges of the Chambers of accounts and aides, the Generalls of the money, and the whole body of Iustice, the Prouost of Paris, the Prouost of Marchants, and the Sherifes of the said City. On the 28. day of the month, the 24. sworne Criers of the City, haueing commande- E ment giuen them, went with the Kings armes on their breasts and backs, thorowout all the streets of Paris, to denounce the Conuoy and funeralis of the deceased King, crying out thus with a loud voice: Noble and deuout people, pray vnto God for the soule of the most high, most mighty, and most excellent Prince, *Henry* the great, by the grace of God, King of France and of Nauar, most Christian, most venerable, most victorious, his incomparable in- magnanimity and clemency, who is dead in his Palace of the Louvre, pray vnto God to receiue his soule. On Tuesday at two of the clocke in the afternoone, his Maiesties body shall bee taken vp to be carried to our Ladies Church in Paris, where the same day shall be said a E Euen-song for the dead, and the next day in the morning his seruice and accustomed prayers shall be said, after which he shall be carried to the Church of *Saint Denis*, to be interred in the Sepulcher of the Kings of France.

On Tuesday the nine and twentieth day the streets were hung with blacke on either side from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, vpon the which were the Kings and the Cries armes, one neere vnto another, and at euery house a burning torch. About two of the clocke in the afternoone, the same day, the funeral began, after this manner: First marched the Captaines, Lieu-

King goes to
cast holy water
vpon his fa-
thers body.Order of the
King, going
to the Louvre.The order of
the conuoy
to our Ladies
Church.

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A Lieutenant and Ensignes of the Towne-houfe, with their gownes, swords by their sides, hoods and capes, the Archers and shot of the said towne-houfe followed in their cassakes of colour imbroided, and vpon a mourning hood, being 172. in number, going two and two, with their matches light, carrying their Hargbules and Halberds bending towards the ground, all which were diuided into three bands.

After them followed the Orders of Church men: First marched the fathers penitents of the third Order of *Saint Francis*, in number three score. Then followed the fathers of the third Order of *Saint Lewis*, being five and forty. The Capers, otherwise called the poore Scholars of the Colledge of *Montagu* three and thirty. The Capuchins in number foure B score and thre. The Minims being sixty eight. The Franciscans in number two hundred twenty foure. The Jacobins one hundred and sixty. The Agullines to the number of an hundred. The Carmes, sixty. The Feuillans thirty five. Before all which Religious men were carried their crosses, and of either side of euery crosse were carried foure torches, aginst them was a Scutcheon with the deceased Kings armes of either side.

Then marched five hundred poore men in blacke gownes and hoods, with new hose and shoes, euery one carrying a burning torch with the deceased Kings armes before and be- hind. After whom followed the foure and twenty sworne criers of Paris ringing their bells, haueing Scutchions on their breasts and backs. After them marched the Knight of the watch, with his Lieutenant in mourning gownes, and a truncheon in his hand, being followed by his company, in their cassakes haueing tips of blacke cloth vpon their shoulders: in the mid- dle of the said company marched the Ensigne, dragging his colours vpon the ground, being covered with blacke cypres, the drums making a mournfull found, being also covered with blacke. Then followed the Sargents of the Chasteler in long blacke gownes, and square caps, carrying blacke truncheons in their hands, being in number thirty. After them marched the Sargents of the Towne-houfe, on the left hand, and thote of the Chasteler on horsebacke of the right hand. Then followed the Noraries, Commisaries of the quarters, Proctors, and Aduocates of the Chasteler, in order, in their long mourning robes, and square caps, on the right hand: And the Proctors, Deputies, Registres and Bourges of the towne on the left hand, being attired after the same manner. After them marched the Lieutenant D Ciuill of the Chasteler on the right hand, and the Lieutenant *Criminall* on the left, being followed by the Counsellors of the said Chasteler.

After whom marched the Priests, Curats, and Religious men of most of the chiefe Churches in Paris, singing, and on the left hand went the Vniuersity, that is, the masters of Artes, Licentiats, heads of houses, Regents, Bachelers and Doctors of Physicke, with their scarlet gownes and miter; the Doctors of the cannon and ciuill law, the Doctors of Diuinity of all Orders, the Bedels of the Vniuersity, and the Recto.

Then followed the sworne Messengers, after whom came the master of the Ports, being all in long gownes and hoods. Then came the Pages of the Stable, attired in blacke serge. After whom marched the masters of the Haubois, Flutes, Musick instruments, Trumpers E and Drums covered with blacke, making a dolefull found. Then followed Mounieur *De Crequy* on the right hand, and Mounieur *Del Esquire* on the left, being followed by the Captaines, Lieutenants, and Ensignes of the Regiment of the Kings guard. After whom marched the great Prouost of the Kings house on horse-backe, wearing a mourning gowne with a long traine, haueing his Officers of either side him, and followed by his Lieutenants, Ensignes and Archers on foot, in blacke gownes and hoods, and their cassakes vpon them, carrying their Petronells and Halberds vnder their armes.

The Captaine of the port of the Kings house, with his porters, haueing their imbroided cassakes and a mourning hood vpon it, Mounieur *De Merolles* on the right hand, and Mounieur *De Bouillon*, with Mounieur *De La Bourdesiere* his Lieutenant, being followed by the F Captaine of the hundred Suiffes of the body attired in blacke water Chamlet, and round caps of chamlet pleited, their Ensigne being covered with blacke cypres.

After whom followeth Mounieur *de La Paluze* in the head of the two companies of two hundred Gentlemen of honour, being followed by the two Ensignes, that of the Vidame of Mans on the right hand, and that of Mounieur *de La Bourdesiere* on the left, all attired in black serge with tips. Then marched the ordinary officers of the Kings house, to the number of an hundred and sixty: and after them came the Musicians, Physicians, Surgeons, Groomes of the Wardrobe, and of the deceased Kings Chamber, euery one apart. The Vicers of the Hall,

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Hall, with their heads bare: The Gentlemen Waiters, and Clarke of the Kitchen, on the right hand, on the left hand went the Generalls of the mony, of the aides, and of the Chamber of accounts. After them went eight Trumpets in mourning weeds, their trumpets being covered with blacke cypres. Then came Mounieur de Rhodes master of this Ceremonies, who carried the Kings Penon.

The Chariot of armes covered with a great Paul of blacke Veluet, having a crosse of white satten, being enriched with foure and twenty great Scutchions imbrodered with the armes of France, was drawne by six great coursers, being also covered with blacke veluet downe to the ground with a crosse in the midst of white Satten, guided by two Coach-men attired in blacke Veluet, bare headed, and their hoods off. Then followed Benjamin the rider, carrying the golden spurs: Bethe'se another rider came after him with the Gantlets: Pluine carried after a Scutchion with the armes of France and Nauar, and another Rider carried the coat of armes.

After all these came the first Querrie, who carried the Helmet mantled with purple veluet, *Semé* Flower-de-Luces of gold, and lined with Ermines, and vpon the Helme was a royall Crowne, all covered with blacke Cypres: all the riders which carried these peeces of honour, were on horse-backe, with long mourning gownes and hoods.

After these marched the Preachers, Confessors and Almoners of the deceased King. Then followed on foot seuentene Archbishops and Bishops, two and two, all with white Miters, and blacke Veluet Copes, after whom marched the Archbishop of Lions alone, and a good distance from the rest. Then went the Ambassadors of Sauoy, Venice and Spaine on horse-backe, in mourning gownes with long traines, euery one being carried by six of their Officers, euery of which Ambassadors was conducted by an Archbishop or a Bishop mounted vpon moyles.

After them came the Popes two Nuncios, the ordinary and the extraordinary, and of either side of them went the Archbishops of Aix and Ambrun, mounted vpon their moyles. Then followed the Cardinals of Ioyeuz and Surdy with their purple Copes and red hats, being also mounted vpon their moyles, and followed by their Officers.

After all these went the horse of honour, all covered with purple Veluet, imbrodered with Flower-de-Luces of gold, and fringed about with gold, the saddle and stirrups were richly gilt; there was nothing to be seene of the horse but the eyes; he was led by either rein by two Squires, being a foot and their hoods on. Of either side of the said horse marched ten Heralds, in mourning gownes and hoods, hauing their coats of armes vpon their gownes imbrodered with Floure-de-Luces of gold.

Then followed the Master of the horse, his horse being all covered with blacke Veluet, and a great crosse of white satten, carrying the royall sword in a scarse, and a scabbard of purple veluet, richly embrodered with Floure-de-Luces of gold.

After him came fourteene Vihers of the Court of Parlement, with wands in their hands, and after them the Presidents and Counsellors in their scarlet robes, being eighty nine in number. After whom went two Vihers of the Chamber with their Maces, E being bare-headed, and then followed the Bishop of Paris, and the Bishop of Angers on his left hand, with their Miters, Surplices and Coapes of blacke veluet. Then followed the Kings Image in the same honour as it was lying in the great Hall at the Louvre, holding in his right hand the Royall scepter, and in his left the hand of Iustice, being carried by the porters of salt in Paris: About which Image went many Presidents and Counsellors of the great Chamber, and the Scottish guard. The ground of the Canopie was of purple cloth of Tissue, all embrodered with Flower-de-Luces, and fringed with gold, the which was carried by the Prouost of Merchants, and the Sherifes of the Citie of Paris.

After which came the Earle of Saint Paul, carrying the Lord Stewards staffe, representing the Earle of Soylons, Lord Steward of France, on the right hand, and the Cheualier of Guise, representing the Duke of Elsquillon, great Chamberlaine, carrying the banner of France on the left hand, being mounted vpon great coursers, covered with blacke Veluet, with crosses of white Satten.

The Prince of Conty marched after them, vpon a little horse all covered, hauing a mourning gowne with a long traine, and vpon it the colour of the Order; his traine was carried vp by seven Gentlemen.

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A The Earle of Soylons followed him, being also on horse-backe, attired in the like habit, and with the order. After whom came the Dukes of Guise and Elbeuf on horse-back in the same weed, but without the Order: the Duke of Elpermon followed them, in the same mourning attire, and with the Order: and then came the Duke of Montbazon, with the same order and habit; their traines were carried vp by Gentlemen which attended the. Then followed the Vher of the Order, carrying a blacke wand in his hand, being in his mourning gown, and his hoods off. After the Princes & dukes came the Knight of the order on foot, with their collors vpon their mourning gownes, their traines were carried vp by their pages. And then followed a great number of the Nobility, in order two and two: B After whom came the twelve Pages of the Chamber, attired in blacke veluet, & caps. And last of all marched the Capitaines of foure hundred Archers of the Kings guard, with their Ensignes, being followed by all the Archers of the said guards, carrying their armes to the ground, they hauing gownes and hoods. Before they came from the Louvre, there was some difference betwixt some great men, the court of Parliament, and the Scottish guard, but the Queenes wildome and foresight did pacifie all without brute. This is the order which was held from the Louvre to our Ladies Church, the way they went was ouer the new bridge along the Augustines key, and then ouer S. Michaels Bridge, to the new market, and so to our Ladies Church, into the which they entred at nine of the clock 27 night.

The body of the deceased King was set in the middelt of the Quier of the said Church, C vnder a burning Chappell, the which was made of the height of two pikes (it was so called, for that it had an infinite number of wax candles that were continually burning on it.) The Quier of the aforesaid Church was hanged round about with blacke cloth, and in the middelt of the said cloth was a band of veluet, on the which there were fastened Scutchions of the Kings armes, within two foot one of another. The great body of the said Church, was also hung in like manner, and all along were two ranks of waxe tapers, and the same night Euenlong and Vigile for the dead was said. The next day in the morning, being the last day of Iune, the Princes, Cardinals, Noblemen and Officers of the Crowne, the Courte of Parliament, the Conuents, Parishes, and all those that had accompanied the Kings body the day before, came vnto our Ladies Church, about ten of the clocke in the morning, D whereas diuine seruice was said by the Bishop of Paris. After the offering, the Bishop of Seés made the funeral Oration, the which continued a good houre. The seruice being done about two of the clocke in the afternoon, the Princes, Cardinals, Bishops, and all the chiefe men went to dine in the Bishops Palace, and thereabouts, where preparation was made for them. In the meane time the first began to march euery one in his first ranke and order, as they had done the day before, from the Louvre vnto the said Church: they went ouer our Ladies bridge, and so through S. Denis street, and without any stay, vntill they came to S. Denis in France. The streets from our Ladies Church vnto Saint Denis gate were hanged on either side with blacke. Vpon which were fixed the Kings armes, and those of the City, about an elle distant one from the other. The religious men, Curats of E Parishes, with the Fathers, Confessors, Almoners, Bachelers, Regents of the Vniuersity, and Doctors of Diuinity, did accompany the Kings body through the City, in their order, vnto the Church of S. Ladre, which is in S. Denis suburbs, and then most of them retyred, and left the body, the which was accompanied by the whole Court, his Officers, the court of Parliament, the Princes, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Capitaines, Guards, and Archers, and by the Chanoin of our Ladies Church, vnto the crosse which is in the mid-way of S. Denis, where the Prior and Religious men of S. Denis came to receiue the body. There the Priests of all the parishes departed, and the Princes, Cardinals, Bishops, Dukes, Earles, Noblemen, with all the Kings Court, the court of Parliament & Officers, attended the body vnto S. Denis Church, where it was layed vnder a burning Chappell, and there F Vigels and Suffrages said for the dead. The Church of S. Denis was all hanged both body and Quier with blacke cloth, and in the middelt of it there was a large band of blacke veluet, vpon which were Scutchions with the Kings armes fixed. The High Masse was celebrated by the Cardinall of Ioyeuz, and answered in Musike: After the offering, the Bishop of Angers made a funeral Oration. The offices being ended, and the accustomed prayers said, the Master of the Ceremonies tooke vp from the Kings body, the Crowne, the Scepter, and the hand of Iustice, which lay vpon it, and withall the coverings of cloth of gold: Then the Gentlemen Waiters and the Archers carried the body into the vault.

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Then

Our Ladies Church here.

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which is before the high Altar of the said Church, vpon the right hand. Then came the Cardinall vnto the vault, and cast earth vpon the body, and the last holy water: which done, he fate downe on the one side of the said vault, by the high Altar, and the Master of the Ceremonies on the other; Betwixt both stood a Herald, who called the Noblemen and Gentlemen, which had caried the peeces of honour, one after one, the which being brought by them, were cast into the vault.

This done, the Earle of Saint Paul stricke the Lord Stewards staffe against the ground, and sayd in a low voice. *The King is dead. The King is dead. The King is dead, Pray all vnto God for his soule.* Then all fell vpon their knees, with teares in their eyes.

Soone after, the sayd Earle of Saint Paul, tooke his staffe againe, and said *God save the King,* and then the Herald tooke the word, and cryed out thrice, *God save the King Lewis the thirteenth of that name, by the grace of God King of France, and of Nauarre, the most Christian, our most Soueraigne Lord and good Master, to whom God giue a most happy and long life.* Which hauing said, the trumpets, drummes, phifes, hautbois and flutes began to sound. After which euery one of the Noblemen and Gentlemen tooke againe the peeces of honour which they had layd into the vault, and the Princes and chiefe of the Nobility were conducted into the great Hall, where the funerall Feast was prepared for their dinner. Euery one hauing dined, the Presidents and Councillors of the Court of Parliament, of the Chamber of Accounts, of Aydes, Generals of the money, Magistrates of the City of Paris, and other officers, came into the said Hall, whereas the Earle of Saint Paul holding his staffe in his hand, made a short speech vnto them touching the Kings death, to whom hee offered his seruice, promising to recommend them vnto the King now reigning, to maintaine them in their offices and estates. And in token that his place was also voyde, he brake his staffe in their presence.

There were many funerall Orations made in diuers parts vpon this lamentable subiect, euery one struing to discouer the griefe of his soule, by the eloquence of his tongue, among which I haue made choice of one, as followeth.

A Funerall discourse, made vpon the death of the deceased King, by the Bishop of Sees chiefe Almoner to the Queene.

MY minde is so oppressed with horror, so wounded with griefe, and so troubled with amazement (be it for the feeling of present things, or the apprehension of future) as I know not what bounds to giue my thoughts in their amazement, nor what Rule to my words in their complaint: being vnable to gouerne the one by the lawes of iudgement, nor the other by those of Rhetoricke.

Shall the miserable point of a vile and base knife, handled by an enraged Monster, inspired rather with a Deuill than a reasonable soule, be hereafter ordained traiterously to murder the greatest Monarches of the earth? and that which the condition of a man should hold most reuerent, as well by the institution of God, as by the consent of nations, shall it hereafter be expolled, not to the fury of some great and fearefull enemy, who by the lawes of his victorious sword, shall barbarously deprime him both of life and state, but to the frenzy of the most abiect and contemptible vagabond, which lurkes among the scumme of the people: so as by wicked persuasions, or by cursed illusions, hee may be drawne to this impious resolution, to giue his life, so as he may take away that of a great Potentate; and to ruine himselfe, so as he may ruine him withall. O lamentable age which doeth behold such accidents! O cursed earth which doeth produce such monsters!

It is almost 21 yeares since our late King Henry the third, after so many great and famous victories: which this Realme owes to the happinesse of his sword, when as the prosperity of his affaires was ready to open him the gates of Paris, being at that time rebelled against his Lawes, and to settle him in the Throne of his fathers, from whence the fury of his people had in a manner dejected him, was miserably slaine in his cabinet, by the villanous knife of an infamous petty humane fury, who to haue access vnto this religious Prince, vfed (as a passport throughout the army) the name and habit of a religious man.

We did not thinke the Sun should euer see the like, as I thinke it had neuer scene, but we did imagine that as this parricide had no president, so it should finde no imitation; but behold

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A hold (wretches that we are) at the end of twenty reuolutions of yeares, we find our selues plunged in the same gulfes of sorrowes, and confusion of affaires, that we were them: and by the like accident, and in a manner the like murderer reduced by the blow of a knife, no lesse contemptible then the other, to the like or greater despair, and to more lamentable miseries, our losse being so much the more grievous, as the wife and mild gouernment of our last Prince, with the disposition of the affaires, made his life more necessary for this Estate; and the parricide so much the more detestable, as this good King hauing wronged no man, and receiued so many, but rather bound al the world vnto him by his bounty, and shewed his power rather in pardoning and sauing, then in punishing and destroying: for which reason he should not be hated of any one, but of such (if there be any such) whom good deedes incite to doe ill, and of whom to haue well deserved, is a sufficient subiect to be hated. I pray you what can be obserued in the life of this Prince, where they haue scene his indignation employ the severity of the publike sword to reuenge any priuate injury of his owne? what hath he euer done since his comming to the Crowne, but vanquish and pardon? change by a royall Metamorphosis, with the Charmes of his bounty, his very enemies to faithfull seruants? as well to suppress their hatred by good vifage, as their power by the force of his armes, and by his free confidence to binde the faith of the most faithlesse to serue him, loyally? without doubt I do not finde that euer Prince did equall him in this, whose life doth not rather serue him as a luster to make his glory shine the more, then of comparison to shew any equality. We haue heard him sometimes say that he would make his guards vnecessary, shewing by his words the confidence which the remembrance of his mild actions gaue him. Alas! poore Prince! thou hast done it: thou hast made the care of thy guards fruitlesse; and euen that which thou didst royally want of, we do now lament bitterly: It succeeded ill for thee, for it thou hadst not refused the faithfull seruice of their ordinary assistance, when as the vnhappyneesse of France did seeme to lead thee to that cursed and farall street, the which thy death hath for euer made odious vnto vs, we should rather now haue bene troubled to sing thy victories, then to weepe for thy lamentable death: and rather busied to erect Trophies for thee, then to prepare thee a monument & funerall pompe. But who would not in a manner say that the euents of things which are called contingent and casuall (for that they seeme so to them which know not the motives) are tyed to their first causes, with such chaines of necessity, as it is almost impossible for the wit of man to auoyd them, either by the counsell of any other, or by his owne prouidence? No man is ignorant but that this miserable accident was enigmatically foretold him by the inspection of his particular Horoscope, almost at the same time when it hapned. His most dearest did aduertise him; the most learned in that art besought him to haue a care of himselfe: the mournfull dreame which some few daies before, the Queene his faithfull Spouse had had lying by his side, and awaking suddenly with the terror of her vision, was also a speaking Image of his future misfortune, which should haue serued him as an Oracle to make him more careful of his preferuation, if the courage of this Prince had bene capable of amazement, and if he had had for himselfe the thousand part of the iust feare which did afflicte vs continually. But as nothing can assure a Hare, so nothing can amaze a Lyon. The memory of his royall actions, and the consideration of his mildnesse, whereby he bound all the world to loue him, made all such attempts incredible vnto him. He did rather cast the eye of his thoughts vpon his own bounty, then vpon anothers wickednesse. It was *Caesar* which would neither giue credit to his wife *Spurina*, nor to his faithfull *Calphurnia*, and it seemes he must of necessity imitate his disaster, as he had imitated his clemency and valor: wherefore in our complaints we accuse him to haue procured his owne death by the refusal of his Guards, and in a manner condemning him as culpable, we grow passionate against him for whom we are oppressed with passions: yet in the end, looking with the eyes of iudgment vpon the first Mouer of all our fortunes, who by the ratification of his incomprehensible course, drawes all after him, what resistance sooner they seeme to make, we do presently absolue him of the fauor which in shew hee gaue vnto this detestable Parricide, and accuse only our owne offences, which deserved this punishment, and the tormenting treachery of that infernall monster, whom the vnhappyneesse of this Realme had made choice of, to execute so brutish and barbarous a murder; For as Saint Jerome saith well, *Cursed is he who for his vices merits to be the executioner of wicked and fall actions, as by the instrument of cursednesse it selfe.*

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And what act can be imagined, more wicked, more farall, and more cursed, then trayterously to murder his owne King? His lawfull Prince? His visible God on earth? Who the Soueraign King of Kings hath himselfe anointed by the hand of his Ministers, at the foot of his Altars, to make him as it were the Lieutenant of all his power amongst men, and the humane Image of his diuine Maiesty? But can there be any found so wicked as to make this proposition disputable? Hath it not been decided by the mouth of the Holy Ghost, in the decrees of the Law of Grace? Our Saviour as man, and the son of David, was the true King of Iury, as well as King of the whole world by his diuinity: So as if he had pleased him to re-establish his temporall Kingdome, the Gouernors of Iury had been but his Lieutenants: And yet when he was vniuently accused before Pilate, hee refused not his Iudgement, neither did he tell him that he did vsurpe vpon him (being the true Prince and Magistrate) an vnlawfull and tyrannous power: but he only answered him in milde and respectiue termes, *Thou shouldst haue no power over me, if it were not given thee from above.* And St. Paul besides the commendement which hee giueth vs to obey our Princes and Lords, although they be bad, hauing by chance offended in words, the High Priests of the Iewes, and being aduertised thereof, he answered, condemning himselfe, *Brethren, I did not know that it was the High Priest, for it is written, Thou shalt not speake ill of the Prince of the people.* How then? If it be not tollerable to speake ill of our Princes, shall it be lawfull to murder them? And not with the publike sword, which sometimes a generall rebellion of subiects against their Kings, puts into the hand of a furious multitude, but with the dagger or knife of any desperate mad man, who imagining, that he is chosen of God for such an enterprize, wil of his owne motion make himselfe Iudge, Accuser, and Executioner, altogether, of him, whom he should not looke on but with trembling, or at the least with the reuerence which is due vnto the liuely Image of the Monarch of all the world. And I pray you what will be the end, if it be lawfull for euery priuate man, not only to censure the actions, but the very intentions of his Prince, and holding them reprehensible, not before any other tribunall but himselfe, and his owne fancy, to vsurpe in solently a commission to punish him, as if he were some new *Iehu*, secretly anointed by the hand of a Prophet, to reuenge the sins of *Achab*, and to raigne in his place? Oh wretched & most cursed are they which by such maxims encourage weak and superstitious foules to such wicked & damnable resolutions, and who vnder a shadow of piety, make them dare things so monstrously impious. But it may be I declaine against an opinion, which is not approved by any one in France, and that his brethren, who they say did sowe it in other countries, and vnder another heaven, like an accursed graine of hell, doe abhor, condemne & detest it. As without all doubt it is detestable, and the booke which seemes to confirme it, worthy to burne the hand of the Author in his owne flame, as a damnable infant which should punish his father for giuing him life. For although he speaks not of any but tyrants, the which doth nothing concerne our Kings, being the true and lawfull and iust Princes of this Estate, yet doth he giue vnder this proposition (most wicked of it selfe) a silent praise of a murtherer liue vnto that which we now lament: And who knows not that to commend an action, is secretly to perwade the like? Moreover, from this Maxime which doth only concerne tyrants, may be drawne most wicked & dangerous conclusions. For if he hold it for certaine that it is lawfull for any man to kill a tyrant, what Prince liuing, how lawfull foucer, can be hereafter assured of his life in the midst of his guards, and in his chair of State. The greatest Monarches do they as soone as they are Kings change their humane and finfull nature into one that is diuine and perfect, and not subiect to sin, and shall they neuer more commit error which may in any sort scandalize their subiects? No, no, they are still men in imperfection, although they seeme Gods in power: neither doth greatnesse, which giues the more meanes to sin, take from them the desire. And will there not be alwaies found, some extravagant spirit in their Prouinces, who censuring their faults, it may bee, more bitterly then he ought, will arraigne them in his fancy, giue them his imaginations for fouereigne Iudges, will conuict them to be tyrants, and as such will seeke to murder them, if hee can come nere them? Yes without doubt, there will be alwaies some one found; And this venemous seed will still find some soyle to make it fructiue, especially if they crowne so desperate an enterprize with praises, if they propound the recompence of an eternall & future life, to those who to execute it, lose the present and mortall life, and yet they call the punishment of such murderers Martyrdome, communicating vnto murderers and Parricides, the

A the glory of Saints, and of the blessed Champions of our faith. Wherefore oh all you Kings and Princes of the earth, which shall hear the report of this horrible afflinare: you haue an interest in this lamentable accident, whether you loue vs, be our enemies, or hold vs indifferent; and the murder of our Prince should fill you with horror and amazement for your selues, there being not any one of you, whom the same knife by which this great Monarch receiued death, doth not threaten with the like aduenture: when as neither the innocency of his life, the glory of his actions, the wonders of his valor, his mildnesse, bounty, freedome, piety, liberality, wisdom, and all other royall vertues, shall not shroud and protect any, against the impious presumption of the like frenzy. For if we shall distinctly measure all the actions of his life, by the particular rule of euery one of the vertues which B Inamed, I assure my selfe that in some he shall be found without equall, in others without a superior, and in all without a second. And to begin by the innocency of his life: I alwaies except those frail and humane sins, which make the most iust culpable before God) can they iustly reproach him, that he hath against reason attempted against the life, honor or goods of any one of his subiects? Did he euer take away any mans wife by force? And hath it euer bene scene that by his incontinency, as by that of many other Princes, the beauty of Ladies hath bene fatal to their husbands? The delights of a goodly house did neuer cost the Masters life: and during his raigne hath there ben found a new *Quintus Nereus*, or a second *Naboth*, which haue accused their goodly vines & farmes to be the causes of their death: His greatest chollier and indignation against any one, was it euer C made a crime against them whom he hath most hated? No, no; but contrariwise that royall foule which had nothing in it but courage, seemed to faile in reuenge: and although all offences and seruices did equally touch him, yet had he no memory but for the last. As for his valor, who euer holds it vulgar and ordinary, after so many proofes which he hath giuen within these twenty years, he hath had neither eyes nor eares, or elie make lie and enuy hath made him stop them. France doth proclaim it sufficiently by the eternall memory of so many combats, so many encounters, and so many towncs besieged. We will produce new testimonies, when his own enemies shall cease to confesse it: we will extoll him with new praises, when euen those whom he hath vanquished shall forbear to D preach it: and finally, we will note them particularly, when as Arques, Yury, Fontaine, Françoise, Aumale, Noion, and many other Theaters of his glory, that is, when as mountains, vallies, fields, rampars of the towncs, and in a manner all the corners of France shall cease to witness it. I will say the like of his clemency: for as the fields couered with dead bodies were the proofes of his valor, in like manner, so many towncs preferred from sacke and spoile, during the greatest furie of his victorious armes, are and shall bee for euer the monuments of his mildnesse and bounty. But this needs no more confirmation of proofes then his valour: they are both without contestation, as well as without comparison. His vanquished enemies confesse the one, and his subiects preferred witness the other. The acts of the one haue bene in a manner alwaies signed with blood: the acts of other, haue E bene most commonly with teares of ioy, and pity: as if he had receiued as great pleasure to pardon, as glory to vanquish: and as if to raise vp with an vnarmed hand, an enemy lying prostrate, after the combat, were as royall as to ouerthrow him valiantly with sword in fighting. I know well one action in his life may be noted, wherein his clemency hath as it were suspended her ordinary effects, to giue way to the severity of his iustice: but the griefe which he seemed to haue in his soule, that he could not without danger, extend vpon the accused, the golden rod of his grace, and making compensation of his offences with his seruices, pardon his error, the loue of his valor, doth witness sufficiently that he was forced therunto, by the authority of the Lawes which he desired to see in force by reason of state, which did oppose against his mercy; and by that wise Maxime which faith, that there is nothing more dangerous then to bring a great courage to the place of execution, and then F draw him backe: for that he doth alwaies remember the affront, and forgets the pardon, As for his confidence and trust: Alas! we haue but too many proofes, and I would to God this vertue had not bene so great in him: It is that which hath vndone vs, for that he hath thereby vndone himselfe. We reuerence the memory of all his other perfecti- ons, but doubtlesse we may iustly hate the remembrance and proofes of this. Why way hee not more distrustfull? Why did he not feare like vnto other Princes, who hold that a moderate distrust is one of the parts of wisdom? Did hee thinke to be al-

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waies with his sword in his hand in the midst of combats, where it is a crime (at the least *A* for *Cæsars*) to shew any feare? Not to feare is a great perfection in battels, to assure his owne souldiers, and to strike terror into his enemies: for feare is contrary to all other things: only they which haue it not, may giue much. But yet this vertue, as all other, must be restrained within the center of mediocrity, being equally distant from her extremes. It is as great an error not to feare any thing, as to feare every thing: and without doubt by too much confidence, men are made too bold.

In the meane time we doe not forbear to commend this vertue in him, although we do now complain, for that he did ground it, neither vpon his valour, nor vpon his power neither vpon the care of his seruants, nor vpon the ranks of armes, which did enuiron him hourly: but vpon the only perfection, safeguard and fauour of him, who can preferre the silly sheepe amongst rauenous and deuouring Wolves, and can make Lions stand in feare of Hares. As on a time falling vpon that discourse, and we seeming to wish that he would not so lightly expose himselfe, and that in fearing somewhat more, hee should giue vs lesse subiect to feare. He answered vs with the words of the two and twentieth Psalm. *The Lord is the light which guides me, and my health, what should I feare, &c.* according to the instruction which he had learned from his infancy.

As for his pietie, the life which he had led from his infancy, being in a manner borne and nurt in armes, was the cause he could not make it so apparent to the sight of the world as it is great and visible to our God. But yet I will say, without flattery, that I did neuer see C warrior, that was more religious: being not ceremonious; who seeking not the outward shew, had more of the effects. Such as did obserue his life and actions more strictly then my selfe, know well, and doe witness it, that he seldome dressed himselfe, before he had humbly made his prayer vpon his knees, sometimes briefly, but yet his zeale did recompence the shortnesse: sometimes with a longer prayer, which did not abate his zeale.

This he did often at night, offering to God by this meanes, the first fruits, and the remainder of the day. *For my part, I haue seene him sometimes*, Masse being ended, and when as all men were risen, to continue at his prayers vpon his knees, with such signes of true pietie, as I was in a manner ashamed for vs who should haue beene an example to him, and not he to vs. And to say that it was a fained hypocricie, the humor of this Prince far from dissembling, both by nature and custome, would make this slander incredible. I spare to speake of other publike testimonies of his zeale to Christian Religion, for that they are well knowne to all the world; as well those by the which he hath newly raised from his ashes, and more richly endowed many Churches that were ruined; as those by the which he hath caused the standard of the crose to be freely worshipped in Constantinople, & in this Babilon of the Turkish Empire, the perpetuall sacrifice foretold by *Malachy*, to be celebrated. But I will not conceale that when as he gaue Bishoppicks to such as he held capable, he recommended vnto them with great care the duties of their charges: the pastoral care of their flocks, the preaching of the word of God, an exemplary life, extirpation of abuses, and other holy Episcopall duties, which he said were the onely meanes to ruine heresie insensibly, rather vndermining it secretly than to seeke to beat it downe by open violence. Neither will I conceale how carefull hee was to inquire if any one gone astray were newly returned to the Catholike Church; and how ioyfull hee was to vnderstand that any one of worth had therein followed his example. For although he would not haue any one forced, no more then he could endure to be himselfe, yet hee tooke great delight to vnderstand that reason had done that in any one, which the threats of fire & sword, had attempted in vaine at the massacre of *S. Bartholomew*: Thinking that the surest means to draw one vnto God, was by the care vnto the heart, and that the sweetnesse of persuasions should be the onely violence.

What shall I say of liberality, the which of all his vertues hath been least recommended in him? Those which haue a hand with the greatest in the government of publike affaires, and especially of the treasure, will be witness with me, that as well in pensions as in free gifts, he gaue really every yeare 300000 pounds sterling, dispersed here and there vpon an infinit number of persons, like vnto the Iewes Manna ouer al the people of Israel. Was not this to giue? What King of France did euer exceed him, howsoever he were repured to be another *Alexander* in liberality? Without doubt I doe not thinke that there is any Prince or Monarch liuing that can equall him in this bounty.

And

A And why then hath he not bene esteemed for this vertue, as well as for the glory of the rest? It is, as I conceiue, for that an infinite number of men hauing afflicted him in the conquest of his owne Realme, with their meanes, persons, tongues, pens, authority and industry, and finally with all that their condition did permit, and every one imagining that this Prince was bound vnto him for part of his Crowne: the greatest part of them held his free gifts for iust paiments and recompences due vnto them: whereupon many being lesse thankfull vnto him then they ought; and on the other side, many being not recompenced nor rewarded, who notwithstanding held themselves to bee as well deserving as those that were gratified, and by consequence held their good vantage to be a private wrong done vnto them: whereby it happened, that most of them that received, spake not any thing, and such as received not, complained bitterly: whence grew in my opinion that same so contrary to his effects, and that imputation so maliciously repugnant to the truth. But such as would curiously search into the truth, and not vnto that which was spoken, they shall finde, that in this perfection he hath shewed himselfe as it were superior to himselfe, in regard of his other more eminent vertues: At the least in this point hee hath bene superiour to all the Kings now liuing vpon earth.

Also, he neuer had knowledge of any excellent man within his Realme, especially being recommended for the glory of his learning, whom he did not fauour with some honest pension: and the rather if he had a Pen which might make the fame and honour of his acts liue eternally; for as he loued to doe things commendable and praise-worthy, so he desired to be praised. Wherefore such as he found to haue golden Pens, he made their condition to be of gold: neyther had the Vniuersitie of Paris euer a more iust subiect to hope for a reformation, if I may so terme it, of the glory which she hath sometimes had in the world, as she should promise vnto her during his reigne, and by his bounty, by the desire which wee saw him haue to build and enrich great Colledges, whereas Schoollers might be freely taught, and the Schoolemasters haue good entertainment: besides the publike Chaires filled with excellent men, whom with rich conditions he desired to call from all parts of the world.

But in the meane time, alas! so many rare vertues which did shine in him like goodly Starres in their mansions, haue not hindred but that the wretched fortune of France hath found an infernall monster among men, who without any respect of royall Maiesty, had no horror to murder him traiterously, to precipitate at an instant this Estate from the top of glory, greatness, and power, whereunto the wisdom and valour of so great a Monarke had raised it, into a gulle of totall ruine, or at the least into a Chaos of an immortal confusion of affaires. For, what could be lesse expected from so sudden and terrible a clap, but the totall ruine of the body whose head was so miserably taken away, what wisdom longer shine in the discreet moiety, which he hath left behinde him, to hold his place for a time, and to represent him during the minority of the King his Sonne? Certainly it is the iust effect of humane prouidence, that we care it: but in that it happens not, it is the mercy and grace of God: besides the wise government of so vertuous a Queene, and the fidelity of the great Princes of France: But by the wise government of the one, and the royall obedience of the other, both lightened with the beames of a wife and faithfull Councell, this blow which should haue ruined vs all, hath but afflicted vs desperately; and for floods of blood which should haue flowed, the wrath of heauen is contented with streames of teares.

No, no, execrable Fury, who by so detestable a murder, hast brought vs to the brinke of our precepice, vaunt not insolently in hell, that thou hast ruined the Empire of the French, as thou haddest propounded vnto thy selfe, hauing murdered the Father, and the Prince.

F Thou hast indeed shaken it, but in despite of thy impious hope it shall subsist for euer by the assistance of God, great, happy, triumphant, rich, mighty and glorious, alwaies the feare of our enemies, the honour of Europe, the hope of her Allies, the wonder of Strangers, and the protector of the Church, as well as the eldest Sonne. Such as thought (with thee) to see her glory for euer laid in the graue, shall not see it at this time but a little infirme and sicke for griefe, for the death of her father: But after this mourning paine, which habit she weares by thy treachery, she shall resume her former beauty and force, and shall raige as before, either triumphing in war, or flourishing in peace, like vnto those solid

solid Triangles which stand right with one point vpwards howsoeuer you turne them. I doe prelaie both by this marke of heavenly fauour, which doth shine like vnto a fortunate star vpon the forehead of our new Prince, and by the incredible tranquillity of the State, which the wisdom and care of the Queene, his vertuous Mother, and our wife Regent, hath made suddenly to succeed the preparatiues of so great and cruell a storme. Wherefore burne more then euer in the eternall flames which torment thee, with an enraged despaire to see thy hopes frustrate, accursed soule that thou art, who diddest promise vnto thy selfe to ruine to great a Kingdome, in ouerthrowing the Pillar of her greatness, and hast executed but one of the two: Our God suffering the one for our finnes, but preferring vs from the other for his glory.

And you, oh wife Princeesse! whose happy wisdom doth in a manner keepe the publike from feeling of this losse, and makes vs iustly to say, That our deceased King liues in our Queene Regent, as not able to dye whilst that you are liuing: Continue, great *Armenista*, continue as you haue happily begun, to entertaine by good order this great body of the Estate in his disposition and former health; not suffering bad humours to engender for want of precautions, which in the end may cause some burning feuer of sedition. Entertaine this wonderfull calme, which raignes by your conduct vpon the waues of so great a Sea of publike affaires, and of different passions, as they be which wee may imagine should proceede from the flowing & ebbing of so many people, subiect to your obedience, and especially of so many great men which do assit you, who most commonly are caried away with contrary respects. Imagine, I beseech you, imagine that great Monarke (who to raigne elsewhere in a more happy Empire, hath assigned vnto you his Scepter and his Crowne, to the end you should preferre it for the King his Sonne) saies vnto you, as coming from heauen to comfort you in your cares, and to fortifie you in your glorious trauell; My deare Moverie, seeing that death hath separated vs, touching the corporall vnion, it is a great content vnto me, to see thee with such happy successe begin to hold my place in the throne of this Kingdome. I see thee gouerne thy selfe so wisely, as I cannot with more for the good of my Sonne, and my subiects, but that in this part of government thou wilt be alwaies equall vnto thy selfe. Cause the King my Sonne to be bred vp in the loue and feare of God, rather then in all humane sciences, holding it for certaine, that in seruing God humbly, he shall command men absolutely. Do what you can to procure him peace, vntill that a more manlike age shall suffer him to doe that which his infancy doth yet seeme to forbid him, peace gathers treasure together, war dispereth it: and it is no small meane to make a Prince to be feared, and to reaine his neighbours from attempting against him, to bee reputed to haue his Coffers full of gold and silver, as well as his Store-houses full of Armes. Continue this course which I see thee take, not to determine any thing of importance, but in Councell, and to assitt there daily, force the naturall delicacy of thy sex, forgetting in a manner that thou art a woman, to support the trauels of a man bred vp in the toyles of affaires, and to put off the person of a Queene, to assume that of a King. Yet vse a moderation in thy continuall care, and so labour in these royall vocations, as thou maist long labour in them: for thy life is alwaies more necessary for France, then thy daily presence is for the Councell. I haue held great mentied to the yoke of my obedience as much by benefits and good vsage, as themselves are retained by consideration of their duties, and my authority. Perseuer as much as you may to follow my steps in this course, vsing these meanes as a coyne of such price, as for it they giue that which is inestimable, that is to say, life: and remember that thou dost command Frenchmen, that is to say, Freemen, to whom a good countenance serues often for recompence; but yet in the end they fall off, if the field of their hopes brings forth nothing but flowers; his good iudgment which God hath giuen thee, will make thee know (as I see the experience) how far royall greatness should admit of easie access, and the familiarity which the French doe commonly desire of their Prince. For doubtlesse, as too much austerity is the losse of loue, so too much familiarity makes them to neglect respect: vse it then as wisdom shall aduise thee. But about all things seeke by all possible meanes to ease the people, and to haue the lesse subiect to leauy mony, draw thy selfe as little as may be into necessity to spend, to the end, that being first blest of God, and then of men, thou maist reape more happy fruits of the praiers which I make incessantly in heauen, for thy prosperity, for that of my Sonne, and of the whole Realme.

Thinke

A Thinke I say Madam, that this great Prince doth sometimes in your dreame make such or the like exhortations vnto you. Although it be a rashnesse in vs to presume to put you in minde by fained words and conception, of one part of that which either the oracle of his mouth, or the wise discourses of your excellent spirit doth speake vnto your thoughts.

But pardon (if it please you) our zeale, which makes vs erre by a desire of well doing, and that falling vpon the lamentable subiect to witness the vertues, greatness, and glory of that incomparable Monarch, we had rather flammer then be silent, and rather faile in the lawes of discretion, then in those of affection. I haue receiued from his grace and liberality; and partly by your intercession, the liuing, and Ecclesiasticall dignities which I enioy: his bounty did esteeme my writings much about their merit: and his greatness did not disdain to looke vpon me sometime with a good eye: how then could my remembrance moderate my words in blessing him, or my teares in lamenting him? Without doubt I haue as great cause to weepe for him as any man of my profession, if complaints should be proportionable to the losse which is made: but I protest it is not my owne private interest that makes me thus bitterly to lament him, so much as the consideration of the generall harme, which not only France, but all Europe sustained by this lamentable losse.

And therefore when as to performe the general offices of our duty, we entered into the Chamber where as his body lay pitiuously in the Hearse that did inuiron him, me thought that all the walles of his Palace, yea all the vallies and fields thereofabouts, should accompany with their sad accents, the sound of our mournfull songs, and that all the holy-water wherewith we did sprinkle the foot of his mortuary sheet, should bee composed of our teares. For we haue not onely lost a good King but a good Master, and not onely a good Master but a good Father, whose remembrance is vnto our hearts, as myrrh is vnto bodies which it imbalmes, incorruptible, but wonderful bitter. Alas, how can it be bitter vnto vs, seeing it puts vs in minde of his name, which was so sweet: seeing that putting vs in minde of his perfections, and making vs to see how necessary he was for vs, it doth shew vs by consequence how miserable we are to haue lost him, conuerting by these meanes his vertues into sorrow, his happinesse into despaire, and his owne good deeds into sad subiects of complaints, not suffering vs to remember them, or binding vs to sigh for them? No, no, it is not possible but for such to whom his vertues were indifferent (if there bee any such vpon the earth) to remember them without teares, either of eies or heart: it is in vaine in this case to object constancy, and the lawes of reason: Constancy may in other subiects be a vertue, but in this I hold it for a vice, at the least an infirmity: the reasons which I should admit in other accidents, should seeme to me in these vnreasonable Paradoxes, & the consolations which I should hold in other losses for moral sentences, should appeare vnto me in this case blasphemies. For what can be said vnto vs herein, to comfort and fortifie vs against sorrow, the which hath not already represented it selfe in our thoughts without fruit? VVhat, that he was mortal like to other men? It is true, but that is one of the subiects of our complaints. For the good of France required that he had beene immortal. VVhat, that we must will what the destinies decree? It is force perforce, but this necessity doth not mollifie our griefe. VVhat, that tears and sighs cannot recall him againe? Alas, I know it well: but it is that which makes vs lament more bitterly. For if teares and sighs could recall him to life, it is long since wee had wept no more: It is long since he had returned into the possession of the light, and had been no longer deperied, but whilst the brute of his death was disperied ouer the Country. Are these the considerations wherewith they thinke suddenly to appeale to sensible a griefe of ours? doe they thinke with such admonitions instantly to drye vp the iust and pittifull teares of poore Orphans, the which they shed for the death of their father miserably murdered before their eyes? Thinke they, that for such reasons poore and desolate seruants lamenting the death of their Master and Protector, should suddenly stop their mouths to all complaints? No, no, these petty reasons do not cure the griefe, but of mindes which are not greatly sicke. Euen so we cannot approach neare vnto his royall Hearse to wish him eternall rest, but in making our prayers at his feet, we do not feele our hearts as it were diuided in two by the knife of sorrow, and that after we haue cursed the brutish boldnesse of that vile Parricide, which hath so wickedly caused his body to be conuerted into dust, as well as our eyes into teares, we do not say vnto him in casting holy water, the word

where

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wherewith I will end this miserable discourse: Farewell great Prince, farewell good Master, farewell our Sword, farewell our Buckler, farewell our glory: the rest which thou hast purchased for vs upon earth, may be restored vnto thee in heauen, with an eternall rest for thy soule. And neuer may it happen, that our ingratefull memory may cease to remember with blessing and praises, although it bee with teares and sighs, the name of Great Henry the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, the hope of learning, and the glory of Armes.

Duke of Elpion
non leizeth vpon
the Citadell
of Metz.

The Duke of Elpion did cunningly seize vpon the Citadell of Metz, by an example of most dangerous consequence, expelling Monsieur d'Archieu, to whom the deceased King had given it in charge. The Governour hauing notice, that some Captaines and other creatures of the Duke of Elpions, had an enterprize to seize vpon the Citadell, he put them out of it. Whereupon the Duke complained to the Queene, and entreated her to send for the Governour, to give an account of that which he had done: who hauing receiued her Maiesties letters, hee presently tooke his way towards the Court. As soone as he was gone out of Metz, the Dukes friends and seruants seized on the Citadell for him. Many did wonder at the Queenes patience, that she would suffer her authority to be so abused in this manner, yet no man opposed himselfe.

Refists helles to
be incorporate
in the Vniuersity
of Paris.

The Iesuits since their reuocation some seuen or eight yeares since, had laboured by all meanes possible to be incorporate into the Vniuersity of Paris, and to haue free liberty to open their schoole, and to this end they had built a house for their Nouices in the Suburbs of S. Germaine; the which is so great as a little towne may stand within the compasse of the walls. The Vniuersity of Paris opposed it selfe against them in this demand, and the deceased King in his life time (at the instance of the Vniuersity) would not yeeld vnto it. After whose death, the Iesuits, through the fauour of the Queene Regent, and some Noblemen, began their pursuit more hotly then before. The Vniuersity still opposing, it grew to be a question in law, and was brought before the Court of Parliament: during which contention, the Vniuersity presented this petition vnto the Queene Regent.

To the Queene Regent, the Princes of the blood, and the
Lords of the Councell.

Petition made
by the Vniuersity
of Paris.

MADAM, The Vniuersity of Paris most humbly shewes vnto your Maiesty, that the Doctrine of murdering of Kings by Assassins, who through deuotion vow themselves to death, as to a martyrdom, pleasing vnto God, is a pestilent infection neuer scene nor read of in all the Records of Antiquity: neither Pagans nor Christians euer knew it. Among the Mahometans, onely one, called, *The old man of the Mountain*, had put it in practice: but the rest of that Sect did presently suppress it, and neuer since haue they vsed it, although their hatred against Christian Kings is nothing decreased. Onely within these threecore yeares this infection hath crept into Christendome, and hath bene practised in England and France: we say in England, for that in respect of ciuill and temporall obedience, due to Kings, and for the safety of their persons, all Christian Kings, Pagans, Heretikes, Idolaters, Infidells, excommunicates, and Apostates, are holy and sacred vnto vs, as the Apostles, the ancient Christian Church, and the example of the Saints in Paradise, which haue bene Prelates and Bishops in France, doe teach. This hellish position vpon another erroneous doctrine, which is the Popes supremacy, whom we acknowledge head of the Church, as our Ancestors haue done. The doctrine of this Supream power is not found in the writings of the Diuines of Paris, nor in the boosome of the Vniuersity, but in the Sermons and writings of Iesuits, and in the answers of murderers when they are examined by their Iudges. Their owne words doe verifie it. *Parry* (who undertooke to kill the Queene of England) said, that he might lawfully doe it, for that she was excommunicate by the Pope, and therefore her life was abandoned. *Catesby*, the attempter of that Powder-treason, which should haue blowne vp the King, the Queene, their Children, and the States of England, maintained, that this enterprife was holy: For, seeing that *Clement* the eight had by two Briefes forbidden the Catholikes to receiue him, by a greater reason being receiued, hee would haue him made away.

John Chastell said, that it was meritorious to kill the deceased King, for that notwithstanding

A standing the Bishops of France had receiued him into the Church, yet was hee not in it, the Pope hauing not admitted him. *Rauillac* the last Murderer said, That the King made war contrary to the Popes liking, That God was the Pope, and the Pope was God, by these words; *Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke, &c.* Hereupon the Bishop of Clermont, one of their Disciples, failed nor, after the execution of the Particide, to come to the Sorbonne, according to the custome of our Ancestors, to condemne this doctrine of murderers: where going from forme to forme before the Doctors were set, he aduised them to be careful what they did: *Ton haue here* (said he) *two Nuncios from the Pope.* And the Company being set, he gaue his opinion, That the matter then in question had bene diuersly handled, and that it was necessary to speake vnto the Nuncios, who would write vnto the Pope, as if Kings might not liue but at the Popes pleasure. After that many good Preachers of this Vniuersity had detested the murderers of Kings, and the fauourers of this doctrine; in the end *P. Cotton* presented a letter declaratory vnto your Maiesty, of the Iesuits doctrine vpon this subiect, whereby he seeks to giue satisfaction to such as complaine, that their writings doe too much maintaine these three approaching doctrines; the Popes supream power, and thereon depending rebellion against Kings, and abandoning of their liues, when as such men shall hold them to be Tyrants.

Many men of vnderstanding are well acquainted with their equiuocations and fallacies, wherewith they hide their wicked doctrine: according to the practice whereof, that Sect doth make profession by Treaties allowed by their Generall, as may be scene in the Apologie of *Henry Garnet*, in the Chapter of Equiuocations: we should be loath to discover them, and to hinder the course of their false coyn, if any good might grow thereby. But seeing by the merit of their fallacies, that Sect will gaine that aduantage ouer vs, as to instruct youth in the Vniuersity of Paris, contrary to the constant and determinate will of the deceased King: This Vniuersity, the daughter of the Kings of France, should hold her selfe guilty of infidelity, if she should not lay open vnto you their deceits, and be an humble suitor vnto your Maiesty, not to suffer this daughter, so loyal vnto her Soueraignes (so long as she is kept from forcing or corruption to be infected with the company of a Sect which hath bene found so dangerous to our Kings. He tels you (Madame) D that the Authors of this Order say, We may not kill a Tyrant; but the Authors produced by him, and especially *Valentia*, their last great Doctor, addes a limitation: *if it bee not* (saith he, *by publicke judgment.* And to the end you should not doubt of this publicke authority, he afterwards sets downe articles of their doctrine ouer the authority of Kings, in this manner: That a Monarchy is the best kinde of government: that the Pope is Monarch in the Church, touching the spirituall government, and the King in his Realm for the temporall: not meaning the King should be King in his Realme, vnlesse the Pope be Monarch, and haue absolute power in the spirituall government of the Church. But (Madame) it is directly opposit to the doctrine of the Church, the which your Vniuersity of Paris hath alwaies maintained, that the Pope hath the power of a Monarch in the Church: for these be things contrary, that the Councell is aboue the Pope (as your Vniuersity hath alwaies held) and that the Pope is absolute Monarch of the Church. This doctrine of your Vniuersity, if it were euer necessary, it is now more then euer, both for the King, and all the Kingdomes of Christendome.

What be the effects of this absolute spirituall Monarchy? He tels you plainly in another booke which he presents vnto your Maiesty, and to the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Councell. It is at the end of the second Tome of his Institutions, in the 35 Question, where he saith; *That the Pope hath not absolute power to take & giue Kings Crowns and Kingdomes.* All his fallacy consists in this word (*absolute*) for he saith, That he hath power to giue and take away the goods of your Subiects, but onely by way of Iustice. So *P. Cotton* a little after, affirms, That the Pope by vertue of his spirituall government, and for the coniuunction of Religion and State, of the Spirituall and Temporall, may by vertue of his censures dispoise of the Crownes of Kings: *For Religion, she Service of God, the good of the Church, and for the saluation of Soules.* This doctrine is not particular to him alone, but common to all his Society. This doctrine of coniuunction which hee saies is betwix Religion and the State, the spirituall and temporall, is contrary to the doctrine of our Lord Iesus Christ, who hath for euer made a great separation betwix Religion and State, saying; *Yeeld vnto God that which is Gods; that is, Religion: and to Caesar that*

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that which is *Cæsars*, that is, ciuill and temporall obedience, honour, seruice, and tribute. A Madam, your Vniuersity of Paris hath alwaies taught it thus, holding with the ancient Councells, and reiecting the new, in that they haue oppugned the wholesome doctrine, wherein our Kings, the Bishops of France, the Courts of Parliament, the Kings Councell, the French Doctors, and your Vniuersitie haue alwaies maintained, That the liberty of the French Church, and of the Realme of France consisted. It is no question of small importance: it concerns the Kings Estate, whereof these men affirme, the Pope may deprime him: these men (I say) to whom at this day they commit the instruction of youth in all towne: the consciences of people in confessions, and the teaching of all in general: The Kings life and your Maiesties is also in danger: for when hee hath deprime a Prince of his right of gouernment, they hold him for a Tyrant, which vsurpes an Estate against the iudgment of this publike authority, which may by the Iesuites doctrine make of a King a Tyrant: yea, they maintaine, That Subjects may rebell against their Prince, although he be not excommunicate, if they beleue, that for feare of his greatnesse they dare not doe it. This is the decision of the Iesuite *Suarez*, who thereby brings the Estate and life of all great Princes into danger. Such is also the practice of some murderers of Kings; men which acknowledge the Popes supream power, taught by the Iesuites, and beleue no other, but so farre forth as it shall please the Pope. And this plainly was the practice of the last Parricide, as it did appeare by his execrable discourse with the Diuines which were sent vnto him, to whom he shewed himself perfectly instructed in all the shifts and fallacies which Sophistry could vie of that subiect, whereas otherwise hee was very ignorant of all other knowledge and learning.

We doubt not, Madam, but the Pope, being well aduised would performe his duty, in damming (by his Bulles) such Murtherers and Assassins to the paines of hell, and causing (as he may with a word) these great mischiefs to cease, which cast a shame and reproach vpon the innocency of Christian Religion. For hitherto the power of such men at Rome, hath giuen some men occasion to say; That hee which doth not hinder nor prevent crimes committed by them, ouer whom hee hath all power, and whom hee may restrain by so easie a censure, he himselfe is the author, as the rules of iustice do teach.

The pretext which *P. Cotton* takes from the good of the Church, to giue power vnto the Pope to take away and giue Crownes is a counterfeite colour: for the same separation which our Lord Iesus Christ hath for euer made betwixt Religion & State, throughout the whole world, where he will haue his Gospel preached, we are bound (notwithstanding all Ecclesiasticall Censures, Interdictions, dispensations from the oath of Allegiance, or commandments from the Pope) not to take armes against our Kings, but to yeeld them all ciuill and temporall obedience, and to expose our liues for the defence of theirs. This is the Law of Nature, written in the hearts of men when they came into the world, the which the Sonne of God, taking our flesh vpon him, hath since confirmed, binding Christians more strictly then Pagans, who were led by the only instinct of Nature: and Priests more then Lay men, whom they should instruct in this holy doctrine, both by word & example. And much more Bishops then Priests, and most of all the first Bishop, for that his example to Christians should be of more force then all other Pastors of the Church.

And the King of Great Britaine, to warrant himselfe against these murtherers, was forced to require an Oath of Allegiance from his Subjects, for his ciuill and temporall obedience, and for the safety of his life, notwithstanding all Popish censures. An oath which the doctrine & practice of murtherers makes necessary at this day through all Christendome, to assure the Estates and liues of the Anointed of God, and to free the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, to all Kings and Princes, of that blame and hatred which this pestilent doctrine hath procured it. And to make it more fauoured with those Princes which hold a different religion. But this holy doctrine is more necessary in France, then in any other country, seeing the effects of the contrary fall chiefly vpon the life of our Kings, and the Crowne of France; and more in the minority of our King, then in his full age: this false doctrine should be refused, and the sauourers thereof reiectied, for that the practice of former ages hath euer taught vs, that when they will employ their censures against the temporall gouernment of Kings, they excommunicate the weakest.

For these causes, Madam, the Vniuersity of Paris, daughter to the Kings of France, doth most humbly beseech your Maiesty, and you my Lords the Princes & Noblemen of the Councell

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A Councell, not to suffer the Iesuits, holding a doctrine of the Popes supream power ouer the Estates and liues of Kings, contrary to the doctrine which the Vniuersity hath alwaies maintained, to instruct you in Paris, much lesse to be incorporate in the Vniuersity, to make the doctrine and manners thereof as repugnant to the Estates of Kings, as their sect is, as may appeare by the writings of *Peter Cotton*, dedicated to your Maiesty, and deliuered daily in their name; and by the experience which is made in many parts of Christendome. And the Vniuersity shall pray for the preferuation and prosperity of the King, your Maiesty, and of you my Lords the Princes and Noblemen of the Kings Councell.

Afterwards the Iesuits presented a petition vnto the Court of Parliament, requiring that they might be rectiued into the body of the Sorbonne: whereupon it was answered, *Let it be signified*: At this signification the Sorbonne consented, so as they would submit. They demanded interpretation of that word, whereunto it was told them, that they must be subiect to the Rector, and to all the Statutes of the Vniuersity. But the decision of this cause was remitted to the opening of the Court againe at Saint Martins.

In Iuly the Court of Parliament amerced the Bishop of Paris in a pecuniary fine, for that rashly, and to the preiudice and dishonour of the sayd Court, he had past before them at the Funerals of the deceased King. This small formality bred bad blood, and many were amazed to see the Queene, and much more the Earle of Soissons to affect any party in this contention, especially against the Court of Parliament, who had bene so officious to them.

Hereupon (and it may be vpon some lighter cause) factions beganne to grow among the great men. The Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Elpernon, the Chancellor, *Villeroy*, and the Iesuits made one party: The Dukes of Bouillon, Sully, and Rohan, *Des Digniers*, with the Court of Parliament were the other. A strange alteration in Court, a strange mystery of State, being supported and assisted by the House of Guise. The Prince of Conde had written to them of this party, and especially to the Duke of Bouillon, that he would be wholly gouerned by their Councell, and by the first President. *Monsieur de Barraut* had bene sent to Brussels to hasten his departure. This cloud of factions being risen, it threatened a forme of combustions, considering the contrariety of humours of the Princes and Noblemen, and the incompatibility of their quarrels, vnder the government of a woman. There was then no speech but of parties and factions, and such as obscured the humour of the French, and the liberty of the present time, thought they could not be long in forme, before they entred into action. Whereupon they did renew and augment the Capitaines in all the quarters and ports of Paris, who tooke the oath of Allegiance to the King and Queene.

All the houses were visited, and commandement giuen them to be armed: all idle persons were commanded to depart, and the Guards at the Loure doubled. This grew vpon certaine threats, secret practices, and brutes of bad presage against them of the Religion. In the heat of these alterations, such as hated the Huguenots sought to trie the Peoples affections: But they answered; That if they wished ill to them of the Religion, they should doe it themselves, as for their parts they would not bring the publike quiet into danger. During these broiles, the Prince of Conde arriued at Paris, much more glorious in his returne, then at his departure. He entred into Paris, being accompanied with about 1500 horse, where were all the Nobility of the Court, and most of the Princes, which had gone forth to meet him. Among others, the Duke of Bouillon went vnto the frontiers: all good men hoped for much by his presence, to ballance the affaires betwixt these new parties. He came directly to the Loure, where hee was very well received by the Queene, who in testimony of her fauour, presented him with a goodly house in Saint Germaines suburbs, build by *Gondy* an Italian, and a rich cupboard of plate.

F But his comming did not pacifie these alarmes at Paris: it was daily feared there would haue bene some tragedy among the great men: which caused the Prince of Conde and the Dukes of Guise and Bouillon to keep guards in their houses two nights together, vpon some apparant aduice that they would force their lodgings. But it was the will of God to disperse this cloud: so as amidst these brutes all things continued quiet and peaceable, the people seeming to haue no will to stirre: for in effect all the Commonalties and Townes of the Realme in general, were not onely resolu'd to obedience, but so bonded to peace, as if any one should haue sought to yndermine it, it was thought he should not find any one

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retreat.

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retreat. These were the workes of God, and some fruits of their former follies. The carriage and power of the Duke of Epemnon were the chiefe causes of all these broyles and distruft, hauing foure thousand men of the Kings guard in the suburbs at his deuotion, being their Colonell, wherewith he did fortifie himselfe as he pleased. They of the Religion had their part in this feare, yet they continued their exercise, relying wholly vpon the assurance which the Queene had giuen them: who also assured the Noblemen of their protection, contenting them with great pensions, and other aduancements. The Earle of Fuentres made great preparatiues at Milan for warre, which put the Duke of Sauoy into a great alarme, but especially they of Geneva, who feared them both: whereupon they did sent for *Monsieur de la Noue*, being at Pontz, who went vnto them with leaue: they did assure both the one and the other from the Court as much as might bee, and they confirmed to the Duke of Sauoy the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* for his eldest son, with a dowry of 300000 crownes, and some small Seignurie during her life.

The Queene being settled in the Regency by a free consent of the whole State, *Monsieur Pasquier*, one of the Masters of Requests, a man of great learning and iudgement, did write a discourse of aduice vnto her, touching the preferaation of the State, during the minority of the King her sonne, in these termes:

¶ *First*
Letter to
the Que-
Regent.

Education
of the King.

M Adam: it is the worke of a discreet Pilot to prouide for an approaching storme during a still calme, and to foresee the remedie before the danger, or if he be surpris'd with the tempest, to oppose himselfe courageously against the fury of the waues and winds, to bring his ship to a safe port. Euen so should you during the calme wherein we are, think of all alterations which may grow both within and without the Realme, and to prouide a sic cure to hinder their course, and to oppose your selfe resolutely against their attempts: that would trouble this State, to preserve it from apparant shipwracke: whereunto it may fall, if the helme be not rightly governed. Whereupon I haue thought it my duty, to a King, and a part of those that are within this Ship, to contribute this my Discourse, which I most humbly beseech your Maiesty to receiue with the like deuotion, as it is presented.

We haue the King your Sonne very young, who is our lawfull Lord, nor giuen vs by chance, but ordained, yea pre-ordained of God, by a continuall succession, descent, and generation of Kings, receiued, nourished, and bred vp amongst vs. The first care you ought to haue of him, concernes his education, and breeding vp in good manners: for according to the good impressions he shall receiue in his tender age, hee will continue to the end; if bad, they will not endure the touch, but will soone change.

You must cause him to be bred vp in the feare of God, not with a partiall hand, which must be liuely printed in his soule, that it may be a bridle vnto him; to keep him in the ordinary course of reason. Let vs adde what wee please of humane wisdom to our opinions, they but are follies. Yet precipitations of our greatnesse, if the honour of God be not our guide. Wherefore this holy obiect must be a lesseon vnto him, whercon he must daily feed in this tender age, else all your designs in the conduct and direction of his life, will be built vpon sand.

This feare of God being grauen in his heart, he must withall be personall taught, that one of the first motions of a great King, consists in the obseruation of iustice, whereof he is a debter to his subjects, the assured ground of his Estate: the which he must be taught to see visibly, by the examples of happy success, which haue accompanied those who reigning iustly, haue maintained their subjects in all obedience. On the other side (the which God forbid) that he which holds another course of life, leaues not his Crowne to his posterity. Let him vnderstand that this Iustice must be distributed with an equal proportion (I meane according to their merits) to all his subjects, both great and small, and punish such (seuerely as abuse their greatnesse to the prejudice of the weaker sort): a severity which will purchase him much loue with the people: but also to recompence this rigor he must be mild, affable, and gracious to such as haue the losse of to beabout him. A good countenance, and an embrace of our King, to the Princes, Noblemen, and others of what quality soeuer, do nook commonly carry a generall discharge for all the bonds which they thinke he owes them. These proportions well mingled will produce another of no lesse worth, which is, that although he haue supreme power within his Realme, and that the common sort of Courtiers hold his will to be a Law, yet he will iudge by an instinct of Nature,

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A Nature, that it is not meant of all that he will or may, but onely of that which hee ought iustly to will. For the law is made to giue perfection to the thing for the which it is made, and not to satisfy a disordered appetite. The King must in this case set a strong barre betwixt him and his opinion, lest he take for his deuiue, *That which I will, is iust*; but rather, *I will it, for that it is iust*. This maxime will frame in him the law of reason, not written in paper, but grauen in his heart, which will keep him company day & night; it will aduertise him & aduise him in all places & at all times, after what manner he should gouerne his subjects with iudgement. Any Prince that hath suffered himselfe to be transported with his owne passions, in doing that which hee ought not, there often happens that vnto him which he would not: and about all things he must haue a continuall care, not to make a difference and separation betwixt the affaires of State and those of God, who must bee the first and last end of his actions. You must accustom him in his young yeares, to haue an exact and diligent care of affaires, wherein he must be instructed as he growes, to the end that being thus framed, and coming to riper yeares, labor may be but a pastime to him: the maisters eye makes the field fertile, and the horse fat; so the knowledge which the Prince takes of his affaires, makes that his Councillors doe not gouerne them at their pleasures. Breed him vp, not in prodigality, but in a wise liberality, worthy of a great King: represent still vnto him, the knowing well how to vse this vertue: and how, where, and when it is necessary, his bounty will redound vnto himselfe, and the more hee shall giue, the more hee shall reape.

If you desire that he shall first please God, and then the people, let him wholly direct his heart to clemency, whereof he hath an admirable precedent before his eyes, by the memory of the deceased King his father, your honoured Lord and royal husband. It is a great wisdom, and fit for a great spirit, to winke (when occasion serues) at offences which are done vnto him, hauing so great a power, who may reuenge the least without controll. These be the vertues which our King should seeke in his tender age which will grow with him, and will by little and little so encrease, as they will one day make him reputed the true father of the people.

And for that in a publike fountaine the common interest is, that no man cast any filth into it: euen so, that no dishonest thing should fall into our King, the generall Spring of all his people: wherefore there must be a carefull regard had, when he enters into that heat of youth, that he suffer not his will to run head-long to voluptuousnesse, and that hauing power to doe what he please, he doth not that which hee ought not: for that the way of liberty to great vices is so easie and sweet, as it is almost insensible. For this cause, you must teach him in time, what honour and reputation he shall reape by a continent youth; and contrariwise how that God will be highly offended, if he abuse his supreme power in vnchastity. Although that all vices be naturally odious vnto God in all persons, yet is it more particularly in a Prince, for that he doth not so much offend in himselfe, as in his example. Cursed is he which glories in that which he should punish in another. An iniurie done to a priuate man, breeds in his soule such a liuely resolution of reuenge, as oftentimes it tends to the ruine and vtter desolation of an Estate.

You shall let him know the miserable effects of Couetousnesse, which produceth nothing of it selfe but a contempt of God, with an absolute will to make all things veniall, to the ruine of a King and his people. The object of vnlimited auarice in a King, giues great lustre to prodigality, which was held prodigious in another Prince. About all, if his natural inclination carries him to violent things, he may be withdrawne, letting him see, that cruelty is vnworthy of so mild a spirit as that of a King ought to be, and that the Prince which is infected therewith, hath nothing of a man but the shape. It is a vice much to be feared in a King, for it is in him as couetousnesse in old men, which encreaseth continually without any hope of decrease.

These are in effect the vices whereof a King should be free. These vertues and these vices will shew that there is not any thing so available for the generall profit and publike commodity of an Estate and Common-wealth, as a good Prince, nor any thing so hurtfull as a bad and vicious.

Hauing provided for that which concerneth our Kings person, wee must passe to that which belongs to his Estate. In this first encounter of affaires, that which you should haue in greatest recommendation, is the vnion of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, great

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Noble.

Vnion.

1610 " Noblemen, and then the people. When all shall be well vnited, there shall not be any King A
" or Prince, how mighty fouer, that shall dare to attempt against this Estate without his
" vndoubted ruine.

" Vnion is your strength, Diuision your weaknesse. Vnion maintaines and preserues E.
" states in their greatnesse, Diuision vndermines and ruines them, without hope euer to rise
" againe. That King of Egypt meaning to teach his children the force of Vnion, and the
" weaknesse of Dilcord, represented vnto them a bundle of arrowes, which they could not
" breake being tyed together, but diuided, there was nothing more easie. This Estate is like
" vnto mans body, the which liues long by the accord and harmony of the foure humours:
" but when as any of these qualities seeks to command ouer the rest, the body falls into dis- B
" cases, and lo dyes. It is euen so of this Estate, if by your iudgement and wisdom you re-
" duce both great and small to one will, the same intention and the same desire to maintaine
" the Estate vnder the Kings obedience: you shall make it the feare and terrour of her ene-
" mies. But if the parts of the body be once dis-membred, if this perfect Vnion and corref-
" pondency of all the members doe not subsist by a mutuall and reciprocall entertainment,
" the corruption and desolation of the Estate will follow.

" To entertaine Vnion, let Princes and great men be called to Councel, in matters which
" concerne the State, and the greater they are by extraction of birth, the more precedence
" and prerogative should be given them, both in regard of the memory of their ancestors, C
" and of their owne vertues. From the greater, defend to them that hold the second and
" the third ranks; and then vnto the meane, and so reward euery one according to his mer-
" it, with the charges and dignities of the Realme. It is one of the chiefe meanes to main-
" taine this Estate. But in this distribution of charges, flattery, false reports, malice or enuy,
" must not be admitted, lest they abuse you with false apparances.

" The most wholesome and best aduice will come from the common voice of the peo-
" ple. I speake of the Clergy, where are the wisest and most learned of France: of the No-
" bility, whereon depends the force, and of the third Estate intermixt with a great number of
" vertuous and learned men.

Care of the
Church.

" It is not sufficient to haue provided for the vnion of great men: but it is to be feared that
" God will giue way vnto his fury, being wonderfully incensed against vs, for the great A
" buscs & manifold disorders which are committed as well in the Ministry of the Church
" as in the administration of Iustice. To pacifie him, and to diuert his wrath and indigna-
" tion, name men that are learned, and of a holy and vndeiled life, to spirituall liuings, who
" may according to the duty of their charges, and the Kings Edicts, keepe residence at their
" Benefices, to edifie their flocks: For there is not any thing that doth so much moue the
" wrath of God, as to see his Churches prophaned, and to fall into the hands of such as are
" vowed to the temporall seruice of the Prince, and not of the spirituall. Whensoever it
" hath bene practised, it is a certaine demonstration of the alteration and change of an E-
" state, and of their misery and disgrace which abuse it licenciously, whose affaires alwayes
" decline euen vnto their ends.

Iustice to
be obser-
ued.

" Aduaunce men of knowledge, merit, and discretion, to places of Iustice: who may bee
" knowne and approued to be vertuous, louers of the publike weale, and not giuen to auar-
" rice. Doe nothing against iustice: take away the abuses which are committed through fa-
" uour and surpise in Euocations and Abolitions: cause the Royall ordinances to be obser-
" ued in euery point, without any alteration, and leaue suits to their ordinary formes in
" law, not causing them to be iudged by Commissioner: Breake not the authority of the
" holy lawes, let not their vertue be in paper, but in effect: for men will iudge of your boun-
" ty as they shall find your inclination to the obseruation or breach of the lawes. If you rye
" your selfe to maintaine them, you yeeld vnto the people that which you owe them: and
" contrariwise, if you breake them, you deprive the people of that which you are bound to F
" distribute vnto them, which be the cause of infinite miseries to the King and his subiects. Let
" Iustice be equally and without partiality distributed.

" As in mans body nature imparts to euery member as much nourishment as is needfull,
" not suffering one to vsurpe any thing of another of the common nutriment: Euen so
" ought you with the like balance maintaine the Kings subiects, foreseeing that the sub-
" stance of one passe not to another, to the end that the whole body bee maintained with
" equality. Remember that the meane within the Realme, is the Kings subiects, as well
" as

A as the mightiest: and therefore you owe him, in the place which you hold, the like iustice, A
" See that the aduancement of one may not be the disgrace of another. And consider that
" the least haire makes his shadow against the Sunne-beames, and that the lustre of your au-
" thority which consists in iustice, will decay, when it shall not be vniuersall, to giue vnto
" euery one that which belongs vnto him: For this effect, giue care to all men: for notwith-
" standing that you are raised to this honor, yet must you with the like clemencie relieue the poore
" and the rich which come to be suitors to your Maiesty, to the end that euery one in the
" time of his affliction may haue recourse vnto your bounty, fauour, and protection, to haue
" reliefe and succour. Remember, that God is about you, and as you shew your selfe in fa-
" uourable clemency vnto the people, so will hee bee vnto you: it were better to heare no
" complaints, then hauing heard them to giue no ease vnto the complainants. And about all,
" Madame, remember, if it please you, that the Courts of Parliament, and other Soeraigne
" Courts, in their iurisdiccions are the fundamentall parts of the State, by the which our
" Kings haue happily continued their Realme from father to sonne vnto this day. Where-
" fore you must haue a principall care to support these companies, and thinke that they are
" the chiefe armes by the which during the minority of our King, his Maiesty and yours shal
" be wonderfully preserued against all those, that flattering themselves with their owne am-
" bition, shall make any attempt: the which I humbly beseech God may not happen.

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Next to this, you must prouide for the generall and too true complaints of the vexa-
" cation of the people, by innouations, tributes, creations of offices, parties, and other like mis-
" chiefs, by the which in promising to re-vnite the reuenues of the Crowne, they doe a-
" lienate the peoples hearts, which is the Kings chiefe treasure. Wherefore by your wife-
" dome and gouernment, you shall iudge whether it be not needfull to ease them, if not of
" all, yet at the least of a good part of these new impositions. And especially to abolish
" together that party so preiudiciall, which giues life againe to so many States, the which at
" the time of their beginning were dead about 60 yeares since, whereof the not viving them
" for many ages teacheth vs, that they should by no means be reuiued. When I speake this
" (Madam) my meaning is, that a Prince should cuterat his subiects, like vnto Bees, and not
" take from them both honny and wax: but to entertaine them alwayes in a good disposi-
" tion, and to suffer them to enioy part of the fruits of their labour: it is he that by his pain-
" full exercise entertaines and makes the rest of the Realm to liue in quiet. From him comes
" trafficke, riches, gold, and tribute. It is a Spring which flowes continually, and is neuer
" dry: if the people cease from labour, all the body of the State will perishe.

Ease of the
people.

" If you desire to maintaine the Realme, you must preserue the people, and accommo-
" date them: the which will be easily and speedily done, when as by viniting one vnto the
" other, you shall not will any thing but what is pleasing to the people, nor they wish for
" any thing but with your good liking. There must be a reciprocal communication betwix
" you and them: they must performe the duty of obedience, and you must shew that which
" belongs to your wife command in your Regency. If you take vpon you this resolution,
" E you shall make them wonderfully affected to the Kings seruice, and the preseruacion of the
" State: for they haue bene accustomed to doe for their King, as the body for the soule:
" they bring a mutuall consent to submit themselves to his will that leads them, that makes
" them breathe and subsist: but if they be too much oppressed, they will doe like vnto those
" which are tormented with burning fevers, who turne vp and downe continually, and can
" find no place of rest, which is a certaine foretelling of the ruine of a State. So as it is need-
" full you should be carefull of their health. Haue onely this apprehension, that the Kings
" greatnesse depends of his subiects ease, and then to maintaine the Kings greatnesse, you
" will resolue to haue the people rich and at ease: that is to say, such as they shall bee, such
" will the King be: the heart commonly feels the infirmities of the body.

F If the people be poore, he will be a poore King, (were his store-houses heaped vp with
" gold and silver) his quality depending vpon that of his people, for that hee takes his name
" from the subiect. Will you haue them loue you? doe them good: for hee that entreates
" them ill, he may well haue the commandement of their bodies, but not of their hearts. Be
" then (during this great charge which you hold) like vnto a goodly running riuer, which
" brings profit to euery one: the fruit which you shall gather by good vantage of them, will be
" of wonderfull encrease: for they shall not afterwards breathe but by your Maiesties bounty:
" tie: by which you shall frustrate the designs of such as would trouble the State, who can-
" not

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not doe any thing without them : take the people from them, you leaue them naked, and A
disarme them of all force. Oppose then a people against them freed from all extraordinarie
imposts, experience will teach you, that with hand and heart, they will smother their
enterprises in the breeding. It were fearfull, experience should let vs see what a discontented
people linked to the ambition of great men can do, who neuer incense the subjects
against their Prince, but vnder the maske of the Common-weale, whereof in effect they
are the first corrupters.

Managing
of the treasure.

After that you haue eased the people of all these superfluities which did afflict them,
keepe an account of the number of Prouinces within the Realme, and what subsidies,
taxes, imposts, customs, aydes, tributes, and other publike reuenues, euery one doth con- B
tribute, that you may certainly know what is raised yearly of the people, and then exa-
mine what the pensions, rents, fees of Officers, payments of souldiers, and other expences
may amount vnto, to the end that by good husbandry you may so gouerne the Kings trea-
sure, as the gylty hands may not retaine that which should come cleere into his coffers.
The receipt and expences seene and truly knowne, let not all the expences of the King-
dome (if you will haue it durable) exceed the Kings reuenues, otherwise it cannot long
subsist.

Auoid warre all you can both at home and abroad, they can yeeld nothing but ruine,
death, and confusion. Leaue not peace, vnion, and concord, which you enioy both with-
in and without the Realme, which will bring infinit benefits, to the honour and quiet of C
this State. Whosoever seekes to engage our King lightly in warre during his minority,
shewes, that he seekes to liue in the troubles and confusions of the time, fearing lest his
actions should be knowne; or else he desires to satisfie his ambition and couetousnesse with
the hazard of the King and Realme : or to speake more plainly, that he desires to giue vent
to his secret enterprises, which cannot burst forth but by colour of publike diuisions : and
in a word, you must purchase peace at what rate soeuer, rather then to come to armes.
Whosoever takes armes in hand during the Kings minority, making shew to defend him,
prescribes him oftentimes a law, to the prejudice of his Estate.

Touching ciuill warre, and home-bred confusion, be carefull and respectiue to auoid it
for as inward diseases are more hard to cure then those which are exterior, and bring D
a man by degrees vnto the graue : Euen so warre which begins in the bowels of a Realm,
is much more dangerous then a foraine warre, for that it drawes it insensibly to ruine. If
you desire to ouerthrow this Estate, vndertake a ciuill war, within few dayes it will bring
you to the graue.

As for foraine warres, you should much lesse vndertake them, nor wish them : for it
opens a gate, and admits a passage to strangers to practise the bad intents which they may
haue against the King and his Citowne : shame which restrained them, will turne into fu-
rie, which will free them a passage to enter into France. Whereas if you keepe your selfe
within the bounds of peace, not any one of your neighbours, (although he haue a desire) E
will in regard of his honour, attempt against the King in his minority.

Fruits of warre.

What will be the fruits of either of these warres ? I will tell you : They will cause new
impositions, new Edicts, which will consume the blood and substance, which the people
haue yet remaining, and by this means you shall leaue the fields without labour, the poore
without bread, the rich without means, and in the end bring this Estate to its last period.
The beginning and continuance of warre, gathers together a great superfluity of bad hu-
mors, which by degrees makes the body of a Monarchy fit to receive an alteration in all
the members : For Warre is the mother and nurse of all liberty and impunity, the which
doth dispend and exempt euery one from the subiection of lawes, and the commande-
ment of superiors, which is the sole and onely means, by the which the bond and vnity F
of people is dissolved.

Learn wisdom by our examples, and follow the way which hath bene made vnto
you by the deceased King for twelve yeares together. He made triall what danger warre
brings with it. Seeke peace both within and without the Realme : you shall thereby pre-
serue the Estate, and you shall haue means to ease the people of a heauy burthen which
they haue so long borne. Let your life be a liuely image of the happy condition of a peo-
ple exempt from the calamities and miseries of warre. Where can you seeke war, to enioy
a more absolute peace? war must not be vndertaken, but to keepe the people from affliction
during

A during a peace. True it is, that although you haue peace with the Kings subjects, and all
your neighbors, yet must you not keep it so strictly, as warre may not be vndertaken. And
therefore if you finde it convenient, you may entertaine garisons vpon the frontiers, lest
you be suddenly surprisid : All peace without Armes is weak.

Troublers
of the State

I will adde one exception to that which I haue formerly said, that there may be some
one so rash, during the tender age of our King, as to stir vp the subjects to mutinies, either
vnder colour of Religion, or of the common-weale, to make his own profit with the pre-
judice of our King. As a light disease increaseth and kils the body, if fit remedies bee not
applied in time, so in this first motion of alteration, if you doe not employ force and au-
thority to stay the course of such a mischief, it will set the foure corners, and the heart of
France on fire. The first medicine should come from the soveraigne Courts, and therein
you shall know of what importance and necessity they be, by whose Decrees such an one
shall be declared guilty of high treason, whereunto you shall presently adde force to put it
in execution with fire and sword, and follow him with such resolution, as he may be pre-
sently inuested wherefoeuer he hath shent himselfe, and that he may be taken there without
mercy, to the end that by his head the rest of France may be diuerted from pronouncing
of such foule offences : and that his ashes may make a remedy for posteritie. God forbid
I should presume any euill by any Nobleman in France, being assured of their general loy-
alties : yet I may say by the way, that the successe of one iniurie drawes on a thousand
C others : and on the other side one iniurie reuenged, suppresseth all bad designs.

Warre of
Germany.

Some aduise you to succour the Germanes, others to remaine quiet : the first say, that
the deceased King was bound not onely by word, but in effect : that not relieuing them
now, the honour of France was engaged, that it was a worke worthy of a great King to suc-
cure afflicted Princes, when as one more mighty will vsurpe their Estates, by some colour-
red title : that not doing it, they might draw them into despaise to ioyne with him against
this Realme : or for want of succouring them, to prepare the way to haue a great neigh-
bour against vs, who by our negligence hath extended his limits to be a future scourge vn-
to vs. In which case we should haue nothing left vs but a late repentance. A lesson which
is ordinary to the Princes and Potentates of Italy, who will not suffer a new Prince to
grow great among them. Others say, that wee must balance all affaires according to the
diuinity of obiects which are presented vnto our eyes : that what was good to a great
warriour, cannot bee applied to his sonne in his tender age : that it is a goodly thing to
succure afflicted Princes, but it is better not to trouble his owne affaires vnseasonably : that
the death of the King his father hath freed him from all promises : that the rules of duty
doe not bind him to giue succours, for that in matter of state, honour must be measured by
that which is most necessary for the good, quiet and profit of him and his subjects : that
in his youth he must feare a confusion, and an Anarchy which Armes may draw into
France : and that in seeking to preserve another, we shall lose our selues.

To Conclude, it may happen that by our succours these foraine Princes may bee settled
E in their countries. And on the other side, it may bee, that both they and our succours may
be defeated : and that in this infortunate successe, there will be a port opened for the con-
queror to enter into France : the which during the minority of our King, you must auoid
by all means possible. A lesson which was well obserued by our great King Lewis the 11,
who dying, aduised them to keepe the Realme in peace, and not to enter into any quarrell
with the Britton, and the other neighbours : to the end that his sonne Charles the 8 being
thirteen years old, his state might be in peace, till he came to age, to dispose of things at
his pleasure. And long before him that wife Constan King of Orleance, tutor to Cloaire
the second his Nephew, being but foure moneths old, thought (that not to expose his
Realme to all the miseries whereunto an Estate is subiect) he must breed vp his little Ne-
F phew, and preserve his Realme by all milde courses, dispersing with an admirable dexteri-
tie all innouations that might grow in it, how dangerous so euer : And yet he, for his great
ness, with that of his Nephew, might haue made head against any vnder-takers. And a-
bout all things you must haue a speciall care that Princes and Noblemen, may not be ar-
med vnder any pretext which they shall borrow of the Maiestie of a King, so long as hee
shall be in this tender age.

Madame, the reasons of either side are great, the which you must weigh in a iust bal-
lance, to incline vnto that which shall be most profitable for the good and preservation of
the

1610 the King and his Realme, and take counsell with God what you haue to doe in this point: A
 " And above all things thinke that at this day, in a full assurance of all things in this Realme,
 " you must feare any thing.

Religion. Religion may alter the subjects wils: It pierceth the hearts of men vnto the quicke, and
 " caries them away with a violent and extraordinary motion, the which blinds the eyes to
 " all consideration of respect, duty and obedience, which they owe vnto their Prince. We
 " should all wish that there were not any but the ancient religion, wherein wee haue bene
 " baptized and bred vp: But the miseries past which had in a manner brought France to her
 " last period, should teach vs, what calamities doe follow vs, if the same maxime which the
 " deceased King hath established, be not inuolubly obserued: who by a wise aduice tolera- B
 " ting the exercise of the pretended reformed Religion, hath by the same means sctled the
 " Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, in townes whereas it had not bene exerci-
 " sed these forty or fifty yeeres. This subiect concerns the preservation of the State, where-
 " of Religion makes a part. And therefore you may not alter any thing. Allow vnto them of
 " the reformed religion, free exercise of their Religion, the Chambers of the Edict, and
 " the townes which haue bene granted them for their assurance: forget not any thing that
 " the deceased King granted them, as a Prince who knew well how much it did import
 " the State not to touch this string. It will containe them within the vow of obedience: C
 " Neither shall it be in the power of any, how great soeuer, to draw them from the duty
 " which they owe naturally to their King. It is a body so composed as it receiues no moti-
 " on, but when any thing is attempted against the Edict, the which was made to preferre
 " them: Make no breach in this Edict, it is immouable, and the chiefe parts without al-
 " tion. This body is not like vnto a clocke whereas the greater and lesser pieces moue all to-
 " gether, one by another: here the greater haue no force, nor vertue, without the people,
 " what shew soeuer they make, as we haue sometimes seene, when they had an humour to
 " rise, from the which they were wisely diuerted by the people: And contrariwise, we re-
 " member that the people of Rochel alone endured the extremities of warre without their
 " support, who haue alwayes maintained themselves in obedience, by the wisdom of the
 " Edicts of pacification.

Madame, entertaine these Edicts in euery point, and that which hath bene authorized D
 " by the wisdom of the deceased King; you need not then feare them that hold the chiefe
 " rankes amongst them. But breake them in any part, they be firebrands to inflame the hu-
 " mours of the people; the which would turne to the desolation of the State, I meane of both
 " religions: the one would draw with it the losse and ruine of the other, whereas the main-
 " taining of both, adding thereunto prayers, fasting, modesty, chastitie, preachings, with a
 " holy life, will be the support of the ancient, and the ouerthrow of the new.

Preachers. The faculty of eloquence in the mouth of a Preacher, is a goodly gift of nature, the
 " which being augmented by long vse and study, giues light and ornament to the goodly
 " conceptions of his minde, which concerns the health of our foules. But if hee will abuse
 " the sweetnesse of his tongue, there is no plague so preiudiciall to a Realme, as this well E
 " speaking Preacher. It is a torrent which ouerflowes to drowne a multitude, his tongue
 " is a sword, whereon depends the life and death of those, for or against whom hee doth
 " employ it, he formes, he thunders, and confounds heauen and earth together, when as to
 " preuaile in his intentions he vnfittingly abuseth passages of the holy Scripture, by the ex-
 " position whereof hee winnes what credit with them he list: There is not any thing
 " how incredible so euer, but with good words hee will make probable: and nothing so
 " rude and vnpolished, but he will make plausible with his eloquence: his speech in a
 " multitude is of as great force, as iron in an armie: especially with those who comming
 " to heare him, bring nothing but spirits of deuotion and obedience, whereof the Preacher
 " doth cunningly make his profit: He doth gouern their minds at his pleasure, and knowes F
 " how to moue their affections, and to incite their courages in such sort, as they forget all
 " feare of danger, and all bonds of benefites. Hearing of the senses, by means of the way,
 " brings great passions vnto the minde. To prevent the effects of such an instrument, you
 " must by your absolute command, forbid all inuicities in their Sermons, which be the fire-
 " brands of sedition; and that they follow their texts, and teach the subiect obedience to
 " his King, with vniuersity and concord, both of great and small. If hee doe otherwise, intreat
 " him like *Anthony Fradin* a Franciscane, who was banished out of the Realme by *Lewis* the
 " eleuenth,

A eleuenth, for that hee had exceeded the bounds of preaching, and disordered of the state of " 1610
 " the Crowne in his Pulpit.

Although we cannot force the lawes of Nature, and giue vnto the youth of our King, " The Kings
 " that great sense, iudgement and conduct which is requisite for the gouernment of his " Corona-
 " Realme, which onely time must produce, yet must you not attend the time of his full age, " 1610
 " to haue him crowned. He is our King, old or yong, you must alwayes apply vnto him
 " those holy Characters, whereas all the Princes of the blood, other Princes and Officers of
 " the Crowne must assist. After this let him make a progresse throughout his whole Realme,
 " to the end his subjects may know him, and yeeld him the oath of allegiance. The Princes
 " B preface at what age soeuer, is of so great merit and recommendation with his subjects, as
 " it doth wonderfully moue them to loue him. And yet Madame, herein it is necessarie
 " to make warre by the eye, and doe according to the disposition of affaires, not with-drawing
 " your selfe easily from the first, and chiefe City of France, the which you see by their teares
 " is wholly vowed to the seruice of their Prince.

You must not forbear to assemble the Estates, for the reason which they suggest vnto " Assembly
 " you, that they will bee some blemish to your greatnesse. It is quite contrary, the Estates " of the E-
 " hauing confirmed it by publike Authority, will settle it fully. But I will tell you the reason " states.
 " why you should forbear to call this assembly. It would bee an Instrument for them that
 " would trouble the State to giue a forme vnto their practices, euery one would seeke to
 " C winne the Deputies by courtisie, presents, benefites, goodly promises and other fauours,
 " and all these priuate persons returning into their Prouinces, would serue as Torches to
 " kindle new fires and combustions. I know well there is not any Prince or Nobleman that
 " hath this proiect in his head, being all with one deuotion, vowed to the Kings seruice: but
 " they are men, and therefore you must take away all occasions of doing ill, or thinking ill.
 " Commonly the Estates assemble to provide for the present and future complaints of the
 " general of this Monarchy, and to reduce things to their ancient course. You know where
 " the disease lyes, prescribe the like remedy, as you haue done, if it had bene heard. To Pre-
 " lates abate the tenths, these bee they who either by their doctrine or good example hold
 " the hearts of the Nobility and people tied to their Princes seruice. As for the Nobility, D
 " gratifie them, honour them, and put publike charges into their hands, they bee the Kings
 " creatures, who referre all their exploits to the profit and advancement of the head, from
 " whom they take their being and nourishment. As for the people, being the foundation
 " whereon this Realme is built, and the which being ruined, it is impossible it should subsist,
 " ease them, take away these new Edicts, Imposts and Subsidies: It is better to gratifie a peo-
 " ple then to entreat them roughly. The force of diseases decline as the naturall vigor of the
 " the sicke body increaseth. But a people how rich, strong and vigorous soeuer it be, de-
 " clines, as Taxes and Imposts increafe, we doe not perceive it but like vnto the going of the
 " hand of a Dyall, whose motion is not seene, but when it hath finished the course, nor the
 " losse and ruine of a people but in their fall. Thereby Madame, you shall both stop the
 " E mouthes of the three Estates, and of all those that shall make any motion to haue them cal-
 " led, and withall you shall auoid an alteration, which time might breed.

Doe not disappoint the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Officers, to whom the deceased " Penfions.
 " King gaue honours and penfions; Remember that hee gaue them not but to men of mer-
 " rit, and who had assisted him to recouer his Realme, and to settle it in peace and good or-
 " der. *Lewis* the 11. a true patterne of wisdom, a little before his death, desired to see his
 " son, whom he had not seene in many yeares; about all things he aduised him not to alter any
 " thing in his Court, nor with them whom hee had aduanced to dignities. A comendement
 " grounded, for that after the death of *Charles* the 7. his father, hee had cut off the penfions
 " of Noblemen and other Officers, who had with the losse of their blood deserved what
 " F they enioyed: the successe of which Council had like to haue bene his ruine, and of the
 " whole Realme, by so many Malecontents. Hee would thereby teach his sonne that an in-
 " considerate change is of very dangerous consequence.

Will you put a wise Council in practise? call all the Princes, generall Gouvernors, and " To call all
 " one or two Noblemen of euery Prouince, neere vnto the King and you, giue them penfi- " great men
 " ons that they may be able to maintaine themselves there, and countenance them indiffe- " to Court.
 " rently according to their qualities, to auoid ialousie, the mother of diuisions, and facti-
 " ons. The benefites and fauours which they shall receiue from the King and you, will aug-
 " ment

1610 "ment the desire they haue to his and your seruice, and euery one in his Prouince will dis- A
"perfe such practises as may grow preiudiciall to his Maiesties seruice.

Intendants "To know all things that shall passe in the Prouinces, consider if it shall bee conuenient
of Iustice. "to depure intendants or supraiours of Iustice, which shall report vnto you as occasion shall
"require, what is done, and the complaints of all the people.

Alliances. "Keepe our King in good tearmes with the Pope, the King of Spaine, the King of Eng-
"land, the Archdukes, the Swisses, and all our other allies, renew the League with them. It
"will bee a great and Soueraigne remedie to maintaine peace in this Realme, when as
"you shall be assured that your neighbours will not practise any thing against the King nor
"his State.

Paris and "The affection and fidelity which the Parisiens had vnto the seruice of their deceased B
other
townes. "King, is well knowne vnto you, by the last teares which all in generall powred forth to
"witness vnto the King, and you, their wonderfull griefe for the losse which they haue re-
"ceiued in the death of him, by whom they liued. As in a clocke one instrument makes all
"the rest to moue. Euen so this Realme, according to the modell of Paris the other townes
"do commonly frame their opinions: you are assured of the Parisiens affection to the Kings
"seruice, the which they haue continued in his person by a continuation from the father
"to the sonne. Wherefore you must alwayes arme your selfe with their loue, to draw others
"to doe the like. Establish Captaines, Lieutenants and Ensignes in all the quarters, which
"shall be knowne to be honest men, and that breathe nothing but the Kings seruice, mixt C
"with some Lawyers, Treasurers and Merchants, who shall take the oath of allegiance in
"your hands. These men will maintaine the Parisiens in their obedience, and if there hap-
"pen any vnexpected accident, you shall be assured the King hath there so many seruants,
"who will willingly imploy their liues to preferre his person, and maintaine their country-
"men vnder that yoke of seruice which they owe naturally vnto their Prince.

"Command that in Paris there be not so many strangers that professe armes, and that
"matters may be reduced to the same estate they were in the time of the deceased King,
"euery Nobelman being for his owne particular as well assured now as he was then. A po-
"licy which it may be will be hard to digest, but yet it should be allowed of by euery good
"subiect: As for all other townes, entertaine them by Letters, making them often know how D
"desirous the King and you are to ease them, and to maintaine them in peace, that they bee
"carefull not to suffer themselves to be abused with false reports, which some wicked peo-
"ple may giue out for truth, which would but increase their miseries.

Audiences. "If you desire to content the Clergy, the Gentlemen, and the common people, admit
"any (if it please your Maiesty) that desires to speake with you, to your presence without a
"Mediator, to the end the whole bond may remaine to you. Appoint certaine dayes to this
"end, when as euery one may haue free access vnto your Maiesty (being assisted by such
"Noblemen as it shall please you) to make their complaints. There will grow a double pro-
"fit thereby, the one is, you shall vnderstand matters truly, without any disguising; the
"other is, that he to whom you giue a fauourable audience will go away content, although E
"hee sometimes bee discontented for that hee hath not obtained all that hee demanded.
"To passe at the mercy of such as haue liberty to giue, or refuse the entry, to them that
"would complaine, is to sell the pernames of Princes, with a blemish to their reputation and
"greataesse.

Councell. "About all things beware you follow not your owne opinion alone, in managing the
"affaires of this Realme. Our wils are most commonly partial, which may diuert our iudge-
"ment from the right way. First take Councell of God, and let him bee the guide of your
"actions; let them bring what maximes they please for the preferuation of the State, it is
"a vaine wisdom, if God be not of the party: Then take aduice of men experienced in
"many things, which may be full of discretion, age and wisdom, and which haue nothing F
"in their soules which age hath not made graue, constant and setled. Yong mens Councell
"is sometimes good, but that of the aged is most commonly better. And about all things
"labour carefully to know them from whom you shall take counsell, for many times vnder
"a vail of integrity, there lurkes disloyalty.

"Madame, all these discourses giue you power to gouerne this Estate well. I assure my
"selfe you haue also a will: Euery action is contained within power and will, and no man
"can be deceiued of his expectation when hee makes both of them his end. God of his
"mercy

A mercy grant you both, to guide all things to good, and to gouerne them in an equal course, 1610
"to the end they may haue a good and a happy end, which may tend to the increase of the
"greatnesse of the King and State: Most humbly beseeching your Maiesty to take in good
"part these Remonstrances, which are made by him, Who is,

*Your most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient subiect
and seruant, N. Palquier Councillor and
Master of Requests.*

B Ambassadors came from all parts to condole the death of the deceased King. Among The Duke of
others the Duke of Feria came from Spaine, with a great traine. The Duke of Mont- Feris Ambassa-
bazon being accompanied with two hundred horse, and foure Caroches, went to meet dour from
him a League without Paris, and brought him to his lodging. At his first audience he was Spaine, comes
serched by the Duke of Esguillon with twelue Caroches and many Gentlemen, where to Paris.
comming to the King, he told him that hee was sent from the King his Master to visit his
Maiesty, and to offer him the like friendship and intelligence, as he had with the deceased
King his Father, for whose death he had much grieved. The yong King, hauing heard his
interpreter, answered him suddenly. *I thank the King my Brother for his good will, I will
remember him and you also: Seeing he desires it, he may expect from me all friendship and good
intelligence, such as he had with the deceased King my father.* And then he asked him many
pretty questions of the King of Spaines health, the Queenes, the Princes and the Infanta
which bred an admiration in the Spaniards, to see the Maiesty of the yong King, which
seemed then supernaturall and extraordinary.

The Ambassador being retired, and the King set downe in his chaire, there comes sud-
denly a Church-man of his traine, thrusting through the presse, and cast himselfe at his
Maiesties feet, making great signes of the Crosse, as if hee blest him, and crying out in his
language, *God blesse you my King, God blesse you my Prince, God assist you for euer, and make
you alwayes prosper.* Whereupon they enquired of him what hee was? And hee answered
D them cheerefully, that he was a Nauarrois, his Maiesties most humble and most faithfull
subiect.

Some dayes after the Lord of Wotton Ambassador for the King of Great Brittain, ari-
ued at Paris, being sent to the same effect to condole, and to make all offers in his Masters
name, of the cordiall loue and friendship: his comming was so pleasing as it bred a iealousie
in the Chastilian Ambassador. The Marshall of Lauardin met him neere Saint Denis gate
with about two hundred horse, and so accompanied him to Luxembourg House, within
three dayes after the Prince Iennit, accompanied with a great troope of Gentlemen, went
and serched him to his audience, where hee gaue and receiued much content: on Tuesday,
he with the Ambassador Leager, dined with the King at the Tuilliers, after which hee re-
ceiued the oath of the Queene (in the Kings presence) for the obseruation of the League,
E with great solemnity in the Feuillants Church. Then after some priuate audience of the
Queen, he took his leaue of their Maiesties to returne for England.

After all these condolences, it was resolved in requitt of these Ambassages, and to
confirm the League which the deceased King had with those Princes, that Monsieur de
Bellegarde, Master of the Kings Horse, should goe into Spaine, the Marshall of Lauar-
din into England, and the Duke of Elperon to Rome. And then they began
to prepare for the Kings Coronation, which was appointed at Rheims
on the 17 day of October, with that Pompe and State, that
is vsuall at such soleme Ceremonie.

(*)



A
CONTINUVATION
OF THE HISTORIE
OF FRANCE:

c From the death of HENRY the Fourth, vntill the Conclusion of the Peace made before *Montpellier*, in the yeare 1622.

LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH.
THE 64 FRENCH KING.



D After the detestable Murther of that great Monarch, his Sonne being seated in his Fathers Throne, and the Queene Mother choien Regent of the Realme, by a generall consent of all the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, and confirmed by an Edict of the Court of Parliament of Paris: The clouds which seemed to threaten the State with stormes of confusion, were suddenly dissolued by the wisdom of the Regent, and the vigilancy and care of the Councell and Court of Parliament. Having performed the Rites due to the deceased King her Husband, her onely care was to entertaine peace in her Sonnes Estate, and to calme the wanes of so great a sea of publike affaires, and different passions, which were then amongst many great men: for the people breathed nothing but obedience; neyther did they thinke of any thing but to bewaile the losse of their well beloued King.

This famous Queene had no sooner reconciled a controuersie for the gouernment of Normandy, betwene the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons brethren, and heard an Opposition made to the most iust Decree of the Court of Parliament against *Mariana's* Booke; nor ended the Controuersies which had befallen at the Ceremonies of the Kings Funerall for their places; but new troubles befell her touching the Funerall Sermons which had bene made: some (according to the passions of such as had pronounced them) seemed to be Panegyrics and praises for the Iesuits: and others to bee Satyrs, vttered to their disgrace. The Iesuits hauing complained vnto the Queene of the Abbot of Bois, accused him, that in his Sermons, treating of the Question, *Whether it be lawfull to kill a Tyrant*; and refusing *Mariana's* booke and others, he had made an exhortation vnto the Iesuites, *That they should hereafter haue a great care that no bookes should be published to the prejudice of France, vnder the name of their Society, nor with the approbation of their Superiours, if they would not willingly expose themselves to those dangers, which all their wisdoms, fortified with the authority of their most confident friends, could not auoid.* These were the principall points of his accusation, whereupon they informed the Queene Regent that these

The Iesuits
complainte of
the Abbot of
Bois.

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The Abbots answer to the Bishop of Paris.

words had like to have caused a sedition against the Iesuites. The Bishop of Paris had A charge to hear the Abbot, who answered in his defence, That neyther passion, nor hatred to the Iesuites, or any other, had moued him to preach in that manner, but the fearful horror and vnspcakable grieffe for the strange death of his good Master, and the probable doubt of danger to the King and Queene, whilst those damnable bookes of *Marianne* and others should haue course amongst men: which the Bishop hearing, he dismiss him with a gentle admonition to liue louingly with all other Preachers, and especially with the Iesuites, and continue to preach obedience due to the King and Queene, and to praise the great merits of the deceased King, not offending any man. He made the like answer to the Cardinall *du Perron*, and the Chancellor, who told him, that continuing to doe good service to God and the State, hee should neuer want the Queenes protection, nor the assistance of all her good seruants.

The Parisians are commanded to arme.

The Queene Regent hauing drawne the Princes of the blood, and many other great personages to Court to attend the Kings person, as you haue heard in the former part, she hauing a speciall care to entertaine them in one intention, and desire to maintaine the State in peace; they grew into factions and ieaousities, marching vp and downe Paris in great troops: which bred a feare of some alteration in the City. Whereupon commandement was giuen vnto the Parisians to prouide armes. New Captaines were chosen in their Towne-house, who tooke an oath to the Queene; and the people within eight daies were all armed, but they were forbidden to discharge any Peece after fixe of the clocke at night. They still cried out, we acknowledge not any one but the King and Queene. These murmuring proceeded from the great traines which the Princes & Noblemen had, some being followed by 100 horse and more through the streetes. But the Queene hauing discovered the cause of their ieaousities, hauing distributed honors to those whose merits were well knowne vnto her, and augmented many of their pensions, all those new gallants which had their dependances vpon the Princes which were in court, retired presently to their houses, and euery man returned to his old course as in the time of the deceased King, the Queen giuing them to vnderstand that they should be no lesse assured now then they were before. The Parisians in like manner who thought they should haue bene forced to goe to the guard of the Ports, had now leaue to hang vp their new armes.

54 Edicts and commissions reuoked.

The Queene hauing caused these first windes to cease which began to raise waues vpon the calme of peace, without vsing of any force: she resolved to cause iustice to reigne: Hauing recommended it to such as had the charge thereof, she sought to releue the generall complaints and greiuances of the subiects who had been vexed and oppressed by many Edicts and extraordinary commissions which the deceased King had granted by importunity. Whereupon on the 22 of Iuly, by letters patents in forme of a declaration, there were 54 Edicts and Commissions reuoked, wherewith the subiects had been oppressed; and diuers others were suspended vntill it should be otherwise decreed. This did to ease and content the people, as all France beganne to conceiue they were entering into a golden age vnder the Regency of the Queene: and the rather, for that she had caused the Sait to be farmed out, and abated a fourth part of that which it had bene sold for, and yet the vnder-takers diminished nothing of the accustomed rent.

The Queene continues the old Kings buildings.

The Queene also caused all the buildings begun by the deceased King to be continued, a worthy worke, and charitable in regard of the multitude of men employed therein: And as the deceased King before hee had ended one worke still beganne another: so during this Summer hee caused the buildings of Bois de Vincennes, and the Colledge royall to be begunne. The latter was a designe of the deceased King, but hee neuer saw the beginning of it. The King laid the first stone on the 28 of August, on the which these words were grauen, *In the first year of the reigne of Lewis the 13. King of France and Nauarre, being nine years of age, and of the Regency of Queene Mary of Medicis his Mother, 1610. Underneath it were the Kings armes, and the Queene Mothers. At the foure corners his Maiesty did set foure Medails, two of Gold, and two of siluer and guilt, with the like Inscription.*

Certaine Gentlemen executed at the Greue.

The Court of Parliament in the meane time was busied about the arraignment and condemnation of certaine Conspirators, so as on the fourth of September there were hanged at the Greue, by a decree thereof, the *S^s of harrie* a Poictiun, *Chesbabin* a Scotchman (who had liued 35 yeares in Poitou) and a sonne of his called *Champmartin*, convicted to haue made and published a Declaration, thereby to stirre vp the people of Poitou to a reuolt,

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A reuolt, and to induce them to take armes with them, to change the Estate into an Oligarchie, as it was said: France being ill gouerned as they conceiued. But their pretence was to make a shew of the publike good, and to fish in a troubled water. They had bene prisoners during the life of the deceased King, who would needs speake with them, especially with *Larrige*, who was a Protestant, and well knowne vnto his Maiesty, hauing caried armes for his seruice. Hee was discovered by some to whom hee had imparted this businesse, who help to take him. His Maiesty hauing bid many things before him, touching the affliction of his family, and commanded him to tell the truth with promise of pardon, so as hee would confesse the Author of the said Declaration: for that it appeared plainly by the style, that it was none of his owne inuention. The said *Larrige* answered, that not any but himselfe had set hand vnto it. You will not then (replyed his Maiesty) help to saue your selfe, and free your family from the dishonor which will grow by your punishment. Where haue you seene that disorder in the State, whereof you complaine in your Declaration? seeing you haue not parted from your house for these nine yeares space, nor come vnto my Court; neyther haue you receiued any discommoditie from me or my officers. Hereat hee stood mute. Whereupon the King sent him backe, and commanded they should make him dine, and that hee should sometimes eate with *Endart* and others who had bene familiar with him, to see if they might free him of that M. lancholy humor wherewith he was possessed; and discover if they could, the ground of the enterprife. But his Maiesty being dead, and hee continuing obstinate, they were all three convicted of reason, and troubling of the publike peace; for the which they were hanged, being held vnworthily to dye by the sword like Gentlemen.

A consultation touching the Kings army.

All things being pacified within the Realme, the Councell assembled to resolve what should be done with the army which the deceased King had drawne together before his death; the which beganne already to march towards Germany: and consulting of the finishing of his designe, it was not held expedient to beginne a new warre in the time of the Kings minority; seeing that the best experienced Princes are many times troubled in the like cases. Whereupon it was resolved that the Marshall *La Chastre* should haue 10000 Foot, and 1200 Horse, with some Peecces of Ordnance, and lead them to Iuliers to assist the Marquis of Brandenburg and the Duke of Newbourg (two of the pretenders to the Estates of Iuliers and Cleues;) the deceased King hauing promised to assist them with whatsoever they should need to maintaine and defend them in their pretensions; but death would not suffer him to effect his promise. The Queene mother being prest by the Ambassador of Spaine to abandon the succors promised by the deceased King her husband to the Princes pretending the succession of the Estates of Iuliers; shee answered, *Neuer speake of it, I will not abandon the Allies of France:* the which she presently put in execution, and the Marshall *La Chastre* had the charge giuen him to lead those Forces, who at the first excused himselfe by reason of his age and other occasion: yet hauing receiued commandement from the Queene, hee obeyed. In the meane time Iuliers was besieged, and battered by the Forces of our King of Great Britaine, by the Prince of Orange, and the Estates, and by the Prince of Anhalt who ledde the Forces of the two Pretendants. On the 18 of August the Marshall came vnto the campe before Iuliers, and was lodged in his quarter on the other side of the Riuer of Roer, whereas the Prince of Orange had made all necessary re-trenchments for him. They fo pressed the towne with their battery and Mynes, as on the first of September the Capitulation was made for the yeelding thereof by *Ranfsenberg* who held it for the Emperour. The Conditions were. 1, That there should be no alteration in the exercise of the Romish religion; and that all Clergy-men should be maintained in their priuiledges, and enioy their goods and reuennues. 2, That the Gouverneur, Captaines, and Souldiers, should deliuer the Towne and Castle vnto the Princes of Brandenburg and Newbourg, with the Artillery, Munition, victuall, and instruments of war, vnspoiled after the accord made. 3, That the Gouverneur, Captaines, Officers, and Souldiers might depart with their full armes, horses and baggage, whither they pleased; and that they should be furnished with 150 wagons to supply their wants. 4, That they might march out of the Towne and Castle of Iuliers, with their drummes beating, Colours flying, matches light, and bullets in their mouths. 5, That the Archduke *Leopold*s Officers, and all Clergy-men, and others, of what condition soeuer, might depart freely with their baggage. 6, That the Gouverneur should deliuer vnto such as should be depured

The Marshall La Chastre sent with forces vnto Iuliers.

Iuliers yeelded vpon composition.

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by the said Princes, all Charters and Records, and not carry any away. 7, That the Magistrates and Burgessees should be maintained in their priuiledges: and such as would might depart with their baggage. 8, That the accord being concluded, they should suffer some one deputed by the said Princes to enter, to receiue the Charters, Artillerie, Munition, and other things before mentioned. 9, That the Gouernor should cause the Garrison of Bredeben to depart vpon the same conditions that were concluded for the Towne of Iuliers. 10, That the said Gouernor should release all the prisoners of the campe, paying their charges, as also all the horses which had bene taken during the siege. 11, That the Gouernor of Iuliers should be restored to the possession of all his goods, as they were then in being, with all priuiledges and immunities belonging thereunto; and B the said Gouernour should not be molested for any thing which had hapned during that war, he taking an oath of fidelity and obedience to the said Princes, as other Gentlemen of the Country had done, which oath he should be bound to take within foure moneths. 12, That it should be lawfull for the Gouernor, Capitaines & souldiers within the towne and Castle of Iuliers, to retire themselves whither they pleased, out of the iurisdiction of the said Princes, & of the generall Estates of the vniited Provinces, and that they might remaine there for the space of 40 dayes in all safety; so as those troopes and others seruing the Emperour should not commit any act of hostility, nor oppresse the subiects and Countries of the said generall Estates. 13, That they should deliuer two Capitaines who should remaine in hostage vntill the returne of the wagons and horses which should be C deliuered them for the conduct of their sicke, wounded and baggage. After the yeelding of which Towne, and some other small places, the whole Duchy of Iuliers remained in the possession of the Princes of Brandenburg and Newbourg, and the Marshall *La Chastre* returned with his troopes into France.

Death of the Kings wife brother.

Death of Monsieur de Vie Gouernour of Calais.

France was so generally afflicted for the death of their King, as many died with the apprehension thereof. The Abbot of Marmontier his bafe brother (hauing receiued the newes thereof,) tooke his bed and died within few daies after, so dearly hee loued him. In the year 1590, being then Bishop of Lectoure, hee came vnto the Kings Army with 50 men at armes; and passing by Tours, the deceased Cardinall of Bourbon blamed him for that he went armed to the warre with a troope of horse: to whom hee answered; *I D haue not begun first, the deceased Cardinall of Guise hath bene a President for me; I haue more reason to carry armes for my brother, then hee had for his.* Monsieur de Vie Vice Admirall of France, being returned from Calais, whither the Queene had sent him after the Kings death, to giue order to his Gouernment, passing by the place where hee had by chance scene the King dead, and calling it to mind, he was seized with such a sudden apprehension as within two dayes after he dyed. He was a braue Cauallier, whom the king made choice of at the battell of Iury to be Sergeant-maior of the Field, hauing bene but two moneths in his Court; afterwards he gaue him the gouernment of St. Denis: and it may well be said that by his care in the guard of that place, and his pleasing behauiour, hee reduced the hearts of an infinit number of Parisians to the royall obedience. His Maiesties pleasure E was, that for a memory to posterity he should carry a Flower de luce of gold in his armes. After the reduction of Paris, he was Gouernour of the Bastile: Amiens being recovered, the King gaue him the gouernment; and Calais being yeilded by the Spaniard, he would not trust that frontier place but to this trusty seruant. But forbearing to make any further mention of such as dyed for very griefe, being many, let vs come to the Kings Coronation.

The Kings Coronation.

As the Coronation is an Action the most important for the State, the most assured for the person of Kings, the most necessary for the continuance of their Reigae, and the most considerabke for the good of the Realme; so for these reasons, the Queene (desiring to shew her loue and affection to the King her Son) appointed a day for his Coronation at Rheims, to adorne his head with a glorious Diadem in the spring of his yong years: to which end the Royall ornaments which are kept in the Abbey of S. Denis for the Coronation of Kings were carryed thither. On the 14. of October, he made his entry into the Towne, where his Maiesty was receiued with great pompe and magnificence, the particularities whereof, as also the preparation which was made in the Church for that solemnity, I am forced for breuities sake to omit. The day before the ceremony, the King went vnto the Cathedrall Church to assist at Euen-song, and to heare a Sermon made by P. Cotton,

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A P. Cotton, vpon the Diuine Institution of the Vnction, and Coronation of the Kings of France, and of Confirmation, which his Maiesty receiued by the hands of the Cardinall of Ioyeuse, to whom hee was presented by *Quene Marguerite* and the Prince of Conde. On Sunday the seuenteenth day of October, the King sent foure Barons vnto the Abbey of S. Remy to fetch the holy Oyle: They parted early in the morning with their Equires and Gentlemen, either of them hauing a banner with his Armes caried before him, causing a white Hackney to be led for the Prior of Saint Remy, who was to carry the said holy Oyle.

The Cardinall of Ioyeuse, who was to represent the Archbishop of Rheims, and to doe the office at the ceremony, came soone after into the Church with eight Bishops to assist him: where attending the coming of the Peeres, he sate him downe in his pontifical robes. As for the Bishops which assisted, two of them were attired like Deacons with Miters, two like Subdeacons with Miters, and foure with Copes and Miters. Soone after arriued the Ecclesiasticall Peeres in their pontifical robes; that is to say, the Bishop and Duke of Laon, the Bishop and Duke of Langres, the Bishop and Earle of Beauuais, the Bishop and Earle of Chalons, and the Bishop and Earle of Noyon. At the same instant there came from the Kings lodging, the Princes of Conde and Conty, the Earle of Soissons, with the Dukes of Neuers, Elbenf, and Epemon, who were deputed by the King to hold the places of the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine, and of the Earles of Toulouse, Flanders, and Champagne, attired in their Robes and Coronets, according to their qualities. Hauing done their deuotions, and saluted one another, they sent the Bishops of Laon and Beauuais to fetch the King, who departed presently in their pontifical habits, hauing certain reliques of Saints hanging about their necks, being conducted by the master of the ceremonies, all the Prebends of our Ladies Church marching in procession before them. Being come to the Kings chamber and finding it shut, the Bishop of Laon knockt three seuerall times, to either of which the Duke of Elguillon, great Chamberlaine of France, demanded, *What would ye?* The Bishop answered, *Lewis the thirteenth, sonne to Henry the great:* Whereunto the Lord Chamberlaine replied, *He sleeps.* Then knocking againe he had like answer. But at the third time, demanding what they D would haue, the Bishop answered, *Lewis the thirteenth, whom God hath giuen vs for King.* Then the doore was opened, & the Bishops entered with the chiefe Chanter of Rheims, and the master of the ceremonies: where they found the King laid vpon his bed, hauing his shirt slit both before and behind, to receiue the holy Vnction, and vpon it a waistcoate of crimson Sattin, slit also in like manner, and thereon a long robe of cloth-of-siluer. The Bishops seeing his Maiesty, he of Laon hauing finished a prayer, kissing their hands, they lifted the King from his bed, with all shewes of honour as to their soveraigne Prince, and then they led him singing to the Church doore.

The Ecclesiasticall Peeres.

The Secular Peeres.

Two Bishops goe for the King.

How the King was attired lying vpon his bed.

The order of the kings going to the Church.

Before him there marched first the great Prouost of France with his Archers; then the Clergy which had accompanied the two Prelates; the hundred Swissers of his Guard; the E Drums; Haultboies, and Heralds; the Nobility; the great master of the ceremonies; the Knights of the Holy Ghost, with their great order about their neckes, in the midst of two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings house; the Scottish Guard. Before his Maiesty went the Marshall *la Chastre* representing the Constable, carrying a naked sword, and hauing robes like vnto one of the Earles which were Lay Peeres: On either side of him went an Vsher of the Kings chamber, attired in white Sattin, carrying their Maces: next after came Monsieur de Sillery Chancellor of France in his robes; then followed the Marshall of Louardin, holding the place of Lord Steward: On the Kings right hand went the Duke of Elguillon high Chamberlaine of France, and on his left hand Monsieur de E *Elgarde*, master of the horse, holding his place of chiefe Gentleman of the Kings chamber. These three Noblemen were attired like vnto Lay Peeres Earles.

After some ceremonies at the Church doore, the King approaching neere vnto the high Altar, he was presented by the Bishops of Laon and Chalons, vnto the Cardinall of Ioyeuse, who represented the Archbishop of Rheims; who receiuing him said many prayers, whilst the King was at his deuotion. After which his Maiesty was led vnto his seat, with his officers and Noblemen about him, according to their degrees. In the meane time, all the religious men of Saint Remy came solemnly in procession, being accompanied by the chiefe of the towne, carrying Torchets of Virgin waxe in their hands. Their

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Prior was mounted vpon the white Hackney, hauing a foot-cloath of cloath-of-siluer, A carying the holy Oyle in a boxe hanging about his necke, being vnder a Canopy of cloath-of-siluer, borne by foure Monkes.

The Cardinall being aduertised of the arriual of the said Oyle, he went presently in his pontificalibus to meet it, with the eight Bishops which assisted him, and all the singing-men and Quiristers. But before they would deliuer it to the Cardinall, they made him (according to the custome) binde himselfe to restore it vnto them, the Ceremony being ended: the which he promised on the word of a prelate. After a prayer said by the Cardinall, hee shewed the holy Oyle vnto the people, and then set it downe vpon the high Altar with all reverence. Then being assisted by the Bishops of Laon and Beauuais, hee made this following request.

A request made vnto the King by the Cardinall. The Kings answer.

Wee pray and require you, that you would grant vnto every one of vs, and the Churches wherof we haue the charge, the Canonick priuiledges, and good Lawes, and Iustice: and that you will defend vs as a King ought all his Bishops and their Churches. Whereunto the King answered. I promise to preferre you in your Canonick priuiledges, as also your Churches: and that I will giue you good Lawes, and doe you Iustice, and will defend you by the help of God, according to my power: as a King in his Realme ought to doe in right and reason, to his Bishops and their Churches.

After this Answer, the Bishops of Laon and Chaalons lifted his Maiesty vp from his Chaire, demanding of the assistants if they did accept of him for their King: nor that this Acceptation is taken for an Election (the Realme of France hauing bene alwayes hereditary and successefull to the next male:) but for a declaration of the succession, obedience and fidelity which they owe vnto him, as their Soueraigne Lord, by the expresse commandement of God. Having bene acknowledged for their lawfull Prince by a generall consent of all the Orders, the Cardinall of Ioueuise presented vnto him the Oath of the Kingdome (which is the sacred bond of the fundamentall lawes of the State) the which he took publicly in these words, with inuocation of the name of God, laying his hand vpon the Gospell, which he killed with great reuerence.

The Kings oath vnto his Subiects.

I promise in the Name of Iesus Christ, these things to the Christians subiect vnto me. First, I will endeavour that the Christian people shall liue peaceably with the Church of God. Moreover, I will provide, that in all vocations these and all iniquities shall cease. Besides, I will command, that in all Indgements, equity and mercy shall take place: to the end that God who is gentle and mercifull may haue mercy on you and me. Furthermore, I will seeke by all meanes in good faith to chase out of my Iurisdiction, and the Lands of my subiection, all Heretikes denounced by the Church: promising by oath to observe all that hath bene said, so help me God and this holy Euangel.

The Kings Ornaments appointed for the Coronation were laid vpon the Altar, that is to say, the Imperiall Crowne, being close, and a middle one, the royall Scepter, the hand of Iustice, the Spurs, the Sword, his royall Roabe, with diuers others. On the left side of the Altar, neere vnto them, stood the Prior of S. Denis, who hath the keeping of them; and on the right side was the Prior of S. Remy looking to the holy Oyle. The Bishops of Laon and Beauuais hauing conducted the King vnto the altar, *Monsi: de Bellegarde* first Gentleman of his Chamber, tooke off his roabe of Cloth-of-siluer. Being in his waistcoat of Sattin, when the Cardinall had made certaine accustomed prayers and blessings, the Duke of Elguillon put on his Buskins, and the Prince of Conde (supplying the place of the Duke of Bourgundy Deane of the Lay-peeres) put on his Spurs, and presently took them off againe.

After this, the Cardinall blest the royall Sword being in the scabbard: which being ended, hee girt the King therewith, and presently vngirt him againe: then he drew it out of the scabbard, which hee left vpon the altar, & kissing it, said many prayers, wherewith that the Quier sung certaine Anthems. The King hauing received the Sword, kist it, and offered it to the altar whereon it was laid, in witness of his zeale and affection to the defence of the Church. Hauing offered the Sword vnto the altar, the Cardinall deliuered it into his hand againe, which his Maiesty received reuerently vpon his knee, and gaue it to the *Marshall La Chastre*, who held the place of Constable during the Ceremony: the Cardinall returning to the Altar to prepare the sacred vnction, after this manner: Hee drew out of the forenamed holy Violl with a needle of gold, a small quantity of oiliour of the

The King offers the royall sword to the Altar.

A the bigneffe of a pease, and mingled it with his finger with the holy Crefine prepared in the couer of the Chalice.

This Vnction being thus ordered, the tyings of the Kings garments were let loose both before and behinde, by the Cardinall and the Bishops of Laon and Beauuais: after which his Maiesty kneeled downe in his Oratory or Cloister, and the Cardinall with him, to craue the assistance of the grace of God for the preperation of France. The Lettany being sung, the Cardinall stood vp to say certaine prayers over the King, who was yet kneeling. Which done, the Cardinall set him downe as in the consecration of a Bishop, and holding in his hand the plate wher on the sacred Oyle lay, hee beganne with his right thumb to anoint the King in diuers places, *viz:* on the crowne of the head, on the stomacke, betwixt his shoulders, on both shoulders, and on the bendings of his armes. The Consecration and prayers being ended, the Cardinall with the two Bishops clofed vp his shirt, waistcoat, and other garments, in reuerence of the sacred vnction. Then the Duke of Elguillon high chamberlaine, presented to the King the three habits accustomed to be worn in the like ceremonies vpon his waistcoat, *viz:* a long tucket, representing a Subdeacon, a Surplis for a Deacon, and a royall Cloake in stead of a Cope, representing a Priest; which ended, the Cardinall anointed the palmes of his hands, and then put him on thin gloues, lest he should touch any thing with his bare hands, for reuerence of the sacred vnction: which gloues hee blest, and sprinkled with holy water, saying diuers prayers. The royall Ring being also blest by the Cardinall, (a symbole of loue whereby the King was wedded to his Realme) hee put it on the fourth finger of his Maiesties right hand, with the accustomed Ceremony. This done, hee tooke the Scepter from the Altar, and put it into his right hand for a marke of soueraigne power. Then hee tooke the hand of Iustice, which hee put into his left hand, it being a wand hauing on the top of it a hand of Iuory.

All which Ceremonies being ended, the Chancelor of France came vp to the Altar, with his face towards the King, and with a loud voyce called vp the Peeres according to their dignity and order, to assist at the Coronation. First, the Secular Peeres; and then, the Ecclesiasticall. This conuocation being ended, the Cardinall tooke the great Crowne from the Altar, and lifting it with both his hands over the Kings head, the Peeres came presently to support them; and then the Cardinall holding it in his left hand blest it. After this benediction, the Cardinall alone set the Crowne vpon the Kings head: whereunto all the Peeres put their hands. In crowning him, the Cardinall holding it still with his left hand, said many prayers, and blest the King: the which being ended, hee tooke him by the right shoulde, and (in the company of all the Peeres) conducted him from the Altar to his Royall throne, which was built on high at the bottome of the Quier, that he might be seene of all the people, holding still in his hands the royall Scepter, and rod of Iustice.

The Queene Regent beheld all these Ceremonies from a high Scaffold, hauing by her Queene *Marguerite*, and the Princesses of Coide, of County, of Montpensier, of Rohan, and diuers other Ladies. She was all this while disquieted for the Kings health, not being able to endure with patience to see his Maiesty bare headed vnder the Crowne, hauing his cap taken from him: which shewes that Crownes and Greatnes haue their discommodities as well as ordinary things and the poorest cottages.

The King being come to his royall Throne, attended by the Peeres, Princes, and Officers, according to their degrees; the Cardinall of Ioueuise holding him by the hand, caused him to sit downe, and prayed vnto God to confirme him in his Throne, and to make him inuincible and inexpugnable against all those which should vnjustly seeke to deprive him of the Crowne which was lawfully fallen vnto him. After which the Cardinall hauing said a prayer, being bare headed, hee made a low obysance vnto the King, and kissed him, saying thrice with a loud voyce, *God save the King:* and at the last hee added, *God save the King eternally.* All the Peeres did the like obysance vnto him one after another, and kist him with the like acclamation, and then returned to their seates which were prepared for them on eyther hand of the King. The people which were in the body of the Church, hearing the ioy of the Princes, began to cry out with a loud voyce, *God save the King,* being accompanied with all sorts of Musicke, Drums and Trumpets. Which done, the Heraldus who were in the bottome of the Quier, began to call forth many peeces of gold and siluer, which were purposely coyned, hauing on the one side the Kings picture crowned, and on the other side a hand coming out of heauen, holding a Violl with the sacred

Oyle,

1610

Many of the French beleeue that this holy Oyle was sent from heauen, and that it neuer wasteth.

The parts where the King was anointed.

The Peeres called vp to the Kings Coronation.

The manner of the Kings coronation.

The Cardinall and all the Peeres kisse the King.

1610

Oyle, with this inscription, *Francis data munera cali*. Thus much I haue thought good to write for the Readers better satisfaction touching the substance of the Kings Coronation, for that it hath not beene so particularly set downe in the life of any of the precedent Kings.

As for those things which followed during the Masse, the Kings going to the offering, his receiving of the Communion, and the royall feast made in the Archbishops Palace, I must be forced to passe over with silence, fearing I should be both tedious to the Reader, and wrong the History, being tyed to strict bounds.

The King desiring (according to the statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost) to receive the Coller of the same Order from the Cardinall who had anointed him, hee came the day after his coronation to the same Church to Euen-song, being attended by the officers, Prelates, and Knights of the said Order in their robes, where the ceremonies required by the said Statutes, were exactly obserued. The King hauing his chaire of State in the Quier, came towards the high Altar, being led by the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons, all the officers of the Order going before them, where hee tooke the oath of the said Order (as head and Soueraigne thereof) in the hands of the Cardinall, laying his hand vpon the Gospell, which the Chancellor of the sayd Order held vnto him: which done, *Atens: de Rhodis* Prouost of both Orders, put on his robes, and the Cardinall put the Coller vpon his shoulders: the Seig: of Pileux sonne to the Chancellor, and Treasurer of the said Order, deliuered vnto the Cardinall a Crosse hanging at a blew ribbon, after which his Maiestie returned to his first place, where he was saluted by all the Knights: but before his coming from the Altar, the Prince of Conde was led vp by the Dukes of Espenon and Montbascon, where he alone was made Knight of the Order by the King.

These ceremonies being all ended, the King returned to Paris, where he was received by *Atens: de Lioncourt* Gouverneur of the City, the Prouost of Merchants, the Sherifes, and two hundred Burgeses on horseback, hauing before them three Companies of horsemen richly appointed, who attended him without Saint Anthonies gate, where the Prouost of Merchants made a speech vnto him, shewing the desires and vovues which his most faithfull subjects of his good City of Paris made vnto God, that hee would fend him all happinesse and prosperity during his reigne. In the meane time the Duke of Sully, great master of the Artillery, had drawne forth of the Arsenall 93 great peeces of Ordnance, which were planted vpon the Bulwarke at Saint Anthonies gate, with a great number of Chambers, all which saluted the King at his entry. After which the King came into the City with some troopes of horse, and all his guards, being attended by many Princes, Noblemen, and officers, in great state.

In the beginning of this ycare, *Philip* the 3 King of Spaine, had by his Edict banished all the new Christians called Morisques, being in number 900000 persons, vpon pretext that they had conspired against his Estate: for the execution whereof, hee published an Edict for which there was no preuention; so as all ships and vessels were stayed in the Portes of Spaine, of what nation soeuer, to transport them whither they would. Many past from Spaine to diuers ports of Barbary. But during the whole ycare at diuers times, there entred into France about 150000 persons of these Morisques: whereupon King *Henry* the fourth being full of charity and bounty, embraced this occasion, and made a decree touching their entry and passage in France: the tenor whereof was; That hauing beene aduertised of a decree lately made by the King of Spaine, carying an expresse commandement to all Morisques liuing in his Country of Spaine to depart within a short time, vpon great penalties, which he caused to be executed vpon them; and that by reason thereof great numbers of families of the sayd Morisques, were come into his Country; his maiestie hauing a good intention to vse all humanity towards them, for the receiving of them into his kingdome: that such as would make profession of the Catholike and Romish Religion, might remaine there with all safety; and as for the rest which would not, they should haue passage vnto his ports of the Leuant Seas, from thence to be transported into Barbary, or whither they pleased. For the execution of the Kings Edict, a Commission was sent downe to *Augier*, Prouost generall of Languedoc, to conduct them in their passage vnto the nearest Hauens of the Leuant Sea, where hee embarked at diuers times about thirty thousand which landed at Tunis in Barbary in safety.

The

Ceremonies obserued when the King receiued the Order of the Holy Ghost.

The King returns to Paris.

The new Christians banished out of Spaine.

King Henrys decree touching the Morisques.

A The Queene Regent being aduertised that there were 50000 Morisques of Arragon marching into France, and that there were already a great many of Grenadains in Prouence: their Maiesties being carefull of the preservation of the said Morisques, as well to preuent the complaint of their commissaries, as to hasten their passage into Barbary, by reason of the gricauances of the inhabitants of Prouence and Languedoc, touching the discommoditie of their stay, and the danger of infection through the misery whereunto many of them were reduced: Their Maiesties sent a master of Requests with commission to free those Countries of so many Morisques, and to cause them to bee transported into Barbary, without any wrong or iniury done vnto them; and to haue a care that the inhabitants of those Prouinces might liue in peace. The care of these embarkments was again committed to *Augier*, by a Commission, and Letters of recommendations from the Queene, dated the 19 of August 1610, wherein he discharged himselfe very faithfully, as it seemes by a certificate made by the Commissaries of the said Morisques; yet afterward they made great complaints against him, and others whom hee had employed in these embarkments: and one *Lopez*, Commissary for the Morisques, went soone afterwards to the Court to complaine vnto their Maiesties: and vpon a Petition presented vnto the priuy Councell, against *Augier*, and some inhabitants of Agde, he obtained a Commission to call them vp.

Augier appeared vpon the summons, giues in his defences in writing, causeth a declaration to be printed of al which had past in the embarkment of the Morisques, & protests that he had not medled with the impositions and taxes leauied vpon them, nor with the seizure of their goods, the searching of their Barks, nor the imprisonment of any one of them. He produced certaine certificates, shewing that hee had safely conducted 60000 Morisques through the Country of Languedoc, hauing caused them to be embarked at Agde with much care and diligence, and transported into Barbary with their goods in all safety. *Lopez* on the other side continuing his complaints, sayd that *Augier*, *Ioseph Palmier*, and *Iohn Anthony Jordan*, inhabitants of the towne of Agde, vnder colour of searching some vessels, to force the rich Morisques to pay for the charges of the poores embarkment, had caried away a great number of Royals of plate belonging to diuers private men: and that in these proceedings there had beene many thefts and exactions committed contrary to all right and equity. Vpon these complaints, the Councell sent the examination of the cause to the Court of Parliament, for the ease of the parties. *Augier* seeing this businesse to take another course then he expected, retired into Languedoc, where he lurked, and sought by all meanes to auoid the iustice of this Court. On the other side the procurer of the Morisques, pursued his complaints with all diligence, hauing obtained a personall adournment against *Augier* and some others: what succeeded wee may heare hereafter.

This ycare Cardinall *Bellarmino* had caused a Booke to be printed at Rome, entituled it, *A Treatise of the Popes power in Temporall causes*: It came no sooner into France, but they obserued many things therein against the temporall power of Kings. In this Treatise hee did strue to proue his pretended power of the Pope ouer Kings in temporall causes: in regard whereof, the Kings learned Councell sought out this Booke and presented it to the Court, with obseruations of such things as they found contrary to the soueraigne power of Princes ordained of God, especially in the Realme of France. And on the 26 of Nouember, *Mons: Seruin* the Kings first Aduocate, in the remonstrance which he made vnto the Court vpon that subiect, sayd; That all new bookes which taught that the Pope was aboue Kings in temporall things, should not be allowed; and that there were too many which presumed to write against Princes and temporall Estates, whereat not onely the sayd Princes, but all good subjects had reason to be offended: as of late the officers of the King of Spaine had beene against the writings of Cardinall *Baronius*, concerning Sicily, whereby they haue purchased a great deale of honour throughout the world: And we (sayd he) owe no lesse vnto our most Christian King, for the life, and for the honour of his Maiesty, and for the temporall of his Estates: yea if at any time it be holy, if it bee iust, if it be honourable, if it be an argument of courage and loue in the French to their King and Country, to hold the Maximes of truth, and to defend the freedoms and liberties of the Gallicane Church, truly it should now chiefly appeare, during the monage of our King, reigning vnder the happy regency of the Queene his mother, the which God com-

1610

The Queene Regents prouision for the Morisques.

Augier called in question by the Morisques.

Bellarmino book touching the Popes temporall power, forsoe bidden.

Mons: Seruin speech to the Court of Parliament.

1610

Oyle, with this inscription, *Francis datamunera celi*. Thus much I have thought good to write for the Readers better satisfaction touching the substance of the Kings Coronation, for that it hath not bene so particularly set downe in the life of any of the precedent Kings.

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Ceremonies observed when the King receiveth the Order of the Holy Ghost.

The King desiring according to the statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost to receive the Coller of the same Order from the Cardinall who had anointed him, hee came the day after his coronation to the same Church to Euen-song, being attended by the officers, Prelates, and Knights of the said Order in their robes, where the ceremonies required by the said Statutes, were exactly observed. The King having his chaire of State in the Quier, came towards the high Altar, being led by the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons, all the officers of the Order going before them, where hee tooke the oath of the said Order (as head and Soueraigne thereof) in the hands of the Cardinall, laying his hand vpon the Gospell, which the Chancellor of the said Order held vnto him: which done, *Atous de Rhodes* Prouost of both Orders, put on his robes, and the Cardinall put the Coller vpon his shoulders: the Seig: of Pisseux sonne to the Chancellor, and Treasurer of the said Order, deliuered vnto the Cardinall a Crosse hanging at a blew ribbon, after which his Maiestie returned to his first place, where he was saluted by all the Knights: but before his coming from the Altar, the Prince of Conde was led vp by the Dukes of Elpheron and Montbason, where he alone was made Knight of the Order by the King.

The King returns to Paris.

These ceremonies being all ended, the King returned to Paris, where he was received by *Atous de Lioncourt* Gouverneur of the City, the Prouost of Merchants, the Sherifes, and two hundred Burgeses on horseback, having before them three Companies of horsemen richly appointed, who attended him without Saint Anthonies gate, where the Prouost of Merchants made a speech vnto him, shewing the desires and vowes which his most faithfull subjects of his good City of Paris made vnto God, that hee would send him all happiness and prosperity during his reigne. In the meane time the Duke of Sully, great master of the Artillery, had drawne forth of the Arkenall 93 great peeces of Ordnance, which were planted vpon the Bulwarke at Saint Anthonies gate, with a great number of Chambers, all which saluted the King at his entry. After which the King came into the City with some troopes of horse, and all his guards, being attended by many Princes, Noblemen, and officers, in great state.

The new Christians banished out of Spaine.

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The

1610

The Queene Regents protestation for the Morisques.

A The Queene Regent being advertised that there were 50000 Morisques of Arragon marching into France, and that there were already a great many of Grenadains in Prouence: their Maiesties being careful of the preferuation of the said Morisques, as well to prevent the complaint of their commissaries, as to hasten their passage into Barbary, by reason of the grieuances of the inhabitants of Prouence and Languedoc, touching the commodities of their stay, and the danger of infection, through the misery whereunto many of them were reduced: Their Maiesties sent a master of Requests with commission to free those Countries of so many Morisques, and to cause them to be transported into Barbary, without any wrong or injury done vnto them; and to haue a care that the inhabitants of those Prouinces might liue in peace. The care of these embarkments was again committed to *Augier*, by a Commission, and Letters of recommendations from the Queene, dated the 19 of August 1610, wherein he discharged himselfe very faithfully, as it seemes by a certificate made by the Commissaries of the said Morisques; yet afterward they made great complaints against him, and others whom he had employed in these embarkments: and one *Lopez*, Commissary for the Morisques, went soone afterwards to the Court to complaine vnto their Maiesties: and vpon a Petition presented vnto the priuy Councell, against *Augier*, and some inhabitants of Agde, he obtained a Commission to call them vp.

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Augier called in question by the Morisques.

This yeare Cardinall *Bellarmino* had caused a Booke to be printed at Rome, entituled it, *A Treatise of the Popes power in Temporall causes*: It came no sooner into France, but they observed many things therein against the temporall power of Kings. In this Treatise hee did strue to proue his pretended power of the Pope ouer Kings in temporall causes: in regard whereof, the Kings learned Councell fought out this Booke and presented it to the Court, with obseruations of such things as they found contrary to the soueraigne power of Princes ordained of God, especially in the Realme of France. And on the 26 of Nouember, *Mossy* Seruier the Kings first Aduocate, in the remonstiance which he made vnto the Court vpon that subiect, sayd; That all new bookes which taught that the Pope was aboue Kings in temporall things, should not be allowed; and that there were too many which presumed to write against Princes and temporall Estates, whereat not only the sayd Princes, but all good subjects had reason to be offended: as of late the officers of the King of Spaine had bene against the writings of Cardinall *Baronius*, concerning Sicily, whereby they haue purchased a great deal of honour throughout the world: And we (sayd he) owe no lesse vnto our most Christian King, for the life, and for the honour of his Maiestie, and for the temporall of his Estates: yea if at any time it be holy, if it bee iust, if it be honourable, if it be an argument of courage and loue in the French to their King and Country, to hold the Maximes of truth, and to defend the freedoms and liberties of the Galliane Church, truly it should now chiefly appeare, during the nonage of our King, reigning vnder the happy regency of the Queene his mother, the which Com-

Bellarmino book touching the Popes temporall power, forbidden.

Mossy Seruier speech to the Court of Parliament.

1611

commands vs by the mouth of his Apostles : wherein the Pope shall not be wronged, neither shall he have any cause of discontentment : which point had beene formerly contested by many grave and learned men, who have maintained, *That the King of France doth not acknowledge any power or authority in temporall causes.* And as for themselves who were bound to speake ; being of the Kings Councill, having examined Cardinall *Bellarmines* Booke, they should hold themselves blame worthy to have failed of their duties, if after the murder of their late Kings *Henry* the third and fourth by inhumane parricides or execrable monsters, inspired and stirred up by false doctrines, they should not cry out vpon all occasions, *Against the Maximes and propositions which import the life, dignity, and majesty of the King, and the Queene Regent his mother :* and the Iudges of this great Parliament should be inexorable, yea worthy of blame, not onely now but hereafter, when as the King shall come to age, if in stead of receiving this complaint as iust, they should suffer such pernicious writings to passe without a fit and severe censure. Whereupon hee concluded, that all men of what quality or condition soever, should be forbidden to receive, keep, print, or cause to be printed, this booke of *Bellarmines*, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason in the first degree : and all men enioyned, which haue or may haue, know, or may know, where any one is within the Realme, to declare it to the Iudges of the place, or to the substitutes of the Kings proctor general, to be suppressed exemplarily, as being a doctrine contrary to the dignity, authority, and soueraignty royall, and tending to cause the subject to revolt against the King, and to attempt against his life and Estate : And that inhibitions might be made vnto all persons vpon the same penalty, to write or teach in Schooles or elsewhere the like doctrine. The great Chamber, the Tur-nelle, and the Chamber of the Edict, being assembled vpon this motion, the Court made a decree against *Bellarmines* booke, according to the conclusion of the Kings Advocate, whereof the Popes Nuncio made many complaints vnto the Kings Councill, seeking by all means to haue this same decree suspended.

Conclusion of
the Aduocates
speech.

Death of Du
Haillant Historiographer of
France.

The second
year of this
reigne.
Hired and iea-
lousies among
the Nobles.

A decree to call
all Noblemen
and officers of
the Crowne
to the Court.

I will end this year with the death and end of a famous Historiographer, who was much honoured by the French : I meane *Bernard de Gerrard* Seig: of Haillant, who died being 75 yeares old. *Henry* the third, to requite the paines hee tooke in the first booke of his French History, rewarded him with a place of a Secretary of the Treasury. Afterwards D having dedicated his History of France vnto him, the which he had collected out of ancient Authors, as the first body of a History attired in a French habit, hee honoured him with the place of a Councillor and Historiographer of France, the which he made a settled office, with a fee of 1200 Crowne a yeare. Since, he made a Treatise of the successe of the affaires of France, and other bookes. He had the office of Generalgilt of the Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, at the creation of this Order. King *Henry* the third loved him for that he was well scene in the History of France, for his freedom of speech, and for his quick answers and replies.

Since the Kings Coronation, which was in October last past, vntill the beginning of this year, hatred, enuy, ialousies and discontents began to grow amongst the greatest of this Kingdom ; some for preferment of governments, addition of offices and dignities, and for increase of fees and pensions ; others for gratuities given to some in secret, which before the end of the year did much disquiet and trouble both the King, Queene, and Councill, how to containe every one in his dutie, and in good correspondency one with another, for the quiet of the State, and the Kings seruice. And for that many vpon this subject, retired themselves daily from Court, and did not attend their Maiesties as they were bound by their births and callings, but kept the field with troopes of horse, (which bred a ialousie that there were some designs to the prejudice of the publike peace and tranquillity) the King being assisted by the Queene Regent his mother, with the aduice of many Princes, Dukes, Noblemen and officers of the Crowne, ordained in his Councill of State, F that all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and officers of the Crowne and House of France, bound thereunto by any wages or pensions from his Maiesty, should (within one month after the publication thereof) repaire to Court, there to attend, and to doe their personal seruice ; and in case of disobedience, to lose all their dignities, offices, priuileiges, fees, and pensions. And at the same time commandement was sent from their Maiesties to many towns, not to suffer any to enter so strong as they might prescribe them a law, yet wholly relying on their faith and loyalties, without any other prouision for their safeties.

This

1610

A This decree being come to the notice of the said Noblemen which were absent, every man prepared himselfe to obey. In the winter-time all came to Paris, but with such traines as it did somewhat amaze the Citizens ; but the Queene to prevent all attempts which might trouble the peoples quiet, and seeing the daily quarrels and challenges among many great men, marching as well by day as by night, through the Citie and suburbs, followed by many Gentlemen well armed and mounted, shee sought to stay the course, and prevent the execution of many designs, commanding the inhabitants to haue their armes ready, to come forth armed at all seasons, vpon any, which should quarrell vpon any pretext whatsoeuer : the which did somewhat abate the courage of such as had a will to doe but cuill ; and yet their hatred growing through enuy and priuate ialousies, dyed not, vntill the Queene had taken away the cause by another means. For, considering that they who during the life of the deceased King, were kept in awe by the onely feare they had to lose his fauor, would hardly now yeeld vnto the King her sonne the seruice and obedience due vnto him for the many honors and fauors done them by their Maiesties ; and that he which was formerly content with ten, would not now be satisfied with any hundred ; and in a word, that all this mischiefe tended onely to make themselves great during the Kings minority : the Queene Regent had recourse to means not befitting the dignity of the King, to containe the authors of these crosses in their duties, to avoid a worse inconuenience which the necessity of the time did extort, distributing honors, offices, pensions, and gratuities among the Nobility : so as more Gentlemen of note and quality were gratified then by the deceased King ; and more companies of men of armes were entertained ; by which means all things seemed quiet : yet their discontents burst out againe ; for on the third of January the whole Louure was full of drawne swords vpon a light quarrell betweene the two first Gentlemen of the Kings chamber, *Montf: de Belgarde* Master of the Horse, and the Marquis *d'Ancre* ; the which notwithstanding was presently reconciled by her Maiesties commandement.

The Parisians
commanded to
haue their armes
ready.

This was no sooner reconciled, but an accident begot another ; but between other personages, between Princes of the blood, and between two brethren, to wit, the Prince of Conty, and the Earle of Soissons, which also engendred another, that without the Queen Regents preuention might haue plunged France into the like troubles it was in during the quarrels of the Houses of Orleans and Bourguindy. And thus they hapned.

On Munday the 10 of January about foure or fve a clock at night, the Prince of Conty going to the Louure in his Carrosse, with foure or fve of his followers on horse-back, met with the Earle of Soissons his brother, in his Carrosse also, being followed by eightene or twenty on horse-backe : and for that the street was encombred, one of the Carrosses must of force stay to let the other passe. The Gentleman of the Earles horse, not knowing the Princes Coach-man, would haue caused him to stay, commanding to goe backe with threats (as commonly they doe which accompany such Princes, and are many times the cause of great quarrels) which being heard by those which were in the Princes Carrosse, E he they commanded the Coach-man to put forwards his horses, and to passe on at what time they which were with the Earle told him, that it was the Prince ; he presently sent a Gentleman to make his excuse for the error, which had beene committed by the indiscretion of the Gentleman of his horse, beseeching him to beleue that it was without any designe, and that hee was his most humble seruant. Notwithstanding, the Prince in passing cryed out vnto him, *To morrow we will try it out in our shirts.* The Queene Mother (being instantly aduerted of what had past) sent to the Earle of Soissons, commanding him to keepe his lodging vntill shee had reconciled the businesse : And at the same instant the commanded the prince of Condé, and afterwards the Duke of Guise (who was brother in law to the prince of Conty) to visit the said prince the next day, and dispose him to an accord, F seeing that what had past was not done with any designe : and that the Earle of Soissons should send the party to him who had committed this indiscretion, to craue his pardon.

A quarrell be-
tweene the
Prince of Con-
ty and the Earle
of Soissons.

Both went according to the Queenes commandement, but not together. The prince of Condé going in his Carrosse, with foure Gentlemen onely on horse-backe, encountered with the Duke of Guise at point Bussy, accompanied with an 150 horse coming from the prince of Conty ; he told him that hee had disposed the prince to refer himselfe vnto his iudgement for his satisfaction ; for the which he gaue him great thanks. The Duke caused his brother the Cheualier du Guise to accompany him to the prince of Conty, and to put him

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False reports
breed a quarrel
between the
Earle of Soif-
sons and the
Duke of Guise.

him in minde of his promise, he himselfe also offering to accompany him, but he refused it. So the Prince of Conty having confided to his Nephew the Prince of Condé what he had spoken to the Duke of Guise, that quarrell was ended.

But upon the report which was at the same instant made unto the Earle of Soifsons, that the Duke of Guise went through the City with 150 horse to braye him: that hee had past by his house to make shew of his troope: that all those which were with him had coats of male, and that he had caused fifty to be bought: that they had heard these words spoken by the Prince of Conty's followers, *I am servant to the King, to the Queene, and to the Duke of Orleans.* Finally, that all this was not without some project against him, considering what had past for the young Lady of Montpensier promised to the duke of Orleans, whom they of Bourbon desired as being of their blood and House; seeing the Duchesse dowager of Montpensier her mother was newly married to the Duke of Guise. This report I say bred a quarrell between the Earle of Soifsons, and the Duke of Guise. The Queene was suddenly advertised hereof, who sent *Monf: de Vitry* Captain of the Guard to remaine with the duke of Guise & his brethren, and to command them to keep their lodgings untill he had otherwise determined. About two of the clocke in the afternoon, the Earle of Soifsons came to the Loure to the Queene. A Councell was called, where there assisted the Constable, the Dukes of Elsporn, Sully & Bouillon, the Chancellor, President *Laini*, the Marshalls of Brissac and Boislauphin, with the M. of the horse.

The Constable demanded Justice of the Queene against the Duke of Guise, who had gone out of his lodging with 150 horse to braye the Earle of Soifsons. The Duke of Sully tooke the speech upon him for *Monf: de Guise*, and said unto the Queen: Madam, the demand which my Lord the Constable maketh unto you is very reasonable, and you owe justice to all your subjects, and especially to Princes of the blood: but you must understand whereof they complaine. There can nothing be alledged, but that the D. of Guise went out of his lodging with 150 horse to braye the Earle of Soifsons. I have not scene *Monf: de Guise*, but as far as I can learne from some of his with whom I spake even now, he went in the morning from his wives lodging by your Maiesties commandement, to try if he might dispole the Prince of Conty his brother in law to a reconciliation with the Earle of Soifsons; that without passing before the Earles lodging which was his nearest way, he had gone through S. Honoris street and so over the new bridge, with an intent that if he had met with the Earle, to have saluted him and given him the way, for that he hath no quarrell unto him but is his servant. Moreover, that the Duke of Guise seeing his company greater when he came from the Prince of Conty, then when hee went thither, he would not come directly to your Maiestie to give an account of what hee had done, but retired himselfe to his owne house. The Dukes of Elsporn and Bouillon confirmed the same.

This excuse was presently sent to be propounded to the Earle of Soifsons, to see if hee would rest satisfied. He refused foure of them which were in Councell, pretending their strict friendship and nere alliance with the Duke of Guise. In the end it was concluded that the quarrell should be ended by a discourse which the Queene should make, whereunto the Duke of Guise should answer. There were many difficulties on the forme of this discourse, wherein that day and the next were spent. Upon these alterations the Burgeses were commanded to arme in those quarters which were nearest to the Loure. Whether it were upon the leuaine of an old quarrell (although compounded) between the Earle of Soifsons and the duke of Sully, or for any other intention, the Marquis of Rhofny his sonne, the duke of Rohan his son in law, and all their friends which were many (for persons doe alwaies follow those that governe the treasure) went to the D. of Guise, who being assisted by them of his family, and those which were allied unto him, shewed himselfe with a great troope of Princes and Nobility, going to visit the duke of Maine, to demand his aduice touching the forme of the discourse which they would have him make unto the Queene. The Duke of Maine came unto the Loure and saw the Queene, who in the beginning complained to see that such a received pension from the king her son, did not assist him, but sided with the one or the other party. Her Maiesty knew well that this quarrell (if it were not reconciled) would have a fallall end; imitating the deceased King her husband, who would not suffer any quarrell in his Court vnderived; told the Dukes of Maine and Bouillon, that her pleasure was, it should be speedily ended: That

The Queene
calls the
Duke of Maine
& Bouillon.

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The forme of
the accord be-
tweene the
Earle of Soif-
sons and Duke
of Guise.

Saint Ger-
maines Faire
forbidden.

A composition
for the Castle
of Amboise.

The Citadell of
Bourg raised.

The resuing of
the League be-
tweene the
Venetians and
Grisons.

A the would have the honor of the Princes of the blood preferred, that whosoever attempted against them did as much as if they had affronted the King her sonne. The Duke of Maine besought her, that the honour of his House might not be committed to the iudgement of passionate men: that they and their friends had serued her Maiesty unto her Regency: that they had no interest but the preferation of the State vnder the lawfull authority of their Maiesties, and that he had rather see them all dead, then to see them faile in the respect & obedience which they did owe them. In the end they all thought it good that the duke of Maine should say unto the Queene for the D. of Guise, that which was contained in a writings which they had caused to be drawne, but in the absence of both the parties. The next day being the 14. of the month, about two of the clocke in the afternoon, the D. of Maine came to effect her Maiesties pleasure, where in the presence of the king, Queene, Princes & Noblemen of the Court, he spake these words for the D. of Guise. *Madam, upon the opinion that my Lord the Earle of Soifsons hath had, that that which passed on Tuesday, hath given him some occasion to complaine of mee, I can assure your Maiesty, that I had no thought nor intention to grieve him cause, and should be very sorry to have done it, contrary to my selfe, if I had encountered him, I would have done him the honour which is due unto him, desiring to remain his most humble servant.* Whereupon the Queen answered, *I am glad of that which you say unto me, and rest satisfied.* Hereupon the Prince of Condé presently charge to repaire unto the Earle of Soifsons, to acquaint him with what had past, and to command him to conforme himselfe to her Maiesties will: the which he promised to doe. And so this quarrell was ended by the Regents wisdom: and these Princes did afterwards make shew that they had forgotten it.

Within 3 daies after there grew another quarrell neere unto the Queenes chamber, but he that had committed the offence (although he were of quality) was glad to submit himselfe unto the Bastile, from whence the Queene soon after freed him. This example made them more wife and circumspect: And to the end that St. Germaines Faire, should not be an occasion to breed new quarrels, her Maiestie would not suffer it to be kept this year. But being told that many Merchants would breake and become bankrupt if it did faile: the answerd, it were better 500 Merchants were ruined (the which will not happen) then France should fall into combustion.

All things being reasonable well quiered and settled in France; In the beginning of this year, the Councell beganne to consult of that which might concerne the discharge and ease of the State, & of the kings subjects. First, there were propounded the complaints and grieuances of the Inhabitants and townes upon the river of Loire, touching the great discommodities the Country had suffered during the last troubles, by the Garison of the Towne and Castle of Amboise: wherefore to secure the Country and to free the Inhabitants from future feare, it was concluded in Councell to give unto *Monf: du Gasi* (who was Governor of the said Castle) a certaine summe of money in regard of his seruices, and to resigne it into the Kings hands.

E Next, they tooke into their considerations, the Citadell of Bourg in Bresse; their Maiesties being informed what great sums of money were yearly employed for the payment of that Garison; In regard whereof, and for that it had bene built by the Duke of Saoy, expressly to annoy France, for the losse whereof he was still grieved, and might well have some intelligences to surprize it; it was ordained (with the consent of the councell) That the Citadell should be raised to assure France on that side, and that the money which should be employed for payment of the garison should be given to *Monf: de Boisse*, who was governour thereof, both in regard of his disbursements, and recompence of his seruices, the which should no way incommode the King, but rather ease his coffers, by the sparing of so much money as was to be paid yearly to the Garison. This demanteling did free them of Lions, and the neighbour Countries from feare of future alterations.

About the same time, the French Ambassadour residing for the King with the Grisons, had charge to deliuer the reasons which did import France upon the new pursuite of the Venetians, for the renewing of their League with the Grison Cantons, before he should engage the Kings name and reputation: for calling to minde the accidents which had befallen those Cantons, after their first league with Venice, and had bene allowed by the deceased King, (whereof he afterwards repented himselfe, when as he saw it did preiudice his owne) and had plunged that Nation into great confusions and miseries,

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ries, the memory whereof was alwaies reuiued if they did but cast their eyes vpon the A Fort of Fuentes, built vpon the frontier of their Country, after the first League made with Venice, and vpon that occasion: yet their Maiesties desiring to fauour those commonalties, in imitation of the deceased King, gaue charge to their Ambassadour, that the capitulations of the first league should be perused before it were renewed, to reforme what might be preiudiciall to that of France, and that the Ambassadour of the said Canons residing at Paris, should confer with his Maiesties Councell touching the same.

Soone after the reconciliation of the Earle of Soissons, and the duke of Guise, the duke of Sully resigned his places of superintendant of the Treasure, and Captaine of the Bastile into the Queenes hand.

This bred admiration in many, to see a man of his worth and merit, dismissed without crime, having beene so faithfull a seruant to the deceased King his Master, and so good a Husband for the State. Men spake diuersly of this action, some said hee did it voluntarily of his owne free-will, and by the aduice of his friends, considering the harred this charge had gotten him in seruing his King and Country faithfully: and now finding that by the death of his Prince he had lost all hope hereafter quietly to execute his place, he gaue way to the will of the enemies of his prosperity, and desisted willingly, yea (as they say) by the Queenes aduice: who when as he resigned the keyes of the Bastile, and of the Kings treasure into her hands, made offer vnto him of a recompence in money, the which he refused, beseeching her Maiesty to keepe in memory the seruices which he had done C vnto France vnder the deceased King. After which he wrote this following Letter vnto her, the which I haue set downe verbatim, hoping thereby to giue the Reader much content, in acquainting him in what Estate France stood at the old Kings death.

Madam, among all the honorable conditions of a French gentleman, I haue alwaies most esteemed that, to be employed in the most important affaires of his Country; to gouerne them happily; and to obey the Commandments of his Prince. For many yeares I haue managed the chiefe of this Estate, with an vnexpected successe. I haue caried them from a deepe gulf of misery, to the height of all glory: And now Madam, I obey your expresse will and desire, I deliuer into your hands, the two goodliest markes of my good Masters fauour and bounty, the Bastile and the Treasures I held them during his life, I yeeld them D vnto you after his death; and will content my selfe, that the effects of my seruice remaine for euer grauen in the hearts of your subjects: Some one lesse faithfull then my selfe would fill all France with his complaints: but my perpetuall deuotion to the place of my birth, and to my King, strikes my tongue dumbe, and makes mee rather seeke the cause of so great a change in mine owne incapacity, then in any other consideration. One thing Madam much disquiets my minde: which is, your Maiesties absolute resolution to haue me take money in recompence of my offices; not for that I doe not conceiue how necessary this expedient is for the good of your seruices; but on the other side, it is so contrary to my demands, as notwithstanding all the power I haue ouer my selfe to please you, yet haue I not enough to accept thereof. Nay I am forced to refuse it, and to pretresse E contrary to my duty in this subject; my owne priuate interest before that of you Maiestie. Of all the meanes propounded vnto mee to leaue my charge, this should be most odious vnto me, and in truth Laboure it, and hold it to proceede from the malice of mine enemies, not from your Maiesties bounty: For Madame, why doe they not rather lay this pretext, vpon my fower disposition, vnsofiable, without gratification or dissimulation; or vpon the bad order I haue taken in my charges; or that I haue beene a bad husband in managing of the Treasure; and vpon the miseries which haue ensued; vpon the strong intelligence which I haue practised both within and without the Realme; and vpon the great care I haue taken to settle my selfe for the preservation of my fortunes? Why Madame, haue they not rather made choice of these grounds then of another, which hath F lesse shew of truth? For to publish that I euer demanded recompence for my office of the Treasure, other then the place of a Marshall of France, it can neuer bee truly maintained: The malice of mine enemies, nor pleasing of some of my friends, shall neuer be able to iustifie the contrary. And if your Maiestie charge mee, to haue my selfe made offer vnto you of all that I did inioy, I confesse it: I cannot deny but I haue often assured your Maiesty, that whatsoeuer depended on me was at your deuotion, yea my life it selfe. But truly Madam, I did not then thinke that to make such offers to his Prince, was a crime sufficient

The Duke of Sully, dismissed from his offices of the Treasure and Bastile.

The Duke of Sullys Letter to the Queen.

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A sufficient to dispossesse him of his dignities. If you conceiue it so now it is a Maxime which seemeth new to me: but this nouelty shall neuer make me repent to haue done my duty. Contrariwise I againe offer vnto your Maiesty, not onely my honours and goods, but my life it selfe, and that of my children, the which I doe not with condition; but to dispose of at your pleasure, yea, were it to honor my very enemies, if to take them simply from me may not content you. If my actions past haue serued for the increase of this Crowne, I will that my obedience shall shew the way to persueue it; and whatsoeuer mine enemies shall publish of my loue to what I hold, or howsoeuer other mens humors may perswade beliefs; yet Madam, it is true that I will abandon whatsoeuer my seruices B haue gotten mee, with more resolution and constancy, then another shall enioy them with pleasure: It shall suffice me to heare in my solitarie how your Maiesty shall daily make this Scepter more flourishing, maintaine good order in the affaires; and keepe treasure in your coffers sufficient to maintain this Estate, which doth chiefly subsist by the support of these two pillars. With this will I quietly entertaine my idle thoughts, and comfort my selfe in the losse of my good King, without being forced (if it please you) to accept any other recompence for my offices then the contentment to receive none, and the honor of your expresse commandement. Yet notwithstanding for your last resolution, and not to shew my selfe disobedient vnto your will, if your Maiesty haue absolutely decreed to doe the contrary: behold then the greatest fauour which I most humbly C beseech you to recompence mee withall, is; that it would please you to command my greatest enemies to goe instantly to the chamber of Account to verifie the profit or prejudice of my cares and watches for these 12 yeares; and if they finde not, that during this time vnder the power of my great King, I haue assisted much by my dexterity and labour to roote out the greatest confusion that euer was in the finances of France: That I haue besides the sparing of eight millions of Liuers yearly for the which they are accountable to his Officers, besides the payment of all the charges, of all the ordinary expences of the State, of all wages for Soueraigne Courts, of all men of Warre, Garisons, Embassies, the Kings Houise, Voyages, Presents, Rcompences, and a thousand other charges too long to reapeate: Besides all these ordinary great summes without the increase of any D taxes or impositions within the Realme, but diminished them. If they find not I say, that moreover, for the intertainment of three great Armies, whereof the one tooke Amiens, another reduced Britanie, and the third conquered Bresse and Sauoy. I caused about 12 Millions to be furnished extraordinarily. For the discharge of the debts of France grown by treaties and otherwise about 25 millions: for the payment of the debts in Swisserland, Germany, Italy, and England, about 30 Millions: for the payment of Pensions, within and without the Realme, about 28 Millions: for the furnishing of foraigne Prouinces about 8 millions: for the repairing of the Artillery, fortifications, waies and buildings about 8 millions: for the ease and reliefe of the poore, about 6 millions: And to deliuer in treasure into the Coffers at the Bastile, or to leaue in the custodie of the Treasurer, about 17 E Millions: To discharge many other expences which may bee easily verified about 20 Millions. If I haue not caused contracts to be past for the redeeming of the Crown-lands engaged, whereof the greatest part are daily executed, these redemptions amounting to about 40 millions. Finally Madam, if I haue not by my care and vigilancy practised all these courses of sparing: and if to continue the same duty towards France, I haue not alwaies offered vnto your Maiesty to lose my life, or to maintain the affaires in the same splendor, yea to represent them in a higher degree: If I haue not done all these things; and more, I then submit my selfe to receive for a punishment of my presumption, that recompence which you ordaine me in the losse of my honor and Offices. But Madam, if no one of these Articles be found false, but in that they are too sparing, and if my first affection F hath receiued no change, but is more fortified, suffer mee to endure the harme which is done me, and not to accept the good you offer me. Take my places without this heauie burden: or if you will of necessity honor me with some fauour, let it bee (if it please you) onely with the perpetuall remembrance of my fidelity; a fauour which I craue your Maiesty, not to be called againe to the painful toyle of affaires; but onely to suffer mee to liue in peace; in the memory of her who is the Regent of my Country, the liuing soule of my Master, and the mother of my King. And doubtlesse Madam, it is an honour, and the last acknowledgment which your Maiesty cannot iustly denie me: for seeing that all they whom

A Liuer is a shilling.

A million of Liuers is 100000 pound sterling.

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whom I have offended in the execution of my place, labour to see mee deprived, with A
greater reason they may well remember my seruices with triumph.

“ Farewell my house, farewell fort, which I haue had in guard about 12, yeares: fare-
“ well Temple of the Goddesse Moneta, which hath bred me so many cares: suffer me now
“ to depart being weary of affaires, and send me to a priuate life, where I may haue no such
“ troubles: I am he, who strong in spirit and courage haue managed the treasure of the
“ King and Kingdomes; to whom the happinesse of this estate augmented in new reueng-
“ nces, and the Coffers of our young Master, filled by iust and lawfull meanes, is bound for
“ the good order which I haue setled. I haue had great honours and receiued great re-
“ compences for my industrious care; I haue had great power and authority vnder a B
“ great King; but in a moment, in this bloody fall, I haue seene it all fall to ruine, in the
“ same disaster: I haue seene all this ruine quenched which hath made many to threaten
“ me often with ruine, whilst I endeauored the good of the State, and sought onely to get
“ the fauour of my Master, not caring for great men, nor knowing how to seeke an applause
“ of the people, being still constant in this designe. But now depart from me all trouble-
“ some cares, I haue resolued to retire my ship into a safe Port: it may bee the State hauing
“ lost me, will finde whereunto I was profitable, and the people will know it: then, but too
“ late, fauour and affection will succeed hatred; but I haue not mine owne interest in such
“ esteeme, as I desire to gaine by the miseries of my Country; But O God make the for-
“ tunes of this Kingdom alwaies to stand in good estate, that I may neuer see it ouerthrowne C
“ and that it may haue no cause to lament me.

After this the Duke of Sully in the beginning of Februarie, left the Court of France,
and retired himselfe of his Towne of Sully vpon the riuer of Loire.

The slanderous
accusation of
D'Escoman
condemned.

Let vs now turne to some memorable executiōs of Iustice. In the beginning of this year,
there was a most slanderous accusation made by a woman, wife to a poore Gentleman,
whose name was *Isaac de Varennes*, Seigneur of D'Escoman. This woman was crook't
back't and lame, but of an actiue spirit; a great talker, subtle, cunning and of a great me-
morie, but of a lewd and vicious life. Being in pouerty & want, and newly gotten out of
prison, she thought to frame an accusation whereby shee hoped to releuee herselfe and to
advance her fortune. She had obserued that Queene *Marguerit* came often for deuotion D
to Saint Victors Church, where this *D'Escoman* tooke occasion to speake vnto her, be-
seeching her to heare her, and that she would discouer some matter which did concerne
the life of the King and Queene Regent his mother. Queene *Marguerit* remembering that
she had seene her, and that shee had refused her seruice for her bad life, would not heare
her; whereupon shee cryed out, that if she had designe, whereon depended their Maie-
sties liues should take effect, the blame should be laid vpon her: whereupon the Queene
commanded shee should be caried to her lodging, where after dinner she heard her in pri-
uate, where shee accused diuers persons of quality to bee guilty of the murder of the de-
ceased King; which although the Queene held to be calumnious, yet presently she aduer-
tised the Queene Regent thereof, desiring that some might be sent to heare what she said. II
She was afterwards committed to prison and examined by the first President, and
vpon her accusation two were committed to prison: shee also charged the Marquis of
Vernueil, and a Gentlewoman whose name was *Tillet*, that they were familiar with *Ra-
uillac*, and acquainted with the Kings death: but vpon further examination and confron-
tation of them which were accused, her owne tongue discouered the slander, where-
upon the Court declared *Godin* and *Sauvage*, (who had continued long in prison) and
all others whom shee had accused, to be innocent of the most abominable parricide
committed on the person of the deceased King: and condemned the said *D'Escoman* to
end her daies mured vp betwixt foure wailes.

A Magician
executed at
Aix.

The Court of Parliament of Aix in Prouence, proceeded also criminally against a no-
table Magician or forcerer, called *Lewis Gaufriay*, a Priest borne in Prouence and benefi-
ced at Marseilles. He was accused of Rape, seducing of Virgins, Impiety, Magicke, Sor-
cery, and other abominations, all which hee confessed vnder his owne hand, and was
therefore arraigned, and condemned to bee deliuered into the hands of the executioner,
and to be led through all the streets of Aix and before the Cathedrall Church, to doe pen-
ance his head and feet bare, and a halter about his necke, holding a burning Torch in
his hand, and there vpon his knees to craue pardon of God, the King, and the Iustice: which

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A which done he should be led to the Preachers place in the said City, and there to be burnt
vntill his bodie and bones were consumed to ashes and those to bee cast into the winde,
and his goods to be confiscate to the King. That before his execution hee should bee put
to the Racke, to draw from his owne mouth the truth of his complices; yet before the
said execution they were to deliuer him into the hands of the Bishop of Marseilles his
Diocesan, or in his absence to some other Prelate to bee degraded according to the accus-
tomed manner. All which was duly put in execution according to the decree the last
day of Aprill. Whilst the people expected his execution, a very modest Gentleman
whose name was *Esprade*, who was contracted to a Presidents daughter, was stabbed and
B murdered behind by Montauraux, a Knight of Malta in the sight of three thousand
persons, and yet none could stay the murderer. A childe fell from a tree and was slaine:
and a young Gentleman was wounded by the same Knight with his dagger. These were
the misfortunes which that wicked forcerer had foretold should happen to them which
should come to see him die.

What happened
at the execu-
tion of the Prisoner

The first President *de Harlay*, hauing serued the most Christian Kings faithfully, & sate
in the seat of Iustice almost 29 yeares in the first Court of Parliament of France, whereof he
was the head; seeing himselfe charged with yeares, his health impaired, and his sight de-
cayed, he craued leaue of the Queene Regent to giue ouer this great charge, and entreated
her to provide some other for the place. Her Maiesty vpon this request made choice of

C *Monf. de Verdun*, who was first President of Thoulouze, and caused him to be aduanced to
that place, into the which he entered at the opening of the pleadings after Easter. I must
needs confesse of *Achilles de Harlay*, that being inimitable in the wonderful expedition
he vsed in doing Iustice, giuing audience rather to meane and poore people then to rich,
he hath let the world know, that he hath neuer sought any other recompence for so great
trauell for the common wealth, then the conscience to haue done well. In like manner
the diuers gratifications and praises, which the good wits of Languedoc caused to be printed
in the honour of the first President *de Verdun*, witness how much that prouince was
grieved for the departure of such a personage; and that the good Iustice hee had done in
the Parliament should be alwaies liuing in their memories. As soone as he came to bee
D head of the Parliament at Paris, he suppressed the liberties which many officers of iustice
and their Clarkes had taken, as well in the exercise of their charges, as in their apparell.
In like manner they which kept tabling Houses for Cards and Dice, were presently cal-
led in question, and many were committed to prison: whereupon the King made a decla-
ration, by the which he did expressely forbid all persons of what qualitie and condition so-
euer, to keepe any Tabling houses in any Towne or part of his Realme, nor assemble toge-
ther to play at Cards and Dice: forbidding all owners of houses and others, to let their
houses to any one which shall keepe gaming, vpon paine of an arbitrary fine, and other
punishment; and to be answerable in their owne names for all the money which should be
lost, and bound to make restitution. Inioyning the ordinary Iudges in euery towne to
E transport themselves vnto such houses and places where they shall be certified that such
Tabling houses are, or other like assemblies; to seize vpon such as they should find, toge-
ther with their money, jewels, and other things exposed to play, and to distribute the said
money to the poore of the Hospitall to whom he did adidge it; and in like manner to
proceed against those gamesters, and against the landlords and housekeepers by the way
of Process, as breakers of his lawes and ordinances. This in the beginning was very well
observed, but soone after, some great personages dispensed themselves, which was not well
done, for that their houses could not be searched by any officers with safety: so by little
and little this wicked custome is in danger to creep in againe.

A defence of
Monf. de Ver-
dun first Presi-
dent at Paris

This yeare the second of May, the King being at Fontain-bleau, assisted by the Queene
F Regent his mother; vpon information that Chastelleraul, where his Maiesty had giuen
leau for his subjects of the reformed Religion, to make a generall assembly of some depu-
ties of euery Prouince, would be very discommodious for them; for that it was not able
to lodge them, and that the Towne of Saumur, which is not farre off, would accommo-
date them better; his Maiesty desiring to entreat them fauourably, and for some other
priuate consideration, by the aduice of the Queene Regent his mother, ordained, that the
Assembly which had bene assigned at Chastelleraul, should bee transferred to Saumur;
and to that end, commandement should be giuen to the deputies generall of them of the

An assembly at
Saumur with
the Kings per-
mission.

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religion remaining in Court, to giue speedy aduertisement to all those which should bee A
chofen Deputies in the generall assembly, to repaire to Saumur : in testimony whereof
the King signed them a Briefe.

Noblemen en-
treated to
come to the as-
sembly.

Hereupon the Deputies of the reformed Churches came from all parts of France vnto
Saumur, where the Assembly began the 27 of May, in the Towne-house. There appeared
in this Assembly 70 Deputies, that is to say, 30 Gentlemen, 20 Ministers, 16 Ancients or
Deputies for the Commons, and 4 Deputies for the Towne and government of Rochel.
There assisted at this Assembly, the Dukes of Tremouille, Bouillon, and Sully, vpon re-
quest made vnto them by many prouinces and by the Assembly : and the Duke of Rohan
with his brother *Mons: de Sabize*, Deputies of Britany : the Earle of Penias, and *Mons:
de la Force*, entreated by the Prouince of basse Guyenne: *Mons: de Chastillon*, for basse Lan-
guedoc : The Marquis of *Servieres*, for high Guienne: the Seigneur of *Belugion* sent from
the Marshal *De laquiere*: the Seigneurs of Parabel, la Boulay, Pleffis Mornay, & the Seig-
neurs of Villarnoul and Miranda, generall Deputies for the reformed Churches to remain
in Court, with many other Gentlemen of good note.

Diuers brutes
too hung the
assembly at
Saumur.

The holding of this Assembly did minister matter of talke among all the Townes of
France, for the like had not bene scene, where there were so many Dukes and great
Noblemen of the Religion, especially during the minority of a King : There was also a
generall brute throughout all France, that they had obtained from the deceased King a
generall establishment of their religion ; and that now they would of the fue articles C
which were concluded amongst them at the assembly at Millaud, enioy those two which
were not yet granted, that is to say, two places of surety in euery prouince where they had
not any ; and that the tithes which they ought vnto their Curates, they would haue them
employed in the entertainment of their Ministers : and moreover, that they had a de-
signe to sweare a new vnion, to maintain themselves in the governments, charges, honors,
and dignities, which they had receiued from the deceased King ; and that in all the places
which they of the religion held, besides those which had bin granted them by the Briefe
in the year 1598, they would maintain themselves in the vnion of their Churches.

The Prince of
Conde lent to
his govern-
ment of Gui-
enne.

A generall
vnion made by
there ordi-
Cau dices.

The Queene Regent vpon these brutes, sent the Duke of Espernon, into his govern-
ments of Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Lymouzin ; to giue order that no stirrs nor altera-
tions might happen. The Prince of Conde had receiued commandement to goe into his
government of Guienne ; and their Maiesties sent Letters to the Iurats of Bourdeaux, to
receiue him with all honour due to such a Prince their Governour, which they performed
accordingly, as you shall heare hereafter.

This first act made at the Assembly at Saumur, was a generall vnion of the reformed
Churches, which the Deputies did promise and sweare to keepe inuolubly vnder his Ma-
iesties protection, as it had beene agreed in precedent Assemblies ; and to procure the ob-
seruation thereof in all places, and especially in those prouinces which had sent them, and
in those places where they should remaine. Moreover, to propound and giue all aduice E
in that Assembly, what they should thinke in their consciences to be conformable to rea-
son and equity, and not otherwise ; and that laying aside all passion and bad affection, they
should ayne at nothing but the honour of God, the good, quiet, and aduancement of the
said Churches, the seruice of his Maiesty, and of the Queene Regent, and of all the royall
issue, and the preservation of the Estate, with diuers other Articles, which for breuities
Iake I must omit.

The Assembly, treating of an Article into the body of their grieuances, touching the
maintaining of them of the religion, in the Estates, offices, honours, and dignities which
they enioyed, and restoring of them which haue bene dispossessed : The Company exhor-
ted the Duke of Sully, entreating of the recompence which had bene promised him for
his places, to insist rather to haue it in safety and honour, then commodity and profit. F
They gaue charge to the generall Deputies of the Churches, humbly to beseech the King
to giue contentment vnto the Duke of Sully : and they requested the Duke of Sully, and
the Marquis of Rohofny his sonne, not to giue ouer those places which they yet enioyed ;
namely, that of great master of the Artillery : and if in that respect or any other, he should
be prest by any induc, vnlawfull and extraordinary meanes : It was decreed to make a de-
monstration that they held the Duke of Sullyes interest vnited to that of the Generall of
the Churches, and to assist him by all due and lawfull meanes : whereof the Generall De-
puties

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A parties should haue charge in their instructions. Vpon the subiect of this decree, there was
a speech made vnto the Assembly by the Duke of Sully, published to the world in these
words.

The Duke of
Sully's speech
to the Assembly
at Saumur.

My Masters, seeing it hath pleased this company to be informed by mine owne mouth,
how matters haue past touching my Commission from my charges of Superintendent of the
Treasure, and Capraire of the Basseille, I will endeavour to satisfie their desire, and yet not
tire them with any long discourse, both for that my memory hath alwayes ayimed at sub-
stantiall things, rather then multitudes of words ; as also for that the matter requires I
should represent it plainly and simply. I will tell you then my Masters, that I haue bene
B aduertised from diuers Prouinces, that many Churches and priuate men my friends were
wonderfully scandalized and offended, for that I gaue no aduertisement before I desisted
from the execution of my places, neither haue since giuen them any accompt of the pro-
ceedings which haue bene held to that end : considering that the Queene had so much
honoured them, as to write into diuers parts : whereof I humbly beseech you to excuse
me, and not to beleue that I haue committed this error through negligence, contempt, C
or forgetting the respect which is due vnto you ; neither yet vpon any presuming confi-
dence of your loues towards me : But many lawfull causes haue inuited me to take this
course, whereof I will offer two vnto you : The first, that they vied such precipitation,
as it was impossible for me to demand aduice : And the second : That I could not write
C but I must wrong the truth, or some persons to whom I will beare resp. &c. They haue
also published, that I gaue ouer my places willingly. Whereunto I will answer, That I
haue alwayes so inured my selfe to yeeld all respect and seruice to my Kings and Supri-
ors, as I presently submitted my selfe to whatsoever they required of mee ; but rather
through obedience then election. And as for the recompence of my places, if they had
treated amiably with me, I would rather haue chosin a recompence in honour and safety,
then in profit & viltie ; but I beleue in that respect things are yet as they were for what-
soeuer any one hath said, I will protest truly that I haue not receiued any kind of recom-
pence, neither would I demand any without the aduice of this Assembly, whom I entreat
to giue me counsell vpon foure points. First, if I shall leave matters in the estate they are in
D without any further instance. Secondly, Whether I shall demand my reestablishment plainly.
Thirdly, Whether I shall submit my selfe to the recompence they haue offered me, and demand
it. Fourthly, Whether I shall insist to receiue a recompence of honour and safety, rather then of
profit. Wherein I will absolutely follow what shall be resolved by you. I beseech you my
masters examine this businesse well, and consider whether it be to be held merely priuate,
or to be annexed to the interest of the publike ; whether it bee depending on the Edict,
and may be drawne in consequence, against all such as make profession of the religion, and
so be held a breach of the same : For if you iudge that I alone haue the interest, this com-
pany then shall not need to trouble themselves any further, the which I referre vnto your
wisdomes, not seeking to draw you to one resolution more then to another. Moreover,
E I will tell you freely, that I impute not any thing which hath past vnto the Queene ; for
I know well, that if her owne inclination had bene followed, there had bene no altera-
tion in my offices, or else they would haue giuen me a recompence to mine owne liking. I
will not spend time to represent vnto you two points not to be contradicted. The first is,
The satisfaction the King had : the second, The estate wherein the affaires were when I was cal-
led thereunto, and how I left them. I doubt not but the oath of the vnion which I haue ta-
ken and signed, and the representation which I now make, will much encrease their spleens
against me : I haue therefore iust cause to craue the full assistance of all our Churches, not
that I desire they should proceed to any alteration ; for euen when I parted from Court,
I resolved to settle my minde to rest, without any complaint, or referring any discontent,
F neither yet to make any instance to be restored to my places, or to demand any recom-
pence : For had I not bene aduertised, that many in this Assembly complained for that
I had not acquainted them with these things ; and that at Court they did proiect to wrest
from me some other of my places, or so to crosse me in the execution thereof, as I should
be forced to leaue them ; I sweare vnto you that I would neuer haue attempted to speake
in this place. And to let you know that I speake the truth, I protest here before God and
this Assembly, that I am yet of that minde and fully resolved, if you thinke it good and
profitable for the publike, neuer to make any instance for my reestablishment, nor for
any

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" any recompence; so as I may be assured to be left in peace, and that I may not be troubled
 " in the free enjoying of these places which remaine to my sonne and me; nor be deprived
 " of the gratifications which I have obtained from the bounty of my King and for my ser-
 " vices. Preferring all my recompences to the Queene's good discretion and pleasure: My
 " protestations reiterated to be fully content and satisfied of her Maiefty, and to haue no
 " other designe, but the glory of God, the preferuation of the Church, the Kings seruice,
 " and the quiet of the State.

Adiutor of the
 Assembly touch-
 ing the Duke
 of Sully.

This was Pre-
 sented Janu.

These matters thus propounded by the Duke, they fell to consultation, how they might
 gine him content which might be profitable to all the reformed Churches. And as for
 the foure points wherein he desired their aduice; to the first, *concerning his leaning matters* B
as they were, without any further instance; some said, that this proceeding was an action
 worthy the greatnesse and generosity of his courage. For the second, *Whether hee should*
plainly demand restitution: they answered, That it would be now a vaine attempt, seeing
 the place was supplied by a great personage, endued with admirable wisdom and iudge-
 ment to manage his Masters affaires, who knew how to entertaine men more courteously,
 and that they found a great difference betweene the facility of his access, and the lower
 countenance of the Duke. Touching the third point, *Whether hee should accept and demand*
the recompence which had bene offered him: some were of opinion, that hee ought in duty
 and modesty to submit himselfe to whatsoever it should please their Maiesties to ordaine.
 For the fourth, *Whether hee should insist vpon a recompence of honour and safety, or of profit:* C
 they sayd, It was in himselfe to speake freely to his friends, which of the two he had most
 need of. This was the opinion of some in the said assembly; but it was concluded by plu-
 rality of voices, to vnite the Dukes cause to the generall interest, whereupon they made
 a decree as you haue formerly heard.

Deputies sent
 from their Ma-
 iesties to the
 Assembly at
 Saumur.

In the beginning of this Assembly, the King deputed the Seigneurs of Boissife and Bul-
 lion, Councillors of State, to goe to the Assembly; who vpon the 7 of June came into
 the Synod, and deliuered their Letters from the King and Queene Regent, and then ex-
 posed the generall charge they had receiued from their Maiesties, saying, That they were
 ready to allow of the iust demands of the Assembly, according to the termes of the par-
 ticular Articles, Briefes, answers of their Bills, and other expeditions done in their fauour: D
 to obserue and keepe euery thing contained in the same; and wholly and entirely to per-
 forme all which remaineth to be put in execution: and where any ambiguity or obscurtie
 should be found, to cause it fauourably to be interpreted to their aduantage. Requiring
 them, that according to the termes of the Briefe, by which the Assembly had bene re-
 quired and granted; they would forth with proceed vnto the choice and nomination of
 the sixe Deputies which were to be represented vnto their Maiesties, of which they would
 retaine two to be resident nere vnto their persons, and which should receiue their peti-
 tions and demands.

The Seigneur du Plessis as President, hauing giuen thanks vnto the said Commis-
 sioners, with protestation in the name of the whole Assembly, That they would all be, and
 cuer remaine, most humble and faithfull in the obedience due vnto their Maiesties, they
 went home to their lodgings.

Many things past here touching their grieuances, whereon I may not insist, but leaue
 them to the Originall. And the Commissioners being returned to Court, the Assembly
 resolved to send certaine Deputies to their Maiesties, to present their said grieuances vnto
 them: for which seruice they made choice of the Barons of Caze and Courtomer, the
 Minister Ferrier, and the Seigneurs of Mirande and Armet. Whilest they prepared for
 their journey, and that their instructions, memorials, and Letters were adrawing, the
 Duke of Sully gaue the Assembly to vnderstand, that apprehending that the interest of
 private men would increase the Articles of their grieuances, as the concession would
 proue more difficult, desiring in no manner that what concerned him should any way pre-
 iudice the publike, nor stay the obtaining of things necessary: wherefore he thought it fit
 to intreat the Assembly to examine the points and Articles which might concerne his in-
 terest strictly, and to iudge whether they were such as they should insist vpon them, as
 matters absolutely importing the good of the Churches in generall: or if they were such
 as might cause any difficulty or refusal in the grant, they should suppress them: as con-
 cerning onely his particular, in which case, he held it more conuenient to moderate them
 or

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A or leaue them out of their instructions, to the end it might neither preiudice the publike,
 nor him in particular: protesting, that as he had vowed to employ his person and life, and
 that of his children for the glory of God, and the good of their Churches: so he did now
 make offer of his honor, goods, offices and dignities, to be disposed of as they should think
 it profitable for the glory of God, and the good of the State: that he was absolutely re-
 solved without any opposition or dislike to follow whatsoever that Assembly should con-
 clude and decree: whereupon the Assembly gaue him great thanks for the affection hee
 seemed to beare to the aduancement and preferuation of their Churches, and for the ex-
 ample which he gaue to euery one to submit all priuate interests to the good of the gene-
 rall: assuring him that they had resolved to entertaine all the resolutions which they had
 taken concerning him.

During this Assembly, there was a combustion in Paris on Trinity Sunday, at the enter-
 ment of a young child in Trinity Church-yard: which infant did belong to one of
 the Religion. The daies are then long, and a little sooner then ordinary before the euen-
 ing was shut in, two Archers of the Watch leading the company, a Vinegar-makers boy be-
 gan to throw stones at them, many others did the like, yea and his Master himselfe: they
 had no respect to the Archers nor to their words: the tumult grew somewhat great,
 one of the Archers was hurt, and some others: presently the officers of Iustice posted
 thither, and the Vinegar-maker and his seruant were committed to prison, and condemned
 C by the Lieutenant Criminel: the seruant to be whipped before the Trinity Church, and
 his master to stand by him. They appealed from this sentence: but it was confirmed and
 executed the first of Iuly.

The Deputies of the Assembly at Saumur, arriued at Paris, and presented vnto the
 King and Queene Regent their Letters and instructions, containing 57 Articles, which
 you may read at large in the Originall, being too long to insert here, for that I am limited
 to my bound.

The long continuance of this Assembly bred a great ialousie in all the Catholike
 townes of Poitou, Limosin, and beyond the Riuier of Loire, and the rather for that in the
 beginning of Iuly, the Duke of Sully was come to Chastelleraut, whereupon all the
 D townes of those Prouinces began to guard their gates. On the seauenth of Iuly, about 6
 of the clocke at night, a horseman passing through Orleans, and seeming to make haste to
 bait his horse, he spake many things touching the Assembly at Saumur, and amongst the
 rest, that there were many Huguenots on horsebacke nere to Orleans, to seize vpon the
 Towne: As soone as he found that some which heard him tooke hold of his words, hee
 suddenly tooke horse and got out of the towne vnknewne: a Burgesse which heard him
 tooke such an apprehension of this gully, as he cried to armes in his quarter, reporting
 what he had heard, which ran like lightning throughout the whole towne, and all the
 townsmen presently went to armes, and made Barricades in diuers places: they remem-
 bered their troubles past, and feared to fall into the like disasters: whereupon they searched
 E the houses of them of the Religion: but they found them so disarmed, dreaming of no-
 thing but peace, as they were afterwards ashamed to haue so lightly fallen into this suspi-
 tion. This taking of armes at Orleans made them of Chartres and of other townes vpon
 the Riuier of Loire to keepe strict guard at their gates for feare of surprize. These pro-
 ceedings caused the Assembly at Saumur to giue order to *Monsr. de Plessis* for the leauing of
 150 souldiers more: writing vnto their Deputies at Paris, to beseech their Maiesties not
 to take it ill, if the Assembly provided for their safety.

On the twentieth of Iuly, the Chancellor in the presence of the Queene, the Princes,
 and other officers of the Crowne, told the Deputies of the Assembly, that their demands
 were dispatched, and that among other answers, there was granted a continuation of the
 F places of surlerie for five yeares, with an increase of 4500 pound sterling for their Ministers:
 but for that the Assembly had bene chiefly granted them to proceed to the nomi-
 nation of deputies which should remaine nere vnto his Maiefty to sollicite their affaires, the
 King would not suffer the answers to bee deliuered vnto them vntill they had made the
 said election.

The Assembly at Saumur being aduertised hereof by their Deputies, who feared that
 by the 25 of the moneth they should haue commandement to retire themselves: they
 gaue charge vnto their Deputies, humbly to beseech the Queene in the name of the As-
 sembly,

A tumult in
 Paris at the ba-
 riell of a child.

They of Orleans
 take an alarme
 vpon a false
 suggestion.

The Chancel-
 lors speech to
 the Deputies
 of the Assem-
 bly.

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sembly, not to command them to proceed to the nomination of the two general Deputies, before they had required an answer of their grievances, for that they had an expresse charge from their Churches, not to make the said election (which should be the last Act of the Assembly) vntill they had required content vpon their petitions. The Deputies hauing made this supplication vnto the Queene, according to the intention of the Assembly, on the 30 of July, they had Letters given them vnto the Assembly for an answer, letting them vnderstand that *Monf. de Bullion* should returne presently to Saumur, and carry the answer to their demands.

A Letter from their Maiesties to the Assembly.

Their Maiesties Letters did import, That they had willingly heard their Deputies, and taken in good part the testimonies and protestations of the fidelity, deuotion, and obedience of them of the Assembly: but in stead of presenting the names of fixe persons to choose two general Deputies out of them, they had deliuered their petitions, remonstrances, and grievances, the which although their Maiesties had good reason to reiect, vntill the nomination had bene brought; yet they had caused them to bee viewed, examined, and answered, as fauourably as they could possible: and had acquainted their Deputies with the chiefe Articles, to represent them to the Assembly, that being informed of their good and holy intentions, the Assembly might speedily resolute to discharge their duty, which was to send their sayd nomination of fixe persons, whereof their Maiesties were to choose two, into whose hands they would deliuer the answer of their demands, with all necessary expeditious; to the end the Assembly might then breake vp, as it was necessary for the Kings seruice, and the good of his subiects, lest their long continuance together, should breed some disorder in the State, and ielousie amongst the Kings subiects.

On the 14 of August *Monf. de Bullion* came to Saumur; the next day he entred into the Assembly, presented their Maiesties Letters and deliuered his charge: which was; That the Queenes pleasure was, they should name the said Deputies, to take away the ielousie, which their Assembly gaue vnto the Catholiques, vnto whom her Maiesty was bound to giue contentment as well as to them. Which done, he had charge to deliuer vnto them their demands fauourably answered. That her Maiesty could not giue them any more then what was specified in their answers, which had bene resolu'd by the Princes of the blood, and other Princes, officers of the Crowne, and Lords of the Councell, wherefore they should proceed to the said nomination: ending his discourse with these words, *Your glory consists in obedience.*

Whereupon *Monf. de Pleffis*, who was President, made answer in the name of the Assembly; that vpon the returne of their Deputies they had bene assured of their Maiesties good inclination towards their most humble and faithfull seruants of the Religion; whereof they had a new testimony, in that they were pleased to send vnto them a personage of such merit, of whose affection they had great confidence: as also they protested before him, that they were ready to employ their meanes and liues for their Maiesties seruice: but as for the rest, when as the company had conferred thereupon, they would acquaint him with their resolution: whereupon he retired.

Monf. de Bullion: last commandment to the Assembly in the Queens name.

After diuers conferences and contestations betwixt *Monf. de Bullion*, and certaine Gentlemen deputed by the Assembly; the one insisting to haue the Deputies named first, and the other to haue the answer to their demands: on the first of September the Assembly sending to intreat him to acquaint them with the answer hee had receiued from the Queene Regent: he made answer, That the businesse was of such importance, as he would deliuer it in the open Assembly. Whereupon on the third of September, hee presented vnto them a Letter from the Queene, who commanded them to obey, and to name their Deputies. After the reading whereof *Monf. de Bullion* said vnto them, You see the commandment which the Queene makes vnto you to proceede to this nomination: although that *Soueraignes* are not bound to giue an accompt of their ordinances, yet her Maiesties grounds her commandment vpon the example of the deceased King: and vpon that which hath alwayes bene practised with you since the Edict and the Assemblies of Chastellerault and Gergeau; as well for the nomination before the answer of your demands, as for the number of fixe: and as soone as you shall haue made this nomination, I will deliuer vnto you a Briefe for the prolongation of places, and your demands fauourably answered. Moreover, I haue charge from her Maiesty to tell you, that to the end you may haue all subiect of content, you may stay together for some dayes, to peruse and examine

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A examine the answers: yea if there be any remonstrances to be made vpon the answers, or any grace to be required from their Maiesties; I haue commission to tell you, that in charging the two deputies which shall be chosen among the fixe therewith, the Queene will intreat you with as much fauour as possibly she can. I pray you satisfie her, seeing you haue promised to yeeld no lesse respect and obedience to the Kings minority and the Queenes regency, then you haue done to the deceased Kings.

Monf. de Pleffis made answer, that the Company vnderstanding their Maiesties pleasure, he thought he might with their approbation say vnto him; that they were all disposed to obedience, and that to this effect their wils were wholly vntied without any diuision. That their vniou had been very necessary, and that by meanes thereof, God had preferred the deceased King *Henry the Great*, and by him the Realme; and that hee himselfe had so well allowed of their vniou, that although hee had changed his religion, yet hee would that the Churches assembled at Nantes in his presence, should confirme and renew the said vniou, the which should alwaies bee for their Maiesties seruice, and the good of the Estate. In the end, after many demands and answers, and protestations made by the Assembly, alwaies to yeeld obedience to their Maiesties command (the which should be their discharge vnto the Churches, for that they pretended they had exceeded their commission); they proceeded to the nomination of fixe Deputies, with a declaration, that it was only to obey their Maiesties, & not to prejudice the rights of their Churches, nor to binde them hereafter to chuse about two: This nomination being written, was presently giuen to *Monf. de Bullion*, and hee deliuered vnto them their demands answered by their Maiesties, with a Briefe for the continuation of places of suerty. The answers to their greuances and demands being read in the Assembly, they were not found answerable to their desire and intention; whereupon they deputed some to *Monf. de Bullion*, to let him vnderstand, that they had receiued the answers to their demands with all honor, respect and humility, as proceeding from the will of their King and Soueraigne Prince; but they humbly besought their Maiesties not to take it ill, if they made a declaration that they could not accept of the said answers, being of opinion, that the Prouinces which had deputed them should not receiue that contentment which they expected. Whereunto he made answer, that the Queene had sent word to the Marshall of Bouillon that he had power to enlarge some Articles according to the aduice that he should giue her. Vpon the 9 of September, *Monf. de Bullion* hauing presented vnto the Assembly the election which their Maiesties had made of the Siegneurs of Rouuray and Milliere for the 2 deputies, he commanded them to separate themselves: letting them vnderstand, that their Maiesties had giuen him charge to say, that all their iust requests should be fauourably answered, and whatsoever had bene promised, paid. Whereupon the Assembly obeyed, and separated themselves; euery man returning into his Country; some contented, others not.

The Duke of Sauioy had drawne diuers troopes of souldiers together, which put his neighbour Princes in great ielousie, and bred diuers opinions whereunto hee would employ them; some were of opinion hee would besiege Geneva which hee claimes as his owne by inheritance: others thought that hee would enter into the duchy of Milane, as well in regard of his childrens pretention, being Nephewes to the King of Spaine, as for some other occasions: but the Italian Princes were alwaies watchfull that their neighbors should not grow great, seeing also that the Spaniard leauied men in Lombardie, fearing that by reason thereof Italy should fall into new troubles, they wrought so, as in the end of the last yeare their controuerfies were reconciled and the Country continued in peace. The Duke notwithstanding continued his Forces on foot, which made men thinke that hee had an eye to Geneva; for that he had bene aduertised that the townesmen had bene carelesse to maintaine their fortifications, and to renew their prouision of come yearly being spoiled; that they had small store of munition for warre within the Towne; and that they had not fixe peeces of Ordnance well mounted and fit to doe seruice. It was also thought that hee had some secret intelligence within the Towne: so as the brute was he would not be 15 daies in taking it: diuers French Gentlemen came vnto the Duke with many souldiers with an intent to shew their valour and skill at this siege. *Gaucher* a famous Capitaine of Luxemburg repaired vnto him with some troopes; and it was giuen out that *Spinola* himselfe should be at this siege; and that now the tree of protestants

Nomination of fixe Deputies by the Assembly.

The Duke of Sauioy stances.

Geneua in danger of a siege.

protestants Religion should bee plucked vp by the rootes, to the end it should bring no A more fruit.

This towne of Geneua had bene long vnder the protection of the Crowne of France: yet some more desirous of innovations, then of the honour and preservation of the State, sought not only to perswade poore ignorant people, but euen those of better iudgement, that the warre prepared against Geneua, did no way concerne them, nor that they should in any wise neede or hinder the Duke of Sauoyes proceedings, incited thereunto (besides his particular interest) with the zeale of aduancing the Catholike Religion, and his Holinesse seruice: seeking by such practices to terrifie their consciences which were not well settled, making a case of conscience of a matter of State, as if to succour their Allies, B (although of a contrary Religion) against the inuasion of foraigne Princes, whose designs cannot be restrained by any treaty, (how solemne soeuer) were a capitall crime against God, and worthy to be censured by the Church. They made vse of that false Maxime against such as opposed themselves, that it imported much the honour of this Crowne, to hold their promise to often and so solemnly sworne, *That they ought not to keepe faith with Heretikes*: and that this exception is alwaies of force. But the Kings of France who have bene euer Catholikes, did not hold the preservation of Geneua, which they have alwaies tooke into their protection, and comprehended it in all the treaties of peace which they haue made with neighbour Princes, to be a case of conscience, but a matter of State: C hauing found by experience, that this towne maintained in liberty, was sufficient to crosse the vaine hopes of the Duke of Sauoy, and of all those which should assist him: The which both Francis the first, Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, haue made knowne by diuers Treaties, Declarations, and Letters, how much the preservation of that towne imports the State of France.

The Queene Regent vpon these brutes of warre desiring to preserve this towne in liberty, as the deceased King had done, sent *Monf: le Grand* into Burgundy, and *Monf: D'Alincourt* to Lyons, to take order for the frontiers of their governments, and to aduertise her of the Sauoyards designs: she also sent *Monf: de Barault* to the said Duke, to let him vnderstand, that both he and other Soueraigne Princes his neighbours, were zealous of his Armes, being ignorant of his intent: the which was couered with a second per- D text: That the Duke of Sauoy would not trouble the peace, nor breake the treaty of Veruains: but he onely desired to restore the Bishops of Geneua and Loraine, the which put them of Bearne into alarme. In the meane time the Seigneurs of Lattouie, Bethune, Arnault, with many French Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers, came to Geneua to defend them of their Religion: Within short time they had 30 peeces of Ordnance mounted, and had made such trenches, halfe-moones, and forts without the towne, as it was thought sufficient to hold out a whole yeare, if the invader did not perish in the attempt.

The Seigneur of Barault being returned to the Queen without an answer conformable to her desire, she sent *Monf: de la Varenne* vnto him: The Beannois also sent their Ambassadors, who spake big words vnto him, telling him, That if he did not dismis- E se his troops, he should pay the charges of the warre, if theyooke armes.

Some write that the Duke assured both the one and the other, that he was not in arms to trouble the peace: and that he neuer enquired why neighbour Princes had souldiers in a readinesse in their owne Estates, being free for euery one to doe what he pleased in his country, not being subiect to yeeld an account to other Soueraignes his neighbors. Afterwards, seeing the French and Swislers discontented with his answer, and also considering his great charge was to litle purpose, he dismissed all his troops by a declaration which he caused to be published. The Captaines and Souldiers which came to him from diuers Countries, were forced to depart with losse, bearing their owne charges; and they of the Religion did the like from Geneua. Hereby it doth plainly appeare, that God hath F not created any thing in this world, that hath not his oppositie: and that the wisdom of the Queene Regent, and the speeches of the Beannois, stayed the Duke of Sauoy from beginning of a warre, which might haue set fire vpon all the Westerne parts of Europe.

During the Assembly at Summit, there was a general Chapter held at Paris, of all the Order of Saint Dominick, or Iacobins, whither all the religious of the said Order were summoned from all parts of the world, by the commandement of their Generall, which was *Augustin Galamin* of Brexignella in Lombardy, a Doctor of Diuinity, and at that time

The Queene Regent sends to the Duke of Sauoy.

The Dukes answer to the Queene Regent.

The Duke dismisseth his troopes.

A Chapter of the Iacobins at Paris.

A time Master of the sacred palace at Rome, who came thither in person with the Prouincials of all Countries, as from Peru, Mexico, the Philippines, and other remote parts, whose names I must for breuities sake omit. It beganne the Friday before Whitunday, and continued till the Friday after Trinity. They were in all about 400, who were nourished by the charitie and bounty of the King, Queene, princes, prelates, Noblemen, Ladies, and other charitable persons, which did assist at their preaching and Disputations. During this Chapter Father *Michaels*, Prouinciall of the Prouince of *Occitana*, demanded leave of the Generall to reforme himselfe with some other religious men of his Order, moued with the like zeale: which being granted, they got a house behinde *S. Andrew des Arts* at B Paris, where they beganne a more regular and reformed life: since, by the assistance and bounty of the Queene and other good people, they haue accommodated the Church and house of the Iacobins, reformed in the suburbs of *Saint Honoré*, where they now reside.

The Queene Regent, as you haue heard, had giuen commandement to the Iurats of Bourdeaux, to receiue the Prince of Condé their gouernour with all the honor due to such a Prince: being aduertised of his coming, they employed an infinite number of workmen, to make preparation for his entry, and especially of two goodly Nauall houses, cyther of which was built vpon two great boats, to receiue him at his coming to the Port of Lormont, with the Princesses his mother and wife. The 24 Companies of the towne did strue who should exceed other in armes and apparel: and all the chiefe townes of Guienne prepared to receiue him according to the Queenes commandement. The Nobilitie of euery prouince did accompany him as he went: and entering into his gouernment, *Monf: de Roquelaur* Lieutenant for his Maiesty in Guienne, receiued him with sixe or six hundred horse, and conducted him to Liborne, which was the first towne, whereas the Inhabitants met him in armes, and the Maior and Iurats caried a Canopy before him. The princesses came to Lormont, a litle league from Bourdeaux, where they entered into their Nauall house, being accompanied by many boats, with all sorts of musick, with the Captaines and Burgeses of the Towne, and 800 Harquebusers. They landed before Caste-Trompet, during the which the ships which lay in the Road, and the Caste saluted them with their Ordnance. Being landed vpon a bridge made for the purpose, they were conducted D with the Ladies and their traine, to the Archbishops palace in thirty Carosses, where they had a stately banquet for their reception. The next day two Iurats with a number of Barques went to conduct the nauall house for the Prince to the port of Lormont. After dinner the Prince embarked and landed, where *Monf: de Roquelaur* attended and saluted him, both as the Kings Lieutenant and Maior of Bourdeaux, presenting the keys vnto him, the which the Prince receiued, and deliuered againe vnto him. Then he was conducted to a high scaffold, where hee sat downe to heare their speeches, and to see the order of the entry as it past. First, the Iurats past, which came to salute him in their robes of crimson and white Sattin. The Vniuersity. They of the Presidiall Court, all on horse-back, hauing forty Sergeants before them. Then followed the Court of Parliament: the two E Presidents being in scarlet robes, and the Councillors in blacke; and before them twenty Vthers all on horse-back. The 24 Companies of the Burgeses of the towne on foot, well armed, and in seuerall lieries. There were moreover foureene or fiftene hundred horse. Then the Prince coming from the scaffold, tooke horse and went towards the Towne, being followed by the Seigneurs of *Roquelaur*, *Thermines*, *Vailac*, and many Noblemen of Guienne. Being come to the port, the Iurats presented him with a white Interier with rich furniture, wheron he mounted, the Iurats carrying a Canopy before him. In this manner he was conducted to the Cathedral Church, where the Cardinal of Sourdis receiued him, and conducted him to the high altar, where hauing done the vltiall ceremonies, he returned with him to the Church doore, from whence hee was conducted to his lodging. He visited the Court of Parliament, who receiued him with all the honour that could be done him. He was inuited with the Ladies to the Town-house, where the Maior and Iurats attended to doe them seruice. He was desirous to enter into Caste-Trompet, to see what reparations were necessary. This seruice as a Citadell of Bourdeaux, and commanded by Collonell *Ornano* with foure Companies entertained. At his coming in: the Capitaine who commanded in the Collonels absence, hauing deliuered the keys of the Caste into his hands, he presently went forth with all the garison: then the Prince visited the Caste both within and without, and gaue order for the fortifications which were

The Prince of Condé his entry into Bourdeaux.

The Prince of Condé his entry into Bourdeaux.

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to be made. After this, desirous to see the chiefe townes of his gouernment. He passed by A Nerac, Agen, Thouloufe, Montauban, Dacs, and in the end to Bayonne, in all which places he was entertained with much honor. Being returned to Bourdeaux, hee received commandement from the Queene to repaire to Court, which he did about the beginning of Nouember.

The deceased King *Henry* the fourth, had by his Edict forbidden Duels, and happily suppressed the liberty which French Gentlemen took to fight and kill one another, which often hapned vpon slight occasions. But as men alwayes finde some euasion to avoid the Law, they found also the inuention of encountering without challenge: whereupon his Maiefty made this Declaration to preuent these encounters: *That if it hapned hereafter, B that any Gentlemen or others, making profession of armes, (who by reason of words or deeds, cyther for themselves, or for their friends, which may give any occasion of offence, or cause bitterness) doe afterwards meeting by chance, draw their weapons, it shall be reputed done of purpose, and held for a challenge, so as they shall incur the same punishment ordained by the Edicts of Duels against Challengers; and shall not be dispensed withall, notwithstanding any pretext or excuse whatsoever.* This Declaration was verified by the Court of Parliament, and executed vpon certaine offenders.

A controuersie in Troys concerning the Iesuits,

About this time the Inhabitants of Troys, were ready to fall into a mutiny and combustion: some desiring to haue the Iesuits, and to giue them the Colledge of the Towne; and others opposing it. The Bishop, the President, and some few Clergy-men, and some Burgesses (especially such as had borne all the sway during the League) would haue the Iesuits. The Deanes and Chapters of *S. Peters*, and *S. Stephens*, the greatest part of the Clergy, the Councillors of the Presidiall Court, the Towne-house, and such as had assisted to draw the Towne to the obedience of King *Henry* the fourth, would none of them. This bred a great contention amongst the inhabitants: both parties sent to the Court: the Bishop, the President, and those of that faction, sent to let the Queene vnderstand that the Inhabitants of Troys desired to entertaine the Iesuits, and to beleech her Maiefty to be pleased that they might make a general Assembly to resolve vpon that business by the voyces of all the people assembled by their trades. This Messenger was sent away with all speed, to preuent such as might be sent in the behalfe of the towne; as it hapned: for *Guichard* a Councillor of the Court, and one of the Sheriffs (being deputed from the Assembly) coming to Fountain-bleau after *Latrecey* the Bishops Messenger, hee found the whole Court disposed to haue the Iesuits instilled in Troys. Finally, *Latrecey* was first dispatched; and made all possible speed to returne to Troys, to haue the Trades assembled for the reception of the Iesuits: but yet the matter succeeded not according to his desire.

The whole body and chiefe inhabitants of the Towne, hearing what had past at Fountain-bleau, and that they had giuen the Queene to vnderstand that the Iesuits were desired in Troys, they held a solemn Assembly, where it was concluded, that they should make an act of Disauow against such as had presumed to demand the Iesuits without warrant or power, and without the priuie of all the orders of the Towne: that this act should be carryed to Court, and that they should informe her Maiefty of the seditious preachings of *P. Bisset* a Iesuit; and let her vnderstand that it was to be feared there would some sedition hapen.

Deputies of Troys sent to the Queene.

The Queenees answer.

To this end certaine were deputed for the Clergy, Iustice, and body of the towne, to informe the Queene of the state of the cause. To whom the Queene made this answer, that they had giuen her vnderstand, that the Inhabitants of Troys demanded the Iesuits, but seeing they would none, shee would not force them; neither had shee any intent to establish them against the good liking, nor without the contents of the said Inhabitants.

This answer was the cause of new proceedings on cyther side. They which opposed the Iesuits, did set downe their principall reasons in writing. And the Iesuits faction did the like, with such animosity; as the towne seemed to bee threatened with troubles and sedition: there being some which were willing to take armes, and to be in action: the which caused the Maior and Sheriffs of the towne to haue recourse vnto *Mons. de Praslin*, Gouernor of the prouince, who repaired speedily thither, and by his presence and wisdome pacified all these heart-burnings and discontents.

There

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A There was a notable Impostor at Paris, who (from a meane beginning) through his subtile cariage had gathered great wealth together; and after falling to keepe dogs, horfies, and entertaine Strumpets, he began to run the high way to destruction; and so at last resolving to play the Bankrupt, he tooke vp all the money hee could, but his intent being discouered, he was cast into prison, and they found that he ought about 30000 pound sterling, yet could not shew any losses hee had sustained, or debts due vnto him, nor ready money to pay his Creditors.

His wife seeing him in prison, and not able to moue him by her prayers to doe right to every man; for very griefe she tooke her bed. Being without means, she importuned B him to ayde her with some reliefe: but hee would not assist her with a peny, nor after her death giue any thing for her buriall, that he had no money; but it was the will of God to haue his peritrie and wickednesse knowne to the world, for a seruant of his stole from him 150 Crownes in gold; and hee complaining thereof, said, that hee wondered he had not caried away more, for aboute 600 Crownes in Pearle and Jewels, with a Watch well worth 40 Crownes, lay vnder the gold which he had taken.

The Court finding his fullhood and villany, condemned him to doe penance in the great Chamber, the Court sitting, being bare headed in his shirt, and vpon his knees, with a halter about his necke, holding in his hands a torch burning of two pound weight, and there to declare openly, *That he had maliciously plaid the bankrupt, and diuerted his goods C to defraud his creditors; for the which he craved pardon of God, the King, and the Iustice, Lucardo* his brother in law, a partner in his villany assisted at the said penance, and the said *La Tour* to be conducted into the Palace yard at the exchange time, to doe the like penance, and then to be tyed to a post by the necke, and there to remaine untill one of the clocke. Moreouer *La Tour* was condemned to serue the King in his Gallies for the space of nine yeares, and hee and *Lucardo* banished France for euer, and neuer to returne vpon paine of hanging without other forme of proceffe. Their goods were confiscated, their creditors being first paid, vntill which were satisfied, they were to remaine in prison and to pay all the charges.

The censure of the Court against *La Tour*, for so he was called.

The Abbot of Bois, of whom we haue formerly made mention, was committed prisoner at Rome, and as some affirmed had beene hang'd with his face couered: Men spake diuersly of the cause, some accusing the Iesuites to haue bene the moitiues thereof, for that he had first preached against them after the Kings death: others said, that it was at the suite of the Generall of the Celestins, for that he had left his order, and had not yeelded an account for the managing of the affaires which he had in charge. That he had in former times slaine a man at Auignon (the Popes Territorie) with his fist. Finally, they made many other pretexts. An error which is done by counsell, cannot be otherwise termed then a fault wisely committed: but this Abbot would neither beleue the aduice of his best friends, who dissuaded him from this voyage to Rome, nor the intreaty of his seruant who would not accompany him.

The Abbot of Bois imprisoned at Rome.

E This yeare was fatal to some great personages which dyed in hope of a better life. Newes came to Court of the death of *Mons. de Viry*, whom the Queene had sent into England for some affaires of State, where he died suddenly, being much lamented of the King and Nobles there. These newes did much grieue the Queene and Court for the losse of so worthy a man: but it was nothing in respect of the sorrow and mourning of them of his house, and of the Inhabitants of Bry in Champagne: His body was brought out of England with a goodly conuoy, aswell of his followers, as of many Noblemen and others which went to meet it: His sonne succeeded him in all his places, honours, and dignities.

Death of *Mons. de Viry*.

In the beginning of October, the Duke of Maienne died in the Towne of Soissons of a F feuer, hauing for the space of 12 yeares bene much afflicted with the Gout. This Prince was alwayes held religious and deuout, wise, courageous, master of his passions, very temperate in all his actions; yea and making ware against them of the Religion, they called him a Prince of his word, so carefull he was to keepe it. The good and bad fortune which he had, being Lieutenant Generall to King *Henry* the third in his Armies, is written at large in diuers Histories: as also what he did being head of the League against King *Henry* the third and fourth, with the commendation which all France hath giuen him, for that in those miserable times, he would neuer consent to haue it diuided. After his reconciliation,

Death of the Duke of Mayenne.

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His children.

tion, he performed all duties of obedience and fidelity to the King: and euen after his death the Queene made great vfe of his counsell. He was free in the deliuey of his opinion: whereof his speech in open Councell to the greatest which demanded increase of their pensions, is a goodly testimonie; *We must (said he) serue our King faithfully, without conditions, importunity, or demands; for it ill befits vs to seeke to draw profits from his Maiesties Minority, when as the very duty engrauen by God in the hearts of all good Subiects, bindes vs to doe him seruice.* Of Henriette of Sauoy his wife he had foure children: two sonnes, the Duke of Elguillon (now Duke of Mayenne) and the Earle of Sommerue a goodly yong Prince, and of great hope, who died some few yeares before in Italy: and two daughters, *Katherine* married to the Duke of Neuers, and *Rence* a Virgin.

The first day of this feuer, this Prince said, I finde this will be my last, I must goe to God: the Bishop of Soissons comming to visit him, and hearing him speake aloud, *Gone, gone, O Lord my God,* he asked him, *Whither will you goe Sir?* And this Prince answered, *to Heauen, to Heauen, gone, gone, O Lord my God:* Father of mercy conduct me if it be thy good pleasure; the way of our felicity is assured in thee, for thou art the Way; the knowledge of this way cannot be obscure nor vncertaine, for thou art Truth; and the enioying of this way must needs be immortality, for thou art Life it selfe: *Gone, gone then, Let me goe then to Heauen.*

Having settled all things touching his Conscience, and protested of his humble seruice to the King and Queene Regent: hee called for his Sonne the Duke of Aignillon, who being on his knees by his bed side, hee said vnto him: *Sonne, I giue you my blessing, with this condition, and not otherwise; that you shall employ your life and all your meanes, for the defence of the Catholike Romish Religion, and for the humble seruice which you owe vnto the King and Queene Regent, and for the good of the State.* Then greeting that hee could not speake with the Queene, hee intreated the Bishop of Soissons to giue his blessing vnto his daughter the Duchesse of Neuers: then calling his other daughter vnto him, hee said vnto her, *Daughter, I giue you my blessing, with this condition, that you shall alwaies haue the feare of God before your eyes, and honour and obey the commandements of your mother and brother: pray to God for me, and I will pray for you.* Soone after, desiring often to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, his speech failed him, and hee left this mortall life for an immortal, on the 3 of October. The Duchesse of Mayenne, much afflicted with his sickness, fell also sicke, and after his death consumed away in teares and sorrow, which had no end but with the end of her life, which was within few dayes after; and so ended this great body of friendship diuided into two soules: they both being interred together, having but one funeral pompe. The Duchesse of Neuers their daughter receiving newes of both their deaths, continued for a long time speechlesse: griefe and sighes had so seized on her heart, as she could hardly be comforted by her friends. The Duke of Neuers was no lesse troubled: sorrow had wounded his heart, and the griefe that hee had not performed the last duties at the time of their departures, did much afflict his soule.

In the end of October, their Maiesties being at Fontaine-Belleau, the Duchesse of Loraine, and the Cardinall of Gonzague arriued there, where they had a very honourable reception. The Queene Regent was glad to see them, being the children of her deceased sister the Duchesse of Mantoua. In the beginning of Nouember the Court came to Paris, where after some daies stay, the Queene desiring to shew them the infants of France who were at Saint Germaine, all the Court prepared to goe thither with much ioy; but they came vnto the house of mourning through the death of the Duke of Orleans, who dyed the 17 of Nouember, being 4 yeares old and 6 months. A prince in his infancie indued with all perfections. He was carried directly from thence to Saint Denis, and laid neere to his father: for they hold there are no funeral pompes to be celebrated in Paris after the death of the Infants of France, if they haue not liued 7 yeares. The Queen was so afflicted for this death, as she could take no rest for many nights: and all France in generall did much lament it.

Monf: Le Maistre, first Physitian to the Infants of France, a learned man and of good repute, was taxed for the death of this yong Prince: his enemies blamed him, for that they say he had suffered an issue (which he had had two yeares in his neck) to be stopped: and some Physitians (who affected his place) furthered this slander by their practices.

This

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A This false brute being come to the Queenes eares, did much afflict her: for some who had credit with her hauing reported it, terrified such as might deliuey the truth, vntill a great Lady presumed to tell her Maiefty, that without doubt it was some enemy to the Physitian which had raised this slander. Whereupon her Maiefty being willing to heare *Monf: Le Maistre*, he said vnto her: *Madam, I most humbly beseech your Maiefty that I may not lose the honour of your fauour through flanders and false reports: and that I may not be entreated according to the desire of mine enemies, to the ruine of mine honor and reputation. For hitherto you haue heard none but mine enemies, who haue beene as ready to speake ill as to doe ill, whose lewd life is so well knowne vnto your Maiefty, as I shd not need to make any further repetition. But the onely cause of their hatred is, for that I opposed my selfe to the scandals which they raised against your Maiefties House. For this reason onely they haue imputed vnto me the death of my Master, who was so deare vnto me: and without respect of your Maiefty, to reuenge themselves on me, they haue told the mother that her child is dead by my error: a sauage fury, and vnworthy of reasonable men.*

After he had made a long narration of the manner of the Princes infirmity, and of the Physitians proceeding in the cure, which I am enforced for breuities sake to omit: in the end hee concluded, *Madam, you may hereby iudge of the malice of these slanderers, who haue not beene ashamed to lye vnto you, nor to afflict you without respect vnto the person vpon whom depends the preservation of so many people. And herewith abundance of teares stopped his speech.*

The Queene hauing heard his Speech, told him she would further informe her selfe and afterwards declare what her pleasure was; which she did; and since continued the said *Monf: Le Maistre* in his place, in the seruice of *Monf: D'Anjou*, which office hee still hath; but the principall authors of this slander hee dismissed.

At the same time there was a great suit determined by the Court of Parliament, betwixt the Iesuits and the Vniuersity of Paris. It was begunne in the year 1603, when as the deceased King of famous memory, of his bounty, granted letters of re-establishment to the said Iesuits, in the chiefe towne of his Realme; and of his grace, gaue them (at the instance of the Siegneur of Varenne) leave to build a royall Colledge at La Fleche, by vertue of his letters patents giuen at Rouen, and verified by the Parliament. And in Iuly 1606, they obtained other Letters, giuing them power to make their residence at Paris in the professed House of S. Lewis, and in their Colledge of Clermont, allowing them Confessions, preachings, and other exercises of their Order, except publike Lectures, which for many good and iust considerations hee would not grant at that time: the Parliament of Paris did verifie these patents, with the clauses and conditions therein contained to be observed.

In the year 1609 the King being at Fountainbleau, granted vnto them by other letters patents, the publike reading in Diuinity in their Colledge of Clermont, which letters being presented to be verified, the Vniuersity and all the faculty of Diuinity in Paris, came and opposed themselves, so as they could not proceede.

In this year 1611, they obtained letters from their Maiefties, giuing leave to open their Colledge, and to instruct youth publicly in all the Sciences: which bred a great controuersie betwixt the said Iesuits and the Vniuersity: for hauing presented them to the Court the 23 of August to be verified, at the same time the Vniuersity required communication: and the third of September they presented a request vnto the Court, by which they opposed against the said Letters, and hindred the enrolment. Hereupon the parties had an assignation to appeare vpon the sixt following: on which day the body of the Vniuersity appeared; and *Etienn* with one other, assisted by their Advocate and *Procurator*. For where it was decreed, that the parties should precisely plead the next day; that all the Chambers should be assembled for the deciding of the cause; and that they should plead the doores being shut: but when they appeared, it was put off till the first day after S. Martin, appointing *Martillien* to be Advocate for the Vniuersity, and *Montbolen* for the Iesuits. The day being come, the Vniuersitie sued for audience; but the Iesuits hauing demanded delay, an order was made, that the parties should appeare the 26 of Nouember: at what time the Vniuersity came, hoping the cause should haue beene heard; but by the Queenes command it was deferred till another time, and the Vniuersity sent

[d 3] home.

A Suit betwixt the Vniuersity and Iesuits.

Death of the D. of Orleans.

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home. During this delay the Iesuits fetled themselves in their Colledges, and caused the youth to be instructed by interposed persons: whereof the Vniuersitie being aduertised, seeing the cause yet depending and vndecided, they made petition vnto the Court, that they might plead vpon their first opposition, the which was granted, and a day appointed on the 17 of December: at what time the chambers being assembled, the Vniuersity came with their Councell, and likewise the Iesuits.

at Antiliere
speeches, plead-
ing for the
Vniuersity.

There assisted at the hearing of this cause, the Prince of Conde, with the Bishops of Beauuais and Noyon, Peeres of France, six Presidents, a Master of Requests, and 26 Councellors: *La Martilliere* hauing made a long relation touching the Vniuersity, in the end he charged the Iesuits, *That both in Spaine and Flanders they had sought to plant Seminaries, both of English and Irish, which were fled out of their Countries; that they had drawn vnto them the best wits of those Nations; and that many great Families in France had lamented the losse of their children and kinsfolkes, which they had drawne vnto them.* Then he accused them, *That they did wrong to learning, to cut off and diuersifie Authors; That they were ignorant of the secrets of songes; and that they did not reade in the Colledges any bookes but such as were commended by their society.* Afterwards, hauing spoken many things touching the faithfull obedience which all subiects owe vnto their Princes, he maintained that vpon the doctrine of the absolute power of correction of the temporall by the spirituall, taught by the Iesuits, they haue grounded their excommunications against Kings; interdiction of their Realmes, and discharge of the oath and obedience of their subiects, in case their naturall Princes should attempt any thing in their temporall against the Popes will, which he sayd was a schismaticall doctrine, and had beene condemned in France; alleging many examples and diuers Authors to proue that the rebellions, vlturpations, and attempts vpon the sacred persons of the Kings of France, proceeded from this wicked doctrine.

The conclusion
of his plead-
ing.

After many other crimes wherewith he taxed them, hee concluded in these termes: In the State wherein we liue, the Iesuits can haue no greater obstacle, then the bond to obserue strictly the conditions of their re-establishment: to hold them subiect to the Magistrate, like vnto other religious orders: not to endure their enterprises: to persueue all Bishops, Prelates, and Curates in their dignities: not to allow them any instruction of youth, lest they make a Monopolie thereof, and in the end forsake them in such sort as to become a Iesuite they will leaue to be French: and aboue all, not to abandon the authoritie of our doctrine vnto them, the foundation of the loue and fidelity of a Royalty, to receiue the instructions of a new Diuinity, deuised for the interest of their owne greauesse and priuate authority: wherunto they would add to our Beleeffe this 13 Article of the Faith: That all Crownes depend on the Pope, and that he hath power to depose Kings. He concluded for the Vniuersitie, that their Letters might not be allowed, and that they might be forbidden to reade, teach, or vse any Scholasticall function in the Vniuersity.

Montholan
pleading for
the Iesuits.

The next day *Montholan* appeared for the Iesuits, whose pleading was very short. The discourse of the aduersary party (said he) was nothing but a faggot of reproaches bound vp together against the Iesuites, which deserue nothing but the fire. The testimonie of so many Popes, Emperors, and Kings, of the great benefit this Order brought vnto the world, as well in religion, as the instruction of youth: among others, that of the deceased King *Henry* the great, in his answers and Edicts made for the re-establishment of this Order in France, was sufficient to answer all the flanders which were objected against them. In his conclusion, his request was to haue the said Letters allowed, and their Colledge opened.

The Reſtor of
the Vniuersity
his Oration to
the Court.

After *Montholan*s conclusion, the Reſtor of the Vniuersity made an Oration in Latine, not premeditated, as some write, to the great content of the auditors: the which being very long, I am forced to omit; only I will insert his conclusion, which was in these termes:

I am here my Lords, you reuerent Deities of this sacred Temple, the inuincible defenders of the French liberty: I conjure you all in the name of God, by the happy and fauourable shadowes of great *Henry*, who was sometimes father of this France, by his last Will, the which to breake were a sinne, a crime, a sacrilege; by the blood of our lawes which you haue in guard; by the immortal life of our most wise, most vertuous, and most powerfull Queene, to whom you are to giue all assurance; by this first Prince of the Royall blood here present, this most illustrious Prince, most worthy bud of the stem of *Bourbons*; by

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A by the good which you owe vnto France; by the affection and honour you beare it; yea by your children whom this cause doth principally concerne: I conjure you euen by your selues, if you will be immortal, and engrauce your names in the Temple of memorie; Take away once for all, the managing of learning from these profane hands, and restore the command of studies to the Princeesse of Vniuersities, and the daughters into the hands of their mother: suffer not the blemish of new doctrines to couer the apple of Frenchmens eyes, and trouble their sights. Is it not better that the Vniuersitie should leape for ioy, at the very report of your names, and the remembrance of your praises, as they greene bayes to crowne your heads, and to graue your great merits in letters of gold; then that a new order of religious men, newly moulded, and of a new impression, who hold nothing of the French humor, and dispense with Monastical rules, to vaunt openly that their Societie had allowance amongst vs; that the Vniuersitie with all their learning, had beene ouerthrowne by your decrees; and that your breath hath withered this third blossome of the sacred Lillies?

If you haue decreed within your selues, to suffer the Iesuits to dispose of the Vniuersitie at their pleasures; at the least (my Lords) open your purple robes, receiue into your armes this Vniuersitie which is falling: receiue the sighes and last groanes of your mother, which is in an agonie, and growes towards her end: but happen what will, and let future ages wonder, *That wee haue not failed the Common-weale, but the Common-weale hath failed vs.*

The Reſtor hauing ended, *Monſieur Seruin*, first Aduocate generall made his remonstrance, which was very long, and concluded for the Vniuersitie against the Iesuits. In these pleadings they gathered foure points, which they taught and held: First, That the Pope was aboue the Councell: secondly, That the Pope hauing excommunicated a King, he might depriue him of his Realme: thirdly, That attempts and conspiracies against the sacred persons of Kings and their Estates, deliuered to the Priest in confession, they ought not to be reuealed to the Magistrate: and fourthly, That Clergy men were not subiect to secular Princes. Contrary to which foure points, they propounded to haue the Iesuits subscribe to these which follow. First, That the Councell was aboue the Pope: secondly, That the Pope had no temporall power ouer Kings, and could not by excommunication depriue them of their Realmes and Estates: thirdly, That Clergy men hauing heard of any attempt or conspiracie against the King or his Realme, or any matter of treason in confession, he was bound to reueale it to the Magistrate: fourthly, That Clergy men were subiect to the secular Prince or politique Magistrate.

The first President being in Councell, demanded of the Iesuits (who were eight in number) if they would subscribe vnto the doctrine of the Sorbon, especially in the foure points aboue mentioned, and cause their Generall to signe it. One of them (who they said was Prouinciall of France) answered, That amongst their statutes there was one which bound them to obserue the rules and orders of the place where they were during their abode, reading the passage in a booke which he held in his hand; and that they could not promise their Generall should signe that which was demanded; but they would write vnto him, and doe their best endeour. *Montholan* added, that they would be bound to obserue the doctrine of the Sorbon, and the lawes of the Vniuersity, for which their Heads should answer. And if they of the Sorbon (being their ancients) would signe the said foure articles, they would likewise signe them.

Hereupon the Court decreed, That the Prouinciall and they of his company plain-tiffs, who assisted at the audience, should presently subscribe the submission made by their Prouinciall to conform themselves to the doctrine of the Colledge of Sorbon, especially in that which concerns the preferuation of the sacred person of Kings; the maintaining of the Royall authority, and the liberties of the French Church, from all times obserued in the Realme: and in the meane time they did forbid the Iesuits to innouate any thing, or to attempt any thing to the preiudice of their Letters of re-establishment, and against the decree of the verification of the same: that they should not meddle either by themselves or any interposed persons with the instruction of youth in this City of Paris, in any manner whatsoever, or to vse there any exercise of Scholasticall function, vpon paine to lose their re-establishment.

The ciuill combustions at Aix la Chapelle, troubled the quiet of the neighbour Princes.

Troubles at
Aix.

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The Protestants hauing expelled the Magistrates who were Papiſts, and seized vpon A the government of the Towne. Either party fortified themselves by their friends : the Catholikes sent to the Archduke *Albert*, and to the Elector of Cullen, who gaue them no great assistance; onely they sent Ambassadors to Aix, to labour a reconciliation. The Protestants sent to the Princes possesſing Iuliers, that they would be pleased to send them succours and some portion of note, to treat friendly of the differences betweene them and the Catholikes: which they did by the Earle of Solmes. The conditions they required, were; that some Protestants might hereafter be admitted into the Magistracie; That the exercise of the Lutheran and Caluiniſt religion might be allowed, the Iesuits expelled, and all that had past during the troubles forgotten. Soone after, the Archduke *Alberts* Ambassadors arriued, who pretending their Prince was protector of that towne, by vertue of an accord made in the yeare of our Lord 1600, he vsed some threats, which did not much please the Protestants of Aix, nor the Ambassadors of Iuliers; all which were not able to compound the quarrell.

Ambassadors
come from
France to Aix.

Their speech
to the Burges-
ses of Aix.

About the end of September there arriued the Marquis of Vieu-ville, with the Seigneurs of Brucil President of Metz, and Villars Hofman Ambassadors for the most Christian King and the Queene Regent, left this small difference should be the cause of some great warre, to the prejudice of their Estate. In a full assembly of the Magistrates and Burges- ses, they gaue them to vnderstand, that the most Christian King hearing with griefe of the late alterations which had happened in their towne and Common-weale: they had sent them to represent vnto them the dangerous inconueniences which might happen by their diuisions, which had filled their towne with confusion, the neighbour Princes with ieaousie, and the people with bad example; and to perswade them to lay aside all spleene and animosities, and to reconcile themselves vnto one another: laying before them the miseries which doe accompany the torrents of warre and ciuill dissention. And therefore my masters (sayd they) condemne not this good counsell, but receiue it with the respect and reuerence which is due vnto their Maiesties, and with the same good will which you haue shewed at our arriual into this towne. All things are yet in good estate if you will; for by the grace of God your troubles are not yet come to irreconciliable extremities. Leave first your hatred and spleene; lay aside your passions, and with quiet spirits consider of all the circumstances of times, places, and persons. Wee are now in peace almost throughout all Europe, and will you be the first to found the Trumpet, and to beginne the warre? your towne is situated in the midst of many Princes and Townes, who were lately in warre; would you that yours should serue as a Theater to adde a bloody Catastrophe to the Tragedies past? you are all in the same vessell, in the same inclosure, breathing the same ayre, vsing the same tongue, the same lawes and customes. Those whom you now repute for your aduersaries, are your fellow Citizens, your neighbours, your kinsfolke, your brethren and members of the same bodie. And although your opinions bee diuers touching matters of Religion, yet your wils should be vnited for the good of the Common-weale. Would you disgrace your Country, and teare in pieces the bowels of your mother? If you were bewitched with these impressions (which we cannot beleue) abandon all these pernicious counsels which will plunge you into a gulfe of misery; and embrace vniou and concord, which is the foundation and root of rest, the nurse of peace, the consolation of good Citizens, and a plentifull harvest of all good things. And to the end the businesse may be negotiated with more ease, you may if you please depute some of either side, peaceable men and not passionate, who may freely conferre with vs with all confidence and safety, and we will heare their propositions with patience, not as Iudges or Arbitrators, but as mediators of peace, and friendly Compositors: and we will endeavour by all means to end your differences by a common consent, and to all your likings.

An accord
made.

The effect of this Remonstrance was, that after some conferences, the Catholikes and Protestants of Aix, submitted themselves to the accord, which should be made by the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers, who laboured so in this businesse, as certaine Articles were drawn and signed by them; which Articles I am enforced for breuities sake to omit. But the Catholike Magistrate refused to signe them, being required: for that the Ambassadors of the Archduke *Albert* and the Elector of Cullen, returned soon after to Aix with an Imperiall Mandate, by which they said they were deputed from the Emperor to order what they should think good: which the Protestants seeing, they required the Magistrate

against

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A againe that the Articles concluded by the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers might be executed according to their tenor, and protested of nullity for all that should be done by the Archdukes and Electors Ambassadors. The French Ambassadors seeing that they had prepared the way for the Burgeses and Catholike Magistrates to enter into the temple of peace with the Protestants; and that the Senators made difficulty vpon some thornes which they imagined they had found therein: Hereupon they made a second Remonstrance, whereby they layd before them the dangers which would ensue by refusing of the said treaty, and how much they should offend their most Christian Maiesties, who had sent them to compound their differences in a friendly manner: and the rather for that they had beene aduertised it was with their consents, and should be againe by them of the declaration which they had giuen them in writing.

A second
speech of the
French Ambassadors.

If you ground your exercises (said the Ambassadors) vpon the said Mandate, the which (as you said) you dare not disobey: they will answer you, that you should haue attended vntill that his Imperiall Maiesty had beene aduertised of the said treaty, whereof the Mandate makes not any mention, or that hee should haue made declaration that hee could not allow of it. You shall of a iust cause which you had before, make an vnjust, the which will be blamed by all Princes and people which heare of it. The people will be confirmed in the complaint they make against you; that you will alwaies intreat them with rigour, and that you file all amiable composition, and desire nothing but severity without any mildnesse.

On the other side, if you accept of the said treaty, you shall doe nothing but what you haue done before: and yet you shall auoyde all these inconueniences, and doe no wrong nor prejudice either to the Emperours authority, the rights and priuiledges of your Towne, or your selues. For the said treaty being but prouisional and by way of Interim, would be no hindrance, but his Imperiall Maiesty may ordaine what he pleaseth: neither will it binde the hands of their highnes of Cullen and Brabant, whom he hath deputed; for that they are not prest to consent vnto the said treaty, nor their commissioners to signe it: and therefore nothing shall hinder them to doe what they please. By the accepting of this treaty, you shall preserve the amity of their most Christian Maiesties, who shall not haue employed their meanes and labour in vaine for so good a worke: as also of their Highnes of Iuliers, and of all your neighbours, who by this meanes shall be freed from the apparant danger of a most troublesome warre: you shall recouer your authoritie which is ouerthrowne, you shall gaine peace vnto your Country; you shall preserve the name and liberty of your Common-wealth, and you shall maintaine the Catholike Religion, which otherwise would be in great danger: and this great good will produce good effects, and wholesome examples throughout all Germany and Europe. Embrace not then winde and vaine hopes: but take a good and firme resolution, and accepting the treaty wherunto you had consented, winde the respect and honor which you owe vnto his Maiesty, who desireth nothing but your good, quiet, and tranquillity, seeing that you perceiue plainly it can breed you no prejudice, but all profit and commodity.

This second speech, although made in the French Kings name, yet the Catholike Magistrates would not resolve to returne into their places to take againe the reins of the politike Government: which the Ambassadors of France and Iuliers perceiving, to the end the Towne of Aix should not remaine without any Magistrate, they made choice of the chiefe amongst the Burgeses; to whom, with the consent of the Protestants, the administration of the Common-weale was committed. After which, the Ambassadors of France returned to their Maiesties, to giue an account of their Embassy; and with them there came to Paris Ambassadors from their Highnes of Iuliers, and the Burgeses of Aix. A little before, certaine deputies had come to the Court of France, who with the Archdukes Ambassadors, made instance to their Maiesties, that the accord made by the French Ambassadors at Aix might be dissolved: and that the Proscription of the Protestants made by the Emperor put in execution, which they laboured to obtaine before the Ambassadors returned: but their Maiesties being informed how all things had past: they told the Ambassadors of Iuliers and the deputies of the Burgeses of Aix, and gaue them letters, promising all fauour and succour in case the Archduke *Albert* should attempt any thing to the prejudice of their Highnes of Iuliers, and the Burgeses of Aix.

On the 4 of Nouember dyed *Antonio Perez*. Wee may say of him, that he had bene

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as much fauoured of Fortune, and by Kings and great Princes of Europe, as hee was after. A wards afflicted with misery, and reduced to extremity. It may bee seene in the booke of his relations, that being Secretary of State vnto Philip the 2. King of Spaine, hee had a great share in the loue and secrets of this King: we may see the occasion of his imprisonment in Spaine, and how he escaped and fled into Arragon: The taking of Armes of the people of Saragossa against the Inquisitors who would haue put him into the Inquisition: his flight from thence (it being besieged by the Spaniard) into Bearne, where hee was receiued by the Lady Katherine Sister to King Henry the Great: his passage into England and the reception he had from Queene Elizabeth: his coming to Paris, where as King Henry the Great caused him to bee lodged in the Queene Mothers Palace, giuing B him two Swissers for his guard, and a good pension for his entertainment. The execution of a Spaniard and his seruant by the hand of Iustice, who had attempted to kill him for 20000 Crownes: and the subtiltie of this murderer making shew to bee come into France to acquaint the King with a designe, which the Morisques had to reuolt. Behold hitherto many crosse of Fortune, but yet Perez not reduced to necessity: the Spaniard who (as *Monsieur de Montigny* said vnto the Marshall of Biron) neuer pardons an offence whilst the party liues, fought by all means to annoy Perez. A Gentleman belonging to the Ambassador of Spaine residing in the French Court, told him that if hee would leaue the Pension which the French King gaue him, hee should within 6 months bee restored to his goods and honours: the which was promised with much assurance, and confirmed by a Graund of Spaine. Passing from Paris in the year 1603, to goe into Flanders, he resigned his pension. Hee was also aduised to goe out of the Country to treat his peace, whereupon hee went to Calais, and so to Daquer, where hee receiued commandement to proceed no further: and the reason was, for that the Spanish Ambassador residing there, said, that if *Antonio Perez* came vnto that Court hee would depart. Perez thought now that there was no courtisie but in France, and from a King whom hee had in a manner disdained, reiecting the pension which hee had giuen him. From Calais he came to liue at Saint Denis in France, and although hee knew by experience that the promises of those of his Nation were without hope of any effect: yet the necessity whereunto hee was reduced for his entertainment, made him to seeke all D means he could to recouer the King of Spaines fauour. After this, hee came to lodge in the suburbs of Saint Victor at Paris, where his sonnes *Don Gonçales*, and *Don Raphael* came to see him, but without any means to assist him. *Don Gonçales* departed presently for Rome, and *Don Raphael* staid with him some time, during which *Don Pedro de Toledo* came extraordinary Ambassador into France, whom Perez went often to see, but hee had nothing but promises without effect, which made him to send his son into Spaine with letters and supplications to the Duke of Lerna: from whom hee had no answer but delays. They did write vnto him from Spaine, that he might treat with the Duke of Feria who was coming into France; but being come, he sent him word, that he had no charge to speake vnto him. He was danted with this answer, and said that hee saw E well he must end his daies in France, the which fell out accordingly: for being lodged nere vnto S. Paules, distressed for want of means, surprised with a greater feuer, he yielded his soule to God in the end of this year, and was buried at the Celestins.

I will conclude the year with an act of the Lord of Vatan, which as it was rash, so did it cause him to lose his life and honor. Vatan is a little towne in Berry, betweene Issoudun and the frontiers of Touraine, in which there is a reasonable strong Castle. During the troubles of the league, the two brethren of Vatan had giuen good testimonies of their valors in many combats, sieges, and enterprises for the kings partie: the eldest brother died at a siege, without children, and the younger brother remained sole heire of the Seigneurie of Vatan, having none but sisters; who remaining unmarried and committing little to the Court, liued nobly in his Castle: he was of the Religion, and much giuen to the Mathematickes, whereof hee caused a booke to bee printed when hee did the Act which caused him to lose both his life, honor and goods. Hee was a braue Gentleman, of a goodly stature, a keen haire, and long visage, but humorous and fantastical: and he was so firme a friend to his friends, as it cost him his life. And this was the cause:

Robin, generall Farmer of the imposts of Salt in France, aduertised that the Seigneur of Lausselle nere to Vatan, had store of false Salt in his house, whereof he made profit: he

gaue

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A gaue charge to the Prouost Marshall of Tours to search his house for false Salt, and to seize vpon his person, and all those which should succour him. The Prouost hauing entered the house, and hauing found much false Salt, hee carried away *Lausselle*, with his brother, and a cousin of his: whereof *Vatan* being presently aduertised (for that he was his friend) he sent his steward presently after, to entreat the Prouost not to carie him away, promising to bring them forth whensoever he would: The steward hauing ouertaken the Prouost, whether he spake more boldly then he ought, or that he added some threats, or else for the full execution of his Commission, hee caried him away also prisoner. *Vatan* being aduertised hereof within few daies after, tooke horse with some of his followers, & by way of reprisall caried away one of *Robins* children from his house, whereupon he presented a petition to the Lords of the Councell, who decreed, that one of the great Prouosts Lieutenants should goe into Berry to informe of the fact, and the circumstances thereof; commanding all his Maiesties officers and subiects to be assisting vnto the said Lieutenant for the execution of the decree: to which end he had a Commission from his Maiestie.

The fantastick humor of *Vatan* made him beleue that they should haue sent a Gentleman to treat with him, being a Seigneur of qualitie, and not any of the Prouosts Lieutenants: who being come to *Vatan*, he sent him presently word that he should retire. But the Lieutenant hauing made a verbal proceesse according to his Commission, of all the rebellions of the Seigneur of *Vatan*, he returned to Paris; where all the proceedings being presented vnto the Councell of State, *Robin* obtained a decree, by the which his Maiestie ordained, that the former decree should be executed, and *Vatan* and his complices brought to the prison of Tour le Euesque, and his castle seized on: for the execution hereof, commandement was giuen to the Marshall *La Chastre*, and the Earle of Chiverny gouernor of Blois, to see this decree executed with such forces as his Maiestie should send, and if need were to cause the Canon to be conducted thither. The Grand Prouost went presently to see this decree executed, and sent to all the Prouosts of the neighbour prouinces to come vnto him: but the Queene hauing aduertisement, that *Vatan* had written to his friends, and made preparation to defend himselfe, and withall that he had some intelligence with *Larrige* and *Chef bobin*, who had bene executed for the enterprise of Poitou; these reasons made them to aduance the siege. And the Earle of Chiverny Gouernor of Blois, hauing receiued commandement againe, assembled foure or five hundred horse: *The Seigneur de la Salle*, a Captaine in the Regiment of the Guard, had the conduct of the foot, which consisted of 1200, with a companie of Swisse also: all which passed the Riuer of Cher with fixe Cannon.

Vatan being aduised by many of his friends to send vnto the Queene, to giue satisfacion vnto their Maiesties, and by the mediation of friends and kinsfolke to obtaine pardon for that which was past; or else to assure himselfe (as a great man wrote vnto him) of a shamefull death (if he were not resolved to expose himselfe to breach, and be slaine by the Cannon) with ignominy, enclined rather to his owne fantastick humor, which was so contrarie to all good aduice, as he staid and kept as prisoner with him a Gentleman his neighbour who came to admonish him to yeeld obedience vnto their Maiesties, and not vterly to vndoe himselfe.

The inhabitants of Vatan, seeing that they must of necessity receiue great losse, most of them retired into the neighbour townes. The Lord of Vatan being abandoned by all his friends and most of his vassalles, except fourscore or a hundred souldiers which were in his Castle, fought to defend the towne, but after thirteene volles of Cannon, seeing them ready to enter, he abandoned it, retiring with his souldiers into the Castle. The footmen entered the towne and lodged, and presently made barricados to defend themselves from the shot of the Castle. They say it is a humane thing to erre; to repent, diuine; but to be obstinate, deuillish. *Vatan* being blind, thinks that he hath not erred, and being summoned to yeeld, makes no answer. On the 14. of December the base Court was taken with 15 horses, and the next day the Cannon being planted and ready to shoot, two parts of his men abandoned him, and found means to escape on the backe side of the Castle: he then desired to parlee, and to yeeld vnto the Earle of Chiverny, entreating him to intercede for him vnto their Maiesties, the which he promised. Presently after, the bridge being let downe; they entered the Castle, where they apprehended all they found, and deliuered them

Lausselle apprehended by the Prouost.

A decree of the Councell against *Vatan*.

A Commission to besiege *Vatan*.

The towne of *Vatan* taken.

The Castle taken.

The matter broken on the wheele, and the seruant changed.

The rebellion of the Seigneur of Vatan.

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them to the grand Prouost. *Magny* his Lieutenant being hurt with the Cannon, was presently beheaded, and some 20 hanged. At their coming into the Castle, *Vatan* was in a low Chamber, where Captain *La Salle* finding him with his sword by his side, he demanded it of him: you may take it from me, sayd he, but I will not give it you: which being done, he was committed to the guard of fixe fouldiers. This poore Nobleman thought it a part of great courage not to yeeld vp his weapon, and yet perceived not that he had committed an act of great baseness accompanied with despair, in yeelding himselfe aliae after so great an offence.

The sentence of
the Seigneur
of Vatan.

Hence he was soone after conducted to Paris, where his proceffe was made by the Court of Parliament, and he was condemned to lose his head at the Greue, and his body to be burned to ashes: his head to be caried to Vatan, and there to bee set ouer the gates vpon a Lance: it was ordered, that the Castle should be razed, and neuer to bee built againe: all his goods were confiscate to the King. Hercunto he answered nothing, but, *Alas* I must serue for an example: And the same day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoon he was executed. This was the end of the Lord of Vatan: his heart confessed his faults, his eyes wept for them, his tongue demanded pardon of God, and his death serued for a reparation of his crime.

Afterwards by the clemency and bounty of the Queene Regent, and at the suite of the Marshall *La Chastre*, and of the Seigneurs of Chasteau-neuf and Villeroi, the sister of the Lord of Vatan (who was to be his heyre) obtained from her Maiefty the gift of the confiscation of her brothers goods, so as the Castle was not razed.

Alliance of
France pro-
posed with
Savoy by
the King.
Don Pedro de
Toledo comes
into France.

The deceased King some time before had resolved to make an alliance with the Duke of Sauoy, betwixt whom by means of their Ambassadors, there had bene some ouertures. During this time, in the year 1608, *Don Pedro de Toledo* arriued at Paris, being an extraordinary Ambassador for the Catholike King, whom many thought to come to treat of an alliance: others, that it was to discover if there were not some intelligence and priuate practice betwixt the King and the Duke of Sauoy, for that he made shew as if he would breake with the Catholike King his brother in law, for that he had not satisfied the said King in the articles of the contract past betwixt his Highnesse and the sister of the said King of Spaine. But every man knew that the affaires of the Low-countries, and the parties of peace held that year betwixt the King his master, the Archduke, and the general Estates of the vniited Prouinces, was the subiect of his Embassie.

The King expected to heare something from him touching this present alliance, but he spake nothing vnto him but of peace betwixt Flanders and Holland, saying that his Maiefty could doe much therein: And it is held for certaine, that if *Don Pedro de Toledo* had at that time made any ouerture, his Maieesty was ready to giue ear vnto it.

The beginning
of the alliance
with Spaine.

But to come to the beginning of these treaties, we must seeke the occasion further off; wherefore you must vnderstand that in the year 1609, *Ferdinand de Medici*, great Duke of Tuscane, vnle to the Queen Regent, being dead, *Cosmo* his son succceeded in his Estates. And as it is the custome of Florence vpon the death of the duke of Tuscane, to send extraordinary Ambassadors in the name of the new duke his successor, to al the soueraign Princes & great potentates of Christendome: & particularly to the King of Spaine, by reason of the homage and oath of fealty which the new Dukes of Tuscane are accustomed to renew to his Maiefty, at their coming to the Principality, by reason of the estate of Sienna annexed to the great Dukes Estates: he made choice of the Seigneur of Boty, Marquis of Campilla, a Knight of the Order of Saint *Stephen*, and high Steward of the great Dukes house; who hauing bene much employed to foraigne Princes about affaires of importance, he sent him his extraordinary Ambassador to the King of Spaine, to doe the said homage and fealty; who hauing performed the due of his charge to the Catholike King, finding a good opportunity, of his owne motion, without any commission from the Duke his master, he made an ouerture of the alliances betwixt France and Spaine, first to the chiefe Councillors of State, by whom he was aduised to speake vnto his Maiefty, which he did with such efficacy, grace and good successe, as he then beganne to hope of a happy end of the said treaty: And considering that this businesse was of great consequence and weight, he would proceed no further before he had aduertised the great Duke; sending a Poste expressly to Florence, who being well satisfied with the care and wisdom the Marquis had shewed in that businesse, allowed whatsoeuer he had done or should doe con-

The Marquis
of Boty sent
into Spaine by
the great duke.

The first author
of the alliance
betwixt France
and Spaine.

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A concerning the said treaties: and residing yet in Spaine, he sent him for his Ambassador extraordinary into France, to continue the said treaties of marriage with the most Christian King: where being arriued at Shroue-tide 1610, he was honourably receiued on their Maiesties behalfe into Paris; who for the respect of the great Duke, and the merit of his quality, caused him to be lodged in *Gondies* house in the Suburbs of S. Germaine.

The Marquis
is sent Amba-
sador into
France to that
end.

Soone after his arriual, he went to the Loure with a goodly traine, to salute their Maiesties, who hauing giuen him audience, he deliuered the subiect of his embassage, which was to let them vnderstand what reception the King of Spaine had giuen vnto him speaking to him of the alliance betwixt France & Spaine, as also how much the great Duke of Tuscane, the Pope, and all the Princes of Italy desired it. The deceased King (who had forgotten the desire he had to satisfie *Don Pedro de Toledo* if he had made any ouerture) thanked the great Duke for his good affection, telling the Marquis that he should haue time to consider of the businesse with his Councell, to giue him all contentment. After this first audience he retired to his lodging, whither the King went often to visit him, giuing him hope to satisfie the Dukes desire touching that which he had propounded.

But when as all things began to goe on in a desired course, death enuying our felicity, pulled from vs that great King, which was a let that things well begonne could not now take effect during the great alteration, and generall mourning of all good Frenchmen for the losse of their Prince.

The Kings
death hindered
the treaty of
the alliance.

C All things being restored to their former estate, and France beyond expectation, enjoying the sweet calme of a happy tranquility, many disasters being nipt in the first budding; the said Marquis continued his designe begun with the deceased King, and propounded the same to the Queene Regent, who thought good to take counsell thereon, with the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Lords, and Officers of the Crowne, where it was approved by them all, and it was then held good to take a good resolution by a firme and full consultation: where with they acquainted the said Marquis in the beginning of the year 1611: who seeing the King and Queene to affect the beginning of this businesse, hee presently sent a Poste to the great Duke his master, to informe him of what he had done; and then into Spaine to the King, to assure him that their Maiesties in France were well pleased with the ouerture which he had made vnto them of the said treaties, and that the consent of his Catholike Maiefty was requisite, to giue some solid beginning to the said projected alliances.

The Marquis
continues his
designe with
the Queene.

The deceased King had made the Duke of Rohan Gouvernor of S. Iohn D'Angely, giuing him for his Lieutenant a Gentleman of the Religion called *Roch Beaucourt*, who enioyed his charge without any molestation, vntill the vnhappy death of the deceased King: but after the generall Assembly at Saumur of them of the Religion, in the which there was some diuision, *Roch Beaucourt* was on their side, who fought to maintain themselves within the terme of the Edict according to the verification made in Parliaments: And of this opinion were the Marshall of Bouillon, and many of the Nobility, with all those whom they call iudicious, who conforming themselves to their Maiesties will, said that a ciuill warre was worse then all the miseries they could endure by an indifferent peace. These were contrary to the Duke of Rohan and the greatest number of the Deputies: who demanded the enioying of the Edict of Nantes, as it had bene drawne and set downe, but not as it had bene verified.

The proceed-
ings of the
Duke of Rohan
at S. Iohn
D'Angely.

But to returne vnto this action: the Duke of Rohan, seeing *Roch Beaucourt* of a contrary opinion vnto him touching the Edict of Nantes, he practised meanes to put him out of S. Iohn D'Angely. Either of them desirous to maintaine his authority, *Roch Beaucourt* had recourse vnto their Maiesties, and the Duke of Rohan sought support from the reformed Churches, who maintained his opinion.

F The Queene had alwayes witnessed vnto the Duke of Rohan the fauour wherewith he had honoured him, as well in augmenting his pensions after the death of the deceased King, as in the Commission she gaue him for the leading of the Army of Iuliers, in case any accident should happen to the Marshall of *la Chastre*: and in the commandment he had for leauying of Swisses when as there was shew of a siege at Geneva. But the Queene seeing that from Britany (whither the Duke had gone to the Estates of that Province) he was returned to S. Iohn D'Angely, where he vsed diuers practices for the election of a new Maior: being also aduertised that the said Duke would, contrary to the

[c]

priui-

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priviledge of Maiors, take away the keyes: make him selfe master of the Towne, and thrust A out *Rech Beaucourt* and such as faoured him; the sent vnto the Duke to come to Court: which he presently did, and presented him selfe vnto their Maiesties: who gaue him good reception: but they let him vnderstand their intention particularly, with charge to conforme him selfe. The Duke could not resolute. He had left a seruant of his called *Hault-fontaine* to crosse *Rech Beaucourt* and the Maior: and finding his party stronger then theirs, sent word vnto the Duke, *That all good men attended him with impatience.*

He repaired late in an evening to the Queene, and told her that *Monsieur de Senblize* his brother was very sicke, and shewed his Letters. Some write that it was but a pretext: but howsoever, he posted into Poictou, where he continued eight dayes with his brother, B during the which many of the ir friends came to see them, and they went together to S. John D'Angely. Others on the contrary side say, that the Maior who had protested to be well pleased with his arrival and stay, had notwithstanding conspired with the partisans of *Rech Beaucourt* to thrust him out of S. John D'Angely, and that to this effect hee had caused them to arme vnder colour of a watch: but the Maior finding him selfe too weake stayed in the midst of his designe.

But omitting whatsoeuer was written in defence of either party, I will onely set down the particularities as they past. Their Maiesties being informed, that the Duke of Rohan was become master of S. John D'Angely, and had caused some alteration; they sent C *Monsieur de Themis* thither, to give them certaine aduice how all things had past during these factions; and to take order that if the Estate of the Towne could not bee reduced to a firme peace, yet at least by his wisdom to pacifie their quarrels, and to do whatsoeuer he should thinke necessary for the Kings seruice. But vpon the doubt, they had of some greater enterprises, they stayed the mother, wife, and sister, of the said Duke at Paris: and his Secretary being come from S. John D'Angely to informe their Maiesties of all these factions, and to acquaint them with many things concerning the Maiors behaviour whom he had deposed; they found them of as little force as his excuses, so as he was committed to the Bastile as the Seigneur of Themis had bene, being sent a little before by the Duke of Rohan to excuse the affront which had bene done to Capitaine *Foucault*. D *Monsieur de Themis* came to S. Johns, and seeing the affaires of the Town in the absolute disposition of the Duke of Rohan, he onely caused the old Maior to be restored for some few daies, after which all was in the power of the said Duke.

The Queene Regent (during the absence of the Prince of Conde, who went the last year into Guienne to take possession of his government) had treated long with the Earle of Soissons concerning the alliances by marriage betwixt France and Spaine: who had for his part liked of the first proposition which had bene made vnto the deceased King by the Marquis of Botry: the Prince of Conde did the like, being made acquainted therewith after his returne from Guienne, and all others who had knowledge thereof: holding it both profitable and proportionable for the Kings age and greatness. And although there were some remonstrances published, that the deceased King was resolved to make E an alliance with the Duke of Savoy, yet the Queene (a iudicious Princeesse) made it known, that she did not preferre this alliance for want of good will and affection to the Duke of Savoy and his House, nor for any other ends; but for the consideration of the merite of such an alliance, and the settling of peace betwixt these two Kings, profitable for Christendome, and more necessary for the present estate of the Kingdome, then at any other season: whereof the Duke of Bouillon had charge to satisfie his Maiestie of Great Brittain, whither they sent him expressly to performe that office: The like was done at the same instant to other Princes and allies to this Crowne: all which did witnesse their contents and approbation.

All things being consented vnto, betwixt their Maiesties and the Catholike King, and the consents exhibited on either part: the King of Spaine commanded his Ambassador, resident at Paris, to conclude the said treaties of marriage, the which hee did in the Kings chamber, in the presence of the King, the Queene Regent his mother, the Marquis of Botry Ambassador for the great Duke of Tuscane, and some officers of the Crowne.

Within few dayes after, the Ambassador of Spaine, in the name of the prince of Spaine sonne to the Catholike King, was made sure to his mistris the Lady *Elizabeth of Burbon*, the daughter of France: and the French King did the like for his part by the Ambassador

The Prince of Conde and the Earle of Soissons allow of the alliance with Spaine.

The Duke of Bouillon sent into England.

The second of the marriage consummed.

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A bassador residing at Madrid for the Infanta of Spaine. This begot a thousand braue designs amongst the Nobility of France, Spaine & Naples, to celebrate these assurances: to the end they might testifie vnto the world how much they ioyed at these alliances. But this ioy continued not long, but was suddenly crossed by the Princes of the blood. For when the question was to enter into Councell touching the contract of marriage; being requisite that these Princes especially should confirme all the Articles & conventions mentioned in the said contract. The Prince of Conde and the Earle of Soissons made some deniall, and for that they were not willing to signe it, the Prince withdrew him selfe from Court, and went to visit his Houses; & Count Soissons went to his Government in Normandy: retreats which held all things in suspence, and much grieved their Maiesties, seeing the said Princes had so willingly yeelded to the first propositions: they went from Court in October 1611, and were absent 7 or 8 moneths.

The Princes retire from Court.

Notwithstanding the retreat of these Princes, they did not giue ouer their resolutions to celebrate these great Nuptials with running at the Ring, compleat in Armes, at the Quintine, Fire-works, and all sorts of Triumphs in Paris, among the other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and other Noblemen which were then in Court, all inflamed with a desire to publish to the world the glory of this alliance.

The day appointed for these triumphs was on the 14 of March in the Place Royall, a stately building made by King *Henry* the 4, being 72 fathome square, and environed with C many goodly pavillions. It was formerly called the Caste and Parke of the Tournells, before the which the Kings of France were wont to make their Tourneys, Combats, and running at Tilt in Saint Antonies street neere vnto the Bastile: But King *Henry* the second, being there vnforgottenly slaine with the splinter of a Lance; this Caste and Parke were afterwards vnfrequented and ruined, and in the end became a Market for horses. In this place Royall there were scaffolds erected for the King, Queene, Princes, Ladies and Noblemen, and a Citadell built with all manner of defences like to the Palladium of Troy: but all these triumphs were stayed for a time by reason of the death of the Duke of Mantoua, who was newly allied to their Maiesties; for the which the Queene was much afficted, retiring her selfe some dayes into her Chamber to mourne for his death. The D Cardinall of Mantoua, who had bene the year before at Paris, succeeded him. Soone after, a new day was appointed (through their Maiesties permission) for these triumphs on the 5 of Aprill: the Defendants having formerly published throughout all Paris their Cartell of defiance, to the end that no man should pretend ignorance.

Death of the Duke of Mantoua.

I must craue pardon if I make not a particular relation of euery circumstance; being tyed to strait bounds in the continuation of this History: but it shall suffice to vnderstand that the defendants were the Dukes of Guise, Neuers, and Cheureux, with the Lords of Bassompierre & Chastaigneray called the Knights of Glory, vnder borrowed names, who entred the Theater with a rich and stately equipage, hauing before them two triumphant Chariots, the one drawne by sixe Lions, the other by sixe Vnicornes.

The Defendaunts.

E The Assailants were in number 33, whereof the chiefe were, the Prince of Conty, the Dukes of Vendosme, Longueuille, Rohannois, and Rhets; the rest were, Marquisses, Earles, and Barons for the most part: they made their entries in ten feuerall troopes, but not equally diuided, being wonderfully rich in their furnitures and traines, euery troope hauing his feuerall Deuice, all which were very exquisite and rare. These sports continued three daies; at the end of euery daies triumph there were rare inuentions for fire-works, and shooting off of Ordnance; and to shew their generall applause, there were bonfires throughout all the streets of Paris, and in most good Townes of France.

The Assailants.

After all their ioy, feasts and triumphs at Paris, the Queene Regent was aduertised that the King of Spaine was somewhat amazed to heare of the difficulty made in France for the signing of the Contract: whereupon he sought by all faire & gentle meanes to cal back the Prince of Conde and Earle of Soissons Princes of the blood to Court: who after some refusal, in the end came to Paris; where being ariued, they presently satisfie the Queenes desire, and confirmed the contract of the said marriages vnder their hands, the which gaue great cause of ioy and content vnto all France.

The Princes of the blood called to Court.

There now remained nothing to bee done, but to signe the Articles which had bene formerly concluded: for the effecting whereof, their Maiesties sent the Duke of Mayen extraordinary Ambassador into Spaine, to confirme the contract of marriage betwene the

The Duke of Mayen sent Ambassador into Spaine.

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the most Christian King and the Infant of Spaine : and on the other side the Duke of A
Pastrana was sent into France to doe the like betwene the Prince of Spaine, and the
Kings sister. The Duke having sent his traine before by small iourneys in Bayonne,
(which was the Rendezvous for all those which should accompany him into Spaine,) he
went from Paris to Fontaine-Bellou to take leave of their Maiesties, from whence he
parted in post on the 5 of Iune, and came to Bayonne on the 17, where he was attended
by very many Noblemen and Gentlemen which did accompany him, besides those of
his owne traine. To relate the severall intertainments in all places as he past would bee
very tedious : I will onely touch at his reception at Lerma, which seems according to
my author, to be very extraordinary. He came to lodge there on the 4 of Iuly, where B
the Duke had given order to receive him with all the state that might be : for being de-
scended from his horse in the bafe Court of the Castle, and going vp the staires, the Hall
doore opened, at what time the Duke de Mayen, and those which did accompany him,
smelt such a sweet sent of perfumes, as they all protested they had never done the like :

The Duke of
Mayen comes
to Lerma.

and opening the chamber doores they had the like perfume. The Hall and sixe chambers
in the Castle were hanged with tapestrie of cloath of gold and silver, whose borders were
embroidered with gold and enriched with rubies and emeralds. If the Duke of Lerma
had caused his Castle to be richly furnished with hangings, stately beds, and moucables :
he had also given order there should be no want of victuals, for as they write, there had
not bene in 50 years sene the like to that which was presented to the duke of Maien, C
and in the name of the inhabitants of the Towne of Lerma, (although every man might
see, it was the duke of Lerma care and prouision.) This was presented at the Dukes en-
try into the Castle : two Moores founding their trumpets went before, then came a num-
ber of persons attired like clownes, every two carying a long pole with all kinde of wilde-
fowle, and amongst the rest great store of cunnies : After them followed 20 moyles with
coverings of Turkie-work, the which were laden, some with Boraches of wine, others
with veales, muttons, Turkie-cocks, Capons, Gammons of Bacon, comfitures and fruits.

A Present of
victuals made
vnto the Duke.

Being at Arande vpon Duero, *Monf. de Vauclas* ordinary Ambassador for France, came
vnto him, who assured him that the Duke of Pastrana was parted from Madrid : whose
long stay was the cause the Duke went on more slowly then he had resolved. D
During the dukes stay at Almeda and Barraias, his Catholike Maiesty sent the Marquis
of Este to visit him, who accompanied him still vntill the day of his entry. The Ambassa-
dors and all the Grandes of Spaine sent to visit him by their chiefe Gentlemen, with all
kinds of complements and offers of seruice, vntill the day hee made his entry, which was
on the 17 of Iuly in this manner :

First, there went before 65 moyles laden with trunckes and coffers belonging to the
Noblemen and Gentlemen of his traine, hauing all blacke coverings. Then followed 134
moyles with the dukes baggage with coverings of blacke cloath, & his Armes in the mid-
dest, and at either corner a croffe of Loraine, conducted three and three in a ranke by their
Muletiers clothed in blacke. Ten men mounted vpon Moyles, and ten Swiflers on foot E
attired also in blacke had the conducting of them. After these came his Steward betwene
two Controllers, hauing their chaines of gold in their blacke scarfes, and followed by 123
Officers and other Waiters all in black likewise. Then came 52 pages attired in mourning,
conducted by the dukes Querry, and followed by their Gournour : then 217 Gentlemen
in mourning also : 17 Barons, 7 Earles or Viscounts, 4 Marquesses, and the Prince of Tin-
gri. The duke of Mayen alone vpon a horse which his Catholike Maiesty had sent him :
and *Monf. de Vauclas* ordinary Ambassador in Spaine, neer vnto him. Three Caroches
covered with blacke, and another of *Mon. de Vauclas* made vp his French Embassie.

The duke of Mayen, being arriued with all his traine at Saint Barbaras neere vnto Ma-
drid, he met there with the duke of Alua, accompanied with many Grandes of Spaine and F
all the Nobility of the Court on horse-backe, which came to meet and receive him on
his Catholike Maiesties part. In this troope were almost 500 horse, all richly furnished
and in very good order. The principall which accompanied the duke D'Alua were, the
dukes de L'Infantado, D'Albuquerque, De Maqueda, of Feria, of Montalto, of Penderande,
of Elca, and of Villermosa, the Admirall, and the Adelantado of Castile, Don Pedro de
Toledo, Don Christopher de Mora, the Earle of Laraies, and of Alualista. As soone as the
duke of Mayen had espied them, he made a stand, and then the Marquis of Este which was
by

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A by him told him all their names, which when hee had related, they fell to complement
and salutations, without descending from horse-backe : which lasted so long, as it was al-
most seuen a clocke before they beganne to make towards the towne. Then the Caualliers
of Spain mingled themselves with the French Gentlemen, each one ranging himselfe with
them of his owne qualitie, and the Duke of Maien coming behind in the last rancke, had
the Duke of Alua on his left hand. This entry was made at the port of Fuencarrall. All the
streets of Madrid, the windowes, and the house-tops were full of people of all sorts.

The Duke of Mayen was conducted to the house of Marquis *Spinola*, and the Spaniards
retired. From Wednesday vntill Saturday he was visited by the Ambassadors of all Prin-
ces and States ; by the Duke of Lerma, and the Cardinall of Toledo (who is not accusto-
med to doe that honor vnto any but the King,) and by all the Grandes and chiefe Lords of
Spaine, accompanied with their kinsfolke and friends, every one striving to shew the
greatnes of his House.

On Saturday Iuly 21, the Duke of Vieda came by the Kings commandement to ac-
company him to Court to his first Audience, he with all his Nobility and Gentry being
mounted on horses from the Kings stable. Being come to the Castle, the Earles of Cabell,
Rudio and Salazare, Stewards of the Kings house, met him at the entry of the Hall, and
conducted him vnto the King, who was attired in a long Tacker of black bayes, and a long
cloak of the same ; on his left hand stood the Prince his eldest sonne, and one the other,
C the Duke of Lerma ; behinde was the Marquis of Velado Lord Steward, with all the
Grandes of Spaine bare-headed : The Duke having done his obeysance, the King embrac-
ed him, commanding him to be couered. After which he presented the King and Queens
Letters, thanking him for the voyage the Duke of Feria had made into France to condole
the death of the deceased King, and withall he did condole in their Maiesties name, the
death of the Queene his wife : and hauing saluted the Prince (sitting by his Father) who
embraced him, from thence he went to the Infanta's chamber, who was set vnder a cloath
of Estate of cloath-of-gold, accompanied by the Countesse of Altamira her Gouvernesse
and the Ladies of the Court. He had caused *Madam de Vauclas* to demand of the Infanta
how she would command him to treat with her ; and vnderstanding her pleasure, he went
D to kiss her hand as his Queene, and thence treated with him as her subiect. Three daies
after hee presented a Letter on the Kings behalfe, which shee received with much con-
tent, and hauing read it, he said, *Sir, if the King your Master doe not loue me for my beauty, yet
at least he will loue me for my obedience.* The rest of the time vntill the coming of *Monf. de
Piscanlx*, he spent in visiting of Noblemen, and the like.

Monf. de Piscanlx being arriued at Madrid August 12, the Duke of Mayen presented him
to his Maiesty, and to the Infanta. August 21 the Articles of the said Mariage were con-
cluded betwixt the Duke of Lerma, in the name of the King of Spaine, on the one side, &
the Duke of Mayen, the Viscount of Piscanlx, and the Baron of Vauclas, in the name of
the most Christian King on the other. In presence of the Popes Nuncio, and many Dukes,
E Noblemen and Councillors of Spaine. The Articles were these.

I. That with the grace of God, and a Dispensation from the Pope, by reason of the con-
sanguinity & neernesse of blood betwene the most Christian King and the Infanta, *The Arri-
cles of the
Mariage.*
as soone as she shall come to the age of twelue years compleat, they shall cause their Mari-
age to be solemnized according to the Order prescribed by the Canons of the Catholike
Apostolike and Romane Church, in the Court, Palace and house of his Catholike Maie-
stie, where the noble Infanta the Lady *Anna* makes her residence ; and that by vertue of a
Commission from the most Christian King ; which being done, the said King shall ratifie
and accomplish in person, when the said Infanta Lady *Anna* shall come into France, his
F Maiesty ioyning to her Highnes : and the said solemnitie of Mariage shall be performed
either by speciall Commission, or in person, when as the time shall be set downe betwixt
their Maiesties.

II. That his Catholike Maiesty doth promise and stand bound to giue to the said In-
fanta Lady *Anna* in dowry, and in regard of her Mariage with the most Christian King
of France, and shall pay vnto his Maiesty, or to any other that hath authority from him,
the summe of 500000 Crownes of gold, after the rate of eight shillings sterling the peece,
in the Citie of Paris, a day before the Celebration of the said mariage.

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III. That

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III. That their most Christian Maiesties shall binde themselves to assure the Dowry A of the said Infanta Lady *Anna* vpon good rents, and assured assignations, to the content of his Catholike Maiesty, or of such as he shall name to that effect: and in case the marriage be dissolved, and the Dowry in Law to be restored, then it shall be delivered backe againe to the said noble Infanta, or to him that shall haue commision from his Highnesse: and during the time the said Dowry shall remaine vnatisfied, her Highnesse, or her heires, or successors shall enioy the reuennue wherunto the interest of the said 50000 Crownes shall amount, which shall be payed by vertue of the said assignations.

III. That the said Noble Infanta Lady *Anna* shall hold her selfe content with the said Dowry, and shall neuer hereafter make any other pretence or claime vpon any colour B whatsoeuer; and that she shall renounce all actions and demands in good and due forme, and with all assurances and solemnities that shall be required and necessary; which renunciation she shall make before she is married, by present words.

V. That presently after the Celebration of the marriage, she shall approue and ratifie ioyntly with the most Christian King, and with the same forme and solemnity, as she did the first; and with such clauses as they shall finde to be convenient and necessary for the effect thereof: to which renunciation their Maiesties shall remaine bound as at this present. And in case they shall not make the said renunciation and ratification by vertue of this present contract by capitulation, the said treaties, renunciation, and ratification are held to be well and duly made, past and granted at this present, as if they were then C done: The which shall be made in the most authentike and effectuall manner that can be, to be good and of force, with all clauses derogatory of any Lawes, Iurisdiccions, Customes, Rites and Constitutions to the contrary; or that may hinder in all, or in part, the said renunciation, and ratification, the which for the effect aforesaid, their Catholike and most Christian Maiesties shall derogate, and doe at this present wholly derogate: And for the approbation and ratification which they shall make of this present contract and capitulation, they doe at this present as then meane to haue derogated to all exceptions about mentioned.

VI. That forasmuch as their Maiesties make these marriages, the better to continue and assure (by this strong bond) the publicke peace of Christendome, and the brotherly loue D which all men hope for betwixt their Maiesties, and in contemplation of the iust and lawfull causes, which the equality and conueniences of the said marriages doe perswade; by means wherof, and by the fauour and grace of God, all men may hope for a most happy successe, to the great good and increase of the faith and Christian religion; to the common good of the Kingdomes and subiects of the two Crowns; as also for that which concerns the good of the Common-weale and the preseruacion thereof: wherefore considering the quality aforesaid, and other iust reasons which may be alleged, their Maiesties conclude by contract, which shall stand in force as a Law for euer, in regard of their Realme, or any thing that shall concerne the publicke.

VII. That the Lady *Anna* Infanta of Spaine, nor the children borne of her, bee they E males or females, or their descendants, for euer hereafter in what degree soeuer they bee, shall not succeed in the Realmes, Estates, Siegneries, and Dominions which belong vnto his Catholike Maiesty, and which are comprehended vnder the titles & qualities mentioned in this present capitulation nor in any of his greatest Realmes, Estates, Siegneries, Prouinces, Ilands adiacent, Fiefs, Gouvernements; nor in the frontiers which he now holdeth, or that belong or may belong vnto him, within and without the Realme of Spaine, which heretofore their Catholike Maiesties and their Predecessors haue held and enioyed: nor into any part depending thereon, or that shall be hereafter gotten and added vnto his said Realmes, Estates and Dominions, or that may fall vnto him by any title F or right whatsoever, be it during the life of the said Infanta Lady *Anna*, or after her decease during the liues of any other descendants, in what degree soeuer: And in case they shall haue any pretensions by the lawes and customes of the said Realmes, Estates & Dominions to succcede in the same; in all the said cases the said Lady *Anna* doth at this present declare to be well and duly excluded, with all her children and descendants males and females, notwithstanding any pretence. To all which considerations in generall, vnto every one in particular, their Maiesties doe derogate, for that they doe contradikt and hinder the execution of this Article. And for the approbation and ratification of this presecr

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A present Capitulation, they shall and do derogate, meaning that the Infanta and her descendants shall remaine for euer hereafter excluded from all succession in any of the States of the Countrey of Flanders, Countrey of Burgundy and of Charolois, with their dependances; which Countreies and Estates were giuen by his Catholike Maiesty to the Infanta *Isabella*, and must returne to his Catholike Maiesty and his successors. And further, they declare expressly, that in case the said Infanta remaine a widow (which God forbid) without any children of this marriage, that then she shall be free from the said exclusion, and be declared capable to succed in all that may belong or fall vnto her in two cases onely: the one, if remaining a widow of this marriage she come into Spaine: the other, if by reason B of state for the publicke good, and for iust considerations, shee marry againe with the good liking of the Catholike King her father, or the Prince of Spaine her brother, in which two cases she shall remaine capable to succed and inherite.

VIII. That as soone as the Infanta Lady *Anna* shall come to the fullage of 12 yeares, and before the celebration of the marriage, she shall promise vnder her hand-writing, by the which she shall binde her selfe and her descendants to the obseruation of her exclusion and of her descendants, approuing all as it is contained in this present contract, with all necessary clauses and oaths, and in swearing this present Capitulation, and the foresaid bond and ratification, which her Highnesse hath giuen and made, shee shall also make another like vnto it with the most Christian King, as soone as she shall be married, the which shall C be enrolled in the Court of Parliament of Paris according vnto forme, as also his Catholike Maiesty shall cause the said renunciation and ratification to be enrolled in his Councell of State: and in case the said renunciations and ratifications bee made or not made, from this present by vertue of this contract, and the marriage which shall follow, they shall be held as duly made and granted.

IX. That his most Christian Maiesty should giue vnto the Infanta Lady *Anna* for her Jewels to the value of fifty thousand Crownes of the Sun, the which with all others that she shall bring with her, she shall freely enioy without any difficulty, as the goods of her patrimony, the which shall belong to her Highnesse, and to her heyres and successors, or to such as shall haue right.

X. That their most Christian Maiesties, according to the ancient and commendable D custome of the royall House of France, shall assigne to the Infanta Lady *Anna* for her dowry twentie thousand Crownes of the Sun yearly, out of such lands and reuennues as shall haue execution of iustice, whereof the chiefe place shall haue the title of a Duchy or more; which lands and places so giuen and assigned, the said Infanta shall enioy by her selfe, or by her Commissioners and Officers, with the execution of iustice: and moreover, that the prouision of all offices being void, shall belong vnto her, as all Queenes of France haue vsually had: Provided alwaies, that the said offices shall not be giuen but to naturall Frenchmen, as also the gouernment and forming of the said lands, according to lawes and customes of the Realme of France: of which assignation the said Infanta Lady *Anna* shall E enter into possession, and enioy during her life as soone as she shall be a widow, whether she remaine in France, or retire her selfe to any other place.

XI. That his most Christian Maiesty shall giue to the Infanta Lady *Anna* for the expenses of her Chamber and the entertainment of her estate and house, a conuenient sum, such as belongs to the daughter and wife of so great Kings, assigning it vnto her after the accustomed manner of France, in giuing assignations for such entertainments and charges.

XII. That the Infanta hauing attained to twelue yeares of age, they shall marry by the Proctors which the most Christian King shall send, and the Infanta by words presently: the which being done, his Catholike Maiesty shall cause her to bee conducted at his F own cost and charges vnto the frontiers of France, with such attendance and traine as shall be fitting for the wife and daughter of so great Kings, where the shall be receiued by the most Christian King with the like traine and attendance.

XIII. That if the marriage should happen to be dissolved and broken off betwixt the most Christian King and the Infanta Lady *Anna*, and that her Highnesse shall pursue the King, it shall then be lawfull for her to retire without any hindrance into Spaine, or elsewhere at her pleasure, carrying away her dowry, Jewels, apparell, plate, and all other inuables whatsoeuer, with her officers and seruants, without any stay, let, or hindrance, directly

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directly or indirectly, enjoying the dowry and assignations which haue beene giuen her: and to this end, the most Christian King shall giue to the Catholike King and the Infanta Lady Anna his daughter, such Letters of assurance as shall be necessary, signed with his owne hand, and by the Queene Regent, and sealed with his seale: the which they shall assure and promise for them and their successors in the word of a King.

XIV. That seeing this present treaty of marriage had beene desired and advanced by our holy Father, and by his means brought to this estate, it shall be fit to entreat his Holiness (as their Maiesties doe at this present) to allow thereon, and to giue his Apostolicall blessing, and withall to cause this present contract to be inserted in his Bulls, together with his approbations which their Maiesties and her Highness haue made, and the writings and oaths which they haue giuen and taken.

XV. That both Kings shall approve and ratifie this present capitulation, and shall promise vpon the word and faith of a King to keepe it inuolably: for the effecting whereof they shall declare their Letters of ratification, after the accustomed manner one vnto another, within two monthes after the date of these presents, by their ordinary Ambassadors residing in the Courts of both Kings.

All which the sayd Commissioners did conclude and promise in their names, as is contained in this present capitulation, hauing bound their Maiesties and Highness to obserue and keepe it without any contravention, directly or indirectly: for so the said Commissioners haue promised by vertue of the authority they haue from their Maiesties, and to that end they haue set to their names, &c.

*The Duke of Lerma
Marquis of Denia*

*Henry of Lorayne
Brulard*

Andrew of Coisefilles.

The Duke of
Mayens second
audience.

These Articles being past, the 22 of the said Moneth was chosen for the publication of the marriage, and for the second audience of the Duke of Mayen; the which for that it was very stately, even in the opinion of the Spaniards, who commend that which concerns strangers but coldly. I will briefly runne it ouer.

On the 22 of August, about five of the clocke in the euening, the Duke of Lerma came to the Duke of Mayens lodging, being accompanied by all the great men in Court, who were brauely mounted, and richly apparelled. Going to the palace, there marched 150 French Gentlemen, two and two; their apparell glistering with embroydery and rich stones. Their Pages went on either side bare-headed, their lueries being of veluet of diuers colours, with short cloakes, round hose, and long stockings, hauing their cloathes layed on with gold and silver lace.

On either side of the Duke of Mayen were twenty of his footmen clad in crimson veluet, hauing their jerkins, short cloakes, and panned hose embroyderyed with gold and silver, the lining of their cloakes and hose were of satin of the same colour. Then came twentie Pages bare-headed, and in the same livery. After this followed the Duke himselfe in a sute all embroyderyed with gold and silver, his ierkin and the pannes of his hose were cut vpon cloth of gold and silver, long white stockings, a short blacke cloake, with the same embroydery, white pumpees with two great iewels of diamonds in stead of roses, blacke veluet pantofles embroyderyed with gold and diamonds; his cap was of blacke veluet, with a very rich Iewell, and a band answerable vnto it; his girdle, bangers, rapier and dagger were all set with diamonds, and his cloake and garments had many iewels and chaines of precious stones.

His horse was in a manner couered with a foot-cloth of blacke Veluet, imbroyderyed like vnto his apparell; all the rest of the furniture was of blacke Veluet, couered with buttons and roses of Diamonds; for horses he had two great iewels, and for his reines hee had two scarfes of Cloth of silver cut and imbroyderyed with Gold. Then followed his Caroch of the same livery, drawne by six pyed horses, their harness being of Crimson Veluet embroyderyed with Gold. This was followed by two others of the same veluet, the

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A the one hauing fixe gray horses, and the other fixe bay, and all the Coach-men were in Crimson Veluet imbroyderyed with gold and silver. After these followed 8 Caroches of the Kings full of French Gentlemen, very richly apparelled. In this pompe they came vnto the Palace, and stayed in a great Hall, whereas the Duke of Mayen being set betwixt the Popes Nuncio, and the Duke of Lerma; the rest of the Nobility being of either side, one of the Kings Secretaries of State read the conditions of marriage, which hee brought to the Dukes to signe.

From thence they went vnto the King, whom they found in his mourning habite vnder a Cloath of State, betwixt our Queene, attired in white Satin imbroyderyed with Pearle and Diamonds, and the Prince his son, clad also in white, with a short cloake & long stockings. The Duke being entred, hauing done his obeysance to the King, hee adressed himselfe first to the Queene, to whom hee did his complements for all France. After which, he spake vnto the King, and hauing saluted the Prince, hee went vnto all the Ladies, who came vpon their knees to salute the new Queene; after which he retired to his lodging, the streets being full of Torchcs and bonfires, with many Drummes, Trumpets and Hautboyes.

The Saturday following, the duke of Mayen being with the Queene, the King sent for him to haue him walke with him, which is a rare fauour; and it was the greater, for that the King caryed him through the City, discoursing with him of many things in French with great familiarity; which bred admiration in the Spaniards. At this time hee caused all the Frenchmen that were in prison, or in the galleys in Spaine, to be set at liberty. But omitting for breuity sake all other things that were remarkable during his abode in Madrid, we will now set him on his way homeward, hauing taken leaue of the King & yong Queene; but before his departure the Queene presented him with a chaine and a hat-band valued at 15000 Crownes, and with foure lennes of Spaine. The Duke of Ma-chera did giue him foure more with their caparasons of Satin cut in flowers, and the Duke of Alua presented him with two. He on the other side presented vnto the Infanta in the name of the King his Master a booke of precious stones all couered with Diamonds; after which, hee went out of Madrid in the same order they entred, but the mules had their couerings of Scarlet imbroyderyed with blacke and white, and his pages and other seruants were in lueries of the same colours. At the same time the Duke of Pastrana was sent into France by the King of Spaine for the same subiect: he parted from Madrid in Iuly, and hauing receiued all the honors and shewes of publike ioyes as hee past through France, they could deuise; he came in August to Paris making his entry on the 13 day, being met withall by the Duke of Neuers with 500 French Gentlemen: his entry was rich and stately: the King, the Queene Regent, Queene Marguerit, with all the Princesses and Ladies being in severall houses on our Ladyes bridge to see the Shev.

The Duke of Guise was sent to bring him to his first audience, being followed by a great troope of the French Nobility, who were very rich both in their owne apparell and the furniture of their horses. The Duke of Pastrana was all in blacke, but his cloake was enrich with diamonds & pearles. He had many Noblemen & Dons of Spaine with him, they were all in blacke, but their Capps and cloakes were garnished with stones; they had horses from the Kings stable, with foot cloathes of blacke Veluet. Euery Spaniard of more, to the number of thirty, marcht betwixt two French Noblemen. After this traine came two Groomes of the dukes livery, leading two Mules with their cloathes of Crimson Veluet, imbroyderyed with gold & silver, they were laden with Presents which the Prince of Spaine and the Infanta sent vnto their Maiesties: he had his audience in the great Gallerie, when hauing performed what hee had in charge to the King, Queene, and Madam, hee deliuered his Presents, and so retired to his lodging at 9 of the clocke at night, there being 120 Torchcs to attend him.

Hauing spent almost 15 daies in being visited by the Princesses, Cardinals, and all the great men in Court, and in visiting them and the great Ladies againe, after some feasts and a great dancing at Queen Marguerits, hee had his last audience in September, and took his leaue. The King sent him a Iewell of 20000 Crownes, and the Queene a pointed Diamonds of 4000 Crownes. She also sent a hat-band of stones to Don Francisco de Sylua the dukes brother of 3500 Crownes value, in requitall of a Bezar stone which hee had presented her with, being almost as big a kids head.

Duke of May-
en parts from
Madrid.

The Duke of
Pastrana sent
into France.

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A false brute of
the Kings
death.

In the beginning of October, Paris was put into a wonderfull feare vpon a false brute which went through the City that the King was slaine. This hapned about 3 of the clock in the afternoon, vpon this occasion; Some souldiers of the regiment which were then in guard set to quarrell nere vnto the Corps de Garde, so after words of reproach & threats they fell to blowes and drew their swords, in which one whose name was *Le Roy* was wounded, the rest crying out that he was dead; this cry *Le Roy est mort*, the King is dead, past into the cares of many like vnto lightning, who vnderstanding not the businesse presently, gaue it out that the King was dead, and that he had been slaine: The Parisians were all so amazed as they thought themselves to be ruined, beginning to shut vp their shops, and to take Armes for their preservation. The souldiers of the regiment ran from all parts to their quarters, to take armes, and to receive directions from their Leaders; where hearing that it was but a false brute, they were no further moued, but the people were still in feare: his Maiesty was then gone to hunt at Bois de Vincennes, and returned late to the Louure, where the *Queene* being aduertised of what past, she tooke Councell to send the King on horse-backe about the streets of Paris, with 3 trumpets, and his company of light hories: whereat the Parisians were much satisfied, and in the meane time they were apprehended that were the cause of this tumult, and committed to prison. As this yeare began with ioy & triumphs, so it ended with mourning & affliction: Their Maiesties being at Fontaine-bleau: *Charles* of Bourbon Earle of Soissons, a Prince of the blood, and Lord Steward of France, being retired (after the first solemnities of the Kings marriage), to his Castell of Blandy, he was surprised with a great sicknesse the 17 of October, and dyed the first day of Nouember in the presence of the Countesse his wife, and his seruants; he had married *Anna* of Montfay Lady of Lucé and Bonuefable, by whom he left one sonne and 4 daughters. The governments of Dauphin, Picardy and Normandy had been committed vnto him, he liued 46 yeares, & 27 daies: his body was interred in the ancient monument of the Bourbons at the Carthusiens of Gallion. The Court was very heauy for his death, and their Maiesties much grieved: all France lamented his losse, but especially the Prince of Conde his nephew; his son now Earle of Soissons succeeded him, and is at this day the second Prince of the blood, and the fourth person of the Houle of France.

Richers booke
de potestate cal-
led in question.

This yeare there had been a great controuersie among the Doctors of Diuinity of the Colledge of Sorbon, touching a booke composed by *M. Edmund Richer* Sindique or controller of that facultie, the which was entituled *De potestate Ecclesiastica & Politica*: and printed without any name either of Author or Printer: which booke was allowed of some, as profitable to the rights & liberties of the French Church: others thought it pernicious, as contradicting directly the Popes authority: whereupon the Colledge of Sorbon resolu'd to assemble the first of March (being their custome so to do the first day of euery moneth) to consult about the censuring of *Richers* booke. But the Court of Parliament being informed thereof, by the Kings Attorney Generall, they sent to forbid the Doctors of the said facultie, to censure the said booke, vntill they had proceeded legally according to the conclusion of the Kings Attorney Generall: forbidding them by a decree not to assemble or proceed any farther, but to appeare the next day in Court; where they were heard and examined touching that and all other such bookes: whereupon, after the conclusions of the Kings Attorney Generall, a decree was made that all the Copies of that booke should be brought to the Register of the Court; and that *Richer* the Author thereof should call in all the copies which he had dispersed within three daies, vntill the Court should bee satisfied in that which concerned the Kings seruice touching that subject. In the meane time the Bishops which were Suffragans vnto the Archbishop of Sens, examined the same booke and found it worthy of censure, and censured it for many erroneous propositions therein contained, without meddling with the Kings rights, or the liberties of the French Church: and they forbid all Christians which were vnder their iurisdiction to reade the said booke vpon paine of Ecclesiasticall censure: which censure was published throughout all Paris: whereunto the said *Richer* opposed himselfe and appealed from the said censure as abusive, presenting a petition vnto the Court that his appeale might bee allowed, the which hee obtained; and it was decreed that his letters should bee received: and so the said censure was to bee suspended, and the Bishops enioyned not to innouate any thing against the said *Richer* touching that subject.

On

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A Proposition
in the Sorbon
to dye etc
Richer from his
place of Sin-
dique.

A On the first of Iune following, there was a solemne assembly of all the Doctors of Diuinity, in the great Hall of the Colledge of Sorbon, in which there appeared 70 Doctors with the Sindique *Richer*. The Abbot of S. Victor, a Doctor of the said facultie, propounded in this assembly, that Doctor *Richer* had bene now very long Comptroller of the facultie, that they must giue him thanks and choose another; being necessary the facultie should haue many men acquainted with their affaires; and that if *Richer* should dye they had no tany. And to the end they might haue their voices free, he required that Doctor *Richer* might retire himselfe out of the assembly. Vpon this proposition *D. Roguans* Deane of the said facultie, said, that he had neuer seene in any ordinary assembly so many Doctors of Diuinity; that he should not be able to cause the order and dignity thereof to be obserued, if all the Doctors were not in mutuall concord: that hee had neuer seene any Sindique dismiss from his charge, if he himselfe did not desire it, or had giuen some lawfull cause of diffinition: that Doctor *Richer* had not done any thing vnworthy of his charge; but contrariwise, that the whole Vniuersity of Paris, and especially the facultie of Diuinity were much bound vnto him; and that they should rather studie how to commend him for his paines, then to dismiss him from his place: and therefore he could not propound vnto the assembly to proceed vnto the election of another Sindique.

After this, *Richer* began to speake for himselfe, alleging many things touching his premerment to that place, and how he had caried himselfe therein, opposing himselfe to the proposition which had bene made. Hereupon the Assembly was diuided. There were 43 Doctors which did adhere to the proposition of the Abbot of S. Victor, and 25 maintained the Sindiques opposition. This bred a great diuision among them, and of a private action became a matter of State: for being assembled in Iuly, the Court of Parliament sent vnto the Doctors to forbid them to make any proposition, and the *Queene* in like manner had by her Letters made the like injunction; the which was only done to suppress the differences and diuisions which might grow among them.

Notwithstanding these prohibitions, the Abbot of S. Victor with his adherents, desired to proceed to a new election, hoping to effect it on the first of August; but the day before, the Lord Chancellor sent an Vsher of the Councell vnto the Deane, commanding him in the Kings name not to treat in the Assembly, (which should be the next day) of the proposition made touching the election of a new Sindique of the facultie, for that his Maiesty would take order for it. But after so many pursuits, the Abbot prevailed, so as notice was giuen vnto *Richer*, that hee should no more oppose himselfe to the election of a new Sindique, for many considerations; and that it were better to be done with his owne consent then otherwise: whereunto *Richer* refusing to yeeld, two Vshers were sent on the first of September to the Assembly, bringing the Kings Letters Patents vnto the Deane & Doctors, enioyning them to proceed to a new election; which being read, *Richer* still opposed himselfe, protesting of nullity of all which had bin done against him, & persisted in his appeale: yet notwithstanding they proceeded to a new election; and by a generall consent, *D. Filesac* Curate of S. Iohn in Greue, was chosen Sindique: After which the Deane and many Doctors went presently to the Vshers, who attended to certifie their Maiesties and the Chancellor of their obedience to the said Letters.

After this it was concluded, that hereafter the Sindique of the facultie should not hold the place above two yeares, and that vpon the end of the first yeare, he should demand of the facultie if they were pleased hee should continue the next. And vpon a proposition made by Doctor *Filesac*, their new Sindique, it was decreed, that hereafter the Sindique should not write the Conclusions alone, but that euery yeare four Doctors should be chosen to assist him.

You haue formerly heard of the factions at S. Iohn D'Angely, their Maiesties imputing the fault to the Duke of Rohan, whom onely they blamed in particular, as they had declared vnto the generall Deputies of their subiects making profession of the Religion, to aduertise them thereof throughout all the Princes: and therefore they assured themselves to be equally assisted by all their subiects both of the one and the other Religion: they hauing the like interest for the reformation of this ad, which regards the generall good of the State, and in no sort any question of Religion, nor the obseruation of the Edicts, which their Maiesties would in that which concerns the towne of Saint Iohn D'Angely, and in all other things fully entertaine and obserue: whereof desiring their sub-

iects

The Kings Letters
Patents to
choose a new
Sindique.Doctor Filesac
chosen.Their Maiesties
Declaration
touching the
proceedings at
S Iohn D'An-
gely.

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jects should be well enformed, to the end that (as commonly men when they cannot hide A their fautes secke to colour them, and that there is no action but may finde some pretext if he will vse disguisings, although it be hard in a matter so plaine and manifest) no man may suffer himselfe to be deceived to his owne priuate losse, and that of the publike. After this, there were some Letters of abolition granted touching the particular Assemblies which they of the Religion had made in many Prouinces without the Kings permission; whereupon their National Synode which they had held at Prius, caused this following Declaration to be published.

A Declaration
of the reformed
Churches as-
sembled at
Prius.

The reformed Churches of this Realme assembled in a Prouinciall Synode at Prius, after an oath taken, according to their custome, of their fidelities and most humble obedience to the commandments and seruice of their Maiesties: hearing by the report of many Deputies of Prouinces, that the Kings Letters Patents had bene directed to the Parliaments and Chambers of the Edict, containing an abolition and remission of pretended fautes committed in the conuocation of the priuate Assemblies of the said Prouinces: as also of that which hath past in regard thereof.

They declared, that the said Letters of abolition were neuer required, demanded, or sued for by them; being neither in deed, word, nor thought, culpable of the faults supposed therein; and that they are ready in generall and particular, to answer for their actions, submitting themselves rather to all kinds of punishments, then to suffer themselves and their posterity to be taxed with so shamefull an infamy, the which might hereafter C deprive them of the honour which they haue alwayes had to be held by all good Frenchmen and strangers, most faithfull subjects to the King, incorruptible and most affectionate to the good of the State.

Moreover, they declare, that they will not in any sort make vse of the said Letters, and that they disanow all consents and pursuits, if there were any, and such as haue demanded or approued them, contrary and preiudiciall to the sincerity of their intentions and their approved fidelity: protesting moreover to witness it by their voluntary exposing of their goods, liues, and honours, in the execution of the duties, seruice, and obedience which their Maiesties may expect of them, as from their most humble, faithfull, and obedient subjects and seruants.

A tumult
at
Rochel.

In September this yeare, there fell out a great mutiny and alteration in Rochel, begun by a multitude of the bolder sort, who trooped together to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred, with their armes: The Maior and chiefe of the towne, fought by all means possible to pacifie them, fearing lest some sinister euent should follow this great tumult: for they found the streets full of armed men, the corners of them barricadoed, and the chaires drawne: their chiefest quarrell was against the Seigneur of Courday who was a Councillor in the Court of Parliament at Paris, and one of the Sheriffes of Rochel: He was defended of a good Family; his father had bene Maior, and hee was allied to the best Houses. The peoples fury was such against him, and his danger so great, as seeing the designs they had against his person, hee entreated the Maior to cause him D to be conducted safely out of the gates; the which he did, but with very great difficulty, by reason of the incensed rage of this multitude, where the Maior had some affront done vnto his person.

The imaginary
causes of the
tumult.

The causes of this disorder were held but imaginary. First, *They demanded reason of an outrage done vnto some of them the day before by Iames Vacher elected Maior, who had threatened them being armed in their Court de guard, to cause them to be caried to Paris with halers about their neckes:* they would haue the towne purged from traitors and wicked men, who sought to perfwade the Queene, that they were no good subjects to the King. The Seigneur of Courday was not pleasing vnto them, as well for that which happened the yeare before, where they conceived he sought to make some innovations in their customes; as also for that his list comming was ill taken, being before the cessation of the Parliament, all things being quiet; as also for diuers aduertisements which they had received, that he had certaine Commissions, & among others, *that of Intendants of the iustice,* and some added of *the government:* but he gaue them full satisfaction therein, both in generall and particular before these troubles; so as men imagined they had no more thought of it. But it seemed that the causes of this tumult proceeded from that which followeth: for it was bruted amongst the people, that *Monsieur de Courday* and others employed by him,

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A him, had practised the voices of many of the body of the towne, to draw it from the vnion and correspondency which they had with the Churches of this Realme; a point which was so tickle, as that alone was sufficient to draw the people to any extraordinary action.

By a verball processe made concerning this tumult, they found that the onely cause proceeded from the Councillor de Courday, who had charge from their Maiesties, to hinder the calling of an Assembly, which some of the said Religion, (especially those which were not satisfied with the Edict of pacification, as it was verified in the court of Parliament) had resolved to hold on at Rochel without their Maiesties permission: and to haue *an eye* to any alterations which might happen: and to aduertise them of what was necessary for the maintaining of their subjects of both religions in peace in those Countries. But he being thrust out of the towne by this popular tumult, they held an Assembly by their owne authority, and drew many demands, as appears by their Declaration.

An Assembly
of those of the
religion at
Rochel.

But the King being in Cancell, declared, that he would haue no regard to any instructions or articles that should be presented vnto him on the behalfe of that pretended Assembly, or of any priuate man which went thither to that effect, the Conuocation being vnlawfull and made contrary vnto the Edict, and without permission: But touching that whereof his Maiefty gaue good hope vnto *Monsieur de Roumay* before his voyage to Rochel, concerning them of the Religion in generall, most of which had bene granted by his Maiefty to the articles formerly presented, hee would cause it to be put in execution. C And as for the articles contained in their instructions which concerne particular men, his Maiefty had resolved and decreed, that if those his subjects of the reformed religion, whom it may concerne, returning to their duties, and those which are come to Rochel to assist at the said pretended Assembly, shall retire themselves into their Prouinces, they shall haue all Letters granted, and necessary dispatches made, to enjoy the effect of that whereof his Maiefty gaue hope vnto the Seigneur of Roumay before his departure. And concerning the other demands added to the Instructions since his voyage: his Maiefty declares, that hee cannot change any thing of the Edict of Nantes, secret articles, Briefes, Answers, and Declarations made by the deceased King; the which he will cause to be inuolubly obserued and kept, and make his subjects of the said religion, to enjoy all the graces, grants, and aduantages which haue bene granted vnto them thereby, and in the like manner as they haue done during the life of the deceased King, without any change or alteration: As also he would cause them to enjoy all such graces and concessions as had bene granted vnto them since his comming to the Crewe: And to that end there should be a generall declaration made presently by his Maiefty, for a further confirmation of the said Edicts, Articles, Briefes, and Letters, with Inunctions to all Officers, to suffer his said subjects to enjoy them fully and quietly. Which Declaration contained a forgetfulnesse of that which had bene done and past in prejudice of the said Edicts and Declarations, disanulling all pursuits and proceedings which had bene made. And to the intent this his intention and will should be more exactly obserued, he commanded the Marshalls of France of either religion to go their circuits throughout the Prouinces which should be assigned vnto them, as had bene anciently obserued, and according to the duty of their places; whom hee would cause to be accompanied by Iudges and such forces as should be necessary to countenance his good and faithfull subjects, and to punish such as should contradict the Edicts, and trouble the publike peace. This Declaration was signed and published the 15 of December.

The Kings De-
claration touch-
ing the Af-
sembly.

A Declaration
touching the
confirmation
of the Edict.

Towards the end of the yeare, the Court of Parliament, Guardian of the rights and priuiledges of the Crowne of France, seized vpon a certaine pernicious Booke tending to the rebellion of subjects against Soueraigne power, written in Latine by *Gasper Scoppius*, F printed in Germany, and brought into France from Francfort Mart. The Court, finding that this booke (entituled *Ecclesiasticus*) contained an infinite number of execrable blasphemies and scandalous assertions against the glorious memorie of the deceased King Henry the Great, with other propositions tending to trouble the quiet of Christendome, against the safety, life, and estate of Soueraigne Princes: made a decree (the Chambers being all three assembled) that the said booke should be burnt by the Hangman publicly in the Palace yard, and inhibitions to all Printers and Booke-sellers, to print, sell, receiue, or publish it, forbidding all men of what condition or quality soeuer, to keepe or con- [f] scale

Scoppius booke
burnt by a De-
ce.

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ceale any of the sayd bookes : enioyning them that had any, that within foure and twenty A
houres after publication of the said Decree, as well within the City of Paris by sound of
Trumpe, as within all the Bayliwicks of that iurisdiction, to bring or send them to
the Criminall Register of the said Court, and in other townes to the Registers there,
to bee burnt ; and they which should oppoſe againſt this Decree, to bee puniſhed as
Traitors.

Death of the
Kings Schoole-
maſter.

Among many great and learned perſonages whom God called this yeare to a better
life, *Nicholas le Febvre* the Kings Schoole-maſter was one. He had beene choſen by the
deceaſed King *Henry* to inſtruct the Prince of Conde, and the Queene Regent held him
worthy for the King her ſonne, whereof he was moſt capable : hauing ſpent a yeare and B
a halfe in this inſtruction, being in the Kings chamber to attend his charge, he was ſuddenly
taken with a ſhaking and trembling of the heart, ſo as he was forced to flee preſently
to his lodging, and to betake him to his bed : but finding at that inſtant that his life grew to-
wards an end, he made a worthy preparation to death, before which he commanded his
funerals ſhould bee ſimple and meane, making choice of his graue in Saint Innocents
Church-yard : His pietie appears in his Teſtament, and by this Epitaph, which he him-
ſelfe made.

D. O. M.

*Nic. Faber. Peccator non vnus ex multis, hic jaceo:
Quid de me dici verius aut à me: Quid vtilius non
video: Agnoſco bone Jeſu, tu ignoſce: Ad hoc enim
natus es, ad hoc paſſus, ad hoc tremuiſti, vt per te ſecuri
eſſemus.*

Vixit An. LXXIII. Menſ. IV. D. III. Deuiſit An. 1612.

Beccanus booke
captured.

In the end of the laſt yeare, the Colledge of Sorbon (iealous of the greatneſſe, life, and
ſafety of their Kings) had ſeized vpon a certaine Booke written by *Beccanus*, entituled :
The Controuerſie of England, touching the Kings power and the Popes. In the beginning
of the laſt yeare, this Booke had beene reuiſed, corrected, and augmented at Mentz in Ger-
many, being allowed by *Henry Seuerus*, Prouinciall of the Ieſuits, by the authority of
Clauidius Aquavina, Generall of that Society : which Author ſaid, *That the Pope is vniuer-
ſall Paſtor of the Church, to whom Chriſt ſaid, Feed my ſheepe ; And that by the dogges are vnder-
ſtood Kings and Emperours*. Wherefore theſe Dogs whiſt they are faithfull and vi-
gilant, muſt obey their Shepheard : but if they be ſloathfull and idle, the Shepheard muſt E
preſently depoe them and driue them away.

It was therefore held neceſſary, to condemne theſe bad interpretations, and to provide
for the ſafety of the Kings life, the quiet of his ſubiects, and the preſeruation of the Realm ; ſeeing
and to prevent ſuch paricides as had beene committed vnder colour of Religion : ſeeing
that vpon ſuch bad interpretations, a wicked wretch called *Scoppius* the Encomiaſt of
Paricides had grounded himſelfe, to the end he might draw on others, ſaying in his booke
called *Eccleſiaſticus*, *I haue none but Turkes and Heretikes had lamented the death of King
Henry the Great, or condemned the fact of Rauillac*. Wherefore on the 7 of Ianuary, the Sor-
bon deputed certaine Doctours of the faculty to goe vnto the Queene and Chancellor, to
whom they repreſented ſummarily what had beene done in their Aſſembly, touching the
perniciouſ propoſitions of *Beccanus* booke, and that they had beene aduerſed by their
Sindique *Fileſae*, that the Cardinall of Bonſy by commandement from the Queene had
given him charge not to cenſure the ſame booke, for that her Maieſty was reſolued to take
another courſe. But for that this matter was of very great importance, the company
thought good to let her Maieſtie vnderſtand, that they had ſurceaſed from all conclusions
to witneſſe their humble obedience, vntill her pleaſure were further knowne. Yet the
ſaid Faculty did much feare that their ſilence and delay might be ſo taken by poſterity, as
if

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A if the Diuines of Paris had allowed of this ſeditious doctrine, and had condemned the de-
crees of their predeceſſors, by the which the life & ſouereigne authority of Kings is main-
tained ; wherein they referred themſelves to the Chancellors great wiſdome, but the
whole body of the Diuines of Paris, deſired that their beliefe vpon his point might
be manifeſted to the world. To whom the Chancellor ſaid, that he commended the care
of the ſaid Faculty : that hauing read *Beccanus* booke, he held it moſt pernicious : and that
it was neceſſary that the doctrine of the Sorbon ſhould be knowne to the world, to be di-
rectly againſt it, and that there ſhould be ſome remedy provided left this doctrine of *Becca-
nus* ſhould creepe in with more violence among the people ; wherefore hee was reſolued
B to bring them vnto the Queene, and to recommend the care of the ſaid Faculty vnto her
Maieſty, as he did ; the promiſing to take aduice in Councell, and to reſolue them by the
Chancellor. To whom the Doctours repaired the 12 of Ianuary, to vnderſtand the Queene's
pleaſure, who told them that her Maieſty thinking that *Beccanus* booke had not beene com-
mon, & that there had beene but one copy or two in France, would iudiciously haue rather
ſuppreſſed it by ſilence then otherwiſe, wherewith ſhee had acquainted the Cardinall of
Bonſy, but being informed that it was in the hands of many, ſhe thought it fit to referre it
vnto the fidelity and conſcience of the ſaid Faculty, ſo do as they ſhould thinke good ; and
that their Decree ſhould be inſerted in the Registry of the ſaid Faculty, whereunto poſte-
rity in the like controuerſie might haue recourſe.

C Yet afterwards *Fileſae* the Sindique, hauing red a certaine copie of a decree made by
the Pope, containing the cenſure of the ſaid booke, made at Rome in an aſſembly of the
Cardinals, the 3 of Ianuary this preſent yeare, for that there were found in this booke ma-
ny things which were falſe, raſh, ſcandalous, and ſeditious reſpectively, and forbidden to
be printed in any language vntill it were corrected : and for the better aſſurance thereof,
hauing read ſome letters of Teſtimony from the Biſhop of Monte-pulciano the Popes
Nuncio in France, he ſtayed the making of any Decree touching the ſaid pernicious pro-
poſitions, aſſuring them that the Chancellor had forbidden it. Thus the controuerſie tou-
ching *Beccanus* booke ended, whereupon ſome were of opinion, that the word reſpectively
in the Popes cenſure was put in of purpoſe as a terme of euaiſon, to ſhew that the Ie-
ſuites doe not abſolutely condemne *Beccanus* doctrine, but onely in regard of the French,
who were much offended therewith.

The incenſed fury and rage of the Nobility and Gentry of France running dayly to
Ducles and Combats, ſometimes at the place Royall by Moone-light like madmen ; ſome
time without Saint Honories gate or Saint Antonies : did in the beginning of this yeare
much afflicte the King, Queene, and the whole Court. The Earle of Breſne and the Mar-
quis of Neſle, hauing made many aſſigations to fight, were ſull preuented, and in the end
reconciled by the Princes and Marſhalls of France. Among many men of note which
had beene ſlaine by theſe combats ; that which did moſt afflicte the Queene was the en-
counter of the Cheuallier de Guife, with the Baron of Luſ Lieutenant General for the
E King in the Duchy of Bourgandy : they meet in Saint Honories ſtreet, where the Che-
uallier perceiving the Baron (whom he ſought for) to be in his Caroch accompanied by
ſome Gentlemen, he aduanced willing him to come forth, and withall drew his ſword,
gaue his cloake to one of his followers, left his horſe, and offered him the combat ; which
the Baron de Luſ ſeeing, he preſently leapt out of his Caroch and put himſelfe in defence.
But at the ſecond thruſt the Baron fell downe dead vpon the place : which the Gentlemen
of his traine perceiving, they made offer to defend him, but being hindered by the Cheu-
alliers followers, they gaue way, and all they could doe was to put the Barons body into his
Caroch, and to cary it ſpeedily to his lodging. The ſtreet was ſuddenly full of Noblemen
and Gentlemen, which made men thinke there had beene ſome tumult and ſedition. The
F Cheuallier retired himſelfe to the houſe of Guife, where the duke, the Prince of Ioinville,
and the Archbiſhop of Rheims did much blame him in the Queene's behalfe, for that he
had ſlaine ſo worthy a Gentleman, and ſo good a ſeruant to the King. *Monſieur le Grand*
being then in Bourgundy, hearing theſe things, was much grieved. But I cannot expreſſe
the wonderfull ſorrow of the young Baron de Luſ his onely ſonne, a goodly Gentleman ;
who reſolued to be reuenged, though with the hazard of his owne life. To effect the
which, about a moneth after, hee ſent a Gentleman called *du Riſol* to the Cheuallier with
this following Challenge.

Of Duſſin in the
beginning of
this yeare.

The Baron de
Luſ ſlaine by
the Cheuallier
de Guife.

[f2]

Aſy

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A Challenge
from the young
Baron of Luz,
to the Cheual-
lier de Guise.

*My Lord. None can be a more faithfull witnesse of the iust subiect of my griefe then your A
selfe: and therefore I pray you most humbly to pardon my sensible feeling thereof. I inuite you by
this note to doe me the honour that I may see your selfe with my sword in my hand against you, to
renewe the death of my father. The effeeme I haue of your valour, makes me to hope that you
will not obiect your quality, to auoid that whereunto your honour binds you. This Gentleman
will bring you to the place where I am with a good horse and two swords, whereof you shall haue
the choice. If this doe not please you, I will goe whither soeuer you shall command me.*

The Cheuallier
kills the young
Baron of Luz.

The Cheuallier de Guise was in bed when du Riol brought him this Challenge, hauing
read it, he arose presently, and du Riol holpe to dresse him: then sending for *Mont-
de Grignan*, a Knight of Malta, he entreated him to accompany him; and so they parted
without the priuity of any one. They went out of Saint Anthonies gate, and du Riol
brought him to the place where the Baron of Luz was. The Cheuallier & Baron being
visited by their seconds, and their doubtles off, all foure being on horse-backe, hauing ta-
ken the field, they began to aduance with their swords in their hands. At the first passado
the Baron wounded the Cheuallier in the arme; but at the third the Cheuallier ran the
Baron through the body, who falling from his horse had no other need but to care for
his soules health. The Cheuallier ranne speedily to the two seconds, for *Grignan* had re-
ceiued two wounds from du Riol who was not hurt, who seeing himselfe ready to be char-
ged by two, the Baron lying along and neere his death, hee bethought himselfe of his re-
treat, recouering Charenton, and afterwards Bourgundy. On a sudden the field was full
of Noblemen and Cheualliers, but they found no man but the Baron lying in the dust,
whom his friends tooke presently vp: a lousse which afflicted the rest of his friends, and
troubled the whole Court: But the Duke of Guise and his brethren were wonderfully
perplexed, hauing heard that the Cheuallier was wounded to death, but seeing him return
but lightly hurt, they were much comforted, and gaue God thanks for his escape. Hee
kept his chamber for a time, as well by reason of his wounds, as for the displeasure the
Queene had conceiued against him for the death of these two Noblemen, the father
and sonne.

was borne: I haue
by Montigny-
Halle.

In the same moneth *Montigny-Halle* a young Gentleman being in Paris, sent a challenge D
to the Seigneur of Bethunes, Campe-maister to one of the French Regiments in Holland.
The place was appointed, they met, and *Bethunes* lost his life. He was much lamented for
that he was a braue and valiant Gentleman. His friends made this Epitaph for him.

*Passenger, stay thy steps, beare reuerence to this tombe, Cyrus of Bethunes is here enclosed:
He had warre for his exercise, a Caesar for his master, and Offend for a Schoole: glory was his
ambition, vertue his loue, and one onely God his feare. He cherished armes, respected the lawes,
and honoured his Nation: yet armes haue taken him out of the world, the lawes haue abandoned
him, and his Nation hath suffered him to bee lost. Goe weepe for the dead, complaine of the
liuing, and content thy selfe.*

O God, what miseries (as a great Prelate said) doe these duels bring. Wee see Families
made desolate, fathers lament the losse of their children, wiuers their husbands, France her
Captaines and choice fouldiers, the King his Nobility (the ornament of his Crowne) and
God his soules, whom Satan doth snatch from him. So many Edicts and Defences made
by Saint Lewis, Henry the second, Charles the ninth, Henry the Great, and the King now
reigning, against the inuention of encounters without challenge, could neuer suppress
this deuillish course of combats and duels, which is to be reprobued as a most sauge thing,
and neuer in vse among the Ancients, except it were in warre, that is to say, a subiect
against the enemy by his Generals permission, or one Generall against another, to spare F
the subiects blood, whereof there are many examples in Histories.

The King seeking to prevent these mischiefs whereby his subiects might receive the
benefit, with the aduice of the Queene Regent, the Princes of the blood, and officers of
the Crowne, he confirmed all the former Edicts by his Declaration. And to take away all
hope to obtain hereafter any thing from his Maiesty that might contradiet it, he declared
with a firme and irreuocable resolution, that he would maintain the said Edicts in their full
force, without any respect of persons: which his resolution he would haue made knowne
vnto

The Kings E-
dict against
duels.

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A vnto all the Princes of the blood, and other Princes and officers of the Crowne, and
to all his Courts of Parliaments, subiects and seruants; and that he had no intent hereafter
to grant any pardons or remissions for the breach of the said Edicts: and Declaration: for-
bidding them expressly, not to sue, entreat or mediate in those cases to his Maiesty, nor vn-
to the Queene Regent his mother, vpon paine of their indignation: forbidding them also
to retire or concale any such offenders in their houses, or other places, or to giue them
any support or assistance, but to discouer and deliuer them into the hands of iustice, if they
were required by the officers, giuing them all ayd and assistance to doe it if they may. And
this was the effect of the Kings Declaration: whereunto the Court added, That if any
Letters of abolition were directed to the Prouost of the Kings house, and iudgement giuen
by him, notwithstanding the said Letters, the proceeding should be void, and they should
proceed against the offenders according to the Edicts and the Kings Declaration: neither
should they which stood in contempt bee admitted to purge themselves, vlesse they
paid the third part of the fines adiudged against them, to the vse of the poore that were
that vp.

The Kings Declaration touching the maintenance of the Edict of pacification, being
read in the Towne-house of Rochel, in the presence of the chiefe inhabitants, it was con-
cluded by a generall consent, that they would obey his Maiesties will: And that they
should forbid the continuance of the Assembly of those of the Religion come from diuers
Prouinces into their towne. Vpon this resolution, there were some (which since the as-
sembly at Saumur, were possessed with icalousie) made diuers conuenticles and secret as-
semblies, where they propounded many things, and made diuers enterprises, whereof the
Maieur was aduertised, assuring him that the tenth day of the moneth was appointed for
the execution of many pernicious designs; and that many gentlemen were coming from
S. Iohn D'Angely towards Rochel, to support the vnderakers. The Maieur knowing
the time when these Gentlemen should arise, and that their partisans should take armes;
he prevented them foure houres, and hindered their designs.

By the aduice of the chiefe Burgeesses (to prevent all accidents) hee, caused an alarme to
be suddenly giuen, and seized vpon all the quarters of the towne by men able to stay such
as had any will to mutine: then he caused all the Corps de Guards to sweare that they
should not acknowledge any command but his, and made the townsmen to be all night
in armes.

The next day being the 11 of January, hee caused an assembly of the townsmen to be
made, where those of the Court of Iustice and men of all qualities assisted. There hee
propounded, to haue a prohibition published vpon paine of death for any man to make
any assemblies. This was not onely commended by a generall consent, but they did all
swear to employ their liues and goods to haue it obscured, and to discouer such as should
infringe it. Vpon this resolution, he caused this Declaration to be published by sound
of Trumpet.

BY the Maieur and Captaine of this Towne. WHEREAS some desire to breed diuisions
and dangerous factions among the inhabitants of this Towne, make Conuenticles and As-
semblies both by night and day, vying seditious speeches among the people, assaunting many men
of qualitie with inuious and slanderous reproaches: Wee doe expressly forbid all persons
of what qualitie and condition soeuer, dwelling within this Towne, to make any Assemblies
or Conuenticles either by night or day, vpon paine of death. Enioyning all those which
shall haue knowledge thereof, to discouer it speedily, vpon paine to be punished as fauou-
rers of the said Conuenticles: Wee also strictly forbid all the said inhabitants to quarrell
or wrong one another either in word or deed: or to carie any Peece either by night or day,
vpon paine of corporall punishment.

The day after this Proclamation, the assembly of the Deputies sent two vnto the Maieur
being in the Towne-house, and protested vnto him that they would obey the Kings De-
claration, and retire into their Prouinces, beseeching him to suffer some of them to conti-
nue in the Towne for their safety, vntill the Kings declaration were verified in their Pro-
uinces: also that all those which were constrained to abandon the towne for that which
happened therein on the fift of September 1612, might returne againe into their houses, to
liue in peace and quiet. So the Maiors care and vigilancy made them yeeld obedience to
his

The Maieur of
Rochel his pro-
ceeding to
keepe the towne
in peace vnder
the Kings obe-
dience.

The Maieur of
Rochel's De-
claration.

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An Edict forbidding gold or silver on apparel.

his Majesties will, and procured concord among the Citizens, being much divided: as A also in the said tumult his wisdom did prevent the accidents of a popular fury.

The King continuing his care to provide for the disorders of his Estate, and seeing the excessive liberty in wearing of gold and silver upon their garments, the dissolution so common, and the charges so great, as many times they had more upon their backs then in their purses, he made an Edict this year, in March: Injoyning first of all the Clergie to wear decent habits, bestitting their profession; and all his other subjects to abstaine from all superfluities: forbidding expressly all persons in general vnder his obedience, what quality, sex, or condition soever, to wear any gold or silver of in their apparell, either good or counterfeit, in any sort or manner whatsoever, vpon the penalty of B 10 pound sterling; excepting the embroidery of saddles and furnitures for horses already made, the which should be tolerated for fixe moneths. He did also forbid all embroderies vpon garments, in what sort soever, were it in gold, silver, or silke, and the vse of Milan laces, vpon a penalty of a hundred pound sterling. Yet by this Edict hee did not forbid the vse of gold, silver, and embroderies in girdles, hangers, hat-bands, garters, roses, buckles, and supporters of womens ruffles, nor yet the gilding of rapier hilts, armes, spurs, bits for horses, and stirrups. He did also forbid the gilding of all Caroches or houses, were it vpon lead, iron, wood, stone, or plaster, or any other sort whatsoever, vpon paine of 100 pound sterling. He did also forbid all Noblemen and Gentlemen, to giue any Liucres of silke to their Pages or Footmen, but onely of cloath, and one lace about. In like manner all Taylors and Embroiderers were forbidden to make any such garments, vpon paine of thirty pound sterling for the first time, and double for the next offence. The King himselfe, and the Princes, to giue example vnto others to observe the Edict; forbore to wear any gold or silver in their apparell, wherein they were imitated by all the French Nobility, who shewed themselves very modest and obedient.

War betwixt the Dukes of Sauoy and Mantua.

All things being in peace both in France and abroad, there began a warre betwixt the Dukes of Sauoy and Mantua; for *Francis* Duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferat, being lately dead without any issue male, leaving onely one daughter by the Duke of Sauoyes daughter, his brother *Ferdinand* succeeded him in the said Duchy and Marquisate: The Duke of Sauoy impatient to see his daughter and grandchild, to haue no better share in those Estates, pretending also a title to the Marquisate; hee resolved to retire his daughter and child from Mantua; and to that end he sent the Earles of Martinengue and Lucerne, and after them the Prince his sonne, to demand her of the Duke: who sent the Bishop of Diocesaria to the Duke of Sauoy, to acquaint him with his intention, which was, not to suffer his Niece of Mantua to depart for reasons of State.

In the meane time the Duke of Sauoy hauing leauied some forces, vpon a colour that it was for the preservation of his Estates of Sauoy, Piedmont, and Aste, and put them in garrison in all his townes, he resolved to surprize the Marquisate of Montferat, (being destitute of sufficient forces to defend it) before that the Duke of Mantua should bee able to send any succours: yea he had drawne many of the Nobility of Montferat to his party, E who promised to serue him in his enterprise.

The Duke of Sauoy leads his army into Montferat.

On the 22 of Aprill, the Duke of Sauoy being at Versel, he told the Bishop of Diocesaria, that he went forth that night to see some of his companies mustered; and that the next day he would resolve to accommodate the business for which he was come, but he did the contrary, for he went to the rendezvous which he had giuen to all his troops, and himselfe in person led them into Montferat, where he tooke Triuno by *Pettard*, and Albe by *Scallido*: After which they propounded to besiege Casal, and to force the Cittadell, the which being taken, there was not any other place able to make resistance in the whole Marquisate, which is a little Country, 3 dayes journey from the Alpes, lying between Piedmont, the Seignoury of Genua, and the State of Milan subiect to the King of Spain. So as the Duke of Mantua, to send succours to Montferat, must passe them through the Country which the Spaniard holds in Lombardy, so that it was to be feared, the Duke of Sauoy would soone preuaile in his enterprise: but God disposed otherwise.

About the same time the Queene Regent had concluded a marriage for the Lady *Renee* of Loraine, daughter to the deceased Duke of Mayen, with *Mario* Earle of Sancto Fiore, eldest sonne to Duke *Alexander* of France, and issued from the House of *Visjins*, which had beene alwayes much affectionate vnto the Crowne of France. The Duke of Neuers her brother

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The Duke of Neuers goeth to succour Montferat, and enters into Casal.

A brother in law, tooke vpon him the charge to conduct her to Florence, where the marriage should be consummated: Embarking at Marfeilles, and landing at Saoune (a port belonging to the Seignoury of Genua) the Duke of Neuers vnderstood that the Duke of Sauoy had secretly with his army entred into Montferat, and that Casal was in danger to be lost, there being no commander nor sufficient forces to resist the Duke.

This Duke of Neuers who is of the House of Mantua, and nearest kinsman to the Duke, next vnto his brother *Don Vincent*, resolved to prevent this apparent danger with the hazard of his life; and hauing sent to recommend his sister in law to the State of Genua, (being afterwards conducted to Florence, and the marriage consummated) he tooke with him twenty men of his traine, and threecore Mariners, whom he caused to be armed, and with this company within two dayes he entred Casal.

The Duke of Sauoy aduertised of his arriuall, imagined that his enterprise would not succeed according to his designe; so as in stead of besieging Casal, he sent his Army before Nice de la Paile. And for that he saw all the neighbour Princes were in a wonderfull jealousy for his taking of armes in a full peace, he sent them a long Declaration of the causes: which were, the detension of his grandchild, and his old pretensions to the Marquisate of Montferat, entreating the Pope, Emperor, King of Spaine, and all other Princes to allow of this action. The Duke of Mantua on the other side made a full answer to this Declaration, the which I cannot insert at large.

C The Duke of Sauoy sent copies of his Declaration to all Kings and neighbour Estates, accompanied with his priuate Letters; writing also to the Seigneurs of Bearne, and the Sindiques of Genua; he entreated them not to be ialous of his taking of armes, promising that it was not his intent to offend them: but some doe write, that this promise of the Duke of Sauoyes, was like vnto that which *Polipennus* made to *Vlisses*, to cate him the last of all his companions. For if he tooke Casal as he had done Albe, hee would reuise his old pretensions vpon his neighbours one after another. Seeing hee is armed (they say) we must stand vpon our guard.

The newes of these armes in Montferat, being come to the French Court at Fountainbleau, they held the duke of Sauoyes quarrell vniust. Many Noblemen friends to the duke of Neuers, went to him to Casal, some by Marfeilles, to Saoune and Genua by sea, and others by Switzerland & Lombardy, & so came into Montferat. The Baron of La Roche of Daulphin a partisan, and (as they say) a pensioner to the Duke of Sauoy, and who liued much in his Court, had priuate intelligence with a Daulphinois of the towne of Romans, called *Magnac*, who followed the Councell of France, and solicited affaires, and had good access into the houses of the greatest in Court, making profession of the reformed religion, but in effect he was a spy, and pensioner to this Baron, as he was to the Duke. But the packets of Letters which *Magnac* had written to the Baron of La Roche, being taken at the Poste, and found full of intelligences concerning the State and matters of importance, he was apprehended and condemned as guilty of high treason, for the which hee E was broken on the wheele the last of May.

The French go to the Duke of Neuers in Montferat.

A Traytor executed.

The Baron of La Roche made no better end then *Magnac*, for being taken in the beginning of the next yeare, and brought to the Bastile, and afterwards to the Conciergerie, he was attainted and convicted for murdering a Church-man who came out of Italy with a packet for the King, for the which hee was iudged guilty of treason, and beheaded at the Greue.

But let vs returne to Montferat. All the Potentates of Italy went to armes, but none for the Duke of Sauoy. The King of Spaine commanded the Gouernor of Milan to leauy an army vnder the command of the prince of Afcoly, and to drue the Sauoyards out of Montferat with the hazard of a battell. The Duke of Mantua leauied souldiers in his Duchy, and the Venetians and the great Duke of Tuscane did the like for his succour. In the meane time the Duke of Sauoy had sent an army of fixe or seuen thousand foot of diuers nations, and a thousand horse to besiege Nice as you haue heard, thinking to find it as ill provided of defence, as the rest which he had taken; but he found that the Duke of Neuers his arriuall had assured the Gouernors, Captaines, and inhabitants of the townes of Montferat: and *Don Vincent* the Duke of Mantuas brother, and Generall of his Forces, came also to Casal with certaine Caualliers Mantuans. The Duke of Neuers conceiuing that if the Sauoyard should seize vpon Aqui and Ponsom, they would hinder the succour which

The Princes of Italy succour the Duke of Mantua.

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which should come from France and Florence, heooke 30 Caualliers Mantuans, twenty A two Noblemen and Gentlemen French, and went and assured those places and others thereabouts, and furnished them with men and munition.

The Sauoyards in the meane time made their approaches before Nice with all speed, and had so thut it vp, as Capraine *Via* being gone forth with his company of 70 Carabins to bring munition into the Towne, could not enter, but was forced to go to Aiqui, being 7 miles distant from Nice, which the duke of Neuers resolved to succour, and to put halfe his troops into the towne, consisting of 250 Caualliers, 60 musquetiers, 60 Harquebusers, and 80 Pikes: but he was intreated by *Don Vincents* letters not to attempt it, for that the Spanish Army would come that night to Alexandria de la Paile vpon the Frontiers of B Montferat, and that the duke of Mantua Forces should ioyne with them, entreating him also to come, that being together they might relieue Nice without hazard. All these forces being ioynd on the 22 of May, they came within a miles of Nice, where they camped: these three Princes consulting which way they should charge the Sauoyards; *Cont Guy* of Saint George General of the Army of Sauoy seeing these Princes so neere, and ready to force him, hee sent word to the Prince of Alcoly in behalfe of the duke of Sauoy; *That his Highnesse undertaking this war did not thinke that the King of Spaine would haue assisted the Duke of Mantua against him, who had the honor to be his brother in law: but seeing it was so, his only respect, and not any feare of the Armes of Mantua should make him retire: with protestation neuer to employ his Armes without the good will of the King of Spain.* Whereunto the Prince of Alcoly made answer; *That he had commandement from his Catholike Maiessty to succour Nice, and put the Sauoyard out of Montferat: But if their Generall caused them to retire, hee would not follow them, otherwise hee would bee the next morning in their trenches.*

The siege of
Nice raised.

Notwithstanding this offer of the Sauoyards Generall, they continued their battery all night, whereupon the Princes resolved to charge them the next morning in their trenches, and to force them to raise their siege: but hauing put their Army in battell and approaching neere vnto Nice, they saw the Sauoyards leaue their trenches and begin to retire, being aduertised of their coming: hereupon the duke of Neuers aduanced and entered first into the Towne, where heooke 200 foot of the Garison with the which he followed them, and so stayed them by skirmishes, as within a miles of Nice hee forced them to put themselves in battell as well to defend themselves being thus prest, as to attend their Cannon which was myred. Hereupon the duke presently aduertised the Prince of Alcoly and *Don Vincent*, intreating them to aduance with their troopes, the which they did, and put their Army in battell right against that of Sauoy within Musket shot. The duke of Neuers was very desirous to fight, and had drawn the Prince of Alcoly to be of his mind: but a Milanois being one of the Councell of warre to the King of Spaine said, that seeing he had given his word to the General of Sauoy not to follow them if they retired, he must now keepe it. The duke of Neuers replied, that the Prince of Alcoly was no more ingaged seeing they had failed of theirs; hauing sought to force Nice the last night: and moreover, they had now put themselves in battell in their presence, and therefore they ought to fight with them: but the Spaniards were of another opinion. And it was resolved that the Prince should send word to the General of Sauoy; that according to his promise he had given them time to retire, which they did not, but presented themselves before the D. of Neuers, and *Don Vincent*, who were so incensed as he could no longer stay them from giuing battell; that if hee retired not speedily, hee should consent vnto them (as hee was bound) to cut the Army of Sauoy in peeces, the which they would vndoubtedly doe if he retired not. Vpon the deliuey of this message, the Generall caused his Army to retire to Castellano a little Towne in Piedmont, foure myles from Nice, whither the three Princes went to resolve on the siege of Albe.

The Prince of
Alcoly sends a
message to the
Generall of
Sauoy.

The Governour
of Milan
grows ialous
of the duke of
Neuers, and
the French.

But the Governour of Milan soone changed the face of this designe, and the affection of those which were come to this warre to succour an afflicted Prince. He grew ialous of the French Gentlemen which were come to the duke of Neuers: and that the Seigneur of Bourg with a regiment of 2000 foot should come out of France into Italy to succour the duke of Mantua. Finally, this Governour said, that he would not suffer any French troopes in Italy, and that none should passe by the State of Milan; and that hee would ill intreat the first which came: that if the Seigneur of Bourg should passe into Italy,

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Italy, he would cause him and his Regiment to be cut in peeces. He sent to all the Spanish Gallies which were at Naples, Sicily and Genoa, to come and lye vpon those coasts, and to hinder the descent of all vessels which should bring any French to goe into Montferat. Yea some write, that it was bruted ouer all Italy, that the duke of Neuers drew the French into Montferat to seize on it for himselfe. The Duke of Neuers being aduertised of the Governours speeches, he sent him word, that if heooke him for no other but to be of his quality, the troope of French gentlemen which were with him, would be indeed held extraordinary: But when he should consider of what quality he was, as duke of Neuers, and of the House of Mantua, that of 120 gentlemen which were come vnto him, all of them B (except foure or fve of the principall which were come as friends to accompany him in this warre) were alwaies wont to bee of his traine: and that hee should bee well aduised not to ill entreat any which should come vnto him: for the least affront hee should doe vnto any one hee would reuenge it on his person or lose his life: for that in this action there was nothing concerning the interest of the King of Spaine his Master, but of one particular to another. As for his threats to cut the regiment of *Dn Bourg* in peeces if it came into Italy, the Duke sent him word, that he did not thinke hee had any such commission from Spaine, which were to do the King his Master bad seruice in speaking so freely. And that it was not possible for any man to hinder the most Christian King his Master to send succours vnto the Duke of Mantua his Cousin Germaine, and nephew vnto the Queene C Regent his Mother, to hinder the Duke of Sauoy from the invading of Montferat. As for the ialousie which he would put into the duke of Mantua head, touching Montferat, it was more then hee could effect with all his endeuours, their interests were too strictly vniued.

The Duke of
Neuers need-
age to the Go-
uernour of
Mil. n.

Notwithstanding all these speeches, the Duke of Sauoy and the Governour of Milan concluded a Peace in halfe, for as they prepared to besiege Trino and Verfel, the two Armies of Spaine and Mantua being come to the Rendezvous, the Prince of Alcoly told the Duke of Neuers and *Don Vincent*, that a peace was concluded betweene the Duke of Sauoy and the Governour of Milan, the which he shewed them in writing to this effect: *That as the Popes Summons, and to obey the commandements of their Imperiall and Catholike Maiessties, the Duke of Sauoy should within sixe dayes restore the places which he held in Montferat into the hands of such Commissaries as should be deputed by their Maiessties: that it is to say, the Prince of Castiglion for the Emperour, and the Governour of Milan for the King of Spaine, and that defences should be made to either part to commit any act of Hostility.*

They that haue written of these warres said, that it was concluded in as great haste, as the Duke of Sauoy had begun the warre: yet the Duke of Mantua Agent at Milan durst not accept thereof, hauing no speciall commandement from his Prince; yet afterwards the Duke did allow of it. And although the Duke of Sauoy had promised to restore the places within fixe daies, yet hee did it not before that hee had received letters from the King of Spaine to presse him thereunto. After this restitution, the Duke of Sauoy would E not disarme, notwithstanding any instance that was made, before that the King of Spaine should cause the duke of Mantua to signe and to execute the foure priuate Articles which the Governour of Milan had yielded vnto, in signing the restitution: and that the Duke of Mantua seeing him still in armes, would be more tractable to accord their differences.

The Duke of
Sauoy refused
to disarm, and
the reason.

The foure Articles were, First, That the two dukes should not pretend any damages one against the other by reason of the warre. Secondly, That the subjects of either Duke, which had followed a contrary party, should not be molested in their persons, nor goods. Thirdly, That a moneth after the restitution made by the Duke of Sauoy of the places taken by him in Montferat, the Princesse *Mary* should be deliuered vnto him by the Duke of Mantua, to be restored within 15 daies after to the Princesse *Marguerite* her F Moser. And fourthly, that within a short time after, they should treat friendly of all the pretensions and differences which were betwixt the two Dukes.

In Italy *Monf: de Sonvre* a Knight of both the orders, and Governour of his Maiessties person, was honoured with the dignity of Marshall of France, in the place of the deceased Marshall *Fernaquins*. It was thought the Duke of Sully should haue been aduanced, in regard of the good seruice hee had done to France, for that they said the deceased King of immortall memory, had promised him the first Marshalls place which should be voyd: yet euery man thought it wel bestowed vpon *Monf: de Sonvre* as a Nobleman most worthy to be

Alonfide Sauoy
made Marshall
of France.

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Resignes it to
the Marquis of
Ancres.

be recompensed with that honor, for the great and commendable care he had had for the instruction & government of his Maiesties person : he continued little in that dignity, for presently after his advancement he resigned it into their Maiesties hands to be conferred vpon the Marquis of Ancres, as it was : and the King being at Fontaine-bleau, caused him to be receiued Marshall of France although it were not with the good liking of many private persons.

The Almanack
of Morgard.

By the Ordinances of the most Christian Kings made vpon the complaints of the Estates of Orleans and Blois, all Soothsayers, and makers of Prognostications and Almanacks, exceeding the termes of lawfull Astrology, should bee punished extraordinarily and corporally. A holy and iust law, but ill obserued, through the liberty which these makers of Preditions tooke, who not content to speake of faire and soule weather, busie themselves to prognosticate of the effects of Mars, and of the affaires of State : as it happened in the beginning of this year, in the which *Neel Leon Morgard* made an Almanack as he had done the year before, in the which hee spake much of warre : and yet France was as quiet and peaceable as it had been in 20 years. In his Almanack for this year, this *Morgard* seeking to be admired for his insolency and malice, assured, that the State of France should change : he touched the Kings person : and set downe the times, months and quarters, and he spake of many great Princes, altring only the letters of their names. This Almanack being sold on the first day of the year, was extraordinarily sought for by curious persons, who assured themselves that it was a Prophesie. And that which gaue it the more credit was, for that *Morgard* hauing set in the first quarter of Ianuary that a Martill man should play a bad prance with his owne sonne : It hapned that an aged man of the Suburbs of St. Germaine who had sometimes beene a souldier, flue his son thinking to kill a woman whom he entertain'd. The peoples murmuring of these new Preditions being imparted to the Queene Regent with a discourse of the wonders which he foretold : Her Maiestie held the author worthy of punishment, commanding the Officers of Iustice to make search for him, the which was continued for some daies in the end he was apprehended in Saint Honories street, and the Printer in like manner, who had fold the said Almanackes. *Morgard* was first caried to the Bastile, and afterwards to the Conciergerie. The Court of Parliament tooke knowledge of the cause, and examined the offenders, especially *Morgard* who at the first denied that he had giuen the said scandalous Preditions to be printed, the which was verified euen by the testimonie of such as had wrought vpon the said Almanack, who said that they had receiued those scandalous preditions in small papers from the said *Morgard*, and that being printed, hee instantly tooke them away againe : which being in the end confessed by the said *Morgard*, he was by a decree of the Court condemned to serue in the Kings Gallies 9 years, and was presently deliuered ouer to be chained to others. Before his going to Marseilles, hee cast diuers mens Natiuities, saying vnto some, That they had done him wrong to condemne him before he had spoken with the Queene, to whom if he had beene admitted, hee would haue told many things for the good of France. Some held that this *Morgard* was very ignorant in Astrologie, and that hee vnderstood not the Latine tongue. That by race hee was a Cutpurse, and that the year before he had beene a prisoner in the Conciergerie along time, being accused for many thefts ; yea some said that he had not made this Almanack, which was the subiect of many discourses that were published abroad, and of a feare, which for a time troubled the mindes of the French, vntill August, that their Maiesties went into Poitou and Britany, which was the month vnto the which this miserable wretch had limited the Kings life.

A decree against
giant Duells.

Presently after the Feast of Christmas was past, Duells were more frequent amongst the Nobility then they had beene in former times ; there was no common discourse but of combats and encounters, which made the Queene Regent to aduertise the Court of Parliament thereof, to the end they might deuise some expedient, to diuert the course of such a mischief. The Court hauing taken deliberation thereon, made a very rigorous decree against the aggressors and acceptors of Duells & Combats : forbidding all persons to quarrell in publike or private, to goe to field, or make any assignations to fight, vpon paine (for all such as should infringe this decree) to bee held guilty of High Treason, and they and their posterity to be declared base and ignoble for euer : forbidding all persons to fauour them, or to receiue them into their houses or Castles, vpon paine of razing of the said

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A said places : exhorting all Clergie men not to giue them buriall, and giuing power to all persons to cease vpon them, and to deliuer them into the hands of Iustice, allowing 25 Crownes to bee taken out of the fines of the Court, to euery one that shall ayde to seize vpon the said combatants : which decree was published in all the streets and suburbs of Paris, and set vp in many places.

In the beginning of the year, there appeared some discontents, which made France to feare and apprehend a ciuill warre. The Prince of Conde assisted by other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Noblemen, and Officers of the Crowne, retired from Court seeing the affaires within the Realme, some in confusion, and others in disorder : accidents which happen ordinarily during the Minority of Kings, and wherein the bounty and wisdom of the Queene Regent, had beene carefull during the time of her regency, as much as possible she could, to stay the course of such disorders throughout the Realme.

The Prince seeing how little he should preuaile to speak in Court of a generall reformation, he thought it fitt (by the aduice of some of his friends) to absent himselfe, and to consider of this important businesse : the which hee did in the end of February, going to Chasteauroux in Berry. The Duke of Neuers retired himselfe into his Government of Champagne, and the Duke of Mayen to Soissons : And within few daies after, the Marshall of Bouillon went from Paris. They which did adhere to this partie haue written in this manner,

The Prince of
Conde and
others discon-
tented.They retire
from Court.

C Men haue discoursed diuersly of the departure of the Prince of Conde, and of the Dukes of Neuers and Mayen from Court, and of their discontents : the which gaue occasion to the Marshall of Bouillon (who remained in Paris after them) particularly to informe the principall ministers about the King thereof, vnto whom hee signified that they had no other designe, intention, nor desire, but to remaine in that most humble obedience which they owe vnto the King and Queene : that the cause of their discontent proceeded not from any private interest, but only from the disorder and confusion, which since the death of the deceased King, had crept into the Government of the State : that to their great griefe, they saw it increase in such manner, as it would proue incurable, if it were not prevented in time : that the ranke they held in this Realme did oblige them, to represent these inconueniences to the Queene, to the end she might apply fit and necessary remedies : That to this end they were to meet at Meziens on the 15 of February with their ordinary traines, and there to aduise of that which they had to say ; that vpon these words of the Duke of Bouillon, they held a Councell and resolved to stay him, but hee went speedily out of Paris, hauing aduertised the Prince of Conde of his going towards Meziens, and of the other Princes and Noblemen : That on the 10 of February, the Duke of Longueville went out of Paris by night with a small traine towards Amiens, without taking leaue of their Maiesties : And that the day following at night, the Queene being aduertised that the Duke of Vendosme was of the said party, shee had caused him to be stayed in the Louure by the Captaine of her Guard, who appointed certaine Archers to

The Duke
of Ven-
dosme De-
tained Pri-
soner in his
Chamber.

E keepe him in his chamber, where they put Barres of Iron to his windowes. Some to excuse this, said, that the Queene had beene aduertised that the day before this Duke had conferred long with the duke of Longueville, and that he prepared himselfe to scale away, as the other had done, whereupon moued with the care hee had of his fortune and reputation, for the loue of the deceased King, she thought it fit to stay him within his chamber in the Louure, to keepe him from disobedience, into the which hee might fall following the bad aduice which was giuen him. The Court was much troubled with the retreat of these Princes, and with the brutes which were dispersed : which caused the Queene to write to all the Courts of Parliaments, the Gouernours of Prouinces, and to Maiors and Sheriffes of Townes after this manner.

F MY Masters, I haue made no haste to write vnto you, touching the departure of the Prince of Conde my Nephew from Court, and of other Princes who retired at the same time, for that my Nephew hauing taken leaue of the King and mee, promised to returne whensoever he should be call'd, for the good of his seruice, and the others did the like. I conceived that their retiring was rather to visit their Houses, and to spend some time in the pleasure of hunting (as my said Nephew and the rest had often done) then for any other designe : Notwithstanding, hearing rather by common report then by any ad-
perciuemēt

The Queene
letters to the
Parliaments &
Gouernours.

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uerfement from them, that they ſeem to haue ſome diſcontent: I haue done what I could A
to informe my ſelfe more particularly, for the which they haue ſmall cauſe : for if they
complane of that which concerns their priuate intereſt, I may ſay with truth, that both
my Nephew, and all theſe Princes haue bene as much reſpected and honoured by the
King my ſonne and mee, as they could with reaſon require. And for that which con-
cernes the gouernment of affaires, all the Princes, Dukes, and Officers of the Crowne
are admitted to Councils which are held to that effect. It is certaine that there is no bu-
ſineſſe of importance, propounded, treated, or negotiated, but the ſaid Princes, and eſpe-
cially my ſaid Nephew haue bene alwaies called, yea they haue often times bene deter-
mined to ſaid their company and preſence. And as for the diſtribution of fauours and B
rewards, euery one of them in his particular, and thoſe which haue bene recommended
by them, haue had ſo good ſhares as they haue no reaſon to complaine. If there be any
queſtion touching the generall affaires, they haue bene ſo gouerned ſince the death of
the deceaſed King my Lord, as it may well appeare we haue omitted nothing, that might
ſerue to the good, greatneſſe, and reputation of this Crowne, hauing had a care to pre-
ſerue the amities and alliances with all foraine Princes and States : the which hath ſuc-
ceeded ſo happily as they were neuer in better eſtate. And for that which is within the
Realme, hauing giuen order (as euery man knowes) to haue all the Edicts of pacification
carefully obſerued, and to maintain peace, vniyon and concord amongſt the ſubiects : and
withall haue done what poſſibly I could for the eaſe of the people : and I may iuſtly ſay C
my care hath bene ſuch, that althoughe wee haue bene charged with great and extraor-
dinary expences, yet haue we notraiſed any extraordinary Impoſitions, but diminiſhed
them in many occaſions. And moreover, wee haue maintained all the other orders and
Eſtates in their authority and accuſtomed functions, ſo as I cannot coniecture what true
ground the ſaid Princes or others may haue to complaine, either for the general or their
particular. Notwithſtanding well conſidering how this retreat with theſe ſignes of diſcon-
tent, and the brutes which are ſpredd and augmented vpon this occaſion, may produce bad
effect, in the Prouinces, to the preiudice of the publike ; I haue deſired to take the moſt
conuenient courſe to prevent it. And to this end hauing cauſed the Princes, Officers of
the Crowne, and chiefe Counſellors of State to aſſemble, I haue reſolued by their ad- D
uice to ſend my Couſin the Duke of Ventadour, and the Siegneur of Boiſſie (a Council-
lor of State to the King my ſonne) to my Nephew the Prince of Conde, to inuite and
intreate him to come vnto the King and mee, there to take the place and rancke due to his
quality, and to giue vs counſell and aſſiſtence in all theſe occurrents, yea in the great and
important affaires which we haue now in hand, the which I hope he will reſolute to doe at
their coming vnto him, according to the promiſe which he made at his departure: And
to make a full declaration of the truth and ſincerity of my actions paſt, and to ſeeke out the
beſt means which may be to ſettle a good order for the good of this Eſtate hereafter, ef-
pecially at the entry of the Kings Maiority, I haue thought it conuenient to call an Aſſem- E
bly of the three Eſtates of the Realme, wherein they may take reſolutions fit for the dignity
thereof. This I thought good to write vnto you touching the occurrents here, where-
of I pray you to aduerſite thoſe which are within the limits of your iuriſdictions, to the
end euery man may doe his duty in his charge, and be careful that all things may be con-
tained vnder the Kings authority and obedience, and the obſeruation of his Edicts, ac-
cording to the accuſtomed order without any inuouation or alteration, oppoſing them-
ſelues to all ſuch as ſhall ſeek to trouble the State, giuing them charge to ſtand vpon their
Guards, and not to giue way to any practices which may be amongſt them, to the preiud-
ice of their owne peace and the Kings ſeruiſe : deſiring you to imploy the authority of
your Parliaments in all things which ſhall import the publike and the Royall authority of
the King my Lord and Sonne.

Vpon theſe alterations, and the feare of ciuill combuſtions, the Marquis D'Ancre
(newly made Marſhall of France) being Gouernor of the Cittadell of Amiens, had left
the Siegneur of Rubempré, to command there in his abſence ; but now he poſted thither
to aſſure the place, drawing forth Rubempré, whom he put into Corbie: The Kings
and Queenes companies of men of armes with the light horſe were ſent for and lodged in
Creil, Saint Denis, and Montreuil-faur-Yonne; to the end they might be neere their Maieſties
vpon all occurrents. The Duke of Ventadour and the Siegneur of Boiſſie, being
vpon

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A vpon the way to goe to Chateauroux, thinking there to find the Prince of Conde, were
aduerſified that he would croſſe Berry to paſſe the Riuer of Loire, and goe into Cham-
pagne; they ſent a man expreſly vnto him, to acquaint him with the commandement
they had receiued from their Maieſties, and to know whither they ſhould goe to finde
him : from whom they had no other answer, but that hee went to Meziers : ſo as they re-
turned to their Maieſties, and the Prince continuing his iourney, with thirty or forty
horſe paſt the Loire, and entered into Champagne, where he was receiued by the Duke of
Neuers, neere vnto Vitry, from whence they went together to Châlons, and from thence
to Meziers, whither at the ſame time came the Dukes of Longueuille, of Mayen, and of
B Luxembourg.

The Marquis of Vieuville Gouernor of the Towne and Cittadell of Meziers, was
then at Paris : and D'Eſcurrolles his Lieutenant was in the Cittadell with D'Amours, who
vpon an aduice giuen them by the Marquis, prepared themſelues as well as they could, to
hinder the Duke of Neuers entry into the Cittadell ; yea they receiued ſome Wallons.
But this place was like vnto many others, which in the time of peace want munition, and
where nothing is required. The Duke of Neuers hauing ſent for D'Eſcurrolles to come
and ſpeake with him, he reſuſed, and ſent him word he ſhould make no offer to come into
the Cittadell : whereupon all the Princes reſolued to haue that by force which they
could not get by ſure means. But vpon this reſuſall of entry, they doubted that D'Eſ-
currolles had receiued ſome commandement from the Queene, whereof they deſired to bee
ſatiſfied, and if it were ſo, to yeeld all reſpect and obedience. But D'Eſcurrolles and D'A-
mours hauing declared not onely to the Duke of Neuers, but alſo to the Prince and the
reſt, that they had no commandement from her Maieſtie, but were onely aduerſified that
the Duke of Neuers meant to doe them ſome affront. The Queene hauing giuen no com-
mand, they began to feare that it was ſome conſpiracy againſt the State, the which might
extend not onely to the Cittadell of Meziers, but alſo to the perſon of the firſt Prince of
the blood, and to others of the chiefe of the Nobility of France, for whole ſerieties it had
bene provided by the good affection of the inhabitants of the towne. The Duke of Ne-
uers as Gouernor of the Prouince (in whole perſon the Kings authority had bene con-
D tained by this action) reſolued to force them to yeeld the obedience due vnto his Maieſ-
tie, and preſently ſent *la Broſſe* vnto the Queene to aduerſifie her thereof, and to aſſure
her that nothing ſhould paſſe in this action but for the Kings ſeruiſe and her Maieſties,
whoſe commandments he attended to obey and execute them : Hauing afterwards re-
preſented vnto them which were in the Cittadell, what belonged to their duties, and the
danger they might incur by this diſobedience, and the puniſhment they ſhould iuſtly
deſerue: The place being deliuered into his hands, he preſently gaue aduerſification there-
of vnto the Queene by this Letter.

Madam, I haue formerly informed your Maieſtie of the rebellion which hath bene
committed againſt the Kings authoritie, by them of the Cittadell of this towne : Now
E I informe you of the obedience which I haue made them to yeeld, hauing deliuered it
into my hands : for the ſafety whereof I haue provided, to the end your Maieſty may be
obeyed as you may expect from me, hoping that you will take into conſideration the diſ-
obedience which the Marquis of Vieuville hath ſhewed me, in the charge which he hath
pleaded the King to giue me in this Prouince : for that this example may draw a generall
conſequence for all the Gouernors of this Realme. I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie to
command ſuch iuſtice to be done as you ſhall thinke neceſſary for the maintenance of the
Kings authoritie, wherein I may receiue that contentment which you ſhall thinke reaſo-
nable, ſeeing that this towne is vnder my charge, and my proper inheritance, which makes
my apprehenſion the more conſiderable.

This Letter could not ſo ſatiſſie the world, but they conceiued that the taking of the
Cittadell of Meziers was contrarie to the Kings authoritie : for that the Lieutenants ge-
nerall of a Prouince, and the Gouernors and Captaines of places of ſtrength, are giuen by
the King, and not by the Gouernors of Prouinces. They ſay moreover, that the Prouin-
ces in France are great, and did abound in good and ſtrong townes, which are ſo many
Realmes: and that if the Gouernors in chiefe (which are all Princes or Noblemen of great
power) ſhould put Commanders at their deuotion into places of ſtrength, it might breed
diſobedience and trouble: Wherefore Kings had alwaies reſerued that power vnto themſ-
[8] ſelues

Returne of the
Duke of Ventadour and the
Siegneur of Boiſſie.

The Princes
came all to
Meziers.

They are reſuſ-
fied entry into
the Cittadell.

The Duke of
Neuers letter
to the
Queene.

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Harbour d. Cr.
s. a. unto M.
zicia.

Preparations
to care on
either side.

The Prince
of Condes
Letter to
the Queen

Complaints
ag. with vi-
nifiers of
State.

Resolutions
of the
Council.

felues: The which the Queene having obserued, to maintaine the Kings authoritie, it in- A
cessed many great men both against her and the Kings Council.

Hereupon Monsieur de Praslin was sent to Meziere with Letters from the Queene, im-
posing a commandement to receive a Lieutenant of the Guards into the Citadell, giving
him to understand, that their Meticities would come speedily to Meziere, to provide for
all things that might concerne the Kings authority. They sent the light-horse into Cham-
paign, and letters into the townes and garisons therabouts, to give all ayd and assistance
to Monsieur de Praslin. They also dispatched Colonel Galatin into Switserland, to made
a leane of his thousand men. They sent out many Commissions, to fill vp the Regiments
which were entertained, and to leane new soldiers. And they made ready the Artillery B
in the Arsenal: finally, at Paris they talked of nothing but warre. The Princes did
also the like for their part towards Liege, Sedan, and Meziere, which was better furnished
than it was before. And in the meane time the Prince of Conde sent a Gentleman to pre-
sent this following Letter vnto the Queene, containing the causes for the which hee and
the Princes which did assist him were assembled at Meziere.

" Madam, All my studie and care hath euer beene for the Kings seruice, and the good of
" this Estate. I haue witnessed it during the life of the deceased King, by my forced absence,
" and since his death by my speedy returne vnto your Maiestie, concealing the griefe I had
" for the disorders which haue beene so frequent, to hinder the motions which might caule C
" a warre, which I haue held so dangerous and hurtfull to the minority of the King my
" Lord, as I haue esteemed all other inconveniences tolerable. So as by the grace of
" God, your bounty and my patience, we are now in the fourth yeare of the Kings mino-
" rity, in the which we see the increase of so great calamities and pernicious disorders, as
" your bounty nor my patience will not be able to prevent the overthrow and ruine of this
" Estate, prolonged hitherto by weak and shamefull remedies, if it had not beene wisely
" and vertuously foreseene by many Princes, Noblemen, Bishops, Officers of the Crowne,
" and seuerall Courts.

" We most humbly beseech your Maiestie to provide wholsome remedies for the dif-
" charge of the duty whereunto both you and we are bound to God, the King, and vnto D
" France. A most iust request which we had made in person vnto your Maiestie, had we
" not seene you enuironed and preoccupied by some few, who seek to reigne in confusion,
" the onely cause of our departure, and not your Maiestie, whose commendable intention
" we know, so much the more remarkable, for that the truth hath beene concealed from you
" by those which haue no other iustification, but to haue a little maintained peace, in the
" which they haue procured vs a continuall toile, by confusions and prodigalities, sale of
" honor and reputation, in which they haue prostituted all the orders of this Realme, whose
" continuance they haue misused by their owne lues, not caring what shall succeed. A rest
" not proceeding from their conduct, but from good Frenchmen, who louing peace haue
" endured all disorders, rather then to procure any troubles, not but that they saw your E
" Majesty was circumuenced; dauiding the administration of this flourishing Estate among
" a small number of persons, who haue for witnesses of their weakness, the losse of the repu-
" tation of France in foreign Countries, and their hidden designs, which in this flourishing
" Estate (which was not accustomed to seare any thing) should be knowne and open, at the
" least to the Princes and officers of the Crowne interessed in the Estate, whom they haue
" not made acquainted with affaires any further then they haue held it necessary, to give au-
" thority to their deliberations; bringing their resolutions from their lodgings to the Ca-
" binet, and neuer causing any one to be concluded in your presence: by plurality of voices:
" but covering them with the cloake of your Maiesties authority, from whose cabinet they
" came to pronounce their decrees to the Princes, receiving their aduice for a shew, tending F
" onely to stirre vp enuie and diuision among them, fauouring some, and disgracing other,
" making two factions, to haue the one at their deuotion. Practices which proud disaste-
" rous to the French, begun suddenly after the Kings death, relieving the wholsome coun-
" sell of the deceased Duke of Mayen, who said, That it was not iust to make profit of the
" minority of our young King: That we should not demand any thing, but serue him as we
" are by nature bound: but contrariwise, interressing many private persons, to haue them at
" their deuotion, they haue plunged the Estate into most dangerous hazards, contrary to all
" vnuall

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A vnuall formes during the minority of Kings: In the which the generall Estates haue beene
always assembled, which are so necessary as Kings haue called them in their maiorities
for lesse disorders, then those at this present. I would to God Madam, it had cost me part
of my blood, so you had called them presently after the Kings death; you had enjoyed
the same or more authority, with the good liking of the Church, the Nobility, and the
Commons: France had not lost that generous name of Arbitrator of Christendome, pur-
chased so gloriously by the deceased King, a title which held the balance of the two great
factions of Europe, protecting the publike tranquility: This losse is so much the greater &
more lamentable, for that it seemes we are gone out of the way, which the deceased King
had tracked vs: they had not razed the Citadell of Bourg, against the aduice of the Princes
& Officers of the Crown, yea & against the Constables: they had not giuen 40000 pounds
sterling as well for the razing as the recompence thereof: They had not precipitated the
Kings Mariage and his sisters, vntill that the law of God, and all the orders of the Realme
(the Kings maiorty approving) had approved it: These mariages had beene declared in
publike, not by the reading of a writing, containing the reasons they had to hasten them:
but in demanding aduice whether they had beene profitable or no: The Parliaments had
not beene interrupted, in the free functions of their places: The governments of Pro-
uinces and of places of importance, had not beene giuen to incapable and vnworthy per-
sons: They would haue sought to reconcile the Clergie with the Colledge of Sorbon,
not to diuide them, nor oppress them by vaine and fruitlesse disputes in these times: The
authority of Prelates and Clergy-men, had not beene violated, but maintained: They had
not giuen any charge for fauour or money: the aduice of the Princes and Officers of the
Crowne had beene first demanded, to be afterwards conferred by your Maiestie vpon
worthy persons: Ambassadors had not beene chosen but by the same aduice: their dispo-
sitions had not beene vnkowne vnto all such as haue an interest in the good of the Estate:
No packer had beene receiued or read, but in the presence of the aforesaid: They had
not suffered the enterprises made vpon Nauarre and Montferat, nor hindered the renew-
ing of the league between the Venetians and the Grifons, so much desired and allowed
of by the deceased King: They had not broken the mariage (proiected by the deceased
D King) with the Duke of Sauoy, without mature deliberation: And by a full obseruation
of the Edicts made for them of the reformed religion, they had taken from them all sub-
iect of complaint: They had suppressed such among them as had surpassed the limits of
their duties: They had not sowne diuisions among them, which making them carefull
of their owne particulars, haue failed to bring the Common-weale into danger: They
had not giuen thirty thousand pounds sterling to buy the Castle of Amboise, redeeming
his Maiesties places with his owne money; they would haue cut off so many excessiue
gifts to vnworthy persons: Few men had not ingrossed the chief dignities of the Estate,
without the aduice of any Prince or Officer about named: The Estates or the Council
would haue caled you of so many importunities, charging themselves with enuie, and you
E with blessings.

Your Maiestie may consider, if you please, of these disorders; and thereby iudge of the
necessity to call the Estates, to punish the wicked, and to recompence the good, which is
the support of well ordered Monarchies: which being perieried, shewes in what danger
this Realme stands. All the offices of Iudicature and of the Treasure, are growne to ex-
cessiue rates: There remains no recompence for vertue, seeing that fauour, alliance, and
money, haue all the power: And the Treasure is so profusely bestowed, as 100000 pi-
stols are not valued, yea they are employed about matters of no moment, to men that en-
rich themselves without any labour by the blood of the people. The complaints, cla-
mours, and teares of the three Estates, smother in their hearts a hidden fire: The Church
F hath lost her beauty: No Clergy-men are employed in Embassies, neither haue they any
place in Council; and benighted men are ouer-charged with vexations and vniuert bur-
thens: The Gentrie is impouerished and ruined by taxes and impositions of Sale: By
extraordinarie Commissions to get money, all their commodities are made subiect to
imposts; and all their titles are examined, bee they lost or burnt: The Nobilitie and
Gentrie, the support of France, the terror of strangers, and the vanquisher in battles,
which fettle Scepters and raise Crowns, is now made subiect to taxes, and excluded
from all offices, for want of money, their lues and goods are at the command of other
men,

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"men, and they are deprived of the entertainment of menar armes and archers, anciently A
 "allowed them, and now they are become slaves to their creditors. The people cry out of
 "their burthens, which will be found doubled by a number of extraordinary commissions
 "since the death of the deceased King. All must fall vpon the poore to entertaine the rich.
 "The Princes and officers of the Crowne, on whom the deceased King did much relie, are
 "kept backe and ill intreated. They make me by their ordinary discourfes, and all the
 "Princes and Officers of the Crowne, which doe me the honor to concurre with me, to be
 "as it were troublers of the publike peace. They hold a Councell to stay the Princes and
 "Officers of the Crowne, though there be no crime, the which was concluded against the
 "person of the Duke of Bouillon, and the refusal made to the Duke of Longueville to goe B
 "vnto his gouernment, shewes sufficiently their violent proceedings, and that which was
 "done to the Duke of Vendosme, whom (not respecting what hee is to the King, nor the
 "loue which the deceased King bare him, being free from all crime, without any forme of
 "iustice, and without the aduice of any great personage of the Realme) they haue detained
 "prisoner. This is not vsuall in France, especially during the Kings minority; the which
 "we doe not belecue was done by any bad inclination of your Maiestie, nor a desire to doe
 "iniustice; wherefore we most humbly beseech you to cause him to be set at liberty to the
 "end that in continuing his good seruice to the King and State, hee may make prooffe by
 "good effects as he hath hitherto done, that hee neuer had any bad intention against his
 "seruice.

"They would perswade your Maiestie to arme, taking our absence for a pretext. Con- C
 "sider Madam, that we proceed by humble petitions and remonstrances, and not by armes,
 "and what cruelties would France giue vnto those, who (troubling the peace and tranquility
 "of this Estate purchased by the vertue of the deceased King) shall histake armes in hand:
 "France desired nothing but peace, and a quiet and iust reformation: shall it then be said
 "that bad counsell shall make you imprison them which be present, and arme against the ab-
 "sent, who labour for to holly a reformation, and are faithfull subiects to the King, your selfe,
 "and the State, giuing you by this means such an amble subiect of glory? Consider of my
 "Letter, Madam, and you shall not find any thing which aymes at our priuate interst, nei-
 "ther in our present or future intentions: you cannot take it ill if many be siurs vnto you D
 "for one thing, and all desire it; being bound by duty, and by the friendship which they
 "haue contracted by your command, to prouide for all the accidents aboue mentioned.

He causes
a generall
Assembly
of the
Estates.

"I humbly beseech your Maiestie, with the aduice of many Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and
 "Officers of the Crowne, soueraigne Courts, Clergy, and other Noblemen, as well pre-
 "sent as absent, which haue seene and allowed of this petition, that you would grant an
 "Assembly of the Estates to be free and life, within three monthes at the furthest, and in
 "the meane time to keepe all things in a quiet estate; protesting for our parts that wee de-
 "fire nothing but the preservation of peace, and the good of this Realme, and that wee will
 "not attempt any thing to the contrary, vnlesse by the rash resolution of our enemies, (who
 "couering themselves with the cloake of State vnder your authority) wee be prouoked to
 "repell the iniuries done vnto the King and the State, by a naturall, iust, and necessary
 "defence.

"An humble petition which I make as first Prince of the blood, in the Estate wherein I
 "am, and without armes: notlike vnto those, who to make profit of such Assemblies, sei-
 "zed vpon townes, armed both subiects and strangers, and made warre and peace for their
 "owne commoditie, to haue the place of a Lieutenant generall, of the gouernment of Pro-
 "uinces and Townes, and then sought to frustrate the Assembly, not caring for any publike
 "reformation. We doe also humbly beseech your Maiestie to suspend the mariages, as well
 "for the King, as the Lady his sister, until the Assembly of the Estates. And to shew that
 "our priuate interests haue no power ouer vs, wee will yeeld vp vnto the King at the free F
 "Assembly of the Estates (if the necessity of his affaires so require) all our pensions and
 "gratifications, contrary to the flanders of such as accuse vs to preferre our owne particu-
 "lar before the publike: a slander of such as had rather kindle a fire in the middelt of France,
 "then to see their authoritie quenched, which shall be ouerthrowne by our good and iust
 "King, to whom wee humbly beseech your Maiestie to giue good instructions, and to take
 "from him the counsell of all partialities, which are giuen him against such as haue the ho-
 "nour to be necesse vnto him, and his most faithfull subiects and seruants; and for his con-
 "tentment

A tentment to call home the Cheualier of Vendosme, and to entertaine about his Maiestie
 "for the care of his health, a man whose religion and integrity is well knowne.

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"We also beseech your Maiestie to prouide sufficient money for the gouernment of the
 "frontiers, to be employed in the guard of those places: We acknowledge that our King
 "is giuen vs of God: we know the obedience we owe him, and will not faile in the least
 "point: we also hope that all the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, soueraigne Courts,
 "Clergy, and Lords, which are about your Maiestie will ioyne with vs in the same desire,
 "hauing altogether prepared for your Maiestie the way, the honour, and glory, to haue re-
 "stored all the orders of this Realme to their ancient splendor and libertie, reformed the
 "State, and assured their peace, with as much commendation as if you had gotten another
 "B Realme; answering them generously which say, that an Assembly of Estates blemisheth
 "the Kings authority, that you haue made it firme and durable. Wee will serue and assist
 "you at the said Assembly, as it shall be thought profitable for the seruice of the King, for
 "France, and the preferuation of the royall authority, and of your Maiestie, being your most
 "humble seruants; and in particular I most humbly beseech you to beleuee that I am,
 "Madam,

From Meziers the
18 of February,
1614

Your most humble and most
obedient seruant and subiect,
Henry de Bourbon.

C

The day after the deliuey of this Letter, the Prince sent a gentleman of his called Fief-
 "brown with a packet to the Court of Parliament, the which they would not open, but sent
 "it vnto the Queene by two Councillors of the Court, who led the gentleman with
 "them: the Queene looking only on the direction, sent them to the Chancellor, who found
 "in this packet a copy of the Queenes Letter, with this other vnto the Court.

M Y Masters, I know well that some will anticipate my iust intentions with many slan-
 "ders and false reports, contrary (I assure my selfe) vnto the opinion which you will
 "D conceiue, hauing conuersed with me and knowne me, that fearing to alter any thing by
 "my resolutions of that which I haue had to the Kings seruice and the good of the State, I
 "haue restrained my iust discontents, and as it were buried them by my patience. But yet
 "I would fatisfie you better, and giue you an accompt of my actions: to you I say, whom I
 "know to be the chiefe gardian of this Estate: and therefore I send vnto you a copie of
 "the Letter which I haue written vnto the Queene, by which I doe fully lay open the holy
 "affections which had moued me to retire from Court: for that I would nor adhere vnto
 "the abuses which are committed by such as manage and dispose of the Kings affaires and
 "of the State, demanding reformation by my most humble petition vnto the Queene, pro-
 "pounding the remedy vnto her, and requiring it as the first Prince of the blood, a subiect
 "E to the King, and one that hath the chiefe interest in the good of his Maiesties seruice: ha-
 "uing no other armes then my humble prayers to their Maiesties, as you may see by the
 "Copie which I send you: humbly beseeching you to assist vs with your Councell and
 "authoritie, in so iust and commendable an enterprize, as the most considerable for the
 "Kings seruice and the reformation of the State: In so doing you shall acquit your felues
 "of the due of your charges, and purchase honor and reputation, remaining

Your most humble and most affectionate seruant
Henry de Bourbon.

During his Messengers stay at Paris, he visited (on the Princes behalfe) the Prince of
 "F Country his vncl, with all the Cardinals, Princes, Dukes, Peeres, & Officers of the Crown
 "which were in Court, giuing them particular Letters with copies of the Queenes, prin-
 "ted; whereunto some returned him answer as you shall heare, and the Queene likewise
 "sent him an answer printed, the which for that it is very long, I will onely giue you an
 "abstract of the chiefe points; which were,

Touching the demand of a generall Assembly of the Estates: And the complaints
 "made against the Ministers of State: The peace maintained during the Queenes Re-
 "gencie, by the assistance of good Frenchmen, notwithstanding the crosses which
 "had

The contents
of the Queenes
Letter to the
Prince.

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had beene given since the Kings coronation. The Queenes complaint against the Prince of Conde, that he had not assisted her in the conduct of affaires: That he had not advertised her of the abuses whereon he grounded his discontent, and that hee should not absent himselfe from Court, and make a society of Princes and Noblemen: That the authors of these new troubles tooke the marriages of Spaine for a pretext; and conceale that which was treated of England blamed the Kings favourable dealings towards them of the Religion, and stirred up the people unto sedition, impatient to see the King grow up: That the alliance of Spaine had beene preferred before that of Savoy, by the Earle of Soissons aduice, and approved by the Prince of Conde and Duke of Bouillon, who was expressly sent to give notice thereof unto the King of Great Brittain: An answer unto the objections touching the enterprises of Navarre and Montferat, and the Fort of Fuentes: An invention to blame the Ministers of State, thereby taxing the Queene and her Regency: A commendation of the Ministers of State, ready to resigne their places at the Queenes command: her desire to reforme the Councell of State: The order which had beene taken, to the end the Prince of Conde might see what past in dispatches and the treasure: Icalousie for the Queenes entring into Councell touching the affaires of the Prouinces: The pretext why they demanded the generall Estates to be safe and free: That there was neuer any resolution to stay the Marshall of Bouillon, and that the Duke of Longueville had not beene hindred from going into his government: The reason why the Duke of Vendosme was stayed in his chamber in the Louure: An answer to that which was objected touching the Cittadell of Bourg and the Castle of Amboise: That she had alwayes followed the steps of the deceased King, suffering Clergy-men to enjoy their Benefices, and gratified the Nobility and Gentry: That the excessive prices of offices had not beene brought in since her Regencie, and that the impositions vpon salt had beene moderated during her government: An answer to the Prince of Condes complaint, that they sought to diuide the Colledge of Sorbon: The Queenes hope in the loyalty of the Nobility towards the King, whom she brings vp to acknowledge their merits, in imitation of the King his father: She enioynes the townes to stand vpon their guard: She saith that the Prince of Conde should not absent himselfe from the King, and countenance a diuision betweene the King and Catholike Noblemen: That he should abstaine from blaming the government of affaires, and not suffer factions and schismes to bee raised in the State: That hee should not incense the three Estates, nor delay the marriages of Spain which he had signed: Nor to interpret in the worst sense whatsoever was done to the Kings advantage, nor arme, nor draw in strangers: That he should looke well to the demand hee made of the Estates: That he should alter his proceeding and come unto the King with those which were ioyned with him. This is the substance of the Queenes Letter which deserueth a full relation, but I am forced to abridge some things fearing to exceed a iust proportion.

A Letter
from the
Cardinall
du Perron
to the
Prince of
Conde.

The Cardinall du Perron sent the Prince an answer to his Letter in these termes. Sir, the affection which I haue vnto your seruice, and the honor it hath pleased you to doe me, in aduertising mee of your commendable designs for the good of the King and Realme, oblige me to pray that the issue thereof may be as happy as the proposition is plausible. In truth it is a thing which I can lesse hope for then desire, if in the meane time you continue absent from their Maiesties, and doe not assist them as well with your presence as your counsell. There is no government of a State so absolutely perfect, and especially vnder the minority of Kings, that can please all, and wherein there is not some thing worthy of blame. But as an Ancient hath written wisely, there is no Prince so bad but is better then a ciuill war: so may it be said of the government of States, that there is no administration whatsoever, but is better then a ciuill discord. I know your intentions are faire from it, but I know also that the successe and euents are many times far different from the intentions. There will be many reports made of you to the Queene, and of the Queene to you, which your presence would prevent; Being absent they will grow bitter by the way, and fill your head with ialousies. You shall not be able to prevent it, but many seeing you diuided from the Court, and thinking that your separation proceeds from discontent, will make vse of the shadow of your name, to trouble the publike peace. My Lords, your predecessors, haue alwayes enjoyed much more happinesse and content, when they haue beene neere our Kings and in Court (which is the Firmament where

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A such starres should shine) then when they were retired, and yet neuer any one of them had a greater share, either in authority, or in their Maiesties graces and fauours, then you haue hitherto had: it being the Queenes bounty, who hath alwaies fought to give content to euery one, and hath particularly studied by all means to oblige you. Your good aduice of reformation will be more easily executed when you are by her to assist her, then when you shall be in place where your absence being imputed to discontent, will cause many to take your good intentions for pretexes. France hath the remembrance so fresh, and is so weary with the miseries of fore-past troubles, that the first Article of all reformation must be the entertainment of peace, from the breach whereof, if they (by whose occasion it hath beene in former times broken) could haue scene the success: painted in a table, or imagined to how many miseries of State and Religion they had opened a gap, and what curses they haue incur'd both from God & men, they would rather haue desired to haue cast themselves into the fire, then to haue been the cause of the ruine of their country. I do not represent these things vnto you, as doubting that you do not abhor them, your good disposition, and your zeale to the good of Religion and the Realme gine too good assurance: But to beseech you to be carefull, lest many turbulent spirits and desirous of inuauation, abuse not the occasion of your absence to kindle a fire, which will be more easte to prevent then to quench; but in the end will vex them more which kindle it then any other. For God who distinctly protects the causes of Kings, Widewes, and Orphanes, will more powerfully protect them, when they shall be all three conioyned together, and you your selfe would be the first to expose your life for their defence. I pray God there be no need hereof: and you Sir to esteeme me, your most humble and most affectionate seruant, I, Cardinall du Perron. From Paris 13, March, 1614.

The Queene who was prepared with the one hand to warre, stretched out the other to peace; and according to her first designe, to seeke to pacifie this great alteration by mild and gentle remedies; she sent the President Thou vnto the Prince of Conde. He thought to haue found him at Meziers: but he was gone to Sedan with the Marshall of Bouillon: who returned with two Cannons which he brought from thence, the which and two others that the Duke of Neuers had drawne from Cassine, so terrified Descurolles, as he yielded the Cittadell of Meziers, which should haue held out against an Army Royall; if it had beene furnished, and the Cannons which were within it mounted. The President finding no man in Meziers but the Duke of Neuers, hee was forced to goe to Sedan, where he was well entertained by the Prince of Conde, and all the Princes and Noblemen which did assist him. The towne was full of the French Nobility and Gentry, to haue commission for the leauing of fouldiers, although the season was too shorpe to goe to field. The Princes hauing feasted the President, his integrity and sincerity had such power with the Prince of Conde, as he gaue him his word to come to Soissons, and there to enter into conference, to seeke out the means to restore peace & tranquillity to France, which this stirring had in the beginning much altered. The President hauing obtained what he desired, returned to Court the 27 of March. But attending the five Deputies which were to be sent from the King to Soissons, and the arrival of the Princes there; let vs see how the duke of Vendosme escaped from the Louure, and his first letters to the King after his coming into Britanie.

This escape of the duke of Vendosme is diuersly written: Claude de Malingre writes that he freed himselfe by a pleasant and witty inuention: In an euening seeing his wife visited by many great Ladies well attended on by their waiting women, he disguised himselfe in one of their habits, tooke a maske and slipped out among the Ladies and Gentlewomen without being discovered by his guard, gets into a Caroch, and so escapes: hauing changed his apparell he tooke horse and posted into Britanie.

The Duke of
Vendosme
escapes.

F The French Mercury relates it in this manner: On the 10 of February the duke being guarded in his Chamber, he gaue it out that he would fast, for that it was Ember weeke; whereupon he retired into his cabinet with the Duchesse his wife. Soone after, some of his Gentlemen said vnto the Exempt or yeoman vber of the guard, who parted not out of the chamber, they fast here to day, but we fast not, will you come and sup with vs? The Exempt seeing the duke retired, followed them, hauing giuen charge to the archers which where in the great chamber to do their duties. The Dukes Chamber doore being shut, he came instantly out of his Cabinet, and caused a little doore to be broken open, which had bene

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beene dammed vp, by the which they brought wood to his chamber before his restraint. A Which done, passing ouer a heape of floggs and recouering the backe staires, he went out by the backe gate of the Louure, where hee found a foot man holding a horse, whereon hee mounted, being followed by one of his people which attended for him; and so he got our at a clocke at night by Saint Honories gate, and within few daies recovered Ansenis in Britanie. An houre after that his escape was knowne, (not discouering either the manner or the time) they shut the Louure gates, whilst they made a strict search through all the Chambers, in the Ditches, and in the Caroches which were before the Louure. Thus they write of his escape, which I leaue vnto the reader, but his escape was certaine.

The Queene had formerly written to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, and to the B Townes to stand vpon their guard, and not to receiue any one of what qualitie soeuer without the Kings expresse commandement. Shee had sent the Duke of Montbazan to Nantes, to gouerne there: so as the Duke of Vendosme being come to Ansenis, thinking to vse his authority as chiefe Gouernour of the Prouince, hee found the gates of all the great Townes shut against him: yet many of the Nobility repaired vnto him, and the Duke of Retz drew together some troopes from him. Being at his house at Ansenis much discontented, he wrote vnto the King, and complained of his vlsage in these termes.

A letter from
the Duke of
Vendosme to
the King.

Sir, Having since your Maiesties comming to the Crowne, caried my selfe innocently in all my actions; I haue bene intreated other wise then I should expect: my afflictions in the end haue me speake, and humbly to beseech you to giue redresse: leauing the former, to come to them which are more fresh: You know Sir the commandement the Queen gave me in January, in your presence, not to depart the Court, for what cause soeuer without your leave; although it were with the ruine of my household affaires which required then a speedy order, yet I obeyed: Eightene daies after, having made no attempt of disobedience, relying vpon the testimony of a good conscience, and the safety I did beleue was in Court, I was made a prisoner and guarded as your Maiestie knowes. Nine daies after, God taking pity of my innocent intentions, he set me at libertie, and in stead of a short and easie retreat, he inspired me to one which was long, and impossible, if hee had not as it were led me by the hand to bring me to my house, thereby to auoide the blame which your Maiestie might haue laid vpon mee, if I had retired else-where. This proceeding Sir, seemed fit to procure him peace, who shewed plainly that he breathed no other thing. I am so farre from the enioying of this desire, as I was no sooner arriued, but first I understood that Nantes, and consequently that the whole Prouince was in Armes against me: But brutes could not haue shaken my beliefe, if two of the Duke of Montbazans seruants had not fallen into my hands, whom I found seized of a Commission and two letters vnder the signet, to dispossesse mee of the gouernment of the Countie of Nantes, and to transerre my charge to the said Duke. Your Maiestie may iudge if this should not cause a grieue more sensible then death it selfe, for that I conceived thereby, that the like wrong had bene done me throughout my whole Gouernment, hearing also from diuers, that the other Lieutenants were ready to diuide my spoiles. In Court when I desired to depart for my domestick affaires, I was forbidden; after which I was made a prisoner; God hauing enlarged me and brought me to my house, his bounty is made a crime to me, and they haue stript mee of my gouernment. But this is not sufficient, they arme against me: I am not safe in any place. Sir, neuer had any man so much cause to demand iustice of his King. Releue me, I most humbly beseech your Maiestie, in all these afflictions: I haue serued innocently & profitably, I ought not to be dispossessed of my charge, I am in a peaceable estate, and therefore it is needlesse to arme the Prouince against me. By birth and many other great respects, I am more tied to your Maiesties seruice then any one within the Realme: This should giue a better Impression of mee then of those in whom they put all their confidence here. I hold of the deceased King your father, my honour, my goods, & whatsoever I haue in this world; he is liuing in your person: I am well grounded to beseech you, to entreat me as he did: besides the reputation of Iustice which your Maiestie shall purchase, your Prouince of Britany shall be restored to peace, the consequence may extend farther, and I shall be able to serue you with life and goods in all occasions, where I shall haue the honor to be employed, which I will attend with patience, and execute with the fidelity,

From Ansenis 1 of March,

1614.

Of your most humble, most obedient and most
faithfull seruant and subiect,
Cesar de Vendosme.

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The Kings letters to the Parliament of Britanie.

A They conceived by this letter that the Dukes intention was conformable to that of the other Princes: and vpon an aduertisement giuen vnto the Queene that he had caused Blauet to be taken & fortified, and that he was become master of Lambale, and of many other places in the Duchie of Ponthieure belonging to the House of Merlaur, they sent other letters to the Parliament of Rennes dated on the 5 of March, forbidding all persons to leaue any troopes without commission and expresse commandement from his Maiestie; giuing authority to the Earle of Vertuz Gouernour of Rennes, to haue a care that no troopes should be raised in that Countie of Britany without commission, and especially that the company of his base brother the Duke of Vendosme should not assemble vnder the Cornet of his said base brother, vpon paine to be declared guilty of high treason. The Court made a declaration according to the tenor of these letters; and withall enioyned all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other the Kings subiects to repaire presently with their Armes and equipage to the Kings Lieutenants in that Prouince, to serue the King vnder their commands.

The Duke of Vendosme seeing all the Countie in Armes against him, and that his first letter vnto the King had preuailed little, hee was much amazed, for that some had informed their Maiesties that he did arme in Britany, (as in truth there were some troopes of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others which did assist him) and that he had fortified Blauet against the Marquis of Cocuure, refusing him to enter into the same Fort. These reasons made him to write againe vnto his Maiestie. In the which he complains, First, that they had giuen their Maiesties to vnderstand that he was in Armes, and that hee fortified Blauet, to the end they might inuade him with their Forces in that Countie. Touching which points hee would satisfie their Maiesties. Secondly, That as for his Armes hee knew not whether they grounded themselves vpon his traine, or vpon his actions: if on his traine, hee confessed he had bene alwaies assisted with a good number of Nobility, and that in other voyages he had not bene lesse accompanied: If vpon his actions, it were to be desired that Rennes and other townes in Britany were as peaceable and quiet as his, all then should be in better estate. He concludes in these termes. Sir, to acquaint you with the true cause of these combustions: there is a rooted faction within the Prouince, which hath reduced it to this estate, a worme which will kill the tree if you endure it any longer. The head of it hath been alwaies impatient to endure his superiours, hauing found the like members; who doth not know the practices that he and they haue held these foure yeares to vsurpe my place: from this spring they draw the aduertisements that I am in Armes: but to what end? to haue the head of this faction sent with an Army, and to make vse of your Maiesties name and Forces, to commit all the insolencies which factions are wont to doe when they haue power. If I had no respect but to mine owne particular, I would not endeavor to diuert this designe. I am come of too good a stocke to apprehend and feare my priuate enemies whatsoever. But Sir, I cannot endure without complaining that by their practices and impostures, they still seek to moue your Maiesty to choller against mine innocency, and against the continuance of my obedience. Vpon this second protestation of seruice, I beseech you most humbly to re-establiish mee here in the exercise of the charge which I hold of the deceased King your father; not to honor therewithall, (in attending this effect of Iustice) those which haue in times past borne armes against him, and which are now my irreconcilable enemies, and to hinder them from troubling with open warre the peace of this Prouince. In a foraine warre, Kings may teape honor and profit, but in a domestick all the losse falls vpon themselves. If your Maiesties armes haue no other obiect but me to worke on, it shall suffice to honour mee with your commandements: My perfect obedience shall giue good testimony, that I haue nothing in my hart more firme, then the inuolable quality of your most humble and most obedient subiect and seruant, Cesar de Vendosme.

The Duke of Vendosme sends letters to the King.

France was amazed at this brute of Armes, and the people troubled, yet all stood firme for the Kings seruice: vpon this assurance that their Maiesties had of the fidelity of their good subiects, the Queene resolved to treat louingly with the Princes: and to this end on the 6 of Aprill they sent the Duke of Ventadour, the Presidents Jannin and Thou, with the Siegneurs of Boissile and Bulion as deputies from the King, to conferre with the Princes at Soissons. The Prince of Conde hauing left Sedan in the end of March, with all the Princes which assisted, hauing about 4000 foot; French, Wallons, and Liegeois; and

Deputies sent from the King to conferre with the Princes.

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The Princes
three first de-
mands.

and fixe or seven hundred horse, he arrived there on the 5 of Aprill, the duke of Mayen having put a great garrison into the Towne for their safeties. On the 14 of Aprill the Kings Deputies entered into conference with the Princes in the Castle of Soissons, where as all the Princes in generall and particular professing to love their Majesties service, and the quiet of the State, before all humane duties, they demanded to have these three points granted. First, The continuation of the Estates. Secondly, A stay of the Kings marriage, and of the Lady his sister. Thirdly, A disarming on either side. After which they would treat of the safety and libertie of the said Estates, and of all other assurances. The Queene desired to maintaine peace. The second demand touching the stay of the marriage, was that whereon they made some question, touching the time, how long it should be delayed: for the Princes demanded till after the assembly of the Estates, whereunto the Deputies vnder their Majesties pleasure would not consent, but vnto the time of the Kings Maiority. They would have peace, but with security, in preferring his Majesties authority. In the end the said three Articles were concluded with this condition; *That the surseance of the Marriages should be untill the Kings Maiority, and that it should not be inserted into the Articles of the peace which should be published, but that the Queene should promise it by a letter which she should write to the Prince.*

The three Ar-
ticles agreed.

During many goings and comings from Paris to Soissons, the Kings Army which was drawne together in Champagne was increased with 6000 Swissers leauied by Galatin; so as they prepared both for warre and peace at one instant. Some held that the Prince of Conde grew into ialousie; and it was said, that all the Princes being now in Soissons, an enterprise vpon them would have been more easie: The Lorraine Regiment of Vaubecourt had commandement to goe lodge in Vitry, and the King Army was to go towards Saint Manchould. This made the Prince and his Army to leaue Soissons, hauing written a letter vnto the Queene, thanking her for that shee had granted the three points aboue mentioned; and sending her word, *That he had intreated the Dukes of Mayen and Bouillon to remaine at Soissons, giving them power to finish the treaty with her Majesties Deputies, to agree of the safetie and libertie of the said Estates, together with the points which concerne the disarming, and the estate wherein the King and Queenes persons, and of the other Princes and Noblemen which assisted him should remaine, untill the Conuocation of the Estates.*

The Prince of Conde going towards Vitry, had advertisement, that the Kings troopes were entred the Towne. The Duke of Neuers with his traine alone, and eight of his guard went towards Rethel, and so to Saint Manchould. Bonconville Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle, with the chiefe inhabitants, hearing of his approach went to meet him. The Inhabitants besought him not to enter into Saint Manchould; telling him that they had receiued letters of command from their Majesties not to suffer any one of what qualitie foeuer to enter into their town without a new commission from her Maieftie: they intreated him to beleue that they were his seruants, but the subiection & obedience which they did owe vnto the King, was of more force. The Duke told them that he would enter into his Castle; that he would not endure, that they should refuse him entry into the Townes of his Government, nor into his owne inheritance. Finally, the Inhabitants falling vpon their knees, could not diuert him from his resolution. These being returned vnto the Towne, they made report of the Dukes intention, which stricke a great terror among the people. Bonconville retired himselfe into the Castle, which is diuided from the Towne by the river of Eync. The Duke of Neuers being thus refused entry into the Towne, hee threatened to raine them within 24 houres: and they seeing how few men they had; spent the time in consulting what they should doe. The Duke desirous to find a way to enter into the Castle, hee was surprisid with a darke night and the river not to be waded through, so as he was forced to take vp his lodging at a house which is vpon a little hill neere vnto the Towne, where he past the night. In the meane time the Prince of Conde vpon aduice he had had from him, advanced with his Army, and came before Saint Manchould at two alocke in the morning: Which when the Inhabitants knew, they were much more astonished, and especially those who had propounded not to receiue the Duke. So seeing themselves betwene the Castle and the Army, they had no other helpe, but early in the morning to send vnto the Duke, to intreat him not to remember that which had past the day before; and to haue a care to the preservation of their towne.

The

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A The Prince of Conde mediating their peace, they entred into Saint Manchould, whereof they assured themselves. The Lieutenant of the Iustice, and some other Inhabitants, retired themselves vnto the neighbour places where there was any Garrison for the King.

These newes that the Princes were become Masters of Saint Manchould; and that there was some difficulties grown in the conference of Soissons, touching a demand made of the Castle of Amboise for the Prince; the Queene resolved to draw all her Troopes into the body of an army, and to giue the leading thereof to the Duke of Guise. This troubled many men, who besought her Maieftie to forbeare her resolution, for that it might reuiue quarrels, which peace had buried in forgetfulness.

B Hereupon the Queene sent Monsieur Vigner to the Prince, to moue him to hasten the treaty of peace: who being returned, reported that the Prince besought their Majesties that the Deputies which were at Soissons, might aduance vnto Rethel, whither he would also come: and that there should be no fault in him, nor in them which assisted him, that the treaty were not concluded. Whereupon the King sent new letters of Commission to his Deputies for the finishing of this treaty, and the Queene Regent wrote vnto the Prince of Conde touching the treaty of marriage, in this manner:

Nephew, you may remember that the resolution taken for the marriage of the King my sonne, and of my eldest daughter, was imparted vnto you, and to the deceased Earle of Soissons, as also to the other Princes and Officers of the Crowne which assist you; as well as to those which now attend the King: yet you haue demanded a stay thereof untill the Kings Maiority; I haue beene content herein to accommodate my selfe to your desire, seeing that the time of this Maiority is so neere, and that the nature of the businesse, and the course of affaires giue me this leasure: hauing also resolved with your aduice, to assemble the generall Estates before the said Maiority, whereof I thought good to assure you by these presents, being confident that herein you will shew your affection and fidelity to the King my sonne and me.

C According to the Kings commission, the Duke of Ventadour and the other Deputies went to Rethel, but the Prince of Conde entreated them to come to Saint Manchould, the place being more commodious: Their commission tying them to no certaine place, the Deputies went thither, where all difficulties which might contradiet the peace were reconciled, and the Articles following concluded: The which being signed, the Prince, the Kings Deputies, and all the other Noblemen, went to giue God thanks, and from thence to a Feast.

Articles agreed by the Duke of Ventadour Peere of France, and Governour for the King in Languedoc, and the Siegneurs of Tannin, Thou, Boisfist, and Bulion all Counsellors of State, and Commissioners deputed by his Maiefty by vertue of a commission dated the first of May last past, To the Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, as well in his owne name, as of other Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Noblemen which haue assisted him, be they present or absent.

Articles of
peace concluded
at Saint
Manchould.

E I That the Generall Estates of the Realme, shall be called and assembled in the Town of Sens, after the accustomed manner, by the 24 of August, in the which the Deputies of the three Orders which shall assist, may with all liberty propound whatsoeuer they shall thinke in their consciences to be profitable for the good of the Realme and ease of the subiect; That thereby his Maieftie, with the aduice of the Princes of his blood and of other Princes, Officers of his Crowne, and chiefe Lords of his Councell, may make some good lawes and ordinances, to containe euery man in his duty: to fortifie the lawes and Edicts made for the preservation of the publike tranquillity: and to reforme the disorders, which may giue iust occasion of complaint and discontent to his good subiects.

II. As for the Marriages with Spaine, the Queene Regent hath written her letters vnto the Prince, touching that subiect, whereby he hath receiued contentment, so as it shall not be needfull to make any mention thereof in this Article.

III. The fortifications of the Citadell of Meziers which are towards the Towne, shall be dismantled and defaced: and that, vpon a Petition made by the Duke of Neuers, that it would please his Maieftie to assigne vnto him a summe of money to helpe to build him a house in stead of that which hee had in the Towne of Meziers, which was ruined and demolished when the said Citadell was built; It hath beene agreed that he shall haue an assignation of such a summe as shall be thought fit, to his good liking.

IIII. The

IIII. The Fort of Blauet which hath bene seized on during these late alterations, A and which they have begun to redifie & fortifie, shall be razed, and left in the same estate it was in before the surprisand that hereafter there shall not be any Capitaine or Garison in the same; and in like manner all other new fortifications made in Britanie by whomsoever vpon this occasion, shall be ruined.

V. And to prevent the ruines and oppressions which the people suffer by souldiers, as well French as strangers, which have bene leauied since the first of Ianuary last past, and are dispersed into diuers parts of this Realme, whether for his Maiestie or the said Prince, they shall be discharged, and the strangers conducted out of the Realme by Commisaries deputed by his Maiestie and the said Prince, within twelve daies after the signing of these Articles: and as for the French, they shall be inioyned to retire to their houses within 12 daies after notice given them, vpon paine to be punished as Vagabonds. B

VI. His Maiestie to gratifie the Prince, vpon his request and instance made vnto him, and the assurance which he hath of his affection to his seruice, hath willingly granted the Towne and Castle of Amboise vnto him vnto the conclusion of the Generall Estates; and for the guard of the said Castle, 100 men in Garison.

VII. The Duke of Vendosme being absent, yielding the obedience which is due vnto his Maiestie, for the causes contained in this present treaty, his pleasure is that the said Duke shall be restored to his Government, charges, honors and commands, to enioy them as he hath formerly done, and that all inhibitions made by letters patents, shall be disannulled by the like letters directed to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, in such sort as they may proue no whit preiudiciall vnto him. C

VIII. And touching that which he hath caused to be represented, that he had obtained the consents of the Estates of Britany, for the leauying of such money in the Countrey as was necessary for the entertainment of his guards; his Maiestie hath bene pleased to confirme and allow of that which the said Estates had done in that behalfe.

IX. As also having regard vnto the Petition presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Duke of Retz, that he would bee pleased to entertaine the number of souldiers in Macheou and Belle-Ile, as it is contained in a Briefe granted by the deceased King; it is agreed that the said souldiers shall be continued for 4 yeares. D

X. The enterprize made vpon Hennebont to the preiudice of the Seigneur of Camore, who is gouernour thereof, shall be repaired, and he restored to his charge, as hee was before these alterations.

XI. All Garisons put into any Townes or places of this Realme by reason of these present motions, since the first of Ianuary last, shall be discharged, except 100 men which shall be entertained at Meziers, vntill after the Assembly of the generall Estates, and 200 for the like space in Soissons, whereof the Duke of Mayen is Gouernour, and all other places shall remaine in the same estate they were in before.

XII. Letters Patents shall be directed to all Courts of Parliaments to be verified, by the which his Maiestie shall declare, that he hath bene duly informed, that the said Prince E and other Princes, and Officers of the Crowne, of what quality and condition soeuer, which have followed and assisted him in these alterations, had no bad intention against his seruice, with all clauses necessary for their safeties and discharges, that they may not be called in question hereafter, and that they shall be restored to their Offices, Estates and Dignities, to enioy them as they had formerly done.

XIII. And in like manner his Maiestie shall write to all Princes, Estates, and Common-weales, allied to this Crowne, and men of quality shall be sent expresse vnto them, to let them vnderstand what he had found concerning the innocency and good intention of the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Noblemen which had assisted them.

XIIII. His Maiestie doth also grant, in regard of the charges which the Princes and F other Noblemen have bene at, by reason of this alteration, to giue presently vnto the Prince of Conde, 45000 pounds sterling, to be diuided by him amongst the rest as hee should thinke good.

XV. In consideration of the above-mentioned Articles, which otherwise had not bene granted by his Maiestie, the said Princes, Officers of the Crowne and Noblemen, doe renounce all leagues and associations with whomsoever, as well within as without the Realme, with promise neuer to make any more hereafter.

XVI. His

A XVI. His Maiestie doth also grant in consideration of the great and worthy seruices done vnto this Crowne, as well by the predecessors of the said duke of Neuers as by himselfe, to giue him all necessary expeditions for the reuerfion of the Gouernment of Champagne in the name of his eldest sonne. This treatie was concluded the 15 of May 1614, and signed by the Prince of Conde, the Kings Commissioners, and the other Princes and Officers.

These Articles were brought to the King and Queene, who signed and ratified them, sending them presently backe vnto the Prince: whereupon they resolved to separate themselves. Two daies after, the Prince retired to the Casteauroux, the Duke of Neuers B to Neuers, the Duke of Mayen to Soissons, the Duke of Longueuille to Amiens, and the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Luxembourg to Sedan. Thus God turning the Princes hearts, made them to preferre the publike, before their priuate interest, compounding all things mildly, by a speedy and full resolution to the content of all good men. For the Prince fearing that his too long absence, ill interpreted by some, might open/contrary to his intentions/ the way to some dangerous faction in the State, to the preiudice both of the King and people, he wisely resolved (and by his example, all they which did assist him) by his returne to free them from all ialousie and mistrust, which his absence had bred.

The Queene in like manner, to make it knowne that she could not grow distrustfull of C those in whom before she had neuer seene any signe of infidelity or disobedience; iudging by their resolutions to peace, of their faithfull intentions, full of affection to the Kings seruice: and to take away all causes of ialousie, these thought good to make knowne vnto the publike what assurance she had, by a letter she sent vnto the Court of Parliament, giuing them to vnderstand what had past in this treaty; and what satisfaction the Princes had giuen the King and her by their obedience; and that now all distrusts should cease: wherefore there was no further necessity, for the inhabitants of Townes to continue their guards, nor to forbid the entry to any; but that all things should remaine in the same estate they had bene in before these alterations.

Before their departure from Saint Manehold, the Marshall of Bouillon said vnto the D President Iannin, that neither heretofore, now, nor hereafter, his owne particular should euer crosse or hinder that of the publike, desiring him to take that assurance from him, and to undertake for him to all those which should say the contrary. The Prince said also vnto the President, I giue all the iniuries which some haue sought to doe me, vnto the publike, and it rests in their Maiesties to giue me the effect of the treaty. I offer to add to my helping hand (as all they will doe which haue assisted mee) with a heart free from all bitterness, to heare from whomsoever an ouerture of the meanes that may bring all things to a good end: assure your selfe Sir, I desire not the ruine of any one for my priuate hatred, vntill I finde that it may deliuer the State from some approaching ruine. The Seigneur of Vignier returning to Court, he brought this letter which the Prince sent to the Queene.

E Madam, I haue heretofore receiued so many testimonies of your fauour wherewith it hath pleased your Maiestie to honor me, as I hold my selfe infinitely bound: yea those which it hath pleased you to shew me in this treaty with his Maiesties Deputies, haue againe so stridly obliged me, as I can no longer forbear to make a most humble acknowledgement thereof vnto your Maiestie, whom I humbly beseech to beleuee, that my inclination hath alwaies bene to yeeld all seruice and obedience vnto you. Consider if it please you with what freedom I haue alwaies caried my selfe, yea in the last moneth of January; and had not the malice and practice of mine enemies bene, who by false reports remoued me from the honour of your presence and fauour, matters had bene carried otherwise for the good of the Kings seruice, neither had all these disorders hapned: F but seeing by the grace of God, and your Maiesties wise conduct they are now ended and suppressed, I most humbly beseech you so to prouide by your authority, as wee fall not hereafter into the like disorders; assuring you that for mine owne particular I will doe all that is in my power for the seruice of the King my Lord, and that of your Maiesty, &c.

The Queene having receiued this letter sent to assure him of all fauorable vices, and that Monsieur D'Esures should cause the Castle of Amboise to be deliuered vnto him.

During these alterations in Court, Henry duke of Montmorensi Constable and Peerre of France died in his Gouernment of Languedoc. After the death of the Constable

[h]

The Princes retire to their houses.

The Queene writes to the Court of Parliament.

The Prince of Condes letter to the Queene.

Death of Henry of Montmorensi Constable of France.

Anne

III. The Fort of Blauet which hath bene seized on during these late alterations, A and which they have begun to redifie & fortifie, shall be razed, and left in the same estate it was in before the surprisall; that hereafter there shall not be any Capitaine or Garison in the same; and in like manner all other new fortifications made in Britanie by whomsoever vpon this occasion, shall be ruined.

V. And to prevent the ruines and oppressions which the people suffer by souldiers, as well French as strangers, which have bene leauied since the first of Ianuary last past, and are dispersed into diuers parts of this Realme, whether for his Maiestie or the said Prince, they shall be discharged, and the strangers conducted out of the Realme by Commisaries appointed by his Maiestie and the said Prince, within twelue daies after the signing of these Articles; and as for the French, they shall be inioyned to retire to their houses within 12 daies after notice given them, vpon paine to be punished as Vagabonds.

VI. His Maiestie to gratifie the Prince, vpon his request and instance made vnto him, and the assurance which he hath of his affection to his seruice, hath willingly granted the Towne and Castle of Amboise vnto him vnto the conclusion of the Generall Estates; and for the guard of the said Castle, 100 men in Garison.

VII. The Duke of Vendosme being absent, yielding the obedience which is due vnto his Maiestie, for the causes contained in this present treaty, his pleasure is that the said Duke shall be restored to his Government, charges, honors and commands, to enjoy them as he hath formerly done, and that all inhibitions made by letters patents, shall be disannulled by the like letters directed to the Court of Parliament of Britanie, in such sort as they may proue no whit preiudiciall vnto him.

VIII. And touching that which he hath caused to be represented, that he had obtained the consents of the Estates of Britany, for the leauying of such money in the Countrey as was necessary for the entertainment of his guards; his Maiestie hath bene pleased to confirme and allow of that which the said Estates had done in that behalfe.

IX. As also having regard vnto the Petition presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Duke of Retz, that he would bee pleased to entertaine the number of souldiers in Macheou and Belle-Ile, as it is contained in a Briefe granted by the deceased King; it is agreed that the said souldiers shall be continued for 4 yeares.

X. The enterprize made vpon Hennebont to the preiudice of the Seigneur of Camore, who is gouernour thereof, shall be repaired, and he restored to his charge, as hee was before these alterations.

XI. All Garisons put into any Townes or places of this Realme by reason of these present motions, since the first of Ianuary last, shall be discharged, except 100 men which shall be entertained at Meziens, vntill after the Assembly of the generall Estates, and 200 for the like space in Soissons, whereof the Duke of Mayen is Gouernour, and all other places shall remaine in the same estate they were in before.

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These Articles were brought to the King and Queene, who signed and ratified them, sending them presently backe vnto the Prince: whereupon they resolved to separate themselves. Two daies after, the Prince retired to the Castelaux, the Duke of Neuers to Neuers, the Duke of Mayen to Soissons, the Duke of Longueuille to Amiens, and the Duke of Bouillon and the Duke of Luxembourg to Sedan. Thus God turning the Princes hearts, made them to preferre the publike, before their priuate interest, compounding all things mildly, by a speedy and full resolution to the content of all good men. For the Prince fearing that his too long absence, ill interpreted by some, might open (contrary to his intentions) the way to some dangerous faction in the State, to the preiudice both of the King and people, he wisely resolved (and by his example, all they which did assist him) by his returne to free them from all iealousie and mistrust, which his absence had bred.

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Before their departure from Saint Manchild, the Marshall of Bouillon said vnto the President Jannin, that neither heretofore, now, nor hereafter, his owne particular should euer crosse or hinder that of the publike, desiring him to take that assurance from him, and to undertake for him to all those which should say the contrary. The Prince said also vnto the President, I giue all the iniuries which some haue sought to doe me, vnto the publike, and it rests in their Maiesties to giue me the effect of the treaty. I offer to adde to my helping hand (as all they will doe which haue assisted mee) with a heart free from all bitterness, to heare from whomsoever an ouerture of the meanes that may bring all things to a good end: assure your selfe Sir, I desire not the ruine of any one for my priuate hatred, vntill I finde that it may deliuer the State from some approaching ruine. The Siegneur of Vignier returning to Court, he brought this letter which the Prince sent to the Queene.

Madam, I haue heretofore receiued so many testimonies of your fauour wherewith it hath pleased your Maiestie to honor me, as I hold my selfe infinitely bound: yea those which it hath pleased you to shew me in this treaty with his Maiesties Deputies, haue againe so strictly obliged me, as I can no longer forbear to make a most humble acknowledgement thereof vnto your Maiestie, whom I humbly beseech to beleue, that my inclination hath alwaies bene to yeeld all seruice and obedience vnto you. Consider if it please you with what freedome I haue alwaies caried my selfe, yea in the last month of Ianuary; and had not the malice and practice of mine enemies bene, who by false reports removed me from the honour of your presence and fauour, matters had bene carried otherwise for the good of the Kings seruice, neither had all these disorders hapned: but seeing by the grace of God, and your Maiesties wise conduct they are now ended and suppressed, I most humbly beseech you so to prouide by your authority, as wee fall not hereafter into the like disorders; assuring you that for mine owne particular I will doe all that is in my power for the seruice of the King my Lord, and that of your Maiestie, &c.

The Queene having receiued this letter sent to assure him of all favorable visage, and that Monsieur D'Esmaes should cause the Castle of Amboise to be deliuered vnto him.

During these alterations in Court, Henry duke of Montmorensi Constable and Peer of France died in his Government of Languedoc. After the death of the Constable

[B]

Anne

The Princes retire to their houses.

The Queene writes to the Court of Parliament.

The Prince of Condes letter to the Queene.

Death of Henry of Montmorensi Constable of France

1614

Anne de Montmorensy who died of his wounds receiued at the battell of Saint Denis in the year 1567, there had bene no Constable in France; vntill the year 1595, when as *Henry* the fourth advanced him (being sonne vnto *Anne de Montmorensy*) to the dignity of Constable: In his youth he was called *D'annule*, and vnder that name at the battell of Dreux, he tooke *Lewis* Prince of Conde prisoner. He was afterwards made Marshall of France; and after his fathers death had the gouernment of Languedoc. Hee had borne Armes in Piedmont. During all the ciuill warres vnder King *Charles* the ninth, hee did many military exploits against them of the reformed Religion: but during the time of *Henry* the third he would neuer come to Court. In the beginning of the league 1585, as the most ancient Marshall and first Officer of the Crowne, he ioyned himselfe with *Henry* the fourth (who was then but King of Nauarre) and *Henry* Prince of Conde, against the authors of the league. The good seruices hee did to the state during this war, and since the time of peace in the time of his honorable age vnto his death, are written at large by the Histories of these times, and therefore I will forbear to make any farther repetition. His sicknesse was somewhat long, and his son *Mons. de Montmorensy* Admirall of France came to see him and assisted at his death: to whom hee gaue goodly admonitions for the instruction of his young yeares: among other things, hee recommended two vnto him: the one was to bee alwaies faithfull and obedient vnto the King, and watchfull for the good of the State and aduancement of the publicke weale, as those goodly charges did binde him to doe. The other was that being dead, they should not make any funerals for him, but only cary his body to the graue, being followed by him and his household seruants, and but with fixe Torchcs, the which was obserued in euery point as hee had ordained: yet much against his sonnes will, who for the loue hee bare to the memory of his Progenitor had a great desire to prepare him a funeral pompe according to his quality, and to haue his body conducted out of Languedoc to Montmorensy nere to Saint Denis in France, there to be laid in the sacred monument of his Predecessors. Hee left foure children, one son, and three daughters, the 2 daughters of the first venter are married, the one to the Duke of Ventadour, and the other to the Earle of Auvergne now duke of Angoulême: by the second marriage he had one sonne, now duke of Montmorensy, Admirall of France and Gouernor of Languedoc, and his third daughter is married to the Prince of Conde: by his third wife he had not any children.

The manner of his buriall.

Death of the Cheualier de Guise.

In this month also newes came to Court of the lamentable death of *Francis Paris* of Loraine, Cheualier of Guise, and Lieutenant generall for the King in Prouence. This generous and maiestieall Prince, who aimed at nothing but honor and glory, going from Arles to the Castle of Bux, which is but five leagues off, he would needes giue fire to a Cannon, which bre. king, a peece wounded him so in the face, as hee died within 2 howers after: feeling himselfe thus wounded, he refused all remedies, and contented this life to chuse better, crying out, let no man speake vnto me of liuing longer. The Duke and his chiefe bretheren were wonderfull by assisted, so were the Prince of County, and the Princesse his sister. The Duchesse Dowager of Guise continued too without any consolation. All France lamented the death of this generous Prince, and their Maiesties did witness (especially the Queene) how much they grieved for his losse.

Swear booke condemned by the Court.

The King, Queene, and Court being gone to Saint Germane in Lay, the Court of Parliament had fazed vpon a booke which was pernicious and preiudiciall to the French Monarchy, intitled, *Dispositio fidei Catholicae & Apostolicae aduersus Anglicanae sectae errores*, and the author whereof, was one *Francis Suarez* a Doctor of Diuinity in Granada, and a Lesuite by profession. printed first at Coimbra in Portugal by permission of the Prouinciall, in the year 1613: which booke the Kings Councell had verified in Court by the conference of the abstract which they had in hand printed from the originall. And it is to be noted that this booke though most pernicious, had been allowed not only by the Prouinciall of the Lesuits in Germany, and commended by the Prouinciall of Portugal, but also called by the Bishops of Coimbra, Alguar, and Lamea, by vertue of a Commis. given by the B. Don Pedro de Castille Vee Roy of Portugal, and Inquisitor generall of the aith, with a note made by Don *Fernand Martinez* Bishop of Algarbe the which is worthy of censure.

When bringing the conclusions into the Court, and representing an extract of some speciall offences they required that the propositions and maxims contained in the said booke of *Suarez* should be declared contrary to the ancient Councils, and to the decrees

1614

A crees of the Court, scandalous, and tending to incite subiects and others, to attempt against the persons of Kings, Princes, and Christian Potentates, and that the booke should be forbidden to be sold, or for any man to haue it, keepe it, teach or dispute of such Maxims, vpon paine of high treason: Whereupon this Decree was made.

The great Chamber, the Tournell, and the Edict being assembled, and hauing scene a booke printed at Cullen, entituled *Francisci Suarez Granatensis de societate Iesu Doctoris Theologi, Defensio fidei Catholicae & Apostolicae, aduersus Anglicanae sectae errores*: containing many propositions contrary to the soueraine power of Princes ordained by God, and the quiet of their Estates, and that it is lawfull for their subiects and strangers to attempt against their persons. The conclusions of the Kings Attorney generall being heard: the Court doth declare the propositions and maxims contained in the said booke to bee scandalous & pernicious, tending to the subuersion of States, and to induce subiects to attempt against the sacred persons of Kings, making mention of King *Clouis*, and *Philip* the Faire, the which were false & calumnious. Wherefore the Court ordained, that the said booke of *Suarez* should be burnt in the Palace yard by the Hangman; forbidding all Printers and booke-sellers to print or sell them, and for all men of what condition soeuer to haue them, or for any other to write or keepe any such bookes. Moreouer, it was decreed, that *Ignatius Armand* Rector of the Iesuites in Paris, *Cotton*, *Fronton*, and *Sirmond* should come the first Court day, and be giuen to vnderstand, that contrary to their declaration, and the decree of their Generall, in the year 1610, *Suarez* booke had bene printed and brought into the Court, being contrary to the Kings authority & the safety of his person & estate: and that they should be enioyned to cause their Generall to renew the said Decree, and to haue it published, whereof they should bring an Act within fixe months, and provide that no bookes containing such damnable and pernicious propositions should be made or put forth by them of their society: and that they should bee enioyned in their sermons to preach the contrary doctrine vnto the people, otherwise the Court would proceed against the delinquents, as guilty of treason and troublers of the publicke peace.

In this month of Iune newes came to Court that the Marquis of Bonniuet (hauing certaine Troops of Horse in Poictou) had committed great spoiles, and that hee had ruined part of the suburbs of Poictiers, and some farmes belonging to the Bishop of that place, and that many of his men being disbanded, committed infinite acts of Hostilitie within the Country.

On the other side their Maiesties were informed that the Duke of Vendosmes souldiers in Britany did the like, to the great discontent of the Prince of Conde, and the said Duke, and to the great oppression of the poore people: whereupon their Maiesties resolved in Councell to make a voyage into Poictou and Britany thinking that the Kings presence would disperse and scatter (as it were) all these petty cloudes and threatnings of warre.

The Prince of Conde hauing taken possession of the Towne and Castle of Amboise, according to the Articles of the treaty, went into Poictou, visiting his houses, and hindering what he could, that those troopes which had followed him vnder the Marquis of Bonniuet should not oppress the poore people. He came to Chastelleraul whether many of his friends came to visit him, where remembering that hee had receiued some cause of discontent against the Bishop of Poictiers, being informed that hee had spoken vnworthily of him, and that to satisfie his promise vnto President *Jannin*, to forget all iniuries, he would in regard thereof assure them of Poictiers of his sincere intentions: whereupon he gaue charge to *Monsieur de Larrie* to carie Letters of assurance to the Towne-house, giuing them to vnderstand, that all things were pacified by the treaty: that hee had reconciled her Maiesties fauour, and that for his part all discontents were forgotten: yet could he not pisse ouer with silence the words which the Bishop had spoken against him: which Letters were receiued by the chiefe of the Towne from *de Larrie*, but some of them hauing not heard the Letter read, or not well vnderstanding the sense, advertised the Bishop of the Princes complaint, whereat both he and some of his friends were offended: so as on the 22 of Iune, *de Larrie* walking with a Gentleman called *la Blanchardiere* and one Footman, they were encountered by a troope of 40 or 50 men with short peeces, who were led by a Scholler called *Bous*, and countenanced by *Saint-George*, the Bishops kinsman: these approaching nere to *de Larrie*, asked if it were not he which had brought the

A decree against Suarez booke.

Spoile done in Poictou by the Marquis of Bonniuet.

The Prince of Conde comes into Poictou.

A sedition in Poictiers.

1614

De Latrie wound-
ed.Poitiers divid-
ed into two
factions.The Prince
complained
to the Queene
of the wrong done
him at PoitiersThe Duke of
Rohanais go-
uernour of
Poitiers com-
mish-buher,
and what pass.

letters from the Prince against the Bishop of Poitiers. These two gentlemen finding they A
had an intent to assault them, drew their swords for their defence, but presently the others
discharged their peeces, and wounded *de Latrie* in diuers places: they also slue his Foot-
man and a Townesman which was neere them; after which they retired to the Bishops
Palace, and *de Latrie* was led to the Maiors house there to be dressed: where hee entreated
Blanchardiere to take the paines to goe and informe the Prince of this accident, whom he
found returning to Amboise, to whom he related the tragedie and the truth of the fact.
The Prince finding himselfe wronged in the person of *de Latrie* thus wounded, fearing
that he should hardly get out of the towne with his life, he resolved to goe himselfe and to
free him from this danger: But to take away all cause of ieaousie from their Maiesties, B
and the towne of Poitiers, he dismissed all the Nobilitie which was with him, entrea-
ting them not to follow him to Poitiers, and so onely with fifteene horse he approached
neere the towne, with an intent to enter in person, and carie away with him the person
wounded. Being come within two leagues, hee met with *de Latrie*, who had got forth by
policy, yet notwithstanding he would goe on to be informed of the wrong done him, and
the outrage vsed to the party in doing that which he had in charge: Being within so paces
of the gates, he heard of some mutinie within the towne, for the wrong done to *de Latrie*,
wherin the Bishop did also intermeddle, who being aduertised of the Princes approach, and
seeing two factions among the people (the one maintaining the fact of Saint George, the
other the Princes interest, & of his friend wounded) apprehending also what might hap- C
pen if the Prince entered, he resolved to take the government of the Towne into his hands
and to keepe the Prince from entering, to whom he sent word that it was not good for him
to enter, the which he would oppose. This message was deliuered vnto him by a young
man called *Beaulieu de Persac*, yet notwithstanding the Prince went vnto the gate, where
he found one called *Berland*, who told him he had charge from the Magistrates of the
Towne to refuse him the gate, shutting the barre against him, neither could they get any
better satisfaction from this resolute souldier. The Prince went away with much discon-
tent for this refusal, for with this *Berland* there was another with his pistoll charged and
the cock downe, and ouer the gate was a Captain called *Malaguet* with certain souldiers,
who by his commandement discharged their peeces, and hurt some of the princes traine. D

The Prince retiring to Chastellerault, hee made his complaint vnto the Queene,
sending a Gentleman expresse with Letters, by the which hee demanded iustice for his
friend which was hurt; for the refusal which was made to receive him; and for the inso-
lency of their Porters: But he complained especially of the Bishop, as the author of this
tumult, from whom he demanded a satisfaction due to his qualitie: and that information
might be made against Saint George, at the suit of *de Latrie*, whom he protested to assist
with all his means, seeing that he had beene wounded in doing him seruice.

About this time the Duke of Rohannois, Gouernour of Poitiers came thither; hee
was receiued by the Maior, Sherifes, and some Burgeses, who conducting him to his
lodging with all respect, he was invited to supper by the Maior, whither the Bishop of
Poitiers came to visit him, entreating him to forget the attempt which had beene made
in his charge at the Princes coming, whereunto the Duke did willingly consent; be-
seeching him that hereafter he would not attempt the like; and going to conduct him out
of the Maiors house, he found him attended by eleuen horsemen with their pistolls,
and about 400 foot carrying short peeces vnder their cloakes. The Duke being with the Maior
and Sherifes, he was aduertised that vpon his arrival the streets were barricadoed; where-
vpon he resolved with them and others, to forbid any barricadoes to be made, or chaires
to be drawne without his commandement, enioyning them to pull downe all the barri-
cades which had beene made, and in case of any alarme to goe vnto the rendezuous ap-
pointed, there to receive the Dukes commandement. The which was published the next
morning, being the 26 of Iune, and the same day after dinner he went to visit the Bishop,
where they resolved that hee said Duke with the Maior and Sherifes should send *la lal-
letiere* vnto the Prince, who had beene with him the day before, from the inhabitants, to
whom he had promised not to offer to enter into the Towne before her Maiestie had so
ordained. The like he confirmed vnto the Dukes messenger: But the Bishop hearing that
the Prince came within a league of the towne, he sent vnto the Duke to haue Saint Cyri-
ans gate shut, to whom the duke made answer, that he held it not fit, being but three clocke;
but

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A but he would take such order, as there should happen no inconuenience, whither he went
to give order for the sure guard thereof.

In his returne to his lodging he was aduertised, that they did arme about the Bishops
Palace; whither going with some of the chiefe Burgeses, and being before the Palace,
they found the chaires drawne, and lockes put vnto them; seeing many men armed, he de-
manded the reason of it, and why they had drawne the chaires: to whom they said, they
had seene many horsemen without the towne and neere the suburbs: The Duke answered
that he had beene without, but could not see any one which might annoy them, and
that being their Gouernour, he would be the first which would oppose himselfe against
any which should attempt against the Towne; that they should vse more moderation, and
not arme so rashly, and at the same time he caused the chaires to be vnlocked.

The Duke saw many signes of a popular sedition; the Captain who had the guard of
the port of Pont Ioubert, hauing abandoned his charge, let downe the Portcullis, and re-
tired with all speed to the Bishop who had sent for him. The Duke returned in his Ca-
roch by the Bishops palace, to see if the people were still in armes, where hee found the
chaires drawn and lockt againe; and *de Roumay* coming vnto him, told him that the Bi-
shop could no longer containe the people, whereupon he entreated him to cause the locks
to be opened that he might passe; which done, after some long attendance for that the
Bishop kept the keyes, he past to the Bishops gate, where he entreated one to goe vnto the
Bishop in his name, and to tell him that he held it strange to see the streets chained, and
the people armed: then going himselfe out of his Caroch, and seeing a great number of
armed men, he began to tell them they did ill to arme so lightly, and that it was not for
the Kings seruice to lue after that manner, and to vse such violent and seditious courses:
a souldier being in the midst of the presse answered, that they would doe it notwithstanding
standing his command: whereupon he instantly saw a number of other souldiers com-
ing out of the Bishops palace, with Pikes, Muskets, and Harquebuses, and then he heard
one cry out, Behold the Traitors; and thereupon they thrust at him with their pikes and
holbars, which his people that were about him, and the Gentlemen which did accom-
pany him, defended as well as they could, yet he was touched a little on the nose, so as hee
bled: He was presently conducted by some that were with him into the palace, where he
found the Bishop in the head of a great multitude, armed with his Curasse, and a pike in
his hand; to whom the Duke said, Why Sir, what courses are these, to seeke to murder
good men, and such as haue the honour to be as I am, without any subiect? where haue
they learned to serue the King after this manner? whereupon, about 150 which were ar-
med in the Court, would haue quarrelled with the Duke, telling him, that they were not
to obserue any other orders then such as had beene accustomed. Hereupon one of his
friends wished him to retire into an vpper chamber, and to speake little, otherwise hee
might be in danger.

The chiefe of the towne were suffered to come vnto him, who testified their griefes for
the iniurie that was done vnto him, and offered to die with him, rather then hee should
haue any wrong. There was he forced to sup and to stay till after midnight, hoping still
they would suffer him to depart vnto his lodging, the which he could neuer obtaine, har-
uing not any private friend there, by whom hee might demand safety of this mutinous
multitude to goe to his rest; for all that were now with him were the Bishops friends, and
diswilled him, saying that the people would not suffer it, and that there was no safety for
him but there, the which it seemed he was forced to beleue, for that the Sergeant Maior
hauing by his commandement giuen charge to the fix Captaines to bring two squadrons
out of every Company to the old market place, there to vnderstand his Maiesties inten-
tion, and in what manner they should guard, *Pidoux* one of the fixe Captaines answered
F that it should not be so, and that the Bishop was not placed there to discharge his Eccle-
siasticall function alone, but to gouerne the towne and to execute his priuate commission,
adding thereunto in the presence of the Mayor, that all men did conceiue the Gouernour
should haue shewed the speciall authority hee hath from the Queene, to command ouer vs;
but seeing hee hath not done it to the whole body, they were not resolved to obey him.
Then the Maior and Sergeant Maior told him, that seeing his commission had beene once
published and enrolled, and he installed in the place, he had not any need of new Letters.
But the Duke found the effects of his words: for about midnight one *Esnard* acted like a

[h 3]

Sergeant

An affront
done vnto the
duke of Rohan-
nois in PoitiersThe Duke
of Rohannois
is taken
prisonerHe is detained
prisoner in the
Bishops palace,The Duke
of Rohannois
is taken
prisoner

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Sergeant of a band, came vnto him with twenty musketers, and some halberdiers (having A been first with the Bishop) and said, I come in the behalfe of 2000 men of this towne, who are very sorry for the danger you have bene in, and offer themselves for your preservation, knowing that you are a good servant to the King, and their Gouverneur; yet they desire to obey you vnder the authority of the Bishop of Poitiers: They are your servants, and will acknowledge you, desiring notwithstanding to serue the King after their owne fantasies, that is to say, to draw their chaires when they please, at the found of the Bishops drums, which are his bells; saying moreover, that there were traitors in the towne, whose counsell they would not haue him to vfe.

During these speeches, *Boux* (he which had assaulted *de Latrie*) came vp accompanied B with many others, who in the Bishops presence spake many words vnto the Duke to moue him; but he obseruing the aduice which had bene giuen him, and seeing him to be the author of the sedition, and that the Bishop did in no sort blame him, he held his peace, resolving to suffer all indignities, having but foure Gentlemen with him, without any other armes but their swords against five hundred townsmen which were armed within the palace: And to finish the worke, they caused him to retire into a chamber to sleepe, setting two Sentinels at the doore, and a Corps de guard at the staires foot, and another in the garden right against his chamber window, commanding them to shoot, if they saw any one present himselfe: They also set two other Corps de guards, the one in the Bishops Court, the other at the gate.

The next day about nine a clocke, the Duke (seeing himselfe vnable to doe the King any seruice, and for his owne safety) desired to retire himselfe out of the towne, being conducted by some of the chiefe Burgeses; and it was happy for him, for all the streets were barricaded, and he past by their fauours which conducted him.

The Marquis of
Cœuure sent to
the Duke of Vendôme
with the
Articles.

The Queene Regent, after the treaty of Saint Manehould, sent the Marquis of Cœuures into Britany to the Duke of Vendôme, who signified his consent by a declaration which he signed. But presently after the Marquis returned to Paris, the Queene was aduertised by Letters from Britany, that the Dukes troopes continued their hostilities, and that by the intelligence of the Seig: of Aradon, Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle of Vannes, he had entred the same towne: And that it seemed thereby he had no entent to keepe the treaty, whereupon he wrote presently vnto the Queene, to giue her an account of the whole businesse: That having by a declaration vnder his owne hand, deliuered vnto the Marquis of Cœuure, promised to obey the Articles concluded, he thought hee had right to enioy the benefit of his re-establishment, vnto which her Maiesties bounty had restored him in case of obedience, and by consequence to enter into the townes of his government: That notwithstanding the decrees of the Parliament, hee was well grounded to demand entry of the Seigneur of Aradon: That being neere to Vannes on his way to Blauet, Deputies were sent vnto him in the inhabitants name to offer him entry into the town, where he entred, the inhabitants being in armes, receiving him with all honour and respect: That he had found the towne in the guard of the inhabitants, and so had left it; not fearing to E put his person into their power, having none with him but his guards, and some of the Nobility, among 500 men that were armed: That to free them from all doubt of his sincere intentions, he had declared vnto them publicly his full submission to her Maiesties will, promising presently to dismisse his troops; whereupon hee entreated her Maiesty to take his entry into Vannes as an action of a Gouverneur, restored by her bounty and his obedience, &c.

The Duke enters
Vannes, and writes to
the Queene.

The Kings Declaration in
fauour of the
Prince of
Conde.

Their Maiesties having resolved the voyage of Poictou and Britany, the King in his Councell thought it fit in fauour of the Prince of Conde, and according to the Articles of the treaty of Saint Manehould, to cause a Declaration to be published, by the which his Maiesty did discharge the said Prince and all other Princes and Noblemen which had ioined with him from all search, and from all that might be imputed vnto them by reason of the last troubles and alterations; suppressing thereby the memory of all that was past, during the said troubles, by meanes of his said cousin, and of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Noblemen, and others, which had assisted, followed, or favoured him, were it in the leaving off troops, taking of places, intelligences, and negotiations both within and without the Realme, or any thing else whatsoever; being sufficiently informed that their intentions were not against his seruice, nor the good of the common-wealth: forbidding any

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A any pursuit to be made against them in regard thereof, and commanding that they should enioy all their governments, honours, and dignities in like manner as they had done before the said alteration: which Declaration was verified the first of Iuly by the Court of Parliament.

After this Declaration, their Maiesties being ready to begin their progresse, the Prince of Conde being aduertised hereof, wrote a short letter vnto the Queene concerning the Duke of Vendôme, and the tumults in Poitiers. The Prince of Conde's Letter to the Queene

Madam (said he) I was euen now aduertised, that without any other considerations, the Duke of Vendôme hath obeyed you, the Marquis of Cœuure is restored to Blauet, B and that in euery circumstance, and in all places he hath freed me of my word giuen at S. Manehould: so as the voyage which they haue perswaded you vnto, is altogether vnprofitable for Britanie, and it rests onely in you, Madam, to finish the disarming, in making your word compleat. There remains ten thousand pounds sterling, to send vnto the Duke of Vendôme, if it please you, being necessary to make him finish his disarming. I beseech you then that you will command it to be speedily sent vnto him. If your Maiesty come into these parts, it is to affaile me, for that I haue demanded iustice. I beseech you, Madam, bee not caried away with these counsels, and belecue not (as some would haue) that I would be the meanes to haue the assembly of the States broken off, so much desired by those which are about you. In a word, Madam, feare hath no power ouer me, C and beleuee that I haue in my hands wherewith to persueue my selfe from all oppression. But the loue I beare vnto my King, the Estates, and vnto your person, shall make me attend *Monsieur de Mayen* to giue you all content, assuring my selfe your Maiesty will command I shall receiue that which is due vnto my quality. And so, &c. This Letter was written from Dussay neere Poitiers, Iuly 16.

The King being come to Paris, and giuing order for his voyage into Britany, his Maiesty receiued a Letter from the Prince of Conde, written from Lusignan, by the which he complained againe of the Bishop of Poitiers, and demanded iustice for the outrage they had done vnto his friend in that towne, for want whereof he protested to be reuenged: That he was their Maiesties most humble servant, and was ready to vndergoe all D their commandments, yet he could not forget nor passe ouer in silence what they had done vnto him in that place, nor returne out of Poictou, before he were satisfied for that affront: Finally, he besought him that iustice might be done, and that hee might receiue contentment. But without any answer, their Maiesties resolved to depart within two dayes, so as the regiment of the guards, and three companies of Swisse marched presently away: They gaue warning to all their Maiesties officers to be ready, and in like manner to the Councillors of the Grand-council.

The Councillors of the Court of Parliament, and of the other Courts, went vnto the Louure, to yeeld vnto their Maiesties that whereunto their duties did binde them. The Citie of Paris, carefull aboue all other of the sacred person of their Kings, fearing to lose E this glorious Sunne of France, from whom they borrowed all their lustre, sent their Prouost of Merchants and their Sheriffes, to beseech the Queene Regent, not to suffer the King to goe out of Paris, promising to guard him, and to answer for him with the hazard of their owne liues, assuring her Maiesty that the Kings good subiects should receiue much contentment by his stay; fearing that his person being yet young and tender, might receiue some preiudice in his health, by the vndertaking of so long a voyage: which their petition vnto their Maiesties, they said, proceeded from the loue and common consent of all their good subiects of Paris.

The Parisians
desire the Kings
stay.

But the Queene gaue them wisely to vnderstand that the voyage was of great importance: That the affaires of the King would be in bad estate, if it were not speedily vnder- F taken; to stay disorders, restrain the liberty of troops, cut off the way to recruits, ease the people, assure the townes, restore the commerce, settle officers, cause the King to be obeyed, restore honour to the Magistrates, relieue iustice, heare the peoples complaints, helpe the oppressed, assure the fearfull, reconcile quarrels, and to giue peace vnto the prouinces, vpon whom did fall the choller of those Princes which are yet absent from Court: That the Duke of Montbazon, the Marquis of Cœuure, and the Earle of Vertus, whom she had sent thither, could not preuaile: the Kings presence was therefore necessary to disperse these petty clouds: That there was no feare for his Maiesty in that voyage, that hee

The Queene's
answer vnto
the Parisians.

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he would returne soone to their comforts, bringing peace and rest to all his good subiects. A The Parisians at that time promised their Maiesties that nothing should passe within the City, nor thereabouts, but for the Kings service and contentment, that they would answer for the City during the said voyage, and keepe it if need were, but it was not held necessary, and they were only commanded to haue a care that no faction should arise within the City during their absence: and so they tooke their leaues of their Maiesties.

The King be-
gins his voyage.

On Saturday the 5 of Iuly, the King departed with his company of Light-Horse, and soone after the Queene, with all the Princes, Noblemen, and Ladies of the Court, and all the Officers, leaving *Monf. de Maufan*, who led his company thither. Paris B was left to the custodie of the Inhabitants, under the command of *Monf. de Lion-Cort* their Gouvernor, and of *Monf. de Grioux* Prouost of Merchants: and the Citadell & Towne of Amiens, in the guard of the Marshall *D'Ancre*. In lesse then three dayes, Paris was emptied of about 30000 persons, for all men that had any businesse or suites, either before the Councell of State, or the great Councell, were forced to follow the King in his voyage to sollicite their causes. The first Towne where their Maiesties stayed for their traine was Estampes, where the inhabitants made shew of their publike ioy in receiuing their King: but I may not stand to make particular relation of the reception the King had in all the Townes as he past in this voyage, hauing much matter of farre greater importance to treat of.

The Duke of
Mayen sent
to the Prince
of Conde,

The King came to Orleans, where the Inhabitants met him in Armes, and receiued their Maiesties with all the honor they could deuise: they stayed there eight daies, as well to attend the Prince of Condes answer, as to heare how matters went in Britany and Poitou: for before their going from Paris, their Maiesties had resolued (according to the Princes owne letter) to send some one to conferre with him: the Duke of Mayen had offered himselfe to this employment, promising so to acquit himselfe, as hee assured their Maiesties to perswade the Prince to come vnto the King, wheresoeuer he should bee, to yeeld him that whereunto his birth and quality did binde him. The Duke vpon this promise parted from Paris, with some Gentlemen of his Houie, thinking to finde the Prince at Chastelleraulx or at Lusignan in Poitou, but hee was forced to goe to Chasteauroux, D whither the Prince had retired himselfe, hearing of the Kings coming. Others say it was, for that the Duke of Neuers had intreated him to christen one of his Children, but howsoeuer, there the Duke found him, where hauing spent some dayes in conference with the Prince, he could draw no other reason from him, but that hee would neuer come to Court before the King had done him iustice for the wrong he had receiued from the Bishop of Poitiers, and that they had giuen contentment to the Duke of Vendosme, for the 10000 pound which was yet vnpaid by the treatie of Saint Manehould. The Duke of Mayen seeing him thus constant in his resolution, was forced to returne to their Maiesties without any effect, comming to Orleans on the 13 of Iuly, to whom he related the businesse as it had past, and assuring them that he could not perswade him to come to Court, E he vnclesse he had the contentment about mentioned: that for his part hee had vied all the meanes he could inuent, to make him forget the action of Poitiers, but hee tooke this affront done by the Bishop so to heart, as he said he had no power to resolue, vntill hee had drawne such reuenge from the King as he desired, promising to come vnto his Maieftie as soone as it should please him to doe him iustice. Whereupon seeing hee would not yeeld to the intreaties of the Duke of Mayen, they thought it not fit for the Kings dignity to send againe vnto him, but to proceed on in their journey, to comfort the poore afflicted people, and to assure the Prouinces troubled with ciuill combussions.

The Kings
troops aduance
towards Bri-
tany.

The Marshall of Brissac went on with 6000 Swisses, and led them to the frontiers of Britany, being a lamentable thing to heare of the spoiles, murders, and acts of hostility, F which were daily committed in Britany by the troops of the Duke of Vendosme, and by those of the Marquis of Bonniuet in Poitou: the Marshalls of Lauardin and Boisdaulphin, and with them the Marquis of Sable, *Monf. Praslin* and others aduanced with the horse being about 1200: and withall *Monf. de Ramburge* was commanded to make ready his Regiment, which he did in lesse then fifteene daies, hauing 2000 men well armed ready for the Kings seruice, which troopes lay nere vnto Nantes, attending his Maiefties command.

During

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Letters for the
restoring of the
Duke of Ven-
dosme to his
Gouernment.

A During the Kings stay at Orleans, he made a declaration directed to the Court of Parli-
ament at Rennes, for the restoring of the Duke of Vendosme to his Gouernment of Bri-
tany, and for the free inioyng thereof, and of all his Charges, Honors, Captainships and
Estates as hee had done before the last troubles: and also, for the difanulling of a decree
which had beene made against the Siegneur of Aradon, concerning that which had past
at Vannes, forbidding them in any sort to molest him or any other for any thing which
had past in the Prouince of Britanie by reason of those late alterations.

About this time the generall Estates were assigned at Paris, and published through all
the Prouinces of the Realme. The Magistrates of this great City gaue notice to all the
B Inhabitants of what quality or condition soeuer, that they might freely and with all liber-
tie bring or send vnto the Town-house what complaint or grievance they thought good,
the which they might deliuer into the hands of the Prouost of Merchants or Sheriffes, or
to their Deputies to be put into their instructions.

Publication of
the generall
Estates.

At the same time there past through France an Exhortation in forme of letters, di-
rected to the Governours of Prouinces, by way of aduice giuen to the three Estates of the
Realme, speaking to either of them in particular. And for that they containe some things
worthy obseruation to moue a people to obey their King, and not to giue care to such as
seek to trouble the State, I haue set them downe in their order.

To the Clergie.

C MY Masters of the Clergy, obserue well this aduice, there is not any one of you but
M doth remember in euery point the Articles of the last league, made by many Princes
(and with the Kings priuety) at Peronne in the yeare 1534, the which in shew was good-
ly and plausible, and so fauourably embraced of all the world, as it seemed (especially to
those of your coate) the Angell of God should confound him that would contradict it.
What followed after 14 yeares of barbarous and intestine warres, without intermission?
What hath the wisdom, policie, and purse of Popes, of the Consistorie of most of the
Princes in Italy, yea in a manner of all you preuailed? Nothing, as you know, but the ad-
uancement of heresie, the ruine of temples, many communitie de priuie seruice,
D the shamefull punishment of some religious men, the sudden death of the chiefe authors,
the poerty of all the Clergy of France, by the sale of their lands, and such a confusion in
the gouernment of your affaires, as the suites continue yet. It is a wonder how these
miseries were suppressed by the generosity of the deceased King, who hath repaired your
Altars and restored the Masse in many strong townes where for many yeares it had bene
intermitted. You enioy againe your Benefices and houses, from whence the Cannon had
chased you. All these disorders grew from this League, the fatal spring of our miseries,
which made France so feeble, as, if his Maieftie had yeelded any thing to the opposition
which was made against him at his comming to the Crowne, we had bene now strangers
in our owne Country. But he being assisted by God and serued by his good seruants
E treated with his disobedient subiects, and with strangers in the yeare 1598.

To the obseruation of which treaty you are especially bound, hauing comprehended
you as fauourably therein as you could desire, as well for your reliefe, as for the main-
tenance of your authority and freedoms. My Masters, in recompence of this great Princes
paines, he hath left you this precious treasure of peace, which he hath purchased with his
own blood, to the end you should adde to your helpes (as the first member of this
French Monarchy) to preferue it carefully. Shew your duties then by your pietie and
good instructions, making the Kings tender age an ample subiect to practise your fide-
lities; and yeelding vnto the sonne what you owe vnto the father, also vnto your Country
that which you owe, imitating the zeale and wisdom of your predecessors, that by your
F example euery man may doe his duty.

To the Nobilitie.

M MY Masters of the Nobilitie and Gentry, honor the Princes because of their quality
which is the most eminent amongst men; and if you haue the honour to bee nere
them in any good esteeme, neuer leaue them: If you doe not apparently perceiue them to
decline from their duty vnto the King their Soueraigne Lord and yours, for in this case
the necessity of the Estate dispenceth you of your faith. You my Masters who are the fi-
neces

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 "during the said League, to haue run ouer all France sweating in your armes in the compa-
 "nie of strangers, onely to support some of the said Princes, and for their particular seruic-
 "ces; forgetting inconsiderately what you did owe vnto your King and this Crowne? Is
 "your honor increased? are you or your children aduanced to the chiefe places of the State?
 "Are your names become any whit the more famous? Are your goods increased? Are
 "your debts paid? haue you not rather made your condition worse then better? The last
 "peace concluded at Veruins in May 1598, hath it not made you repent that which
 "is past, and acknowledge openly, that nothing but blame, reproach, feare and shame apper-
 "taines vnto rebels and seditious: It hath also taught you by experience, that there is no B
 "greater misfortune, nor more to be auoyded, then that which separateth children from
 "the fathers obedience, and the Nobility from that of the King: when this comes to passe,
 "God suffers his iudgments to light vpon men without respect of age, kindred, or qua-
 "lity, by inhumane murders, whereby some of the chiefe houses of your body are ex-
 "tinct, by surprisles, sieges, ruines and burning of houles, rauishing of wiues and virgins,
 "spoil of your goods, your fields left waste, & gaord with your blood: a general famine the
 "remembrance whereof is so fresh, as you may easily ghesse what you are, & what you haue
 "endured, and what you may: obseruing well what is past, and the present, there is no per-
 "swasion, pretext, or ambition of any man shall euer deceiue you, nor make you forget that
 "the most wicked condition of men, is to haue home-bred quarrels, and cursed be hee that C
 "shall raise them. These Princes whom you haue so much affected, whose fortunes you
 "haue so long followed, haue they not abandoned you, and made their owne peace with the
 "the King? They haue only obtained pardons for some: haue they had any other care to
 "releue you (for so many ruines which you haue suffered in your houles) by any honest
 "gratifications? when you haue had any occasion to vie them to your quarrels, (whereof
 "you haue too many) or for your ciuill or criminall suites, or for any other affaires, haue they
 "not assisted you coldly? If you haue at any time craued their support vnto the King, for
 "any government or place of command, haue you not bene better satisfied with his Ma-
 "iesties reception, with his liberly of speech, and his facility to yeeld vnto your demands,
 "then with those which presented you but for fashion sake. D
 "Finally my Masters, what support and fauour you haue receiued heretofore from
 "the said Princes, the like must you expect hereafter. So as they please their owne passi-
 "ons, and attaine to their owne ends by your assistance, they care not what may happen
 "for your particular, (they embrace you if they haue cause to imploy you,) and if you in-
 "treat them they know you not, they haue no Angell to open the doores when you are
 "prisoners for their sakes, they bring your heads to the blocke to preserve their owne.
 "A Marshall of France, a great Captaine (if euer there were any) lost his being, decei-
 "ued by strangers: Let the King feaze vpon your lands, they will not giue you any of
 "theirs to recompence your losses. One of the first Presidents of a Soueraine Court
 "hath bene in a manner brought to beggary, and yet they which were the causes of this E
 "pouerty, pitty him! see then others.
 "Moreover, represent vnto your felues, that the King is in his Minority, that hee is but
 "thirteene yeares old, that you are his Tutors and Guardians, and therefore your ser-
 "uice should neuer faile him, both for this consideration, and for the strict bond which
 "euery one of you hath to the memorie of that great Captaine the deceased King his
 "father; who by his vertue and incomparable courage, hath purchased for euery one of
 "you, with Armes in hand, in open field, in the sight of Paris, and elsewhere against
 "rebels and strangers, the honour to haue bene the preseruacion of your Country; bee
 "so still vnto him according to occurrences, lest that you lose that glorie.
 "Finally, seeing that in our priuate actions, wee desire not to admit of any superiour to F
 "command ouer vs, being Masters of our owne conduct: doe you so in like manner,
 "without expecting any prayers or intreaty from the King, and haue an especial care that
 "no pretext whatsoever may make you stray from your obedience: fly all procurements
 "as dangerous rocks. Wee haue it selfe cause to complaine, that vertue, experience, good
 "seruices, yea and loyalty, are without esteeme and ill intreated; by reason of the sale of all
 "Offices and charges within the Realme; which kinde of husbandry or couetousnesse,
 "the forepassed warrs of the League, of the public weale, and of the reformation in
 "the conduct of affaires haue brought in, and you know the reason. Yet

A Yet let vs proceed in our complaints as our predecessors haue taught vs: let vs present our
 humble petitions when as we shall haue the honour to be called; whereof the Queene Re-
 gent hath assured vs, and that they shall be willingly heene and yeelded vnto by the King,
 her Maiestie, and the Councell, so as they bee modest and reasonable: It is not in vs to
 prescribe a reformation, but to craue it, and following this course we cannot erre.

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To the People.

Good people, I will tell you that no gratifications from their Maiesties haue made
 me to write thus vnto the Clergie, the Nobility, and your felues: for as touching my
 fortune, *Collatus sum in obscuris sicut martini faculi*: but as a humble subiect to their Maie-
 sties, zealous of my Country, and fearing lest it should be hereafter (as we haue seene) the
 B scorne and pity of all our neighbours, yea and of Barbarians, hath induced mee to contri-
 buite to the continuacion of peace, as euery good and naturall French man ought to doe:
 you doe willingly giue eare to all that is spoken of the affaires at this day, and you doe
 greatly apprehend the alarmes that are giuen you: I assure you there is reason, and I doe
 aduertise you that you are the most interessed: if you labour not resolutely to quench this
 fire whilst it kindles, or lies smothered, you shall be first of all set on fire; and if it increa-
 seth you shall serue (as you haue done heretofore) for matter to make it continue: Con-
 sider of all inconueniences which may happen, and assure your felues, that both in field
 C and towne, you shall be the marke wherat the choller and intolence both of friend and
 enemy, of French and stranger will aime. Remember that the contempt which you
 made of the royal authority, the respects you had to the heads of a faction, who had blind-
 ed your eyes, and corrupted you by their flatteries and pretexes of Religion, or of the
 common weale, and had so prodigiously diuided you, haue furnisht matter for all the tra-
 gedies which haue hapned in France, and in our sight, whereof there yet remaine through
 their continuance, and your wilfulness, wounds almost incurable; whereof there is some
 amendment by the wholesome remedies applied by the deceased King a most excellent
 Physician, who hath preserved the life of our Country, and like a good Captaine recou-
 red this lost Monarchie, the which by the helpe of God shall bee continued by his Maie-
 D stie, if you alone continue constantly his most faithfull subiects and seruants, and to binde
 you more strictly therunto, set before your eyes, your miseries past, the infinite toyle,
 and the dangers, and clemency of Henry the fourth, of whom we may say,

*Quarui Henrico parem?
 Nemo est nisi ipse.*

And that Lewis his sonne, hath neuer done wrong to any of you; who for our happines
 approacheth neere the age wherein he may doe good to all cause himselfe to be respected,
 and punish the seditious: in doing this you will soone lay aside Armes, which doe but de-
 bauche you from your labour, and will frustrate the designs which may bee practised
 vpon your facility and accustomed inconstancy. There haue bene occasions offered to
 E after the peace, since the lamentable death of that great Prince Henry the fourth, if the
 Queene Regent had not courageously and wisely prevented it, which we now enjoy by
 her care and vigilancy. Be not for your parts to inconsiderate as to lose the fruits; and
 renouncing all disloyall practices, let vs make our felues capable of the peace we now en-
 joy, purchased with so much blood: First by our deuout prayers vnto God, that hee
 would preserve the King, of whom by humane meanes depends the health of vs all: by
 amendment of our liues, and by an exemplary obedience and fidelity to their Maiesties,
 to the end that this flourishing Realme be not come in peeces in our time, and that wee be
 not accused by our posterity, to haue bene the instruments to such lamentable effects, as
 may happen by the renewing of troubles: or too negligent wherewith we may reproach
 F our forefathers, for that they had not rooted it vp in the beginning as you see. There was
 neuer Regency more free from warrs and lesse troubled with theues (which might hin-
 der the safetie of commerce) then this: let vs all assist her Maiestie with heart and affecti-
 on, to the end she may goe on from good to better.

To the Officers of the Crowne.

Y ou my Lords the Officers of the Crowne and of Iustice, who are the eye, the mouth,
 and the right hand of our Prince, and the Adreere of the State: Giue good counsell
 to

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to his Maiefty vpon all occurrents which shall be offered; looke you faile not your felues; A
cause the lawes and ordinances of this Monarchy to bee duly obserued, and by the same
lawes punish all those which shall offend, without exception, or acception; for commonly
the punishment of a wicked and peruerse man, doth assure all good men, and terrifie
others.

During their Maiesties absence from Paris, on the 19 of Iuly there was commande-
ment given to all the inhabitants of the City and suburbs, to haue their armes in a readi-
ness, and to issue forth vpon the first warning should be giuen them; which grew vpon a
report that the Prince of Conde should come vnto the City: And as this continued (see-
ing also many arriuē daily with horses and baggage) it made the Magistrates of the towne B
to giue a fresh commandement that euery one should stand vpon his guard.

The King hauing past through Orleans, Blois, Tours, and Saumur, and receiued all
the honors which could be deuised by his good subiects: coming neere to Chastelle-
rault, the Prince of Condes troops retired themselves in small companies without armes,
stafes, or stick, fearing the maieesty of him whom they had offended in molesting his good
and naturall subiects, and namely the Marquesse of Bonniuers troops, which escaped by
diuers wayes, hearing of his coming: who without doubt would haue punished them
seuerely: considering the complaints, teares, and cries of the poore people, which came
vnto his Maiesties eares, for the indignities which they had caused them to suffer, and for
the great spoiles which they had committed in Poictou, to the great griefe of the Prince C
himselfe: yet they could not so speedily retire themselves, but that some of them were
met withall by some of the Regiment of the guard, who hauing heard the complaints of
the poore people, charged them and chased them like theues and robbers as they were.
Neere vnto Chastellerault, they met with a great cart laden with all sorts of armes which
the Marquis of Bonniuet had caused to bee transported out of Poictou, which cart was
stayed, and the armes laid into a certaine castle in Poictou, belonging to the Duke of
Longueville. They also found many Magazines in diuers places where armes lay hidden,
all which were seized vnto the Kings vse, and laid with the rest, the Regiment of the
guards, hauing commandement to diarm all such as they should find armed to any other
designe then the Kings seruice, and to seize vpon such as they should find to keepe the D
field, to make them giue an account of their intent in bearing armes.

The King came to Poictiers, where his Maieesty was much desired, and where the In-
habitants did yeld all duties of obedience, and did strue to make it appeare that they were
most affectionate to his seruice: The Bishop and Magistrates of the Towne, made rela-
tion of the tumults past, and gaue him notice of all such as had bene faithfull to him, du-
ring the brutes of warre; beseeching his Maieesty to take in good part that which had been
done for his seruice, & to pardon such as had caried themselves with too much zeale and
heat for the defence of the City. The King staid long there, causing a new Maior to be
chosen, and other officers to the peoples content, and the safety of the towne: And du-
ring his abode there, he receiued the humble submissions of the dukes of Rohan and Sully, E
and of the Seigneurs of Parabel and la Boulay, Gouernors of Nyort and Foutenay: the
Duke of Sully testifying in the name of all the Province of high and base Poictou, that his
Maieesty might rest assured that he had none there but good and faithfull seruants: That
what had past was to their great griefe, and that for his part he had done his best endea-
uour to hinder the spoiles made by troops, and the great liberty of souldiers, which did
molest the subiects, and annoy the country. The Earle of Roche-faucault was then made
Lieutenant Generall for the King, and Gouernour of Poictiers.

The Maior and Magistrates of Rochel sent certaine Deputies thither, to make offer vn-
to his Maieesty both of the keyes of the towne, and of their hearts, affection, and seruice; F
which did so content the King and Queene, as thereby they tooke occasion to hope for a
good and durable peace for France: for at their Maiesties presence in an instant, all those
troops which the Marquis of Bonniuet had in Poictou, did melt away like snow against
the Sunne.

During their Maiesties stay at Poictiers, Francis of Bourbon Prince of Country died at
Paris in his Abby of Saint German de Pres: his long sickness had taken from him all de-
sire to liue any longer, enduring such continuall paines in his body. The princeesse his wife
being absent from him, was in continuall care for his languishing infirmity, so as he could
not

The King
comes to
Poictiers.

The Rochellers
send the keyes
and their towns
vnto the King.

Death of the
Prince of
Country at
Paris.

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A not rest but in feare, still apprehending the houre when she should heare of her husbands
death: who dying the third of August, posts were presently sent to aduertise the Princeesse
his wife, which newes she receiued two dayes after being in her Chamber at Poictiers;
the heauinesse and melancholy she was in the day before, did preface this sinisterr accident,
which being confirmed, she lamented the death of this good Prince with many teares and
sighes. Their Maiesties being aduertised thereof were much grieved, and it gaue the houle
of Guise a new occasion of mourning, to whom they were allied by their sisters marriage.

The King hauing pacified all things in Poictou, and freed the Country of souldiers,
there remained nothing but Britanie, where the affaires of the Province growing despe-
rate, required his personall presence, for which effect their Maiesties parted from
Poictiers to Angiers. The duke of Vendosme hauing some intelligence of his approach, he
called all his troopes to Port Pelerin, which is betwene Chynon and Ancenis neere to
Nantes vpon the riuer of Loire, vpon a pretext of a generall Muster; whither all his com-
panies (being about 2000 foot) came, and the duke himselfe arriued soone after with some
troopes of horse, who speaking to the Commanders & Captaines, he told them he would
vaine and dismishe his troopes, commanding the souldiers to deliuer vp their Armes:
giuing to euery one a peece of money: And whereas they cryed out of the small recom-
pence they had for assisting him, and that they were forty they were no more employed
for his seruice: he answered them, that he had not taken armes but to prevent some reuolt
C in Britany against his person, and to force the obedience due vnto him in that Country, and
to haue the King serued vnder his commandements: and that seeing now it pleased his
Maiesty to come thither in person to settle all things, and to command as absolute Master,
there was no any further need of Armes; that there were no enemies but the enemies of
his King, and therefore nothing to be feared where he should be: That he thanked them
for their assistance, and intreated them earnestly to retire speedily, if they would not bee
taken and hanged by the Kings people who approached, the which they did with such
haste as in few dayes all were vanished out of sight.

Their Maiesties drawing neer to Nantes, the D. of Vendosme with all the Nobility he
could draw together within the Country, came to meet him, where deliuering his sword
D vnto the King, he craved pardon if any thing had past by this occasion in Britanie, contra-
ry to his Maiesties pleasure; at which time the King receiued him very graciously, remit-
ting all wherewith he might bee charged by reason of the leauing of souldiers, and the
complaints of the Inhabitants of the Province, saying vnto him, *Goe and continue in doing
me good seruice, and I will loue you for ever as my brother.* Whereupon the King gaue him
new letters of reestablishment, and an abolition of all violences which had been committed
in Britanie. After these assurances and acts of submission giuen vnto the King by the D. of
Vendosme, their Maiesties came to Nantes, and caused an Assembly of the Estates of Bri-
tany to be held there, which he did many times honor with his presence, and also the D.
of Vendosme in his behalfe: where they treated of many things concerning the affaires of
E the Prouinces. This Conuocation was very profitable and necessary for the Country,
where the King redressed many grieuances, and granted most of their petitions.

Before the said Estates, the King sent his regiment to Blaut, with the Swisses and the
regiment of Rambour, for that it was reported there was some resistance in that fort, but
they found nothing but obedience, and all things yielded to the Kings seruice. It was re-
stored to the Marquis of Coeuvre by the commandement which the Duke of Vendosme
had giuen to him which kept the place: and for that the Inhabitants of the Country com-
plained that the said Fort of Blaut (if there should be any war) might annoy the Prouince
and be preiudiciall to the Kings subiects keeping them in awe: the King with the aduice
of the Queene Regent and the Princes and Lords of his Councell, ordaine that the said Fort
F of Blaut with diuers others in that Prouince, should be razed to the ground; for the effec-
ting whereof the Swisses should remaine there, with the regiment of Rambour, and 12
souldiers out of euery company of the Guards. This done, their Maiesties parted from
Nantes hauing settled the affaires of Britany, and returned to Paris, to giue order for the
holding of the Generall Estates of France being assigned there.

In the meane time the Prince of Conde leues Cheateauroux, passeth into Poictou and
came to Amboise, resolving to returne to Court, forgetting his discontent and the aduice
of Poictiers, and giues assurance to their Maiesties, that he would be at Paris as soon as
they.

The Duke of
Vendosme dis-
armes at the
Kings com-
ming into Bri-
tany.

The Duke goes
to meet the
King.

The Kings
words to Ven-
dosme.

The Fort of
Blaut razed.

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The King
comes to
Paris.The Prince of
Conde arrives
at Paris.Funerals of the
Prince of Con-
ty.The solemnity
of the Kings
Maority.

they. The duke of Vendosme, after the Kings departure from Nantes, went before to Paris, to be at his wifes lying in, where hee arrived about the 8 of Sept. and stayed there untill the King made his entry into the City. The King having past by Angers, Mans, Chartres, and other good townes, being received with all the ioy and applaue which could be, came about the midde of September to Paris, where the Citizens received his Maiestie without the suburbs, being about 12000 foot, richly armed, and so hee was conducted to the City, where there were rare deuices at his entry, which for breuities sake I must omit. And about the end of September, the Prince of Conde arrived at Paris being accompanied with about 300 horse, where of some stayed in the suburbs of St. Germain, and the rest followed him fully, he entered by St. James Gate and went towards the Louure to salute their Maiesties: he mourned for the death of his vnkle the Prince of County: the Parisians were full of ioy to see this Prince reconciled to the King, which made them hope it would breed a peace of long continuance. Being vpon the new bridge, he was told the king was gone to Bois de Vincennes to hunt, which made him turne towards S. Anthonies gate, where he met the King, who seeing the Prince his cousin, caused his Caroch to stay, and gaue him place by him, being very glad to see him, and so they went on to the Louure, where having left his Maicity, he went to salute the Queene, and then retired to his house. Soone afterwards were the Funerals of the Prince of Cony in the Abbey Church of Saint Germain, with a pompe fit for the quality of his person. At which assisted the said Prince, with many Dukes, Prelates, Noblemen, and great Ladies, with the Courts of Parliament and Accounts, and many others.

During this month of September, there was an Assembly of the Parisians in the Bishops palace, where there assisted many Burgesses and others of good quality, vpon the election of the deputies of the said City, to present the peoples complaints vnto the next Assembly of the generall Estates. The day being come, there was some dispute among the Burgesses, touching the said Election, so as some departed out of the Hall and went their way, but in the end all was pacified and concluded to content, where they made choice of men which were worthy and capable of such places.

Before the Assembly of the generall Estates, it was concluded in Council, by the aduice of the Queen Regent, the Princes of the blood, and of all the other Princes and Noblemen D and Officers of the Crowne, to haue the King declared of full age, according to a fundamentall Law made by King Charles the fifth furnished the Wife, and verified by the Court of Parliament; by the which it was ordained, that the Kings of France having attained the full age of thirteene yeares, and entering into the fourteenth, they should take vpon them the soueraigne government of the State: whereof they gaue notice to the Court of Parliament that this royal action should be celebrated at the Palace in the golden chamber, where they prepared to receive their King a Maior, as they had accustomed to doe in the like solemnity. The day for the solemnizing of this act, was appointed on the 2 of Octob. but the day before he caused a declaration to be made in the presence of the dukes and Lords of his Council, for confirmation of the Edicts of pacification, against Duells, E combats, and encounters: A prohibition for all his subiects, to enter into any Leagues and Affociations both within and without the Realme, and for his Officers and pensioners, to receive any wages or pension from any one but himselfe, forbidding all swearing and blasphemy, with an intent to haue this Declaration verified the next day in Court, as the first act of his Maority, he sitting in his seat of Iustice.

The next day all things being prepared at the Palace, and the Regiment of the Guards placed on either side the street from the Louure vnto the Palace: The Lord Chancellor being followed by many Councillors and Masters of Requests, went vnto the Palace, and were receiued by some Councillors in their robes, deputed to that end, who conducted them into the golden Chamber.

Afterward the Queen arrived, being followed by the yong Ladies her daughters, Queen Margaret and other Princelsses and great Ladies; then the Cardinals of Rochefaucault, Perron, and Bonifi, came to assist at this Ceremony, as Peeres of France, according to the Kings command. About tenne of the clocke, his Maiestie went vnto the Palace, before him there marched his Company of light horse, the Archers of his Guards, and the Swisses; then came his Maiestie richly attired, being followed by the Duke of Aniou his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Earle of Soissons, the Dukes of Guise, Elbeuf, Elpernon.

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A non, Vantadour, and Montbazou, and seuen or eight hundred Noblemen and Gentlemen, richly attired. Being come into the Chamber, euery one tooke his place according to his qualitie and the order prescribed him: being all set, the King who was vnder a rich cloth of Estate, beganne to shew himselfe vnto his Court of Parliament, and to speake these words.

My masters: being by the grace of God come to the age of my Maority, I thought good to come into this place, to let you vnderstand, that being of capable yeares as I am, I meane to gouerne my Realme by good counsell, with piety and iustice: I attend from all my subiects the respect and obedience which is due vnto the Soueraigne power and Royall authority which God hath giuen me: They must also expect from me the protection and fauour which they may attend from a good King, who aboue all things affects their good and tranquility. You shall vnderstand my pleasure more amply by my Chancellor.

His Maiestie hauing thus spoken, the Lord Chancellor made an eloquent Oration vpon the subiect of the Kings maority, shewing them how much France was bound to thanke God, that during his Maiesties minoritie it had enioyed a sweet and happy peace, vnder the glorious and royall command of the Queene his mother, who by her great wisdom had conducted all things to a happie end, during the time of her Regency, of which charge he had so worthily acquitted her selfe, to the Kings honor, her owne glory, and the contentment of his subiects, as France will for euer yeeld her the praises due to her incomparable vertues.

After this, the Queene rising from her seat, and aduancing towards the King, she made a short speech, saying, That she deliuered into his Maiesties hands the reines of his Empire, desiring him, together with the Princes and Officers of the Crowne, to haue for euer in remembrance, the care which he had taken in the administration of the publike affaires of the Realme. After which, the King did rise from his royall Throne, and marching two or three steps towards the Queene with his cap in his hand, he said: Madam, I thank you for the great paines you haue taken for me; I pray you continue to gouerne and command as you haue done heretofore: I will and meane that you be obeyed in all things, and that in my absence you be the chiefe of my Council. This being ended, Monsieur de Verdun the first President, made a long and learned Oration touching the maoritie of the Kings of France, whereby he gaue much content to that noble assistance. After whom followed Monsieur Seruin, the Kings Aduocate generall, whose rare inuention vpon that subiect, rauished that royall Assembly with admiration. These speeches being ended, there followed a Decree of the Kings Maoritie, with the aduice of the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, Prelates, and other persons of qualitie, which were there present, the which was prouounced by the Chancellor: And then the Declaration made the day before in Council (as you haue heard) was verified by the Court, the King sitting in his seat of iustice. After all which, the King returned to the Louure.

Within few dayes after, the Dukes of Neuers, Sully, and Rohan, came to Paris with their ordinary traines, and the Deputies of Prouinces arrived daily, according to his Maiesties Letters sent throughout all the Governments of his Realme, to appeare at the generall Assembly of the Estates, which should be soone after held in the Augustins Conuent. But before we enter into it, we will make mention of a memorable structure or building which was this yeare concluded of.

The King and Queene his mother, continuing the desire which the deceased King had for the beautifying and enriching of his Citie of Paris, and hauing beene aduertised that he held it necessary for the ease of the other bridges, and the beautifying of the City, that there should be a bridge built to passe the riuer of Sein from the Tournelle to Saint Paul, they receiued the propositions of diuers persons which would undertake the worke vpon certain conditions. Among all which, finding none more profitable then those of Christopher Marie, a Burgesse of Paris, hauing had the aduice of the Treasurers of France, and of the Prouost of Merchants, and Sherifffes, there passed a contract on the 19 of April this yeare, betwene his Maiesties Commissioners, and the said Marie, vpon diuers Articles: And vpon the 11 of October the King and the Queen his mother laid the first stone of the said bridge.

By the first Article concluded at Saint Manchould, the Generall Estates were to be held at Sens, and the day was appointed on the tenth of September. But the King and the

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The Kings
speech to his
Parliament.The substance
of the Chancel-
lors speech.The Queene
speech to the
King.A contract for
the building of
Marie bridge.Why the Es-
tates were held
at Paris, and
not at Sens.

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Queene his Mother, being forced to goe to Poitiers, and into Britanie, in the moneths A of July, August, and September, it was deferred vnto the tenth of October following.

The King hauing performed the first Act of his Maioritie in Parliament, and the greatest part of the Deputies of the three Estates of France, being come to Paris, his Maiestie on the 13 of October caused it to be proclaimed, that his pleasure was, the Assembly of the three Estates should be held at Paris, and not at Sens: And that the Deputies which were arrived, should assemble themselves; the Clergie at the Augustins: The Nobilitie at the Franciscan Priests; and the third Estate at the Towne-House. But after their first meeting, the Nobilitie and Commons befought the King (to the end the three Houses might more easily conuerse together, to suffer them to hold their assemblies in the two other Halls of the Augustins, that they might be neere vnto the Clergie, where the three Houses in the beginning sent their Deputies to salute one another according to their vsuall custome.

The Presidents
for the three
Orders chosen.

The day of the Overture of the Estates, they made choice of their Presidents. For the Clergie (as *Malingre* writes) was chosen the Cardinal of Ioyeuse, Deane of the sacred Colledge of Cardinals, Archbishop of Rouen, and Primate of Normandie; *Mercure* affirms, that the Cardinal of Sourdis, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was elected to that place. For the Nobilitie they made choice of *Henry de Beaumont* Baron of Sennecey, Gouernour of the Towne and Castle of Aulonne; and *Robert Mirou* Councillor of State to the King, President of Requests in his Court of Parliament: and the Prouost of Merchants for the Citie of Paris, was chosen President in this Assembly for the Commons. I will not trouble the Reader with the names of the Deputies, nor the places from whence they were sent, being in all about 470. Whilst the Chambers for the three said Orders, were by the Kings commandment making ready, they also prepared Bourbon House, for the King, Queene, Princes of the blood, and other Princes, Lords and Officers of the House and Crowne of France, to receive the Orations, Complaints and Grievances, and to resolve thereon with the aduice of the Lords of his Councell. In the Hall of this house where the King should sit, there were scaffolds built, & none were suffered to enter there during the Kings sitting but such as were qualified.

The beginning
of the assembly
of the Estates.

The Estates began the 27 of October; And the Deputies being all in the said Hall, according to their ranks and qualities: the King being in his Royall Throne, assisted by the Queene his Mother, and Monsieur his Brother, by the Princes of the Blood; and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Cardinals, Prelates, and other Officers of the Crowne, Councillors of State, Secretaries, and Masters of Requests of the Kings House, eury one being set according to his degree; His Maiestie beginning to speake, said, That hee had not desired the Conuocation of the Generall Estates, and an assembly of all the Orders of his Realme, but to reforme the abuses and disorders which time had bred in all sorts of men: That he would ease his people, as much as possibly hee could, and that his will should be more amply declared vnto them by the mouth of his Chancellor.

The Kings
Speech to the
Estates.

The Lord Chancellor making a speech which was much commended and admired by the Royall and noble Assembly. He gaue them to vnderstand how much their Maiesties had been grieved for the abuses, disorders, and corruptions which they had found, were crept into all the orders of the Realme. And that now they were much pleased to see so many good men assembled in that place, ready and disposed to take paines to discouer vnto him who is the onely Physician of France vnder God) the miseries and most dangerous maladies of the Estate: That they should expect from his Maiestie all that good which naturall subjects may attend and hope for of a good King, who loues and affects the quiet of his people: wherefore his Maiesty for his part, did attend from them all assistance and fidelitie, who being charged with the complaints and grievances of the people, they should represent them with all libertie; but especially with all purity and equity of conscience, as the charge of their deputation required, being chosen to propound the good and the ease of the people. Whereupon the Deputies of the three Orders, in presence of his Maiestie, and that Noble assembly, made their answers, protesting by their feuerall Orations (which for breuitie sake I omit) that they would neuer aime at any other end, then the dignity of the Realme, the good and quiet of the Estate, & the ease of the people.

The Deputies
labour to abo-
lish the Sale of
Officers.

After this assembly at Bourbon House, whereas all the said Deputies tooke a solemne Oath to performe all that did belong vnto their duties and charges: They then began to labour

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A labour seriously about their instructions; and the first thing which was resolved by all the three Orders, was the abolition of the sale of Offices of *Indicature*, and others which tend to the oppression and ruine of the people. In the beginning there were some of opinion; that the Sale of Offices of Iustice (which they vse in France) was not so prejudiciall & dangerous, as the common sort did beleue, and many reasons and arguments were produced on either side: but notwithstanding hauing been concluded in the end of November by the three Chambers of the Estates, that the Sale of Offices should be abolished, by reason of the vexations of the subject which grew thereby. The remonstrances hauing bin made at Bourbon House: his Maiesties pleasure was, that the said Sale of Offices shal be extinguished, according to that which was required by the generall instructions of the three Orders; so as some new Impositions of money might be laid vpon salt and the Aydes; whereunto the third Estate opposed, saying that then this Sale should be abolished at the poore peoples charge, who should receiue discommoditie without any profit: Whereupon they drew a Petition, which all the chiefe of the Deputies did signe, which was presented vnto the King by Monsieur *Philbert* Lieutenant General of Bloys in this manner:

The Petition
of the Com-
mons.

Sire: Your most humble and most obedient subjects, the Deputies of the third Estate of France, hauing had an aduertisement of some new leauiques, and Imposts, as well vpon the Salt, as the Aydes; wherewith they propound vnto your Maiestie to ouercharge this Order, to extinguish the Sale of Offices required by all our instructions; and also to pay the Deputies of the other orders, contrarie to the accustomed formes; they hold themselves bound by the duties of their places and deputations, to make their humble remonstrances vnto your Maiestie touching this subject, wherein if they should file, they should not onely abandon them which rely vpon their trust, and haue committed their interest vnto them; but also violate the faith which all do owe vnto your Maiesties seruice, if they should dissemble the notable preiudice you should receiue therein, by the alteration of the hearts and affection of your people, who without doubt would impatiently beare it (their miseries and calamities being already extreme and lamentable) If they should reape by the assembly of the Estates, thornes in stead of fruit, and ease which hath been so often promised them. Your Maiestie may iudge, if you please, what hope of good there is, if the sale be extinguished at your poore peoples charge; & that they receiue great preiudice, without any present or sensible profit; there being nothing more true then that this order hath no more interest in the abolition then the rest, and yet for one Clergie man or Gentleman which sends to the *Garniers* for Salt, there are 2000. of the Commons which furnish themselves there, so as they may iustly thinke they are ouer-charged and oppressed in this assembly, for the benefit and contentment of the other orders, although they may glory, that they haue contributed as much zeale and affection as the others in all occasions for your Maiesties seruice, and the peace & tranquillitie of the Realme. But (Sir) there is a meanes to recompence your casuall Parties, full of Iustice, vpon the demands which the three orders haue commonly made, so as no man shall haue cause to complaine.

It is the taking away of excessive pensions, granted to men of all orders, conditions, and qualities, to the great oppression of your People, the wasting of your Treasure, and discontent of many of your Subjects, who thinke themselves lesse bound to your Maiesties seruice, seeing the affection and fidelitie of others, better rewarded then theirs. There are other lawfull meanes of husbandrie and sparing, represented by the generall instructions, whereby your Maiestie may draw great summes of money, the which shall not be bathed in the Teares of your poore people, whose Deputies thinke they cannot returne with honour and safety into their Prominces, if they carrie not backe sufficient Testimonie, to witness that the overcharging of this order (which it seemes some seeke of purpose) hath not hapned by the fault and negligence of the said Deputies. They most humbly beseech you, that as the Kings your Predecessors haue alwaies by their bounty & iustice taken in good part, the remonstrances and complaints of their Subjects, yea, and their opposition to the Execution of their Edicts and Declarations obtained by surprize, it would also please your Maiestie to accept of this most humble Petition, with the opposition of the said Deputies: Not to the Execution of your will & pleasure, who haue not yet ordained the said new leauiques, but to the reception & allowance of the aduice which is given you, & that vpon the said opposition the ouertures may be received, as prejudiciall to your Maiesties seruice, & tending to the oppression of your people: that it may be lawfull for your Deputies

1614 " to have their petition entred into your Councell booke, and that they may haue an Act thereof, to serue them as a discharge and iustificacion, not onely with the Townes & communities which haue sent them, but also with your Maiestie, who shall find by the euents, that you haue not in this Assembly, nor euer shall haue more, faithfull seruants and subiects, then those (who hauing caried themselues courageously, for the preseruacion of your sacred person and authority) endeavour to continue the hearts and loue of your people, who will continually pray for your Muiesties greatnesse and prosperitie.

His Maiestie hauing heard their petition, made answere in these words. I will ease my people as much as possibly I may: I haue vnderstood you well, and will conferre with the Queene my mother and Councell, Whereupon the Queene said vnto the Deputies, that they were much incommodated, might take their charges, and retire themselues. Presently after in fauour of the said petition, the King made a declaration for the ease of his people. This Petition was presented at the conclusion of the Estates.

A Combat of two souldiers.

Whilst they were labouring in the generall Estates for the good of France, the Duels were reuiued, not onely among Noblemen and Gentlemen, but also among priuate souldiers and others, so as in this month of Nouember, two yonger brethren of the regiment of the guards, hauing had some dispute in their *Corps de guard*, they went presently to the field to decide their quarrell by the sword, who being not releued soone enough by some of their fellow souldiers which followed them, the one of them was slain by his companions, which being done in the iurisdiction of the Abbey of Saint Germain de Pres, the Bailiffe of the said place came thither with his Sergeants, and tooke vp the dead body, and wrested him that had slaine his fellow out of the hands of certaine souldiers, carying both him and the dead body vnto prison.

The Duke of Espernon hearing hereof, and that the two souldiers had not bene deliuered to the Prouost of the Guards as to their ordinary Iudge, hee resolved the next day to cause him to be deliuered into his hands; giuing charge to the Marquis of Lauallette his sonne, to take the two companies (which should that day goe out of Guard) and to march to the suburbs of Saint Germaine, and make them deliuer the prisoner and the dead body willingly or by force. Being there, they went to the Bailiffes lodging, who being absent, they commanded the Laylor to deliuer them, but he refusing it, they forced the prison and tooke them away, carying them to the suburbs of Saint Marcell. At the same instant the Bailiffe of Saint Germaine went to the Court of Parliament, to complaine of the affront which had bene done him by the Duke of Espernon, saying they had forced his prison, and therefore he required Iustice.

The Parliament incensed against the Duke of Espernon.

The Duke of Espernon being informed that the Court of Parliament would take notice of this businesse, hee came in the afternoone accompanied with many Noblemen to the Palace, to giue an account vnto the Court of that which had past. Being entered into the great Hall, there were some insolencies committed by the Gentlemen of the Dukes traine, the which hauing much troubled the Parliament, considering the reuerence and respect which is due vnto that place: The Court meant to take information thereof, and to lay the fault vpon the Duke of Espernon: being ready to informe against him, aswell for that which concerned the fact committed in the suburbs of Saint Germaine, as for the insolencies done in the Palace. To pacifie all this, the Duke of Espernon had recourse vnto the King, and obtained of his Maiestie a letter vnder his signet, directed to the Parliament, by the which they were enioyned to surcease for two daies, aswell for that which had bene done in the suburbs, as in the Palace. The letters were brought into the Court by *Mons^r de Pralin*, the 24 of Nouember, whereunto obeying, it was ordained that day in Parliament; That the Court (hauing received the Kings letter of Signet, brought by the said *Mons^r de Pralin*, obeying his Maiestie) had decreed to surcease for two daies to determine of that which had past in the suburbs of Saint Germain, and of the rest which followed; and they humbly besought his Maiestie to consider that they could not doe iustice to priuate persons, if it were not done to them for a contempt committed against his Maiesties authority.

The Saturday following being the 29 of Nouember, the Duke of Espernon came to the Parliament with the Duke of Ventadour, being sent expressly by his Maiestie to assist the said Duke, who informed the Court, that the King was very well pleased with that which had bene done in this action: That he thanked the company, and would thanke them

A them more when the Court should depute any to goe to his Maiestie: That the Court had bound him vnto them, (if Subiects may binde their Prince) and that the Duke of Espernon should come presently to make his excuse, and reparation; that in regard of the place which is due vnto him, the King for certaine considerations thought it good, that he should haue the place of Duke and Peere.

The Duke of Espernon said: My Masters, I did not thinke my actions should haue bene mis-construct, hauing so long serued Kings, especially hauing had the honour to be thirtie yeares of this bodie, which is the greatest and most illustrious of the Realme: I came the day after, that which had past in the Suburbs of Saint Germain, to satisfie this companie, which I found not assembled, so as I could not effect my designe: And since I haue endeouored to come twice, and would haue come sooner, if I had not thought the companie would haue taken it in ill part. I most humbly beseech it to beleeue, that knowing the honour and respect which I owe it, being of my age, and growne gray in the seruice of Kings, that I would now haue any other intent: You know that after that calamitie which hapned, that seemed to threaten France, I alone of my qualitie came to offer my seruice to this companie. As for the two last actions, the first I leaue to the Kings Censure: And for the second, if you haue conceiued any bad opinion, I humbly beseech you to forget it. And if any one findes my stile somewhat rude for the delicate eares of the companie, I humbly intreat you to excuse a poore Captaine of Footmen, who hath alwayes endeouored rather to doe well, then to speake eloquently, and to beleeue that to maintain the honour of this companie, I would employ my blood and life.

Whereupon the first President said vnto him: seeing it hath pleased the King to impart his grace and fauour vnto you, vsing his mildnesse and Clemencie like vnto his Predcessors, hauing commanded this Companie, as well by his Letters, as his owne mouth, to receiue your excuses and satisfactions. The Court censuring fauourably of the actions of an Officer of the Crowne, Duke and Peere of France, of the Age, Qualitie, Valour, and Merits that you are. Touching that which hath past in the Suburbs of S. Germaine, and at the Palace, hath receiued and willingly allowed (by the Kings expresse commandement) of your satisfactions, and will alwaies be mindfull of your seruices, hoping that hauing done seruice to the King, you and your posteritie will hereafter yeeld the same as yee ought to Iustice and the Lawes: And the Court doth forget for this respect wharfoeuer hath past of importance, that may concerne you. And by the same Decree it was ordained that the Prisoner should be sent backe to the Prison of S. Germaine, which was done: where hee continued long; but in the end at the suite of the Duchesse of Vantadour, he escaped, not without great difficultie.

The Ecclesiasticall Order, vpon the report of so many Duels made in the face of the Loure, and of the Estates, resolved to make their complaint vnto the King by their Deputies, to the end there might be an exact obseruation of the Edicts made against them. The Charge whereof was giuen to the Bishop of Montpellier, who hauing audience of their Maiesties, deliuered this Speech. The Prelates and Clergie your most humble Subiects, assembled in this Towne by your authoritie, come to complaine of the publicke scandal of Duels, which doe miserably blenish the honour of your Realme, doubting not but this mischiefe doth touch the hearts of the other Orders, or rather that France mourning, laments the losse of her worthiest children. But these complaints doe more properly belong to the lips of the Clergie; who seeing that whilest the French powre forth their most generous blood in quarrels, the soules committed to their charge goe downe to Hell: And that they haue not bene so dearly redeemed by the blood of the Innocent, to be so fatally spilt in Duels with the guiltie. We know well that this fury is inspired by him who is called in holy Scripture a *Murderer from the beginning*, who maliciously makes the Image of Honour to shine in these barbarous actions, vpon which the French Nobilitie do naturally commit Idolatry, to raise it to credit, as he doth vpon Altars polluted with murder and blood, to receiue in sacrifice their bodies and soules.

Many Nations are curled and to be lamented in this preiudiciall action to France, shame, full to Nature, contrary to God, and doth dangerously charge your Maiesties conscience. First of all, France is wondrously weakened by this excess: and as the great losse of blood quencheth the vigour of the bodie, makes the visage pale, and the functions of Nature slow and languishing: so Duels which spill so much Noble blood, weaken this

The first Presidents speech to the Duke of Espernon.

The Bishop of Montpellier speech to the King, touching Duels.

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„ this Estate, deface the liuely colours of her face and beauty : and this weaknesse may A
 „ giue great advantages to our enemies. To say that this action is an exercise of Valour,
 „ which may forſeife it in making of Souldiers, or that the reparation of an iniurie cannot
 „ be done but by Armes, without a blemish to him that is wronged; it doth contradiēt the
 „ iudgement of *Henry* the Great your Father, whose memorie shall bee blessed in all Ages,
 „ who by his Armes and infinite Victories had purchased the title of the true Iudge and so-
 „ ueraigne Arbitrator of Honour; who by his Sacred Edicts, declared those actions contra-
 „ rie to true Honour, whereof he detested the use, as a Brutish fury. In truth the action is
 „ neither glorious, nor worthy of Honour, which the violence of a passion may draw from
 „ the most fearefull. All France is equally generous, seeing wee see no man refuse the B
 „ Combat: We cannot say that it is an infallible mark of Honour, being so common to
 „ all. But as Metals haue some things which resemble them; so vertues haue vices which
 „ counterfeit them. The vertue of Valour being properly a settled temper of a iudicious
 „ spirit, alwaies equall and vniforme, which takes time to look into dangers without pertur-
 „ bation, and condemnes them, or surmounts them by some designe worthy of commenda-
 „ tion, the which shall neuer belong to the blind and vncertaine actions of Duels, which we
 „ may call a transport of fury. Wee cannot thinke of the fearefull accidents which accom-
 „ pany this madnesse, and not detest it; neither can wee speake of seconds without trem-
 „ bling, and curse the time wherein they are borne, seeing it makes vs see so many Mon-
 „ sters. No friendship hereafter can be so safe and holy among the French, (which vertue C
 „ vnitheth and bindeth with an honourable cymment) but before they are aware, they shall
 „ finde themselves ingaged in this mischief: for being inuited by the principals of the
 „ quarrell, the one on the one side, the other on the other, the friend must kill his friend who
 „ hath neuer offended him. It serueth to no purpose to bee modest in words, temperate in
 „ actions, courteous to all men, faithfull to his Prince, and exceeding vertuous, if freeing
 „ himselfe from the subiect of all quarrells, he must haue a share in other mens. I would here
 „ be silent, to heare Nature speake, who complains that the French confound the condition
 „ of Friends, with that of Enemies, and breake the sacred bond of friendship, and humane
 „ societie, which the most barbarous Nations honour with some religious respect. But it is
 „ not Nature alone which complains, Heauen also thunders ouer our heads: And we that D
 „ are especially ordained to expound his Word, denounce vnto your Maiestie his wrath, by
 „ reason of this crime, which continueth before your face, before that of all the Orders of
 „ your Estate, and in the sight of heauen and earth.

„ The blood which was found in all the Cisternes of Egypt, into which the Waters of
 „ *Nilus* were changed, was not only the first of the ten plagues wherewith the Realme was
 „ afflicted, but a preſage of the ſubſequent. And we feare that this blood ſpilt in ſo many
 „ parts of France, which pollutes most of the Noble Families, with murders and punish-
 „ ments, will not onely bee a dangerous wound vnto your Estate, but also a fearefull
 „ threat of the heauens bloodie rods. *Pithagoras* drew certaine Letters and Characters
 „ vpon a Looking-Glasse with humane blood, the which appeared presently in the bodie E
 „ of the Moone. It is more certaine that what ſwords write here below with blood pow-
 „ ered out in Duels, appeares in heauen, which growes red with wrath, and will doubleſſe
 „ reuenge this barbariſme. If your Maieſtie, aſſiſted with the Councell of the *Queene* your
 „ Mother, of incomparable wiſedome and pietie, doe not prevent this miſchief by ſome
 „ ſubſtantiall remedie worthy of the moſt Chriſtian King and eldeſt ſonne of the Church.
 „ It doth much offend God, to ſee his workes deſaced which haue coſt ſo deare, and the
 „ ſoules to be carried away, for the which he hath made ſuch tryals of his power, & ſhewed
 „ ſo many miracles of his loue: And it grieues him to ſee them loſt with the blood of men:
 „ and the rather, for that in his being ſhed, he hath firſt conſecrated the diuine myſteries of
 „ our life and glorie.

„ All theſe complaints are not onely addreſſed vnto the eares, but alſo vnto the conſci-
 „ ence of your Maieſtie, whom God hath here eſtabliſhed to command, hee is a free and
 „ liberrall diſpenſer of his graces, but he requires a ſtriſt account. You are ſeated in your Fa-
 „ thers Throne, but he that giues Kingdomes, doth make you anſwerable (with thoſe
 „ which aſſiſt you) for the good of your Subiects. We doubt not of your Maieſties holy in-
 „ tentions, nor of the *Queene* your Mothers: but wee ſhould betray our places, if in the
 „ midſt of ſo many diſorders vnworthy of men, of French men, and of Chriſtians, wee
 „ ſhould

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A ſhould hold our peace. They haue not onely paſt all bounds of ſtate, but of ſhame like-
 „ wiſe: They make a triumphant ſhew hereof both about, and within this Citie of *Pa-*
 „ *ris*, in view of the *Louure*, with a ſhew of warrantize, and they ſeeme to bee lawfull for
 „ that they are become publique.

I beſeech your Maieſtie conſider of how many euils you make your ſelfe guiltie, al-
 „ though that your age ſeemes to fauour your innocencie. The people haue not onely tranſ-
 „ ferred their common rights into their Kings perſon; but alſo their publique faults, when
 „ they are diſſembled or ſuſſered. Wherefore God who doth often reuenge the Princes ini-
 „ quitie vpon the Subiects; ſo doth hee ſometime puniſh the Prince for the crimes of his
 „ Realme. I beſeech you thinke that you are borne to ſaue the people made ſubiect to the ob-
 „ edience of your Scepter, euen when as they ſecke to loſe themſelves; if you abandon
 „ them, and France be goared in her owne blood, ſhee will ſoone bee abominable before
 „ God, and be viſited in his wrath. Showers of blood haue preſaged horrible calamities
 „ where they haue ſalne, we muſt apprehend the like during your raigne, if your Maieſtie do
 „ not cauſe theſe abominable Duels to ceaſe, which produce ſtreames of blood. I beſeech
 „ you repreſent vnto your ſelfe the Soule of *Henry* the Great your Father, who beholdeth
 „ theſe diſorders from the higheſt heauens: for if any thing would trouble the reſt of the
 „ bleſſed, without doubt this furie would alter his felicitie. God gaue vs him as a laſper
 „ Stone, to ſtanch the blood which flowed from Ciuill Warres; and ſeeing that Duels drew
 „ C it in a full peace from this bodie to weaken it. He made rigorous Edicts, to prevent this
 „ miſchief, and confirmed it by the ceremonie of a ſolemne vow. What can his thoughts
 „ be, ſeeing France which he hath ſaued and crowned with his victories, to become madde
 „ againſt it ſelfe; deuouring her owne children: wee muſt beleue that they diſpleaſe you,
 „ and them which aſſiſt you with counsell: but you muſt make it knowne to all France, that
 „ this crime is not onely condemned in the *Louure*, but condemned, ſetting honour at liber-
 „ tie which remains captiue in the Center of this brutiſh paſſion. Honour, which is the
 „ recompence of vertue, is by this meanes become the portion of barbariſme: I beſeech
 „ your Maieſtie arme your Arme which is your Juſtice, with the rigor of Ordinances both
 „ Diuine and Humane, to the end this Monſter may be encountered both from heauen and
 „ D earth: if your Subiects herein violate your Edicts, doe not you violate them: if they for-
 „ get your reſtraints, remember the puniſhments; for in theſe deſperate diſeaſes, it is an
 „ extreame crueltie to be pitifull.

The Prelates and others of the Clergie (preſt by their duties) could not be ſilent, but it
 „ makes them to complaine againſt this ſcandall, which loſeth ſo many ſoules, and diawes
 „ vpon our heads the wrath of God. And for the diſcharge of their conſciences, they deſire
 „ that it may be written in the eternall memorie of France, that hauing foreſcene a dange-
 „ rous tempeſt approaching, they haue giuen warning vnto the people: and ſeeing God
 „ greatly offended, they haue made it knowne vnto your Maieſtie. They beſeech you to
 „ looke vpon this France weeping, which ſtretcheth out her armes vnto you, and conſpires
 „ E you to prepare ſome ſpedie antidote againſt this poiſon of Duels, which doth ſuffocate
 „ it. So many ſubiects as your Maieſtie ſhall ſaue by theſe remedies, ſo many immortal
 „ crownes will the ſet vpon your head. It will bring peace to Families, aſſurance to peace,
 „ force to France, conſolation to the Church, and ſoules to God, which will prolong
 „ and bleſſe your daies, making your raigne to flouriſh, equall to your zeale and royall
 „ pietie.

The King and *Queene* heard this Prelates ſpeech with great attention; to whom the
 „ Chancellor made anſwer, that their Maieſties were very deſirous to employ all kinds of
 „ remedies to prevent the diſorders which they ſaw in Duels, and that they would take in
 „ good part all aduiſe ſhould be giuen them vpon this ſubiect; That beſides the deſeased
 „ Kings Edicts which were very ſtriēt; his Maieſtie had made another in the yeare 1613.
 „ (the which he deliuered vnto the Biſhop) ſaying, let your Order ſee it, that they may adde
 „ whatſoever they ſhall thinke neceſſarie, and giue their aduiſe thereon, the which their Ma-
 „ ieſtie will alwaies take in good part. After which the Clergie drew certain Articles touch-
 „ ing that ſubiect, and preſented them vnto the King.

The Generall Eſtates laboured about their grieuances, and about the fifthenth of De-
 „ cember, there was one Article which cauſed a great diſtraction, betwixt the Clergie and
 „ the Houſe of Commons, touching the ſafety and ſoueraignty of their Kings. The ſub-
 „ ſtance

The Chan-
 „ cellor anſwer to
 „ the Biſhops
 „ ſpeech conce-
 „ rning Duels.

A contented
 „ ſubſtance of the
 „ Chry, and
 „ Commons too.
 „ ding, the ſub-
 „ ſtance of the
 „ ſafety of Kings.

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stance of this Article, concluded by the Commons being their first, was: That it should be declared by the said Estates, and set down as a fundamentall Law; That the King did not hold his Realme of any but of God & his sword, and that he is not subiect to any superior power vpon Earth for his temporal Estates; and that no booke should bee printed containing any doctrine against the Person of Kings, touching the question too much debated in these times, by men put vp with presumption and rashnesse, who make questions whether it be lawfull to kill Kings: which question shall be forbidden to propound, dispute, or write of. And if hereafter there bee any bookes found like vnto those which haue bin condemned by the Court of Parliament, the said bookes shall bee publicly burnt in destruction of such Writings, which may draw weake spirits to the like attempts, the sole approbation whereof is full of horror. And to prevent such damnable propositions, the whole order with the Author thereof should be punished and banished the Realme without hope of returne.

The Clergie being aduertised of this Article on the twentieth of December, and that it had past the House of Commons, without any contradiction, they conceived that the Commons had put their Sickle into their Haruest; that it was a case of conscience, which concerns faith and Religion; and that it was propounded by some persons that were desirous of innovations, and were not well grounded in the faith; whereupon they desired to haue that Article withdrawn, the which some which were of greatest credit amongst them undertooke, and to that end they sent the Archbishop of Aix, who came the same day to the House of Commons, and made a learned speech to this effect.

My Masters, although that we all tend to the publique good, yet these three Orders haue some particular ends, and we must not thinke it strange if they haue diuers apprehensions; for that their professions differ: but this difference should end in a good Harmonie, and come vnto the Kings cares in a pleasing tune. If there bee in the Articles of the Clergie any particularities concerning Iustice and the Treasure, it is not fit they should be concluded before they are imparted vnto you. And in like manner if in your Articles there be any propositions found which concerne the Church, it were requisite you should communicate them vnto vs. Truth is waiering, and Truth which was the Sonne of God, had need of the support of men: That hee being the Sonne of God did rely vpon the Church, and the Church vpon him. *Iunice super dilectum suum.* If the Son of God would make choise of this support, it is fit that priuate men should be tyed to the same Church, that they should bring all their Vowes vnto it, and depend immediately vpon it. You shall therefore communicate that vnto vs which you treat of concerning the Church. I inuite you vnto it, being not lawfull to remoue the Altars, nor to touch the foundation of the Church without vs. We are of the same Countrey, and the same Blood, and inclined to the same ends, *Pietas ad omnia*, and this Pietie should be so deare vnto vs, as we should not seeke to deforme this Ecclesiasticall bodie, lest wee make the Holy Ghost (who is the Author of peace) sad. The Proposition which I make vnto you is general; some few daies since, there was an Article presented vnto vs, which we haue reiected, for that it did not concerne vs: In like manner, if there be any Article among you which doth belong to vs, you ought to impart it.

After complements and thanks giuen, the President *Miron* made answer, that they vnderstood him not, and that they could not satisfie his proposition vntlesse hee did expaine himselfe more particularly. The same day it was resolved in the House, that the Clergie should be giuen to vnderstand, that the Commons had inserted nothing in their Articles concerning the Doctrine of the Church, and that if it had been so, they would haue acquainted them therewith: That touching the policie of the Church there had bin something treated of, and set downe in their Articles, and that it had been concluded not to communicate it vnto them, to auoid tediousnesse, to the which the King would make answer at his pleasure.

For the carying of which message vnto the Clergie, there were certaine Deputies chosen, and Monsieur de *Marmiesse* an Aduocate of the Parliament of Thoulouse was appointed to deliuer the Speech: who comming to the Clergie on the 22. of December, hauing made a learned Speech, he concluded, saying, That the King hauing called the three Estates of the Realme, had married the three Orders together, to bring forth felicity and happinesse to France. Discord falling among vs, hath sought in the beginning to stirre vp emula-

The Archbishop of Aix his Speech to the House of Commons.

A Speech to the Clergie from the Commons.

A emulations, and enuies, and to diuine (by the difference of the qualities of the three Orders) those which were vnted by loue to labour for the common weale. You know that three small words spoken in the Chamber of the Nobilitie by the Deputies of our order, hath heretofore alienated their hearts and affections from vs, and busied all the three Chambers about a dispute of qualities, as much vnprofitable as preiudiciall to the State; and you know what difficultie you had to reconcile those two Orders. Wee must therefore auoid all occasions to fall into like disputes, be it with the Nobilitie, or with you; the which cannot bee auoided, if all the Articles bee communicated vnto the three Chambers. It is not for any desire we haue to insert into ours, any thing that shall bee bitter, or offensive: contrariwise we will exactly weigh the least words, to the end there may be nothing which may giue you iust offence. The dignitie of your Order, which exalts you above all others; the Characters imprinted by the hand of God vpon your exalted heads, which makes you to be reuerenced of all; and the ranke which the Prerogative of your Places, and the Dignitie of your Charges doe worthily giue you in France, commands our respect and honour towards you. If we finde in our consciences, and by the charge which we haue, that we are bound to require some reformation in your order, and not to speake against any in particular: we will doe as *Plutarch* saith they did in old time, which would demolish the Houses which were nere vnto their Temples: they suffered those parts to stand which were next adioyning, lest they should touch any thing which was Sacred: Or as the Eagle, who taking vp *Ganimede*, by the commandement of *Iupiter*, touched nothing but his clothes, lest hee should hurt this well beloued of the gods. Wee in like sort will vse so much discretion in the drawing of our Articles, which shall concerne this first and sacred order of the Church, as wee will neither wound the Church, nor her Ministers. We will only touch the Robes and exteriour actions of those who blemishing the beauty of this venerable body, may cause (with too much scandall) a shame vnto Religion, and a hearts grieft to all good French men, who desire to fee their Church in his Puritie, Honors, Prerogatiues, and Authoritie: And vpon this assurance we beseech you to allow of our resolution, to the which we haue not brought any thing but a pure and sincere affection.

The day following, the Bishop of *Montpellier* came to the House of Commons, and required communication of the said Article; and hauing made an eloquent discourse vpon that subiect, in the end he demanded why that order did not impart this proposition vnto them, and that they could not refuse the communication of the Article, to the end that all together might make one, the which should be set in letters of gold vpon the Front of their Remonstrances. But they must not mingle it with other propositions which are in question between France and her neighbours. That there were two powers, the one Temporall, the other Spirituall; that they sought to confound them, when as the one was deriued from the other. That both these authorities had but one Fountaine. That their orders should labour to entertaine concord, and reconcile these two powers, and doe as the Ancients did, who puld the Gaule out of the beasts which they sacrificed. That resolving vpon this business they should free their hearts from all thoughts of ialousie and emulation, and with writings full of mildnesse and peace, conspire ioyntly for the publique good; not only looking to that which is before their eyes, but (extending their thoughts further) consider of the consequence of many things, which in the beginning seeme plausible, and yet in the end will proue hurtfull. That this Article (as it was drawne) would cause a Schisme, and it may be, kindle a warre not onely in France, but throughout all Christendome. So it would be a rending of that Vesture without seame, which is so carefully to be kept whole. That this order ought not to be caried away with the first persuasions. That his purpose was not to plucke vp at once, that which was feared. That this order had not power to doe it, for that a melancholy spirit could not be so staid, if he were not inuited by the Author of the Church. That they must not thinke their order was able to hinder this pernicious designe, and that they must hope for the end from them. That they must referre affaires of so great importance concerning the life and preferuation of the King vnto vs.

The Commons hauing resolved to communicate the Article vnto the Clergie, the Seigneur de *Marmiesse* was presently sent with some other Deputies, to execute this resolution; who presenting the Article vnto the Clergie, made this speech: My Masters,

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The Bishop of Montpellier demands communication of the Article.

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Monſieur de
Mairies
ſpeech to the
Clergie.

we ſhall ſeek in vaine to preferue our priuate fortunes, if we ſuffer the publike to be loſt, A ſeeing the danger of priuate men cannot be auoided, but by the ſafety of the Generall. But with leſſe reaſon ſhall we endeavour for the ſafety of the State, if we be not careful to preferue the ſacred Maieſtie of Kings, which are the ſoule of States. There muſt bee ſo ſtriſt a bond from the particular to the Generall; and from the Generall to the King, as the vnion may be made in his ſacred Perſon; and that the other parties being tyed vnto it by the bond of reſpect and obedience, may maintaine and preferue themſelues in their being. The happineſſe of the Realme, and the fortunes of priuat men, are ſo vnited to the fortune of Kings, and God (of whom Monarchies are the handy-workes) hath ſo ſeared them, as no harme can come vnto them, but it drawes with it the loſſe of our Houſes, and B the ruine and ſubuerſion of the State; whereof we haue too many lamentable and vnfortunate examples.

The Deputies of the third eſtate (terrified with the remembrance of what is paſt, and ſeeking greater dangers which threaten them, if theſe parricides be not refrained, if they be not contained in the dutie of reſpect and reuerence due to Kings, theſe ſicke ſpirits, who (pre-occupied by falſe opinions, and troubled with vaine Illuſions) ſeek in the death of our Kings, Hell for themſelues, and miſerie for France) haue drawne an Article, the execution whereof (warranting the life of our Princes, from the ſnares which they lay for them) will maintaine (as they thinke) peace within the Realme.

We haue not acquainted you heretofore with this Article, no more then with the reſt C which we haue concluded, for the priuate reaſons which I deliuered vnto you ſome daies paſt. But ſeeing you deſire to ſee it, and that you haue ſummoned vs therunto by the Biſhop of Montpelier, we come to tell you, that as the walles of Iericho fell at the ſound of the Priests Trumpets, ſo we bow vnder the voice of that Reverend and learned Prelate; and being urged by his eloquent words, contrarie to our fiſt reſolutions, we offer vnto you the communication of this Article, whereof we bring you a Copy.

We will not diſcours vnto you on the ſubiect thereof, our Company hath forbidden vs, concealing that in ſo important a buſineſſe; in ſo reaſonable an action, and ſo profitable for the generall good of France, you will bee as well diſpoſed to recieue and fauour D our holy & commendable intentions, as we to diſcours vnto you of the occasions which moued vs to draw this Article, and the reaſons we haue to maintaine it. We will onely ſay vnto you, that in deliuering this Abſtract, we would imitate a ceremonie obſerued by the Ancients in their ſacrifices. They were accuſtomed to caſt the tongues of the Beaſts ſacrificed to their gods, into a purifying and no conſuming fire: euen ſo we as Deputies bring our vowes into this generall aſſembly for the good of France, that in dedicating our ſelues to the ſeruite of the Publike, we haue conſecrated vnto it both our hearts & tongues in giuing you this Article. Let vs caſt the tongues which haue dictated it into the Fire of this Deuotion; of this Charitie; of this ardent affection, which you haue for the good, glory, and peace of this Eſtate.

The affection then which you beare vnto the preſeruation of Kings, ſhall ſerue as a fire, E not to conſume, but to purifie theſe tongues. Nor to abrogate, (for you haue already promiſed by the mouth of the ſaid Biſhop that it was not your intention:) but to poliſh this Article; to the end that as gold caſt into the fire, (although it loſeth his forme, preferueth his ſubſtance) ſhewes more beautifull, more rich, and more poliſhed then it was before: euen ſo this Article coming out of your hands, without any change or alteration in the ſubſtance, would carry a command of greater authority, by reaſon of your adiunction, ſtronger imprecations, and ſeuerer puniſhments, then thoſe we haue ſet down, to containe every man in his dutie. This is all we haue to ſay vnto you in the behalfe of our aſſembly, who attend your reſolution touching this ſubiect.

In the beginning of the yeare the controuerſie reuiued, touching the Soueraignty of F the Kings of France which had continued about three weekes of the laſt yeare. On the ſecond of Ianuary the Cardinall of Perrou was deputed by the Clergie to the Houſe of Commons, touching the ſubiect of their fiſt Article, being accompanied by many Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and about 60. Gentlemen of the Chamber of the Nobilitie which were ſent to aſſiſt them. Being carried into their Chamber, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. He began to ſpeake in the praife of Juſtice, and the government of the Church, concluding in the end that they ſhould continue vnited together for that which concerned

The Cardinall
of Perrou
comes to the
houſe of
Commons.

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A ned the ſafety of the Kings life. And as for that which concerned the doctrine of the Church, the Article ſhould be wholly referred to the diſcretion of the Church, and in ſo doing that the third eſtate would reſt contented, that this Article ſhould bee taken out of their inſtructions.

Whereunto Preſident Miron made answer, concluding after this manner. I will aſſure you that this company neither hath, or euer will haue any intention to wound the Church in the reſolution of this Article, the which they cannot retract; neither yet to touch the holy Sea, nor enter into diſpute, touching the power of our Holy Father the Pope; that he hath all ſoueraignty but in ſpiritual things onely, and therefore out of our knowledge and iuriſdiction: And if his authoritie and obedience, which we acknowledge which all Chriſtians owe him in ſpiritual things (not excepting Kings) were loſt or called in queſtion, it ſhould be found as well fortified among vs, as in any one order. For he reſides the body of the Officers, and Soueraigne companies, alwayes found in faith: the which hath contributed much to the maintaining of the Church, as we will alwayes doe. But wee will haue a care to bring in this mixture of power, whiſpered by ſuch as ayme at nothing elſe but to diuide vs, and thereby to diſperſe vs, and in the end ruine the one by the other, whereof we haue but too many examples, whole wounds bleed yet among our neighbours. The intention of this Company hath been to maintaine the Independancy of our Kings Crowne, which cannot be juſtly taken from him by any power. That C his Holineſſe hath not this power; That the Church hath neuer pretended it: that thoſe which write the contrary, may be puniſhed as guilty of high Treason, by the ſecular Judge: intending not to make an Eccleſiaſtical Law of this propoſition, as appertaining not thereto, but a rule of Policy, which obligeth all the ſubiects of his Maieſtie of what profeſſion ſo euer. Yet notwithstanding if there be any words in our Article, which may giue you occaſion to ſuſpect, that wee goe about to meddle with the iuriſdiction of the Church, We declare that theſe words which ſeeme to containe this reproach, haue not bene inſerted, to aſſume vnto vs the power by our owne authoritie, to declare it damnable, or contrarie vnto Gods Word; but by relation onely. As a Father which inſtructs his children in that which he learned in a Sermon, cannot be accuſed to haue put himſelfe D into the Pulpit, or to take vpon him the Miniſters authoritie: So when we declare that to bee damnable, and contrarie to Gods Word, the which is contrarie to our Propoſition; wee vtter that which wee haue learned in the Decrees, Canons, and Statutes, which wee haue had from your ſelues, and which wee hold of the Church, to be held and kept by vs. When either of vs ſhall tranſgreſſe any of them, we abuſe them, and from hence comes our appellations as of abuſe, becauſe it is abuſe when a man tranſgreſſeth that which hee hath ſubmitted himſelfe vnto. It is not then by way of enterprize, nor by a preſumed power that wee doe this, but by obedience vnto the ſame Decrees, Canons, and Eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, and by the executive and not ordinarie power of them. Wee conſtrain that to be obſerued, which was eſtabliſhed by your ſelues, betwene you and vs.

Our Article is not any more then a repetition of the ſame: and being good as the company reſolued to leave it in their inſtructions, what inconuenience is there to ſpeake it? and if there be none, what danger is there for all of vs to ſwear and aſſume it? and yet the ſubſtance of the Article remaining, if there bee any words which trouble you, ſetting downe in writing what you require of vs, I thinke wee ſhall agree together, without altering any thing of the ſubiect of the Article, and the company will all ſtrive to giue you contentment with the ſame ſhall obedience which they haue witnessed from the beginning of this Aſſembly, and the which they will alwayes ioine vnto the reſpect, honour, and ſeruite which they haue made, and doe againe make profeſſion to yeeld vnto you.

F Vnto this the Cardinall replied, that the Clergies intention was not to accuſe any of that company or others of ſlander. In the end he gaue thanks vnto the Preſident, and the third Eſtate in general; concluding, that it did not belong vnto them to interpret, reſolve and conclude, in the like caſes of doubtfull queſtions when they are offered. That it was incident vnto the Clergie, who are the Judges to determine them.

The ſame day the Court of Parliament being informed by the Kings Councell, that many perſons tooke libertie to call in queſtion, and to diſpute of the Soueraignty of Kings, and to hold thoſe Maximes diſputable, as if they were ſubiect to ſome ſu-

Preſident Mi-
rons answer to
the Cardinall

A ſecond
the Court of
Parliament,
touching the
ſafety of Kings.

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perious power, and that they might attempt against their Sacred Persons, whereby there might grow great inconueniences; the preuenture whereof was very necessary. They required that all former Edicts vpon that subiect might bee renued. Whereupon the Court, (all the Chambers being assembled) ordained that the Decrees made in the yeare 1561, and in the yeare 1594 and 95; and likewise in the yeare 1612, and 1614; should be kept and obserued according to their forme and tenour: forbidding all men of what condition to euer, to infringe them, vpon the paines contained in the same.

The Clergie
complaines
of the Court
of Parliament.

This Decree did much trouble the Clergie, as if they had attempted against their spiritual, and Ecclesiasticall power, vpon a consideration thought out of policy. Whereupon they resolted that the Cardinall of Sourdis, assisted by some Cardinals, Arch-bishops, Bishops, and other of the Clergie, should goe presently and make complaint to the King; for that the Parliament would limit and restrain the liberty of the States and meddle with affaires which were treated of by them, humbly beseeching his Maiestie to stay the course of the said propositions and Decrees. Which being done, the Cardinall *du Perron* taking vpon him to speake concerning the said Article and Decree, sought to perswade his Maiestie, that it did import his good and that of the State, to let this businesse no more talked of, and that all might bee suppressed and disallowed without any further question of any matter therein contained. The next day the King being in Councell to aduise how to suppress these differences, the Prince of Conde

The Prince of
Conde
argued in your
Councell these
hundred years,
and worthy of
your presence.
There is
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Gods honour,
the other
blissment of
the Catholique,
Apostolique,
and Romane
Church;
the other, the
safety and
preseruacion
of your estates.

Sir, I thinke the businesse here present, is one of the most important that hath beene argued in your Councell these hundred years, and worthy of your presence. There is question of two points of most great consequence; the one hath respect vnto Gods honour, the other blissment of the Catholique, Apostolique, and Romane Church; the other, the safety and preseruacion of your estates.

Certainly, Sir, your Maiestie may rightly terme your selfe the greatest King in the world, who hold your Crowne but of God alone, before whom the more powerfull you are, the more you should bee submisse, being subiect to the Pope who is head of the Church in spiritual things. But in that which concerns your temporal, the subiection of your Subjects; the obedience which is due vnto you; and the sacred respect which they must yeeld to the preseruacion of the Lords Anointed; the spiritual power hath no command. That although you were an Hereticke or an Infidell, yet they owe you obedience in that which is merely temporall. So making a long discourse vpon the Ordinances which had beene made against the Popes enterprises, vpon the authoritie of the Kings of France; in the end he concluded, Lying, Sir, these reasons make me to admire the wisdom of your Parliament: who by the Testimony they giue you of their fidelity, binde you for euer and all France, to esteeme them faithfully, courageous, and incorruptible Magistrats, who are the true preseruers of holy Decrees, and from whom there proceedes nothing but Oracles of infallible truth. Magistrats who make you to bee reuerenced, seeing that your person alone in France, is exempt from their iurisdiction. I speake onely for the Kings interest; for I hope hee shall liue many ages, and Monsieur his brother in like manner, so as by a multitude of children wee shall see our selues assured of a seiled pace. Yet seeing that rough cures were neuer good, I am of opinion to forbid any further dispute of this question, in regard of the Clergie, and the third Estate, and to retire it to your selfe, suffering them to draw their Articles as they please; and whereas your Maiestie shall answer the remonstrances, we shall then see by your wisdom, our ancient Maximes confirmed. And for that the Clergie and the Nobilitie are concerned that the Decree of Parliament doth preiudice their libertie, I hold it fit your Maiestie should forbid the signing and publication thereof.

A Decree in
Councell
touching
the Article of
the third Estate.

Whereupon there was soone after a Decree made in Councell, whereof the effect was, That the King hauing heard of the differences which had hapned in the Assembly of the three orders of the Estates of this Realme, touching an Article propounded by the house of Commons, & a Decree made by the Court of Parliament vpon that subiect, hauing heard the remonstrances of the Deputies of the Clergie & Nobility; His Maiestie being in Councell, assisted by the Queen his Mother, the Princes of the blood and other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, & others of his counsell, for good & great

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considerations hath called in, and doth call in vnto himselfe the foresaid differences: hath surceased, and doth surcease the execution of all Decrees and deliberations which haue hapned thereupon. Doth expressly defend and forbid the said Estates, to enter in to any new deliberation vpon that matter, and vnto the said Court to take any iurisdiction or knowledge thereof, or to proceed to the signing and publication of that which had been decreed.

The Clergie seemed not well satisfied with this Decree, both for that it made mention of differences betweene the three orders of the State, (the Clergie and the Nobilitie concurring well together) as also for that they had no full answer to those points which they had propounded to the Councell. Whereupon they sent certaine Deputies to the Lord Chancellor, giuing him to vnderstand, That the Clergie could not in any sort proceede to any business before that his Maiestie had commanded the House of Commons to suppress the Article propounded by them, and presented to the Chambers: And forbidden the Court of Parliament, and other Soueraigne Companies, hereafter to enter into any deliberation concerning the doctrine of the Church, nor to iudge or determine vpon any Question depending thereon; As of the Popes authoritie, referring to himselfe in this last point to treat with his Holinesse, with the aduice of the Prelates of his Realme.

The Clergie hauing by their Deputies made a new Petition vnto the King touching these points. On the sixt of Ianuary his Maiestie sent the Marshall of Brisac vnto them to let them vnderstand; That to giue satisfaction vnto the complaint which they had made against a Decree of the Court of Parliament, the King had caused the Printer to bee committed to prison, for printing a Decree which had not beene signed. That touching the Article of which there had beene so much debate, the King had called it to himselfe to determine thereof with the aduice of the Clergie, and therefore the King had cancelled it: And that if the Clergie had drawne any Articles vpon that subiect, his Maiestie would be well pleased therewith. Touching the complaints which they had made against the Court of Parliament, they should let them in the front of their Bills, and his Maiestie promised to answer them fauorably. And whereas the Clergie desired to see a particular Estate of the Kings Reuenues, as the Nobilitie and Commons had in like manner done; his Maiestie was ready to send it vnto them, but his desire was they should make choise of a small number. Finally, the King intreated them to prepare the Bill of their Grieuances, to the end he might make answer thereunto, whereby the assembly might grow to an end, the continuance whereof held many mens mindes in suspence, and bred sinister opinions and apprehensions, the which it was expedient to suppress, to settle all things in peace and tranquillitie.

The Marshall
of Brisac sent
to the Clergie.

I cannot insit vpon all which past touching the Article propounded by the Commons, nor make any ample relation of the Popes Brieves to the Clergie and Nobilitie, giuing them great thanks for the opposition they had made vnto the said Article, and intreating them to continue in their good zeale, hauing much other matter of importance to treat of. They were againe pressed by the Duke of Vantadour in his Maiesties name, to make haste to present their Grieuances, if it were but to free the Realme of the impatience it suffered by this long delay. Whereupon on the 30. of Ianuary the three Orders resolted by pluralitie of voices, to beseech his Maiestie; First, that the Princes and Officers of the Crowne should alone iudge of the answers which were to be made to their generall Grieuances. Secondly, that if his Maiestie desired that any other of his Councell should assist, that he should be intreated to giue a list of their names, and that five or sixe of the Estates might be named among them. Thirdly, that three or foure of the Deputies of either Chamber might assist in Councell, when the said answers should be resolted. Fourthly, that the Estates should not be dissolved, vntill after the said answers. And fifthly, that their Orations and thanks should not be made vntill after the said answers.

Demands of
the three
Estates.

Their Maiesties hauing been informed of this deliberation, made complaint vnto the Cardinall of Sourdis, saying, That they were innovations which could not be allowed; which being reported to the assembly, Cardinall *du Perron* being present, said, That in truth he found in the said demands many inconueniences & difficulties. Whereupon they all resolted to conform themselves to the Kings will, & to yeeld him all obedience; yet afterwards being moued by the Deputies of the Nobilitie, they ioyntly made a Petition againe vnto the King. That with the Princes and Officers of the Crowne there should be only

A second
demand vnto
the King.

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The Kings answer to the Estates Petition.

fixe of the ancientest of the Councell to assist and to give their aduice touching the answers of their grievances; and secondly, that the Estates after the presentation thereof, might still assemble themselves until they had received their answers. Whereupon their Maiesties hauing given a fauourable Audience vnto the Deputies, made answer, That they were desirous and resolu'd to give all content vnto the Estates: But this could not be but vpon the deliuerie of their grievances, the which they desired might be speedily done, at the furthest by Thursday next. That after the said Presentation, and when as they should treat of the answers, if any occasion were offered why the Estates should meete, they would prouide for it.

This answer being deliuered to the three Chambers; in that of the Clergie some said; B That the Kings seruice, the good of his Estate, the necessitie of affaires, and the impossibilitie to resolu'e vpon their most important propositions (if the Estates did not assemble and assemble after the presentation) were strong reasons to moue them to make a third Petition to their Maiesties.

Discourses among the Clergie, touching the Kings answers.

But most of them considering, that they should but offend their Maiesties by importunitie, in asking farther instance vpon that subiect: That the Lords of the Councell said that the demand they made was of bad consequence, and that they would neuer aduise the King to grant it; That it was not fit the Estates (who should fortifie his Royall authoritie) should be an occasion to weaken it, yea although it were for an aduantage; which cannot bee of so great importance, as the least diminution of the royall authoritie. That the Estates should be very carefull, not to purchase to themselves any blame or reproach; especially the King being yong, it did infinitely import to fortifie his authoritie, and not to shake it. Many other reasons were deliuered to moue them to obey his Maiesties will. Whereupon the Clergie resolu'd to content themselves with the said answer, and to perswade the other Chambers to conforme themselves to their resolution, that hauing obeyed the Kings commandement, they might labour seriously to draw their demands into forme to be presented on Monday the 23 of February, the day which their Maiesties had prefixed for the conclusion of their Estates.

The Clergie demand the obseruation of the Councell of Trent.

On the 19. of February, the Bishop of Beauuais was deputed from the Clergie to the House of Commons, to intreat the company to ioyne with them in their demand vnto the King for the Councell of Trent, and the obseruation thereof. This Bishop made a long and learned discourse touching the said Councell, and in the end concludes, that it would please that order to ioyne with the Clergie in their demand vnto the King, for the publication of the Councell of Trent within this Realme.

The answer of President Miron.

President Miron answering his Speech, desired them to consider, that it was a thing neuer heard of in France, to haue a Councell published, how Oeconomically foue; nor is there any mention thereof in any Registers of Parliament. The true publication of Councels consists in the obseruation and execution thereof; as for example, many things contained in the Councell of Trent, are practised amongst vs, and yet not necessary to expresse the name; it being neither Trent, nor Basill, nor Constance which haue made the Councels, but the resolution of the Fathers which were there assembled.

We are of opinion (with your good fauours) that it is not now expedient to intangle our selues in that Question, whether the Councell of Trent should bee published or not. It is almost threefore yeares since this Councell was held, and hath remained in suspense since that time; that we hold Councels in France in forme of Decrees. To shew that the Councell of Trent, should not be receiued and published in France before any other, there haue bene many oppositions made by our Kings, Chapters, and Communitie of France; the discussion whereof deferred a second assembly of the Estates; and if my Masters of the Clergie would haue sent their reasons in writing in the beginning of the Estates, the business might haue been inferted; the which cannot bee now F done, our grievances being perfected, and ready to be presented vnto the King.

The diuersitie of times wherein we liue, imports a necessitie both to you and vs, to reiect the publication of this Councell, rather then to embrace it: yet my Masters may if they please submit themselves thereunto, in practising their resolutions, and cutting off pluralitie of Benefices, and reforming other abuses, for the which it doth prouide; humbly thanking them for the zeale they made shew of, to the increase of Catholique Religion: whereunto they like obedient children would willingly submit them-

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The Clergie send a vnto the Commons

A themselves, whereof they should haue further assurance by their particular answer, which was, that the time was too short now to meddle with that Question.

Notwithstanding the Clergie sent againe to intreat the House of Commons to ioyne with them and the Nobilitie, touching the publication of the said Councell of Trent. The Article contained a demand of the said Councell, without prejudice to the Priuiledges and Liberties of the French Church; not the interest of the State, for the which his Maiestie should be intreated to moderate the said Councell. President Miron made answer vnto the Bishop of Beauuais; That the Company could not now receiue the said Councell. That they embraced the faith contained therein, yet could they not yeeld to that B which concerned the Government, for that it was preiudiciall to the interest of the State. That the Masters of the Clergie might obserue the said Councell among themselves, and give the first example, & that they which had two or three Benefices might quit them vnto them which had none, desiring the Clergie to allow of their reasons and excuses.

But before we come to the conclusion of the Estates, I will relate an accident, which bred an alteration betweene the Nobilitie and the Commons. In the first of Februarie, the Deputie for the Nobilitie of high Limosin hauing given the Bastina'de to the Lieutenant Vzerche, one of the Deputies of the House of Commons for base Limosin, there was a great rumor among the three Chambers. The Commons complained presently vnto the King, who sent the knowledge of this action vnto the Parliament. The Chamber C of the Nobilitie hearing of this complaint, they presently sent five Deputies to the Clergie to complaine likewise against the Commons: for that embracing the quarrell of a priuate man (a pretended Deputie of their Order) they would make it generally, and haue recourse vnto the King, without giuing aduice thereof vnto the other two orders, who (it may be) might haue found means to compound the difference, and give contentment to both parties. The Clergie hauing deputed the Bishop of Agon vnto the Commons vpon this complaint, to aduertise them that their Chamber had bene intreated by the Nobilitie to ioyne with them in a Petition which they would present vnto the King, that he would assume vnto himselfe, the knowledge of this difference, or send it to the Estates there to be compounded. Whereupon the commons deputed fixe of their or-

A Deputy of the Nobilitie, gives the Bastina'de to one of the Deputies of the House of Commons.

D der vnto the Clergie; the Lieutenant of Bloys deliuering the Speech, who said, That their Chamber intreated them to consider, that their quality and condition, & the foulenesse of the wrong done vnto one of their body (and no pretended deputie as they would haue him) could not permit them to depart from the course which they had taken. That being Deputies from all parts of the Kingdome, to seeke among other things the means to settle the authority of Iustice, it shall be a very shamefull and dangerous precedent if: so great an indignity, committed in sight of the Louure, in the Kings presence, and of the generall Estates in the Capitall Citie of the Realme, and in the face of the Parliament, should remaine unpunished, or disguised, by any accommodation or conuenience.

The Speech of the Deputy of the Commons, touching the quarrell.

That the crime was of that quality, as they neither could nor ought to haue recourse vnto E the Chambers for satisfaction, as in former alterations & combustions, where there was no question but of words ill vnderstood, & interpreted in another sense then they had been spoken, and wherein if their Chamber would haue shewed as great a feeling as the Nobilitie did, they might haue had as much subiect; and yet they made a great complaint vnto his Maiestie. That in truth if the question had bene betweene the two Chambers, as in other actions, there had been reason to communicate it, and to demand aduice and remedy thereof from the third; all three being as it were bound to this correspondency. But their complaint was for a wrong done by a priuate man, the which they assured themselves, the Nobility would not maintaine nor iustifie, hauing no interest therein, but were rather bound to seeke a condigne punishment for his offence, who had violated the safety F of the Estates, and so much wronged one of the Orders; the interest not onely concerning their Chamber, (although it hath had the better part, for that the partie wronged was one of their body;) but all the Chambers together. And therefore that they could not doe lesse then to ioyne with the Commons, to demand iustice and reparation; at the least, that they would be pleased, that the prosecution might be made in Parliament, whither the King (out of his owne motion) had sent the knowledge thereof.

The Cardinal of Sourdis who did then reside, made answer, That their Order had bene much grieved to heare of any alteration betweene the Chamber of the Nobilitie

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with the Commons, and that concerning two private persons, having had no particular knowledge of the truth thereof, but what they had heard by common report, and as the Deputies of the Nobility had given them to understand, that the offences were treproall. Whereupon without any further information of the ground, yet with intention after knowledge of the truth, to blame the Offender, and to procure a just reparation of the offence, for many considerations, and particularly fearing the two other Chambers should be at strife, they have endeavored to seek out some reconciliation: and that hereafter their house would neuer doe any thing, but with the same purpose and affection, not to prejudice any man, but onely to procure the peace and correspondency of the Houses.

The House of Commons having in the meane time followed the suite in the Court of Parliament, there was a Decree made, by which he that had stricken, was condemned to lose his head, and to pay two thousand Frankes for recompence vnto the said Lieutenant, which Decree was set in a Table at the end of Saint Michaels Bridge on the 16 of March.

Although this quarrell and offence were great, yet hapned there one on the fift of February a farre more important, between the Seigneur of Rochefort, a Gentleman of the Prince of Condes, & Monsieur de Marcellac, a Gentleman belonging vnto his Maiestie, and the Queene his Mother, because their Maiesties followed the suite themselves to haue iustice done for the wronging of their seruant, and the Prince did all he could to vphold Rochefort. There is a long discourse of the Originall of the quarrell between these two Gentlemen when they were both belonging to the said Prince in the yeere 1613. Wherefore we will onely set downe how all the three Houses went vnto the Loure, vpon the aduice which their Maiesties had given them of what had past betwene them and the said Prince.

On the Saturday the 17. of February in the morning, the Presidents of the Estates made each of them his report in their severall Houses (as they had bin informed by their Maiesties) that the Seigneur of Rochefort, accompanied with six Horse-men, and six or fixe tall foot-men, did set vpon the said Marcellac, in Saint Honours street, wounding him with swords and staves: whereof his Maiestie being aduertised, he sent vnto his Attourney General that he should make information, and prosecute the Law: which the Prince of Conde hearing of, and being yesterday in Councell, had much speech with the Queene touching that subiect, among which hee often said, *That hee found it strange that they would subiect him to the Law like other men: that Rochefort had done nothing but by his commandment, and that hee did know it.*

Whereunto the Queene answered, *That he bore too good a mind, and that hee had no such conceit of him.* These words bred many replies wherewith their Maiesties were somewhat moued: yea, the King being ready to speake, the Queene stayed him, and after the Prince was gone he told her, *Madame, you haue done me much wrong to binder my speech.*

There Maiesties being desirous to informe the States of what had past, being resolued not to endure any such actions of any man how great soeuer, but to protect their subiects, and especially their household seruants: Vpon report hereof, the three Chambers were much moued, and euery one in particular made shew of their griefe. Either of them resolued to goe vnto their Maiesties, to make offer of their fidelitie and obedience; and to let them understand, that notwithstanding the Princes auowing of the fact, they beought the King that iustice might bee done for such outrages, wherewith their Maiesties seemed to be much satisfied for these demonstrations of their affection and loue.

In the meane time informations were made against Rochefort for the Kings interest, the Prince represented his request vnto the Court, pretending many things against Marcellac, who he said had been his household seruant, and had done him bad seruice: That he had commanded the first of his followers which should meete him to giue him the bastinado, which Rochefort had done who had found him first. The Queene hauing heard of this request, and that the Princes intencion was to discharge Rochefort, she sent for the Presidents of the Court, and told them the whole proceeding, and for that they had objected that Marcellac was of base condition, the said, *He hath serued the King well, and I know he is a Gentleman descended from the House of Grand-Scin, in the Countrey of March: the King tells it you, and I assure it, therefore he should not be thus entreated.* Hereupon the

The quarrell between Rochefort, belonging to the Prince of Condes, and Marcellac his Maiesties seruant.

The Queene Speech to the Prince of Conde.

The three Estates goe to the King about this business.

A the Parliament decreed that Rochefort should be apprehended having absented himselfe, and for that it was giuen out that he was in the Princes House, he hearing thereof protested that it should bee open vnto iustice, but the others would not enter but by order of the Court: whereupon by his commandment all the chambers of the house were opened vnto them which came to search for him, but they found not Rochefort. This action, importing much the publike peace, Queene Marguerite and the Countesse of Soissons went vnto the King and Queene, telling them that the Prince was their most humble servant and would fauour their desires. The Queene answered that she complained not, and that if the King were satisfied, he should be in like manner. After this the Prince came to the Loure, where finding the King in the Queenes Cabinet, he besought him, to forget what was past, to whom his Maiestie said, I doe it with all my heart, and I assure you that you shall be alwaies welcome vnto me.

This alteration being thus pacified, there remained nothing but Rochefort is busynesse, the which was ended by letters of abolition which were verified by the Parliament. Marcellac would not oppose himselfe, desiring rather to end their quarrell by combat, then by any other meanes. For as soone as his wounds were cured, hee sought all meanes to challenge him, whereof the Prince being informed, hee forbad Rochefort in the presence of many Noblemen to receiue any challenge from Marcellac either by word or writing.

But lets now returne vnto the conclusion of the Estates appointed on the 23 of February: There had bene on the 19 of February complaint made vnto the Chamber of the Clergy, touching the estate of the Catholike Religion in Bearne; that the two Bishops were oppressed; That the exercise of the Catholike Religion was not restored, with many other disorders; especially a great insoleny which had been lately committed at Milleau; whereupon the three orders sent the Archbishop of Lions with their Deputies to their Maiesties to craue reparation of these disorders, and execution of iustice for the restoring of the Bishops to their dignities. At the same time, the Agents for the Reformed religion made many complaints vnto their Maiesties, & to the Chancellor, touching that which had hapned at Balesta, where they had ruined the Temple which those of the Religion had caused to be built in a place which had bene giuen by the Edicts of pacification for the exercise of their Religion. They demanded that the knowledge of these two causes concerning the Edicts might be transferred to the chamber at Castres, as it was where afterwards there past decrees, but to the content of neither party.

The 23 of February being come for the conclusion of the Estates, the three Orders came to Bourbon Hall, which was prepared as it had bene in the beginning; but the disorder was great by reason of the multitude of people which were suffered to enter. The Bishop of Lison for the Clergie, the Baron of Senefsey for the Nobility, and President Miron for the third Estate, made long and learned Orations to giue his Maiestie thanks, and deliuered their grieuances. The chiefe points of the Clergies complaints were,

I. That excessive expences and immense gifts and pensions bred most of the miseries which ruined an Estate; that such gifts did hurt more then profit; that the peoples misery flowed chieffy from this fountain; being certaine, that the increate of expences made the receipts increase: and that the more they spent, the more they were forced to draw from the people who were the onely Mynes of France.

II. That the sale of Offices had bene put in practice to supply the necessity whereunto the State had bene reduced by profusion and excess of expences.

III. That they depriued Clergie men of their chiefe honors, were it in Councell, or in the employment of affaires: That when as Prelates had bene employed by their Princes, the French Church was full of Maiestie, whereas now they were so fallen from their ancient splendor, as they were scarce to be knowne: For they were so farre from seeking any aduice of Clergie men in that which concerned the Estate, as it seemed they thought the honor which they had to serue God, made them incapable to serue their King. If it were lawfull for any to enter into Councell, it was onely for formes sake, the which appeared plainly for that they were receiued with such contempt, as it was sufficient to be a Layman, to haue place and precedency before them.

IIII. That Clergie men giuing willingly the tenth of their goods, they suffered them to be disposed of the rest, either for that they were dedicated to the world, and not to God, or for that they wanted faith and were sworn enemies to the Church: That they suffered

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The Prince of Conde in good grace againe with their Maiesties.

A complaint touching matters of religion in Bearne.

The Conclusion of the Estates.

The complaints of the Clergie.

suffered the enemies of the faith to pollute sacred places by their prophane burials : and that contrary to the Edicts, and all reason, they held by force the Churches of Catholics, hindring diuine seruice to deliuer the inuentions of men.

V. That there being no meanes to oblige the Nobility, by ordinary wayes besitting their profession, they had extended themselves so farre, as to part with that which was Gods, and to recompence them to the preiudice of the Church : so as it seemes but a slight matter to giue away an Abbey to a Lay Gentleman, or to put it into their hands, which are of the contrary Religion: but in the meane time that it was true and easie to be seene, that the losse and ruine of the Church came from hence, for so much as the presentation of the greatest part of the Cures of France are annexed vnto Abbeys, which was the cause that being so possessed by persons of such condition, it was impossible to haue any good Pastors (who notwithstanding are the true pillars which vphold the Church and maintaine it in reputation.) It being euident, that a Courtier, or any other, more tied to earth then heauen, hath little care to chooseth one of good conuersation : and that the enemies of the Church tryumph, when ignorant men, and of scandalous life are placed therein. And although there might be more reason to grant pensions out of Benefices vnto Lay men, then to giue them the Title to enioy in their owne names, or by interposed persons : yet there were no equity to giue them part of the fruit, which did not participate of the paines.

VI. If to come from pensions to reuerfions, who would thinke it iust to giue a successe to a man that is liuing, exposing his life to the mercy of him that should profit by his death : That Councells had condemned this practice as most dangerous : That King Henry the third, at the last Assembly of the Estates had bound himselfe by a solemne oath to abolish it, and had reuoked all reuerfions during his reigne.

VII. That the Clergy should be free from all Taxes and other impositions; prayers being the true tribute they should draw from Churchmen.

VIII. That the Ecclesiasticall authority was so distinct from that of the secular Magistrature, as S. Cyprian was bold to witness, that the enterprizes vpon the Church and the conceits of the Tribunal of Bishops, gaue enry to Schismes, and broke the bond which vnited all the children of Iesus Christ in his house. That it was most certaine that a Prince could not better teach his subjects to contemne his power, then by suffering them to attempt against that of the great God, from whom he holds his.

IX. That of late in a full peace they had troden downe him that should be adored, not onely by men but of Angels : so as they had great cause to say with Ieremie, Let our faces be covered with shame and ignominy, for that strangers pollute the sacred temple of the great God : and with greater reason to apprehend for this Realme the horrible punishment wherewith he hath threatned them who haue filled that with abomination, which was particularly affected for his inheritance. These were the chiefe heads of the Clergies complaints, wherunto they annexed the remedies, on which I will not insist.

The President for the third Estate (for there was nothing published of the Nobilities grievances) said, That the two chiefe pillars which had alwaies supported the State, were Piety and Iustice. That there remained nothing in France but the name and shadow of these two vertues. That Piety was banished by the defects of Prelates, there being many Bishopricks destitute of Bishops, and many flocks without Pastors, and yet the rottenness were gathered by supposed names or stewards: That most part of the titular Prelates fled residence, concerning the ancient Ecclesiasticall Lawes. That as the authority of Bishops had become much impaired; so pietie had become abolished and banished. That the Cures which were subiect to Bishops were reiecte, for that they were so poor, as a man of mean knowledge would hold it a shame to be called vnto them : and if they had any good Reuenues, they which disdaind not the ridle to receiue the fruits, supplid the execution of the charge with some poore and ignorant priest with small wages. That in halfe the Abbeys of France, there were not Abbots with Canonically rides, but the Abbeys were held by Receiueurs, Gentlemen, or men of other qualities. That multiplicitie of Benefices held by one man, open Simony, and disguised by pensions referred, were the cause of all the miseries for which God afflicted France.

That there had crept into the order of the Nobility so much excesse, such contempt of Iustice and Iudges, so many contrauentions against the Kings Lawes and ordinances, and

The complaint of the third Estate by President Miran.

Disorders in the Church.

Disorder in the nobility.

A violences against the weak and feeble; That at this day their chiefe actions are consumed in excesse play, in superfluous expences, monsters and prodigies of this age, which darken the ancient luster of this Order.

That the delays, euasions and shifts of Iustice to make sutes immortal, were infinite, and had no bounds by the malice of the parties, which innocently blemished the honor of the Iudges. There were few sutes either ciuill or criminall if any great man or rich were interested, which past not through all the iurisdiccions of the Realme, by reason of euocations too frequent : for the onely iudgement of a competency before they entered into the ground of the cause, so as the accessories (smoothing the principle) in the end the plantife and the defendant found themselves ruined; and the reason of these disorders was the multiplicity of Courts of Iustice, and the excesse number of Officers & Iudges, who were not rewarded nor punished according to their merits. Having afterwards represented the inhumanities of souldiers which held the field, he besought the King for the reestablishment of Policy and trade : to cause the Treasure to be well gouerned: to abolish pensions : to ease the poore people of Taxes : and to reduce all to the same estate it was in, in the year 1576. He then directed his speech vnto the Queene Mother.

Madam, God hath committed this Realme to your care and vigilancy, wherof you haue acquitted your selfe worthily during your Regency, to the content of all good men: And seeing the King doth againe referre the Gouernment vnto you, as it hath pleased him to declare vnto vs, having charge to beseech you to continue this holy resolution, guided by your good aduise and wife counsels, to the discharge of so many impositions which oppress the people, set downe at large in our remembrances, to the end that being our iust and lawfull Prince, hee may not desire more in his soueraine fortune to be seene great, then iust and mercifull; mingling together by your example, two things, which are very diuers, power and modestie : and that his subjects swimming as it were between loue and reuerence, may behold him as their Father, their Benefactor, and author of their safeties, by the ease so many sorts of impositions, as can hardly bee numbered; and by the same meanes to free them from the oppression of souldiers : That none but sufficient men may haue the commissions to lead them who may answer for them: That the Parishes exempt from lodging, may contribute to the charge of others, without difference of land belonging to any degree, seeing they are all your subjects equally contributable to the charges of the Realme. That to this effect the Collectors of subsidies in Parishes where they lye, shall carry a note of their charges vnto the Iudges, to be equally diuided among the rest : That the Commisfaries which lead them might be answerable; and if they themselves lye at discretion (as many now doe) that they may be punished with death. That information may be made against Commisfaries, who haue bene so audacious leading of Companies to cause themselves to be defrayed by the people. Moreover, forbid day works which oppress the people as much as taxes, a poore man being forced to leaue his seed time, and to abandon his harvest, to go and worke for a Gentleman : That this act might be declared base and punished with all rigor; and oppose your selfe generously against all oppressions. It is the surest meanes to retaine so many heads with one, and to reduce mildly vnder the common yoke of obedience this great turbulent and diuinit multitude. So we hope your Maiesty will suffer your selfe to be mildly forced by our perswasions to the entertainment of our iust petitions. For as in an absolute Prince, it is a great happynot to be forced, so it is a most miserable thing not to suffer himselfe to be perswaded.

After the conclusion of the Estates, the King suffered all the three orders to assemble, so as it were not at the Augustins or in any other publicke place, but only in the houses of the Presidents of either Order, with charge not to make any new propositions touching the affaires which depended of the Estates. The King for a more speedy dispatch of answers to their grievances, had caused them to be drawne vnto three Chapters, and had appointed three seuerall companies to peruse them and consider of their answers. Vpon this diuision, the three Orders of Estates made choice of particular Deputies to conferre with the said Commissioners, where the first Articles were first viewed and examined.

On the 24. of March the King gaue the chiefe of the three Orders to vnderstand, that he desired they should come to the Loure, where being assembled in the great Gallery, their Maiesties assisted by their Councell, the Chancellor speaking to the Estates said, That the King and his Councell had seene their Grievances; That the multitude, diuersity and importance

Disorders in Iustice.

His speech to the Queene Mother.

The Kings answer to the chiefe Articles of the Estates.

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importance of the Articles represented therein, did not permit their Maiesties to make answer A vnto them so soone as they thought to haue done and much desired. That for this occasion, and to the end that the Estates might receive the testimony of their good wills in their principall articles, and upon which they most insisted and were most affected vnto : That their Maiesties were resolved to take away the sale of Offices, and establish good order in all which depended thereon : To reestablish a Chamber for review of the Treasure, and to cut off Penfions : And all in such order and forme as the Estates should haue occasion of content. For the rest of their grivances which were very many, they should be answered with all possible speed.

By the abolition of the sale of Offices, the King was to lose 150000 pounds sterling yearly in his casual profits: whereupon there was a proposition made to lay three shillings B vpon the bussell of salt in Countries subiect to imposition, and an equiualent proportion in others, the which should cease after ten years. Many of the Clergie and the Nobility liked of this proposition : but the third Estate held it very prejudiciall for their Order; whereupon they presented a Petition vnto his Maiestie for the stay thereof, as being hurtfull to his Maiesties seruice, and tending to the oppression of his poore subiects, whereof I haue formerly made mention.

In the Spring, newes came from Spaine touching the reception of the Commander of Sillery, whom his Maiesty had sent to cary a New-year's gift to the French Queene : It was said that at his entry into Madril, the Duke of Lerma was sent by his Catholike Majesty, to receive him with extraordinary ceremonies, being accompanied by many C Grands, and other Noblemen richly appointed; who conducted him to the Palace, where he went to salute his Maiesty, who received him with all shewes of loue and affection: After complements done, the King tooke him by the hand, and led him to the Infanta's Cabinet, to whom hauing done his obeysance, he declared vnto her the subiect of his Embassage, and the King his Masters affection vnto her: After which, he presented in his Maiesties name, a rich bracelet made of Diamonds & other precious stones curiously wrought with certaine deuices, a present valued at about 40000 Pound sterling, the which she received with great admiration and ioy; and after she had put it on her arme, she tooke it off againe, and placed it in her bosome, to shew the great affection she bare vnto his Maiesty: After which hauing taken his leaue of the King, and of the Infanta, hee was conducted to his lodging, where he was dayly visited by the chiefe of Spaine, and entertained with all the sports and deuices they could, to testifie their publike ioy.

Death of
Queene Mar-
guerite.

Soone after, towards the end of March dyed Queene Marguerite in her Palace in the suburbs of Saint Germaine. As the deceased King Henry the third her brother had bene the last King of the Royall house of Valois, so this Queene was the last of the Princesses. This branch of the Royall house of France had reigned 261 years, from Philip of Vallois, who was King in the year 1328, vnto the death of Henry the third, which was in the year 1589.

Hauing lye sixe daies vpon a bed of State in her Palace Hall, her body was afterwards conducted to the Chappell of the reformed Augustins, where it lay vntill that the affaires of the Kingdome were settled, after which they made choice of a place for her interment. The Queene Mother had a care to giue content to her creditors, and to most part of her Officers and household seruants, as she had recommended it before her death.

On the 27 of March, ten Presidents and Councillors deputed from the Chambers of Inquest, that is to say, two from either Chamber, came vnto the great Chamber of the Parliament, to intreat the first President to assemble all the Chambers to consult and determine vpon the Remonstrances which they had long before resolved to make vnto the King : the which was granted, and presently performed.

Being all assembled, the President of the first Chamber of Inquest said, that they had de- F manded this Assembly touching that which the King had promised to the Court of Parliament a little before; That he would giue no answer to the grivances which should be presented vnto him by the deputies of the three Estates of the Realme, nor make any resolution, before he had heard the remonstrances of this Parliament. That he held it a fit time to aduise now what the Court should doe in this point, considering in what estate the affaires were.

Vpon this proposition they began to deliberate after their accustomed manner; but being not able to conclude, it was deferred vntill the next day being the 28, where after much

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ADecrees of
the Court.

A much debate, a Decree was concluded in these words : The Court, all the Chambers be- ing assembled, hath decreed, under the Kings good pleasure, That the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne hauing place and a deliberative voice therein, being at this present in the City shall be invited to come into the Court, there (with the Chancellor and all the Chambers assembled) to aduise vpon the propositions which should be made for the Kings seruice, the ease of his subiects, and the good of his Estate.

This resolution was caryed that night vnto their Maiesties as some say in grosse, and not in the same tearmes it had bene let downe, and by one of their owne company. Some illaffected vnto the Court, whispered in their Maiesties eares, that the Parliament sought to meddle with the affaires of State, enter into knowledge of the government thereof, and giue counsell vncalled. That it was an apparant enterprize against the Kings authoritie, and did touch the Queenes Regency, which they would controll. Their Maiesties were much incensed against the Court vpon this report, which they held to be true : whereupon they sent to one of the Princes and some Peeres, forbidding them to go to the Parliament if they were invited; the day after the King sent for his learned Councill, to whom the Chancellor said, that the King had sent for them touching the decree of the Parliament, wherewith their Maiesties were much discontented, being given to understand, that the Court had ordained, that the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne should be invited to the Parliament, to take aduice touching the government of the

The Kings
learned Coun-
cell sent for to
Lounge.

C Realme : whereunto Monsieur Seruin the Kings Aduocate answered, That they had not heard so much; but they had understood, that the Court had assembled to witness their good and sincere affection, hauing for their onely ayme and vow, the safety of the King and the State. Hereupon the King and Queene entering into their Cabinet, the Queene said vnto them, That they had bene aduerted of diuers speeches which had been in this assembly, by the which the Kings authority had bene wronged, and that it was a strange enterprize : whereunto the Aduocate answered, that they had not bene present at this resolution, being retired after they had required that which was necessary for the Kings seruice, and concerned the publike : but they had bene summoned to propound that which they held profitable and fit in this season for his Maiesties seruice and the good of

The Aduocates
Speech to the
King & Queene.

D the State, where without any further ouerture, they besought the Court to remember that they had formerly propounded what they might doe, hauing not yet seene his Maiesties Declaration vpon the remonstrances and petitions made vnto him by the Deputies of the three Estates : whereupon the Court had resolved to giue aduice vnto his Majesty of that which they thought concerned his seruice : the which they had not done to attempt against his Royall authority, but onely with an intention to make an ouerture for the good of his seruice, and ease of his subiects : and also to insuffle the constant fidelity of all the Officers of his Parliament, in the presence of the Princes, Peeres, and others which should then assitt with the Lord Chancellor. And after a long discourse of the integrity and good intention of the Court, he besought his Majesty to hold them for his most E humble and faithfull subiects and seruants.

After this, the Councill was presently assembled, and the Procurer and Aduocate commanded to enter into the Councill Chamber, to whom the King said, I say here you shall heare what I will resolve: whereunto they answered, Sir, we are at your feet to obey you, and hauing the honor to be of your Councill, will do what better it shall please you to command vs in any other action : But the question being touching a resolution taken in your Parliament, seeing we are of that body, it may please you to dispence with vs from being in a place, where if any speake against the Parliament, we neither ought nor can endure to heare it; but are bound to speake for the authority of the Decree. Whereupon the F King finding their excuse reasonable, commanded them to withdraw into the lesser Cabinet, where hauing attended an houre or more, in the end they were called in to whom the King said (in presence of the Queene and Chancellor) I haue sent for you to giue you that in charge which I haue refused on in my Councill, which you shall deliver on my behalfe to my Court of Parliament, it being my will that you should be the messengers :

Then Monsieur Seruin besought the King to excuse them, and to commit those words of the discontent which it seemed he had, to some others, letting him understand that they were at his feet to do him most humble seruice, when he should command: but they were also dayly at the doores of the iudgement of the Court; the necessity of their charges

tying

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tying them thereunto, to require that which concerned his seruice, and to second the good intentions of his Parliament; whom they had alwaies found full of trust, courage, and good affection, necessary for the preservation of his authority and State. But notwithstanding all their fute, and the excuses they could alledge, they were commanded to deliuer vnto the Court the reasons why his Maiesty had himselfe wronged by the Decree of the 28 of March.

Three reasons
declared in
Councell
against the de-
cree of the
Court.

The first, That the King being in Paris, the Court of Parliament ought not to haue assembled to consult of affaires which concerne the State, nor inuite the Princes, Peeres, Nobles, and others hauing place in Parliament, before they had acquainted his Maiesty therewith.

The second, That the King being declared of full age by the Lawes of France, although all his other subiects were Minors at his yeares, yet God hauing imparted vnto him greater graces then to other men, he should be held for more vertuous: and that his power was not lesse then that of his Predecessors.

The third, That this Conuocation ordained by the Court, although that the Chancellor were required to assist, could not be done by the motion of the Parliament or otherwise; but by his Maiesties Letters Patents, it depending of his sole and souereigne power. After which, he commanded them to bring him the Originall of the Decree, forbidding the Court to proceed any further in the execution thereof.

This charge being deliuered to all the Chambers by the Kings Councell, they retyring themselves; the first President propounded what was to be done concerning this charge; where after much consultation they resolved to deliuer the Decree into the hands of the Kings Councell, who came vnto the Loure on the last of March; and being admitted to his Maiesties presence, *Monf. Serin* said vnto him: *Sir, we owe vnto your Maiesty the obedience of faithfull subiects, having received the commandement you gave vs, we acquainted the Court of Parliament with your pleasure, whereof we are to give you a faithfull account. We haue acquainted them with your words: the which being heard, we observed in them all in generall a wondrous full griefe, to see your Maiesty incensed against them, remembering that they had alwaies given examples of obedience to all your subiects, not thinking that they should incurre your indignation. In the end, letting them understand, that you would about all things maintaine your authority, and labouring with the Court that they would make a good resolution for your Maiesties content, we haue bene charged by the Court to bring you the Decree made on Saturday last, vnder your good pleasure; and to let you understand that they hold nothing so deare or in so great recommendation, as the preservation of your Soueraigne power and fauour, without the which all your Officers of this Company, your most humble and most affectionate louing seruants, cannot execute their charges honorably nor profitably: They most humbly beseech you to receive the Decree made with an upright heart, and with no intention to attempt any thing against your authority.*

Most Seren
Speech deliue-
ring the De-
cree vnto the
King.

The King and Queene seemed to be well content with these words, *With the Kings good liking*, and his Maiesty taking the Decree into his hand, said, That he would looke on it and acquaint the Court of Parliament with his pleasure. They thought that matters should haue so rested: but they were aduertised that three Presidents of the Inquests coming into the Court on the 9 of Aprill, desired that they would consider if it were not fit to beseech the King, that hee would bee pleased to giue an answer vnto his Parliament, and to let them know his pleasure according to his promise; that it was fit and necessary to know it; and that it were not good that the resolutions of the Parliament should remaine without effect.

The Pa-
liament for
by the King.

Hereupon the Presidents of the great Chamber with foure of the ancient Councillors, with many Presidents and Councillors of the Inquests and Requests, were sent for to the Loure: being brought into the Kings Chamber, he said vnto them: *My Masters, seeing you would know my answer vpon your Decree, which my Councell brought mee: the Lord Chancellor shall deliuer it vnto you.* Who presently began thus, That the King being aduertised how that some of the Parliament desired to vnderstand his answer, notwithstanding that he had bene aduised for good and reasonable considerations to deferre it: yet he had giuen him in charge to say vnto them: that he was much offended at the enterprise which the Parliament had made vpon his authority, being of full Age: and moreover, in his Capitall City to haue sought to assemble the Princes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, a thing

The Chan-
cel-
lors Speech vnto
them.

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A a thing without all president, without reason, and without apparance, the which no Parliament had euer done before. That his Maiesty knew well, that the power and iurisdiction of the Court was limited, and as they tooke no knowledge of Accounts, nor of the imposts of salt, so Kings haue alwayes referred to themselves, the knowledge of the affaires of their Estate: That the Parliament should remember the answer made vnto the Duke of Orleans, in the time of King *Charles* the eight, by the President *De la Vaquerie*, whose seruices and memory had bene commended by Kings: And the sensible feeling and dislikes which King *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Francis* the first did shew vpon a far lesse attempt. And of the rigour of a Decree which was made during the Reigne of *Charles* the ninth: For that in a matter of lesse consequence, they would contest against his authority: whereupon the resolution of the Court was cancelled, and the execution published, the doores being shut. That this Parliament being the first of the Realme, should employ her authority which she holds from Kings, to maintaine that of the King, and not to seeke to suppress it, being of full yeares and in his presence, whereat although hee were much offended, yet hearing that it had past by the plurality of voyces of the yongest and last admitted, and that the ancientest were of a contrary opinion; he was well satisfied with them, and intreated them to continue, assuring them that he would not forget that good office. And for that the Parliament should haue no colour to excuse the Decree, for that they had referred the execution to the Kings will, hee was well aduertised of the Decree, the first day it was resolved on; and of that which had bene corrected, and newly added to assuage his displeasure, all which notwithstanding gaue him no full satisfaction. Wherefore he prohibited the Parliament the execution thereof, to assemble any Princes, or Peeres, or to deliberate any more thereupon. Then the King began to speake and said, *My Masters that which the Chancellor hath deliuered vnto you, it is that I speak it. To morrow I will send you my answer in writing; In the meane time I forbid you to proceed.*

Whereupon the first President made answer: *Sir, wee are much grieved that since your happy coming to the Crowne, hauing so faithfully serued your Maiesty, the deceased King Henry the Great, and the Kings our fouerigne Lords, since the first erection of your Court, to see that our seruices (so well knowne to all the world) should bee so ill interpreted as to be taken for enterprizes against your authority; and that you are offended with vs. We are assured that if it were lawfull for vs to reply after a displeasure testified by your owne mouth, and signified vnto vs by your Lord Chancellor, we could with all honorable respect, to your Maiesties content, and the satisfying of all those that assist you, represent, that your Parliament hath neuer concluded any thing, but the Kings haue allowed it: and for the which (in stead of dislike and sinister construction) wee haue alwaies receiued praise and commendations, yea during the reignes alledged by my Lord Chancellor. But for that we are called by your commandement, hauing no charge from the Parliament, we will not faile to present vnto them what it hath pleased you to pronounce by your owne mouth, and by the Chancellors. In the meane time wee most humbly beseech you to take the Decree in good part, as made, not by the aduice of the last of the Company, but by the generall voice and consent of your whole Court, where vnto yong and old haue equally contributed; and to hold it rather an excessse and abundance of a good, sincere, and true intention to your seruice, rather then any presumption against your authority. Then the Queene said, I know well that the young men first propounded this aduice, and that they haue caused it to passe by plurality of voyces: I blame not the Court, but thanke the Ancients, and all those which opposed themselves; I will employ my credit with the King my Sonne, to take knowledge of them, and to require their good will. The first President answered, Madam, we most humbly beseech you to beleue that we haue all participated in the Decree, and that you would be pleased to forget the contrary report, and to honor them equally with your fauour to the King.*

The first Pre-
sident Speech
to the King.

The Court of Parliament being informed of his Maiesties pleasure, notwithstanding continued in their first resolution, to draw their remonstrances, and to present them in writing to the King; whereof his Maiesty being aduertised, he sent the next day being the 11 of Aprill, to command the Presidents and some ancient Councillors to come to the Loure; where in the Queenes presence (the Chancellor being absent) he said, that hee had

The Queenes
Speech to the
Parliament.

The Parli-
ment sent for
to the Loure.

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The Queens
speech vnto
them.

sent for them, hearing that notwithstanding his prohibition to make any remonstrances **A** concerning the affaires of his estate, yet they had depured some of euery chamber to draw them; touching the which, the Queen his Mother should let them vnderstand his pleasure. The Queene repeating the Kings words, said: that it was a thing had neuer bene attempted, and that he did forbid them. That if the Parliament should presume to do it, the King would be displeased, he is (said she) your King and Master, who will vse his authority if you contradict his will: wherunto free added, that it was a faction of men ill affected to his seruice, and which thought to do things against his will: and withall she said in choller that the would be reuenged. Whereunto the first President answered, that he would aduertise the Court of Parliament thereof.

His report being made, they tooke aduice what was fit to be done, and in the end resolved, that according to their former deliberation, the Chambers should bring their instructions to be viewed by the Presidents and some Councillors of the great Chamber, to draw the remonstrances which the Court had resolved should be made. But for that they were not presented vnto the King before the 22 of May, wee will insert some particulars which past in the Moneths of March and Aprill. **B**

During the Assemblies of the Estates, there was a great contention and dispute in the Chamber of the Nobility betwene the Catholike Deputies and them of the reformed Religion; for that the Catholike Deputies had propounded and caused it to be resolved that the King should be intreated to maintain the Chatholike, Apostolike and Romish Religion, according to the oath which he had taken at his Coronation. The Deputies of the reformed Religion made great complaints thereof; whereupon the King made a Declaration on the 12 of March, which was verified in Court the last of Aprill. It contained, That the Catholike Deputies had made this request vnto the King, to witnesse their zeale and affection to the Catholike Religion, and not to offend any person: the which they had protested both in particular, & all together vnto his Maiefty, desiring the obseruation of peace established by the Edicts: being fully perswaded by experience of what was past, that violent remedies had but increased the number of those which were strayed out of the Church, in stead of teaching them the way to returne: and that vpon this protestation his Maiefty (to free them from all bad impressions which made profession of the reformed Religion with a pure and innocent zeale free from all factions; as also the pretext of any which would seeke to trouble the quiet of the Realme) declared and commanded, that all Edicts, Declarations, & priuate Articles made in fauor of them in the reformed Religion, as well by the deceased King his father as by himselfe, should be kept inuiolably, and the breakers thereof punished as the breakers of the publike peace. The Agents of them of the Religion, having besought the King to name them a place where they should hold their Assemblies for the chusing of new Agents, which they did vually euery three yeares: they had first a Briefe to assemble at Gergeau: but afterwards the place was changed, and the assembly was held at Grenoble. **C**

The Kings Declaration
returning the
Edict of pacifi-
cation.

We will now returne to the proceedings of the Parliament, who having prepared their Remonstrances, gaue charge vnto the Kings learned Counsell to go vnto the Lord Chancellor, to demand audience of the King, for the deliuey thereof in writing as it had been decreed. Who having deliuered their charge, returned answer that his Maiefty would giue them audience the 22 of May: when as the Chambers being assembled about three of the clocke in the afternoon, there went 6 Presidents, and 12 Councillors of the great Chamber, and a President; and 3 Councillors of euery chamber of Inquests and Requests, with the Kings learned Council, being in all about 40 persons. Being come to the Loure, they were conducted by a Capitaine of the kings Guard by a priuate staires into the Council Chamber, for otherwise they could hardly haue past by the ordinary staires, the presse so great. In the Council Chamber were the King and Queene, assisted by the Dukes of Guise, Neuers, Vendosme and Espernon, the Lord Chancellor, the Marshals of Ancre, and Souure, with many other Lords and Officers of the Crowne, and other Councillors of State. The first President having done his obeysance vnto the King, spake on this manner: That hee had charge given him to represent vnto his Maiefty most humble Remonstrances on the behalfe of his Court of Parliament, and not to deliuey vnto him the motiue of the Decree which was made the 28 of March: That they most humbly besought him to beseege that no other will nor intention had moued them thereunto, but the

The Parlia-
ment goeto
the Loure to
Present their
Remonstran-
ces.The Presidents
speake to the
King.

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A the necessity of the Estate of the Realme, and a great, good, and sincere affection which it hath alwayes borne, and doth still to his seruice; and to the good and quiet of his Estate: wherem it would not giue place to any whatsoever, and whereof it had alwayes yielded to good and faithfull testimonies as greater could not be desired: That it did not enuy the greatnesse, riches, fauour nor dignity of any person, nor malice any. That it had neuer failed in the fidelity due to the Kings seruice, and had alwayes this Maiefty for its soveraigne Lord and only Master, beseeching him to receiue them with a good eie, as comming from the most deuour, faithfull, and obedient company that liues, Whereupon hee presented it vnto the King, who deliuered it vnto a Secretarie of State, and then his Maiefty commanded the Parliament to retire. But before they went forth the first President said, that hee had charge humbly to beseech his Maiefty, that the Remonstrances might be presently read, the which was done very distinctly, and heard with great attention by all which were in the Chamber. And for that they were very long, and would take vp too much roome; I must intreat the Reader to satisfie himselfe with the chiefe points and heads thereof, which were; **B**

A Declaration of the causes of the Parliaments Complaint, That the Parliament of Paris, was borne with the State of France, and holds place in Council with Princes and Barons, which in all ages was neere vnto the Kings person. That the Parliament had alwayes dealt in publike affaires. That some Kings which had not liked of the remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris, did afterwards witnesse their griefe. That Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Princes, had voluntarily submitted their controversies to the iudgement of the Parliament of Paris, reasons which had moued them to the Decree of the 28 of March. Of the disorders which were in the State, and the remedies. Not to suffer the Kings soveraigne power to be made doubtfull and problematicall. To entertaine the ancient alliances. To dismisse from the Kings Council such as had bene of late yeares aduanced by fauour. To punish the Kings Officers, with reueue gifts or pensions. To maintaine the Officers of the Crowne, and the Gouernors in their authority and functions. Not to giue any more reuerfions of any charges & governments. To forbid the sale of the Offices of the Kings House, and of the Infants of France: Not to commit any charges and governments vnto strangers. To forbid the Kings subiects to haue any intelligences or communications with the Ambassadors of foraigne Princes. To preferre the French Church. To reforme the multiplicity of new Orders of religious men; & to haue a care to the nomination of Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots. Not to admit strangers to Prelacy. To search out and punish Anabaptists, Iewes, & Magicians. To continue the deceased kings designs, for the restoring of the Vniuersity of Paris. Not to suffer unpunished, the violencies which were done to hinder the course of Iustice. To reforme the knowledge of affaires which are treated of in the Kings Council. Not to dissolve or suspend the Decrees of the Court of Parliament vpon petitions. Not to giue letters of abolition and pardon for qualified crimes. To cause the Edicts against Duels to be obserued. To provide that Decrees concluded in council, might not be changed. To abolish al fees newly brought in at the Seale. **C**

The chiefe
points of the
Parliaments
Remonstran-
ces.

D To forbid all Councillors of State to take any Pensions from Partisans or vnderakers of the Farnes. To ordaine that the Edicts against tabling houses may be executed. To reforme the Financies or treasure. To reduce the excefuiue gifts and pensions to the same Estate they were in during the reign of Henry the Great, and to reuoke the Pensions granted to some Officers of Iustice. To reduce the managing of the treasure to few persons. And of the disorders of the treasure since the death of the deceased King. To forbid hereafter the execution of any Edicts, Declarations, or Commissions, before they were verified in soveraigne Courts. To grant a search of them, who haue gouerned the themselves ill in the treasure. Of vnmearurable gifts. To forbid the transport of gold and silver, and all excefle. To suffer the execution of the Decree of the 28 of March. **E**

F In the end they concluded with a protection to name the authors of these disorders (if it should please his Maiefty) for the discharge of their consciences before God and men, and for the good of his seruice and preferation of his Estate.

These Remonstrances being plainly and publicly read, the Kings Maiefty commanded the Parliament for to retire: but within halfe an houre after they were called for backe againe; to whom the King sayd, That hee had rightly vnderstood of their Remonstrances, wherewith he was not well satisfied: That the Queene his Mother should deliuer thereof. Who beginning to speake, sayd; That the King had iust occasion to be offended with

The Parliament
makes offer to
name the au-
thors of the
disorders.The King and
Queene,
speake up,
the Parliamen-
t.

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The Chancel-
lors Speech to
the Court of
Parliament.

with the Parliament, who contrary to his restraint had meddled with affaires of State. A That the Parliament would deal in reformations, and dispose the Government and the Treasuries; and that shee had not so little iudgement but that she knew they had an intent to call her Regency in question, the which all the Orders of the Realme assembled in one body of State, and the Parliament it selfe had commended. That they could not speake of the Government of the affaires of the Realme without touching her. That shee was well advertised that these Remonstrances had not bene allowed by the whole body of the Parliament; that there were sixe Presidents aswell present as absent which had opposed them, and that there were onely six or seven Presidents and Councillors which were the motives. That hereafter the King would no more endure it. That she would have every man know and might boldly speake it; That there was B neuer Regency in France more happy then hers. After which, pausing a while and seeming much moved by her countenance, shee commanded the Lord Chancellor to make the Kings answer.

Whereupon the Chancellor said, That France was a Monarchy, where the King alone commanded, holding his Realme sovereignly from God: That he had Lawes and Ordinances by the which he was to gouerne them, and for the which he was not to give an account to any man: That it did not belong vnto the Parliament, to controll his gouernment: That the Kings of France had distributed the charges and functions of the Realme distinctly: To the Chambers of Accounts matters of Account; To the Generals of the Iustice, the Aydes, whereof the Parliaments might not iudge: And with grea- C ter reason the Parliament of Paris might not intermeddle with the conduct and direction of his Estate, and that they might not undertake more then the King would suffer them. It was true that Kings in great affaires had bene accustomed to take aduice of the Court of Parliament, and he did beleue they might doe great seruice: but it was when it pleased him: That when their authority was vnited to the Kings will it was excellent good, and he would alwayes aduise the King to vse their Counsell: not that they should giue it of their owne motion, without the Kings pleasure: That the Parliament had bene carried infensibly to a resolution which did much blemish the Kings authority: That the time it selfe was very opposite, when as they laboured about the grieuances of the Estates, the which being sent vnto the Parliament, they should then haue found a subject to effect: that D which they haue now done out of season: That out of doubt the Parliaments Intention was good, but to speake truly there was a defect: That he had formerly said it was done without reason, but now hee said it was without president; having expresse commission to say both the one and the other, for that it cannot bee found: (the King being in Paris) that the Court of Parliament of their owne motion, hath assembled the Princes, Dukes, Peeres and Officers of the Crowne, whereof hee would no other prooffe then the presidents produced in their Remonstrances. That touching the euocations whereof they complained, there had bene none granted without Deliberation of the Councill, and that was to stay the Parliament from taking knowledge of their controuerfies, which had kinfmen in their company. As for abolitions and pardons, he could assure them, that E hereafter none should passe, the Councill being so ordered, as it should be a very difficult thing to effect: And as for the dissolving of the Decretes of the Parliament, it had bene done when as the Parliament attempted to iudge contrary to the restraint of the Council, who held their iudgements for no Decrees: That they had caused the Councill to cease, to treat without intermission about the grieuances of the Estates, and that being now vpon that of Iustice, his Maiesty had commanded to take their aduice: That the Parliament did not obstrue the Ordinances concerning the reception of Councillors, admitting many brethren and neere kinfmen into one Parliament: That they neither could nor ought to complaine of the Queenes Regency, which hath bene so happy, as neuer Hi- storians haue observed the like; during the which, France hath abundantly enjoyed all good blessings: That the Queene was not to giue an account of her Regency, but to God onely: and if she would do it vnto the King, his Maiestie would giue her thanks: That no man could preferre vnto the King what Councillors hee should enertaine; That he had thought good to make vse of those persons whom the decessed King had chosen, by whom he hath bene well serued.

President Iannin spake, that ha-
ving managed the Kings Treasure vp-
rightly, with such as are employed therein, he thought

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A hee should worthily incurre blame, if hee should not speake some thing concerning his charge, for the which he would answer before the severest Iudges: And that hee wonderd to heare himselfe blamed, not by a multitude, who interpret of another mans actions lightly, but by a company of graue & wise men maliciously informed of the managing of the Kings Treasure. That the question they made was to him, and not to the Queene who was not bound to giue an account of their Regency but to the King. And to enter into particular, that after the kings death, the Duke of Sully had continued the Command of the Treasure, vnto the warre of Iuliers, and had set downe the expences, hauing left in the Treasurers hands, but 350 Pounds sterling. To say that the kings reuenues are augmented since his fathers decess, it cannot be verified, but contrariwise there hath bene 200000 Pounds sterling abated vpon the Imposition of salt, and 400000 pounds sterling, increase for the necessity of affaires. As for the money in the Bastile, what necessity the Estate hath suffered, yet hath it not bene toucht: but to stay the course of these last alterations, and for the voyage of Poitiers.

And whereas they sayd, that in the time of the decessed King, they layd vp yearly 200000 pounds sterling, that it was not so, they bringing in onely 80000 pounds. That it was a dangerous thing to touch a disease and bring no remedie for it. That they should name particularly such as had bene the cause, who should be presently abandoned by all good men, and he himselfe would be the first should doe it. That in truth it were expedient to cut off the great expences and vnecessary charges: that his duty bound him to speake it.

After this, some of the great personages there present began to speake, and the President was ready to answer, but the Queene imposed silence; whereupon the Marshall D'Ancre approached neere vnto her, and deliuered her a little booke, which gaue her occasion to say vnto the President: *You suffer scandalous libells to be sold*, against the Kings honor and mine, and doe no iustice: hold, read this booke, intituled *Cassandra*, the which she deliuered to one of the Secretaries of State, who read some leaues which were noted; whereunto the first President made answer, that three dayes since hee had caused a strict search to be made among the Printers, but could not yet discover any thing: whereup- D on the Duke of Epernon said that it was not those poore men they should punish who sought nothing but to get their liuing. This libell which was called *Cassandra* they made to speake as a Propheticke, saying, That the King should not alie himselfe by marriage out of France, with this exclamation, what thinke you to doe French men? you make Bon- fiers and spend the nights in Maskes and Dancing, in hope of these pretended marriages. Doe you thinke thus to reconcile two Nations which haue bene alwaies enemies? the water and fire will sooner mingle themselves together and so produce their effects, then the French will agree with the Spaniard. This was the opinion of some malecontents, but this libell was answered to the full.

The day after the deliury of the Remonstrances, there was a Decree past in the Council of State both against them and the Decree of the Parliament, wherein making a long relation of what had past, in the end it concludes, That the King desiring to prevent such disorders and vnde enterprizes hereafter, had againe disannulled, reuoked and declared voyde the said Decree of the 28 of March, forbidding the Parliament hereafter, to meddle with affaires of State, but when they should be commanded. And to the end the memory of this enterprize and disobedience might be extinct, his pleasure is, that the said Decree, together with the Remonstrances shall be cancelled and taken out of the Registers; and that the Register shall be bound to bring them to his Maiestie instantly after notice of this Decree, or else to lose his Office; his Maiestie promising as speedily F and as fauourably as hee can to provide for the complaints and grieuances contained in the informations of the Generall Estates, which hee causeth to be viewed and examined daily, not onely in that which concerneth iustice; but also the Clergy, the Nobility, the ciuill gouernment, and the Treasure, the Editions whereof shall be sent vnto the Parliament, and to all other Parliaments and soueraine Courts of the Realme to verifie them, and to make such remonstrances as they in their consciences should thinke profitable for the publicke, and then he would willingly see them, take them into consideration, and would haue as great a respect as should be requisite to winnesse to the King his Maiesty would haue for the good and sake of his good subjects.

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The

A Decree of
the Council
of State against
the Remon-
strances of the
Parliament.

President Iannin
spake, that ha-
ving managed the
Kings Treasure

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The Speech of
the Kings learned
Councell
to his Maiesty.

The Court of Parliament in general, complained much of this Decree: and the Kings A learned Councell was sent for three severall dayes together to the Louvre; First, to heare the reading of the said Decree in Councell: Secondly, to enioyne them to cary it, and to cause it to be read in Parliament: and the third time, to know of them what diligence they had used concerning that which had beene given them in charge. They all three humbly besought the King and Queene, to excuse them of this charge, being fitter for other men to cary the message then themselves; but no excuses would serve, the Queene telling them, that the King would haue it so, that he desired to preferre his authority, and that the Kings commandements and hers might bee executed without excuse or delay. Whereupon the Kings Proctor generall said vnto the Queene, Madam, you make vs cary B a Torch which will kinde a fire, the embers whereof will continue long, and we feare the euent. What euent replyed the Queene? but that the people will mutine? No Madam said he, but an alteration of the good affections and deuotions of the Kings good subiects and seruants, and the dis-vnion of the greatest companies of this Realme, who administer iustice, which makes Kings to raigne. There was a long contestation about this refusal, yea the Proctor generall fell vpon his knees before the King, beseeching him not to force them to this seruice but to haue regard vnto what they were, and that the quality which they held in the Court of Parliament might excuse them: but the King cryed still, no, no, I will haue it so, and the Queene also: whereupon they were forced to obey.

On the first of Iune, *Monf: Seruin* deliuered what they had in charge from his Maiesty, C and withall they gaue their aduice vnto the Court, how they might compound this businesse with the Kings fauour and the honor of the Parliament: which was, That the Court should depure some amongst them to the King and Queene, to let them vnderstand, that by their remonstrances, the Parliament had no intention to thinke or speake of the King or Queenes actions, nor of her Regency and government: to reiterate their great submissions which they had already made, and to make protestations of all seruice, obedience, fidelity and respect: which done, they did verily beleue their Maiesties would rest satisfied. All the Chambers being assembled, the businesse was taken into deliberation, and in the end it was resolved according to the aduice of the Kings Councell. Vpon the second of Iune in the afternoon, the Kings Councell were sent for to the Louvre, to whom the D Queene said, that the King could not heare any thing of the execution of his will, or that the Decree made in Councell had beene read and inrolled: whereupon *Monf: Seruin* gaue her to vnderstand, that the Parliament was resolved to performe all the duties their Maiesties could desire, and to giue all the satisfaction they can vnto their King, namely concerning the three points which they had desired.

First, That they had neuer thought to speake of the King, nor of his actions.

Secondly, Neither of the Queene mother, or of her Regency and Government: but had greatly commended her wisdom, care, and affection to the good of the Estate, and quiet of the Realme, yea since the Kings Maiesty.

Thirdly, That they had not attempted against the Kings authority, by the Decree E whereof they complained, and that they did neuer beleue that they had any other authority but what had beene put into their hands by their Kings, neither that they could haue any soueraine power in this Realme but the Kings: so as they could not attempt any thing of themselves, neither could they subsist without his: That they breathed nothing but obedience and faithfull affection to his seruice, and a generous desire for the preferuation thereof. Not withstanding this protestation, the Queene said, That the King gaue charge his commandement should be executed, and that the Decree should be read and inrolled vpon paine of disobedience: wherewith the Court being made acquainted by the Kings Councell, the Chambers being assembled, there was much consultation touching their proceeding, and in the meane time the Queene sending againe for the Proctor generall, and the Advocates, said vnto them, *That hearing the Court had past a Decree, to make such submissions vnto the king as were due vnto him, with a testimony of the honor which they bare vnto her, the execution of which decree was expected, and that when the Court should begin, the King would giue such answer as euery one should rest satisfied.*

They making a new protestation of the Courts fidelity & affection to the Kings seruice, with the reuerence & obedience they did owe vnto their Maiesties, finding that the King and Queene by their good countenance (confirmed by their words) had made demon- stration

The Queenes
Speech to the
Kings learned
Councell.

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A stration of their will and intent, whereby the Court might assure themselves of all the good that might be expected from a King which takes pleasure in wife and faithfull seruants: This they thought good to represent vnto the Court, that knowing what had past, they might resolve by their wisdomes of what they should hold fit for the Kings good and seruice. Whereupon the Court being assembled, they decreed to make their humble submissions vnto the King and Queene; after which, matters remained as they were before, the Remonstrances and Decree continued in the Registers Office, and the Decree of the Kings Councell was not inrolled.

During these busineses in France, the Warre reuiued in Sauoy, betwene the Catho- lique King and the Duke, vpon certaine differences; the King pretending a Title to the County of Aste in Piedmont, & the Duke challenging his deceased wifes Dowry in the Duchie of Millan. The last yeare they had great forces in field on either side, but by the mediation of the Popes Nuncio, and the Marquis of Rambouillet Embassador for the French King, there was a suspension of Armes for foure moneths, either party withdrawing his Armie; wherat the King of Spaine was not altogether pleased with his Gouernour of Millan, for that he had granted the Duke so long a truce and drawne his Armie out of Piedmont, to oppress his owne subiects in the Duchy of Millan: whereupon he commanded him (by his Letters written this yeare in Ianuary) to march with all speed into Piedmont for the lodging of his Armie there; to chastise the Duke of Sauoy, for the reputation of his Armes, and the execution of his commandements.

These Letters were surprised by the Duke of Sauoy, but the rigour of the winter, and the abundance of snow, hindered all warlike attempts vntill March, and in the meane time they prepared their forces. The Duke of Sauoy being aduertised that the Gouernour of Millan, leauied great forces, and made all warlike preparations, with an intent to besiege Aste, and Versell, he fortified himselfe from France, Lorraine, Swisserland & Holland: and in the Spring both the Armies went to field, where there were many sieges, encounters, and militarie exploits; the particularities whereof I must leaue to the Original.

The Commander of Silery being sent into Spaine to carry a New-yeares Gift to the D Infanta, from the Christian King: He had also the affaires of Sauoy in charge, to the end he might procure a peace, and know the King of Spaines intention touching that subiect. The Marquis of Rambouillet being aduertised of his Negotiation, hee sent to demand audience of the Duke being at Aste. But the Duke thinking it not fit (considering the state of the warre and his affaires) to treat of a Peace in Aste: he sent him word that by the ninth of May he would be at Valfenera, which was ten miles off, where hee would giue him audience.

At his coming thither, the Marquis told the Duke, that the Commander of Selary had brought from Spaine, that the Catholique Kings intention was, not to take any satisfaction, nor submission from him, but that he should presently disarm, retaining only such troopes of Souldiers as shall be necessarie for the guard of his places, and for the safety of his estates and Countreys. That the said Duke should referre all the controuersies he had with the Duke of Mantua, to the Emperours iudgement; with promise not to wrong the said Duke of Mantua, nor to attempt any thing but by a ciuill course for all his pretensions. That in doing this, all the places which the King had taken from him should be restored. And if the Catholique King should attempt to wrong him, or his estates, the most Christian King did promise to undertake his defence.

The Duke of Sauoy hearing of the King of Spaines intention, he held it fit to consider thereof before hee should make any answer, telling the Marquis that hee had a desire to conferre with the Prince his sonne, his Councell, and the Embassadors of Princes which were with him touching that subiect; and that on Saturday following, hee would meet him at Quires, and there acquaint him with his resolution. The Gouernour of Millan lying with his Armie before Aste, in the meane time on Whitsunday, there was a truce concluded for three dayes, during which truce, the Marquis of Rambouillet went vnto the Spanish Campe to treat with the Gouernour of Millan for the conclusion of a Peace. This truce gaue good hope thereof. The Spanish Armie suffered much, having bene fixe weekes in one place in great scarcitie of water: they held their enemies Towne besieged but on one side onely, without hope of forcing it: yet both the one and the other were

Warre be-
tweene the
K. of Spaine,
and the Duke
of Sauoy.

The King of
Spaines in-
tention touch-
ing the Duke
of Sauoy.

very circumspect not to be surprized during this Treatie of Peace. The Gouvernour of A Millan having made a new Trench, and placed 36. Gabions thereupon, hoped there to make his batterrie, and thence to lay upon the new Fort of Saint *Peters*, which the Sauoyards had made. But the 21 of June, an hour before day, the Marquis *D'Yrfe* with 800 foot, followed by 500 others, and 200 horse conducted by the Earle *Guy* of *S. George* went and fired the said Gabions, and the Sauoyard entered into the Spanish Trenches, where there were many slain on both sides: the Earle *Guy* was shot into the shoulder with a Musket, and two Spanish Captaines were slain. This action was like not only to hinder, but even to breake off the Treatie of Peace: yet it was apparently seene, that the Spanish Armie decayed dayly; and on the contrarie the Sauoyard increased with Gentlemen and Souldiers, which (notwithstanding proclamation to the contrarie in France) found the means to get thither.

The Ambassador of France, was very desirous, seeing he had brought the Sauoyard and Spaniard so neere the Temple of peace, that they should enter the same; and to this end exhorted the Duke of Sauoy to signe the Capitulation the same day: which hee did that evening. On the morrow, the Ambassador went vnto the Spanish campe, to cause the Gouvernour of Millan to signe the two promises of observing the points of the accord: which were of this tenour:

Articles of a
Peace between
the King of
Spain, and
Duke of Sauoy.

That for so much as the most Christian King by his Ambassador had invited him; as also his Maiestie of Great Brittain by *Sir Dudley Carleton*, and the Swiflers by their Ministers effectually exhorted him vnto peace, for the publicke good of all Christendome:

His Highnesse for the reverence and respect he beares vnto their Maiesties, and the Common-wealth of Venice, and the desire he hath to satisfie them, and all the world of his good will and love vnto the peace and tranquillitie of the Christian Common-wealth, according to the desire of the above-named Princes and States, is content, and promisseth to disarme himselfe within one month after publication of these presents. And not to retaine out of his whole Armie, above foure ordinarie companies of Swiflers for the assistance of his Estates, and defence of his places, and as many of his subiects as shall suffice for their safeties.

He promisseth also, not to offend the Duke of Mantua: and touching their differences and pretensions, his Highnesse shall not attempt any thing by force against the said Duke, but shall proceed civilly by way of Iustice before the Emperor, in regard whereof the Marquis of Rembouillet promised in his Kings name, that the vassals and subiects of the Duke of Mantua, which have caried Armes, and serued his Highnesse of Sauoy in the last warre of *Montferrat*, shall be secured for their persons, and restored to their goods, to enioy them as before the warre.

All places shall be restored after this disarming, withall the Artillery, Armes, and Munition which was found in them, with all prisoners taken on either side: And in case the Spaniards (contrarie to the Tenour of this Treatie, and the Word given by the King of Spaine to the Christian King) shall directly, or indirectly, seeke to trouble his Highnesse in his person, or Estates, his most Christian Maiestie shall take their protection vpon him, and shall give him all necessarie aide for his defence. The execution of the retreat of both Armies, shall be made in this manner:

The manner of
the Armes
retiring.

The Marquis of Rembouillet shall intreat his Highnesse to draw 2000 foot out of *Aste*, and at the same instant hee shall write to the Gouvernour of Millan, and intreat him to withdraw the King of Spaines Armie from those places where it now lies, and cause to retire as fast as *Croix Blanche*: After which, the Marquis shall againe intreat his Highnesse to retire the rest of his Armie, retaining only a sufficient number for the defence of his Estates. And the same day that this shall be effected, he shall make request vnto the Gouvernour, to retire with all the Catholique Kings Armie out of his Country. And the said Marquis did promise vnto his Highnesse in his Kings name, that the Gouvernour of Millan presently after they had disarmed, should so dispose of the whole Armie, as neither his Highnesse, nor any other Prince should have cause of ialousie, neither should they demand in the Catholique Kings name, any passage for souldiers through his Highnesse territories, during the space of fixe months next ensuing.

His most Christian Maiestie shall presently command the Marshall of Deslignieres, and all the Gouvernours of Prouinces which confine vpon his Highnesse Estates, having effected what he ought, (in case the Spaniards should faile on their part) to assist him with

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all their forces, without expecting any other order or commandement from Court, and notwithstanding any prohibition they haue formerly had. That the Swiflers and Vassals shall haue free traffique in the Duchy of Millan, as they had before the Warre.

That his most Christian Maiestie should pardon all his Vassals, and Subiects, who contrarie to his proclamations had seru'd his Highnesse in this occasion, restoring them to their honors, pensions and entertainments, and granting them all necessarie Letters of abolition according to the custome of France. His Highnesse had three moneths time to give aduice to his friends and confederates to forbear from all Acts of hostilitie, yet if any thing should be done during the said time, it should not prejudice the peace, his Highnesse restoring those things which should be taken; and giving satisfaction to the parties interested.

And all the said things (except the order which shall be given to the Marshall *D'Anvers*, and other Gouvernours of France) shall be effected by his Maiestie, after his Highnesse disarming: the said Marquis promising in his Kings name to see the contents of this Treatie duely observed, as well for that which doth concerne the most Christian King, as for that which depends vpon his Catholique Maiestie, and to cause all to be ratified by his most Christian Maiestie, within twenty dayes after the conclusion of this Treatie, the which was signed on the 21 of June, by the Duke of Sauoy, the Marquis of Rembouillet, and the Agent for France: His Maiesties Ambassador of Great Brittain did also signe this Capitulation, with these words. That if they should faile on the King of Spaines behalfe, or would directly, or indirectly vnderake against his Highnesse person, or his Estates, that the King his Master would take them into his protection, and give them all necessary aide for his defence. Signed *Dudley Carleton*.

The Ambassador for the State of Venice did the like, promising that if after his Highnesse of Sauoy had disarmed, the Spaniard should faile in the conditions promised, and should offer violence vnto his Highnesse, to visite themselves for his defence with the Crowne of France, and with other Princes which had subscribed to this Capitulation. Signed *Reinier Zeno*.

After all this the Marquis of Inojosa Gouvernour of Millan, promised vnder his hand to performe the Articles of this Treatie. Thus these warres were ended by the mediation of the French King, without arming, or oppressing his subiects with the ruines of warre. He made himselfe as it were an Arbitrator between these two great Princes; protected the Estate of Sauoy, and stayed this Duke from attempting any thing by armes in *Montferrat*, against the Duke of Mantua.

There doe many times grow ielousies, and afterwards quarrels, betwixt the Gouvernours, and the Kings Lieutenants in one Prouince. The Duke of Longueuille, Gouvernour of Picardy, and the Marshall *D'Ancre* (who was the Kings Lieutenant there, and Gouvernour of the towne and Castle of Amiens) were in no good termes. There hapned many things in the beginning of this yeare to increase their quarrell. The Marshall *D'Ancre* had resolved to settle himselfe in Picardie, and especially in the Cittadell of Amiens, where hee had caused certaine houses to be beaten down neere the bridge, which diuides the Cittadell from the towne by a Channell of the River of Soame, the which hee cauled to be so accommodated, as he might draw it when hee pleased. This Bridge did increase the ielousies betweene the Duke and the Marshall, and betweene the Inhabitants of Amiens, and the Cittadell. The townefmen complaining that they could not goe in and out on horsebacke by the Bridge at their pleasure. All these distrusts betweene the Duke and the Marshall made them propound an exchange of the Government of Normandie, for that of Picardie, the which the Duke would not accept. In June the Duke and the Inhabitants of Amiens had resolved to breake the chaines of the Bridge, called *Pont Dolent*: for the effecting whereof, the Duke came downe accompanied with thirty horse, setting certaine Lock-Smiths on worke to breake the chaines, but they were interrupted by some which came out of the Cittadell, which caused an alarme within the towne and Cittadell, so as all went to Armes. Whereupon the Duke to auoid any further inconuenience, resolved to depart, sending word to the Gouvernour of the Cittadell, that although he had not aduertised him of his intention to breake that Bridge, yet he had sufficient authoritie to doe it as Gouvernour of the Prouince. They told him that without doubt those which had resisted, would be disauowed by the Marshall. That

Combustions
at Amiens be-
tweene the D.
of Longue-
uille, and the
Cittadell.

upon

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upon this occasion they were of aduice, that he should suffer the Duke of Longueville to breake the Bridge in his presence, by which means they should pacifie all their formes: That after his departure they might repaire it againe if the Marshall did so command. *Hercleque* hauing in a manner yielded to this aduice; they sent word hereof to the Duke: and *du Thier*, (who had made all this opposition) was inuited to retire from the Bridge into the Cittadell with his souldiers. Whereupon hee went to the Gouernour, who propounded the resolution vnto him with all the considerations: to whom hee answered, That hee had vnderaken to keepe and make good the Pont Doleint, or there to die; that they might not abandon it, without committing the greatest basenesse which could be imagined, and vnworthy of men which bore Armes; And hereupon returned to the Bridge; where hauing spoken with the souldiers, they promised to assist him with the hazard of their liues. Whereupon the Gouernour aduertised the Duke of Longueville, entreating him not to attempt any thing, considering *du Thiers* resolution. The Duke to auoid some greater combustions, refused to giue ouer his designe, and retire himselfe to his lodging. The newes hereof being come to Court, *du Thier* was commended; and afterwards aduanced to a command of Horse.

The Prince of Conde & other great men retire from Court.

Their Maiesties hauing resolved to part, about the end of Iune, to goe into Guienne; all things being prepared in Paris for the mariages. The Companies of Horse being called to accompany them this voyage. And the continuing the ancient Councillors of State, for the government of affaires. All these things I say increased the Iealousies and discontentes of the Prince of Conde, and other great personages which had assisted him in the former alterations, taking diuers pretexts to retire themselves from Court. The Prince of Conde was the first. Some write that hee held himselfe much wronged by the Seigneurs of Dole, and Eulon Councillors of State: and that he had protested he would no more returne to Court while they fate in Council.

The Duke of Bouillon Letter to President Lamm.

In the beginning of Iune; The Marshall of Bouillon wrote this following Letter to President *Lamm*, which treats of nothing but matters of State; and shewes reasons for their discontentes.

Sir, I had written vnto you, but receiued no answer. I doe not thinke that all libertie is yett lost, but that they which haue place and Office in the Kings Councill, may communicate what they hope for, or that which is contriued in the affaires of State, that by these communications they may finde out the moanes which are offered to carry them to more profitable counsels, and to free them from those which may hurt and weaken the royall dignity, which is the ground-woke whereon this Estate hath her chiefe support. I haue seene the remonstrances of the Parliament, and the Decree of the Kings Councill: by the which it seemes his Maiestie is much offended with the Parliament, ordaining that the Decree and Remonstrances shall be cancelled and brought out of the Register vnto his Maiestie. Being none of the Robe to vnderstand their formes, I will make a brieue relation of the thing: which is, concerning the aduice which that great and honorable company giues vnto the King of many things importing his seruice. They forcing nothing, neither in the time, nor in the forme, which his Maiestie and the Queene would hold for the redressing thereof. His Maiestie seemes to referre these remedies to the answer of the Estates grieuances; which Estates as you and I know, had little or no libertie, and lesse satisfaction to carry into their Princes; which leaues small hope that in their answers there will be any contentment for the publique. The ouerture made by those Remonstrances will giue his Maiestie occasion to satisfie many bad Censures, which haue bene made of the successe of affaires, seeing that the ouerture to the remedies is ill taken. That we see notable changes in their resolutions, as of the annuall Rent called *Paulette*, and the sale of Offices, which they did allow, and promised solemnly to the Estates; yet since they haue confirmed both, and left them as they were before. They command the Generall Deputies of them of the Religion, to take a Brieve for their assembly at Gergeau, and yet without any cause or motion of them of the Religion, they transferred it to Grenoble. These examples, shew the change of Councils. They speake also of the execution of the marriage, by which it seemes they will augment the feares of such as loue the Estate; the progresse whereof hath bene communicated to few or none of those who principally ought to haue knowledge thereof. Wee see daily many Commissions sealed, and dispatched. The Duke of Sauoy more and more oppressed. The King of Spaines forces

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A forces a foot in many places, and so shall likewise those of France bee leauied. And why so? but to violate the Kings right, and that of the State, in fauour of his most flourishing enemies? Who sayes it is not good the King should marry? or that the *Infanta* is not the greatest Princeesse in Europe? Who knows not that the mariages betwixt great personages should marry the persons, but not the Estates, and that in this regard no man hath dilikt of this alliance? But the proceedings and preparations make many feare, that it will engage vs in our former miseries, trouble vs, and make vs lose our ancient Allies, and vnite vs to those which will draw vs from the greatnesse of our Estate, to the exaltation of theirs; from our rest to troubles; and from the ballance which France hath alwayes held in the affaires of Europe, to a forced coniunction with Spaine. The feare of these inconveniences is lawfull, and the desire of the remedy which should be bred in all true Frenchmen, to pray vnto God to inspire the Queenes heart, to diuert it as it seemes easie. If they would with the greatest part of the State deliberate of these things, and take aduice to remedy them, not sparing any one whom they shall finde to be Author of these bad counsels: They shall know them that loue their Maiesties, and the State, and not by the false colours which are giuen by daily slanders, the which are more credited then truth. And for that I know I am more assaulted then any other, I desire to make my actions knowne to the world. They say I make leaues of souldiers, it is vnture; but if I should assure my selfe by my friends, what should I doe, but every man in France doth the like? What can I thinke when they leaue forces in France for the Kings seruice, and I am not employed to haue the chiefe command? If they employ not me and other good Frenchmen, Is it not a signe that these forces shall serue to support factions contrary to the State. If this be so, why should I suffer my selfe to be oppressed, hauing committed no basenesse nor treacherie? Sir, you that loue the King and the Estate, be a means they may cast their eyes vpon the remedies, and vpon the length and diuersitie of accidents, to the end they may aduance the one, and recoyle the other, to the which I will contribute faithfully, and courageously what lyces in me without any consideration of mine owne particular. I will not omit the refusal of that which is due vnto me, in regard of *Sedan*, and for the protection thereof, which shewes that they neglect the Kings right, and a thing of great importance, the which (notwithstanding these bad affections,) I will preferre with the helpe of God for the Kings seruice, and good of France, and that no fraud or power shall diuert me.

To this Letter there was an answer published vnder the name of an ancient Councillor of State, wherein he said, That they which gouerned the State, were the cause of the abuses and disorders, that the Fountaine of all the miseries of France, proceeded from the discontent of great men, who thought they were not fauoured enough. That few busineses concerning the generall good of the Estate had been concluded, without the aduice of the greatest which were in Court, especially of the Prince of Conde. That their Maiesties desire was to reforme the Councill, if there were any necessity. That they stirred vp the people to rebell, rather then ease them. The state of the reuennues since the Kings death, and the great expences to maintaine the Kings autoritie, and to preserve France from ciuill Warres in the last alterations procured by the Prince of Conde. That the publishing of the Remonstrances of the Parliament, had bene done by some which fauoured designs preiudicial to the State. That the King had more interest to maintaine the autoritie of Iustice, then any of his subiects. Hee makes answer to the Marshalls complaints, touching the change of resolutions in Councill, and of their Maiesties care to maintaine the alliances of the Crowne of France. That it should be a shame for the King to deferre the execution of the mariages. Their Maiesties holie desire to maintaine peace amongst Christian Princes. That the Princes leauied men secretly.

F Their Maiesties had resolved to be at Bourdeaux vpon the eighth of September: but the insupportable heate, and some affaires of State, stayed their departure vntill the 17 of August: and in the mean time the King had inuited the Prince of Conde by word of mouth, to giue him so much contentment as to accompany him in his voyage, and afterwards hee sent the Countesse of *Soissons* and the Duke of Neuers to perswade him; but seeing that he was gone from Saint Maur to Clermont, he dispatched the Seigneur of Villeroi vnto him. First, to presse him to satisfie his desire, and to returne to Court to accompany him to Bayonne. Secondly, to learne the cause of his absence: for his Maiestie desired

An answer to the Duke of Bouillon Letter.

The King sends Monsieur Ville-roy to the Prince of Conde.

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fired that he (being the first Prince of his blood) should have the honour to conduct Madame the Kings Sister, and to receive the Princess of Spaine his promised Spouse. But he made answer that before he returned to Court to accompany the King in his voyage, they must provide for the reformation of some disorders which were in the State, that is to say: 1. Upon the assembling of the Kings Council. 2. Touching the Remonstrances of the Parliament: and 3. Touching certaine points which concerned his owne particular, and that of his friends: This being reported vnto their Maiesties by Monsieur de Villeroi, they tooke aduice for reformation of the Kings Council, and gaue an extract of their intentions vnto him vpon that subiect, and sent him the second time vnto the said Prince, who having presented them, and deliuered his charge, the Prince seemed to allow of the Kings intentions, touching the reformation of his Council: but touching the other points, which were represented vnto him, he said hee could not resolve any thing before hee had conferred with his friends: whereupon he departed presently from Clermont to Couchy, for two reasons: the first (as they said) was, for that it was easie to surprize his person remaining any longer at Clermont, there being many companies of men at Armes and light-horse lying thereabouts: and the second was, to meete with the Dukes of Longueville and Maine, the Earle of Paul, and the Marshall of Bouillon.

Monsieur de Villeroi sent againe vnto the Prince of Condé.

Monsieur de Villeroi third Voyage to the Prince of Condé.

The King desirous to give content vnto the Prince, and to take from him all subiect and pretext of his absence from Court, he sent the said Villeroi backe the third time, to testifie vnto him his Maiesties loue, where they entered into conference, the which if it had not bene interrupted, it was thought would have given content both to the King and Prince. But his Maiestie considering that time did presse him to beginne his voyage of Guienne; and to be at Bourdeaux the eighth of September, whereof they had aduertised the King of Spaine, they resolved to part on the first of August, their Maiesties giving warning vnto all, which should attend them to prepare themselves: whereof they thought good to aduertise the Prince, and other Princes and Noblemen which were with him, giving the charge vnto the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain a Secretary of State, commanding him to ioyne with Monsieur de Villeroi to present the Kings Letter vnto the Princes: who comming to Couchy on the 27 of Iuly, acquainted Monsieur Villeroi therewith. But he perswaded him to forebare the delierie, for that hee was vpon the point to reconcile the Prince vnto his Maiestie, and that all would succeed well, if the conference were not interrupted: notwithstanding Pont-Chartrain told him that the King had resolved to depart within sixe dayes, and that hee had given expresse commandement to aduertise the Prince thereof, and to deliuer him his Letters, the contents were as foll oweth.

Pont-Chartrain brings Letters to the Prince.

Coult 1. I have often made you acquainted with my desire, that you should accompany me in my voyage to Guienne, for the accomplishment of my marriage, and have inuited you to come vnto me for that subiect; yea, I haue let you vnderstand my good intentions touching certaine points, whereof you desired to be satisfied, before your returne, as well concerning the generall, as other things: to which end I haue often sent Monsieur de Villeroi vnto you, by whom you might be assured of my affection, & loue, and of the Queen my mothers vnto you. Notwithstanding, I haue not yet heard your intention, there being nothing but excusations and delays on your part: wherefore being pressed to depart, I send the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain, to acquaint you with my resolution, meaning to depart on the first of the next month without delay; and to inuite you againe on my behalf, to come and accompany me, and to hold the ranke which is due vnto you by your qualitie and birth; or tell them (if contrarie to my hope) your intent be to make any difficultie, and to deny mee this content, to the end I may be fully satisfied, being the chiefe subiect of his voyage: referring my selfe to that which Monsieur de Villeroi, and he shall deliuer vnto you, I pray God, &c. Paris 26 Iuly 1615. Signed Lewis.

The Kings Letter to the Prince of Condé.

The Prince taking occasion to breake off the Conference vpon the Kings sodaine departure: by his answer he besought him to haue patience, vntill that hee had given order for these Articles aboue mentioned, otherwise he could not assist his Maiestie in the said voyage. This was the tenour of this answer.

Sir, vnderstanding by the Letter, which your Maiestie hath been pleased to write vnto me, of your sodaine resolution to vndertake your voyage of Guienne; and the commandement you made me to come and assist your Maiestie; I was of opinion that this hastie depart-

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A departure (before you had settled the affaires of your Estate, and provided for the disorders which have bene presented vnto you, as well by the generall Estates, as by your Parliament of Paris) was a continuation of their bad counsels which are the Authors, whom I haue not heretofore named in my most humble Remonstrances, to the end I might not displease you, nor the Queene your Mother, hoping they would forebare to abuse your Maiesties bounty: but seeing they continue to make vse of your authority for a pretext of their pernicious designs, and violent Counsels, too publique to be any longer suffered; seeing they employ them to the subversion of your Estate, to the weakening of your Crowne, the ruine of your House, and of other Princes, Officers of your Crowne, and chiefe of your Nobilitie; I am forced, Sir, after long patience to present vnto your Maiestie (with the humilitie of a most humble subiect) the iust reasons which stay mee from obeying your commandement. I will tell your Maiestie, that when I was retired to Creil, it having pleased you to send Monsieur de Villeroi with commandement to come vnto you, making offers that your Maiestie would aduise to settle some good order in the publique affaires of your Realme: I made him answer, that hauing bene eight moneths at Paris, where I had sene the beginning, progresse, and issue of the Estates such as it was, the practices which were vsed to corrupt the Deputies, and to frustrate their deliberations, and resolutions: The Parliament insulted vpon, and vnworthily intreated, for that they desired to serue your Maiestie: my life, and the liues of many other Princes and Lords of qualitie put to compromise; for that wee deliuered our opinions freely in your counsell, touching those things which were presented for your seruice, and the good of the Estate, I could not returne with dignity nor safety, vntill it should please your Maiestie to provide for the reformation of your Councils, and the publique disorders contained in the remonstrances of your Parliament. Whereupon it pleased you to send him backe againe to Clermont, with a more ample commission, we conferred together touching the reformation of your Council, and the orders which hee had charge to shew mee: and as for the Remonstrances of the Parliament, I did forebare to deliuer my opinion, vntill I had conferred with other Princes, and Officers of your Crowne, which concur in the same opinion with me; as Monsieur de Villeroi hath given your Maiestie to vnderstand, who not disliking of this treatie, had thought good to send him backe to this place; where being arrived this morning, we were already entered into conference, touching the said Remonstrances, so as matters seemed to bee vpon termes of a good accommodation, whom as the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain arriving, hee deliuered mee your Maiesties Letter, and acquainted mee with your sodaine departure, the which depriveth the publique of the fruit which they expected by the issue of this conference, makes matters impossible to bee executed by reason of your haste: and by this means increaseth the disorders which are in your Estate, whereof I am constrained to name the authors vnto your Maiestie, which are, The Marshall D'Ancre, the Chancellor, the Commander of Sillery, Dole, and Bullion, who had bene onely aymed at by the remonstrances of the Parliament, on whom I beseech your Maiestie to doe publique Iustice; ordaining that the complaints made against their actions may bee verified, and that they may bee proceeded against by ordinarie course, according to the vsuall forme; as also for the assassinate or murder, committed some few dayes since vpon the person of the Seigneur of Prouille, Sergeant Maior of the Towne of Amiens, by an Italian Souldier of the Cittadell, ordaining that hee may be deliuered into the hands of the ordinarie Iudges, to proceede in his tryall as hee is wicked an adulterer.

And vntill the orders for the reformation of your Council may be made and executed, the Remonstrances of the Court examined; the disorders contained therein provided for, and Iustice done as well on those persons whom I haue now named to your Maiestie, as of the said Italian Souldier: I most humbly beseech you to excuse me, if I cannot attend you in your voyage: the which otherwise I would and will without any difficultie, if it please your Maiestie to provide for these things before your departure. Remaining your most humble, &c. Henry de Bourbon. From Concy the 27 of Iuly 1615.

By this answer their Maiesties conceived that the Princes designe tended, to stay their said voyage, and to lose the commoditie for this year, the which was sufficiently verified

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Letters sent in
to all Provinces
for the satisfie-
ing of their
Towns.

The death of
Prouille at
Amiens. & the
D. of Longue-
ville's retreat.

Prouille slain.

The Marshall
D'Ancre's speech
vpon the death
of Prouille.

by the refusal the other Princes and Noblemen with him, made to assist the King in this voyage. Whereupon their Maiesties being frustrate of this content which they expected from the said Princes; and that they all declared themselves to bee discontented, the which might breed some combustions within the Realme; It was resolved in Councell to aduertise the Gouvernours of Provinces, commanding them to provide for the safety of their townes, to the end that no troubles might happen to the prejudice of the Kings service, and the peace of the Realme. Whereupon Letters were sent into all Provinces, commanding the Gouvernors of Townes, Places, and Castles, not to give entry vnto the said Princes; That they should keepe a strict guard during their Maiesties voyage: Nor receiue any but such as had expresse commission from his Maiestic.

But before I proceed in this publike action of the Kings voyage, I must relate an excess committed at Amiens, wherof the Prince of Conde makes mention in his Letter. The Iudge criminall of Amiens, had caused an Italian souldier of the Cittadell to bee hanged for wounding an Apothecaries seruant. The Marshall D'Ancre being at Paris, and receiving aduertisement thereof, was wonderfully offended, vowing reuenge; and that hee would cause the Iudges nose and eares to be cut off. Hee wrote in choller to *Hottelogue*, Gouvernour of the Cittadell, who excused himselfe and laid the fault vpon *Prouille*, Sergeant Maior of the Towne. On the two and twentieth of Iuly *Vincen Lodouici* the Marshalls Secretarie came vnto the Cittadell to pay the Souldiers. *Prouille* hearing thereof went from the Towne to visit him, where making many excuses for that which was past in the execution of the Italian Souldier, hee rooke his leave, and retired. Vpon the way neere vnto Pont-Dolent, hee was met by *Alphonso*, another Italian Souldier of the Cittadell, who at his first approach gaue him two stabs with his dagger and slue him, and then fled into the Cittadell. The iustice took vp the dead bodie, and vpon the complaint of his kinsfolke and friends, they demanded of *Hottelogue* the Souldier *Alphonso* to proceed against him. But *Hottelogue* made answer, that it was a businesse of great importance; That both he and the Souldiers of the Cittadell remembered the execution of the Italian Souldier which was hanged: An execution held by all men to haue bene rashly done, and that it had bred ryots betwene the Souldiers of the Cittadell and some inhabitants. Wherefore to maintaine the peace, and to take away all occasions of combustions, he must aduertise their Maiesties of what had past in the death of *Prouille*: That *Alphonso* was not to be tryed before the Criminall Iudge of Amiens being a Souldier. That he had caused him to bee put in prison, and that according to their Maiesties commandement, he would deliuer him to the Prouost Marshall which should be appointed for his tryall. That *Alphonso* protested he had no premeditated designe to offend *Prouille*; who meeting him had vsed some words of contempt against his Nation: whereupon they growing into choller, *Prouille* stricke him with his fist, and he had slaine him.

The kinsfolke and friends of *Prouille* pretended on the other side, that it was a murder they committed of purpose, & commanded by the Marshall D'Ancre and his wife. That *Alphonso* had bene at Paris, and was returned but three dayes before. That before the fact hee had bene seene walke an houre together alone like a melancholy person, hauing some bad designe: and that *Prouille* would rather haue stricke him with a cudgell which hee caried then with his fist. *Lodouici* was sent speedily to Paris to aduertise the Marshall of what had past; who deliuering the Gouvernours Letters vnto him being in bed, hee sate vp, swearing a great oath, that it was too much, that he should haue giuen him a slash ouer the face, or done him some affront, and not to haue slaine him. But afterwards by the Marshalls commandement, the Gouvernour tooke him out of prison and conducted him himselfe into Flanders.

This death of *Prouille* hapned when as the Duke of Longueville went to the Assembly of Coucy, where the Prince of Conde received newes thereof. They all conceiuing that the occasion which was offered by the discontent of the people of Amiens vpon this accident, would aide them much to expell those which were in the Cittadell of Amiens. Whereupon the Duke of Longueville was to returne the next day to Amiens to entertaine such as hee thought were incensed against

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A against the Cittadell, and that according the disposition of affaires, the Princes would draw all their forces into Picardy, to assure themselves of Amiens, and of whatsoever else they could get by force or intelligence; but the Queene hauing notice hereof, shee sent *Nerefant* to command in the Cittadell of Amiens, and *Longueuil* governed the Towne.

The Duke of Longueville being returned from Coucy to Amiens, the Towne and Cittadell were full of practices, reports, and distrusts. The Duke going out of Amiens on the Saturday morning, the second of August, came backe againe the same night, hee had giuen out that he was gone to hunt the Stagge; and those of the Cittadell beleebed he was gone to Corbie, and that the place was at his deuotion, as well as the heart of Rubempre; that it was the Rendezvous of his friends, that from thence they might with more conueniencie make them Masters of Amiens, and the Cittadell. The inhabitants in the meane time were in feare, apprehending that their Towne would be made the Theater where the Duke and they of the Cittadell would Act their Tragedies. Some of the people which did affect the Duke offered to make a *Corps de Garde* before his lodging. But they of the Cittadell being armed with the Kings name, and his Letters Patents; by which they were forbidden to receiue the Duke of Longueville into any Towne of his government of Picardie; they sent for the chiefe of the Clergie, the Magistracie, and the Inhabitants into the Cittadell, to whom hauing read the said Letters containing his Maiesties pleasure, they all protested to continue constant in the Kings obedience.

The Duke of Longueville hearing of all this; as hee was at dinner on Sunday the thirteenth of August, hee was informed that the Captaines and Souldiers of the Cittadell were arming and preparing themselves for some designe. Whereupon his people calling to Armes, they seized vpon a Port, by the which hee retired to Corbie. The Duke hauing receiued this affront, wrote his Letters of complaint vnto the King, informing him, that the Lieutenant and Souldiers of the Cittadell, had suborned two Traitors to draw him from Corbie to Amiens, saying, that it was very necessarie for the Kings service, and the preservation of the Towne, that he should go speedily: the which hee did in the night, being onely accompanied with three horse. Being arised, the people offered to make a guard before his lodging, the which hee refused, being as free from feare, as hee was from guilt. That being the next day at dinner, they of the Cittadell beganne to cry to Armes, telling the people that there were 1000 horse at the gates which came to surprize them, seeking by this means to draw them into a mutiny, where assuring themselves that I would come (how soeuer accompanied) they meant to surprize me; but being aduertised thereof by one of the partie (an honest man then the rest) he seized vpon a gate where he attended their coming; but they seeing they could not execute their pernicious designe, they sent him a Letter in his Maiesties name, by the which he had declared him guiltie of high treason, & forbidden all the townes of his government to receiue him. That he had retired to Corbie, whither his friends had come vnto him to preuent the like designe, and not to suffer these men to get so great power & authoritie in Picardie, as in time to come his Maiestic should be no more obeyed; to preuent the which, hee would willingly employ his life. Befeeching his Maiestic that hereafter he would not engage himselfe in their interests, nor suffer them to abuse his name and authoritie; but to doe as Kings his predecessors haue done, which was, *To make themselves neuters in particular quarrels*, to the end that hee might the more easily oppose himselfe against the violent designs they had vpon his life and fortunes, and that afterwards hee would willingly sacrifice both the one and the other for his Maiesties service.

After the declaration of the Kings will, which was sent to all the townes and countries of his obedience, to forbid the Princes entrance, and that their Maiesties were resolved to depart without any delay. The Prince seeing they would haue no regard vnto his remonstrances, resolved to warre; but before hee would take Armes, hee caused a declaration of his designs to be published, the which hee sent to the King and Queene, and caused it to be printed and dispersed ouer all France and foraine countries. The chiefe points whereof are.

That hauing often acquainted the King and Queene mother, with the miseries and disorders which afflicted France; and multiply dayly. Some about the King, and

The Duke of
Longueville's
complaint vnto
the King.

The Prince of
Condes declara-
tion and iustifi-
cation of his
actions.

verting this nourishment into poison, made the remedy to bee the entertainment of the A disease. 1. He complains, That demanding iustice for the abuses & disorders within the Realme, they sought to oppress him by Armes, and the Kings forces. 2. That such proceedings against humble suitors, innocents, and unarmed, having beene publickly detected, there were yet some good men about their Maiesties, which stayed the execution of so pernicious a Councell, and then they propounded a conference, which was concluded at Saint Maneould by a goodly resolution, for the assembling of the generall E- states of the Realme, the wholesome remedie for domestique wounds. 3. That they did expect a happy successe of the said Estates, and farre other then did appeare by the event; the remedies which they had applied were made fitter to nourish and enter- B raise the disease, then to cure it. 4. That they had made practices throughout all the Prouinces for the election of Deputies; that they had called none to particular conuoca- tions but whom they pleased; and that the libertie of election had beene wholly sup- pressed by Monopolies, threats, and violencies. 5. That they had sent instructions throughout the Prouinces, of that which they would have inserted in their Bills, the which in many places had beene drawne, and neuer imparted to the bodies of Townes and communalties, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the people; so as the Estates assembled had nothing but the name, for that the people hath not yet found any ease by them, nor conceiued any good hope, but many prefaces or more miserie. 6. That the house of Commons (which was the greatest part of the assembly) desiring (according to the C affection they beare vnto the King) to provide for the safety of his person, by a reme- die held fit by all good men; they had beene commanded to silence, by a Decree of the Kings Councell, as if the safety of the life of Kings had beene a scrupulous proposition, and not worthy to moue debate: so as by this silence or base preuarication, they have consented to the setting of so dangerous a mischief against the sacred persons of Kings, as to cause the Article to be drawne out of the instructions of the Estates, which menti- oned a search of the detestable murder committed on the person of the deceased King of happy memory, whereof the bloody wound cryeth for vengeance before the ius- tice of God against the treacherous authors of his death. 7. He complains that an Italian Souldier of the Cittadell of Amiens was so audacious as to assassinate pub- D likely the Seigneur of Prouille, Sergeant Maior of this frontier Towne, and no ius- tice hitherto done; and yet in the meane time many Gentlemen haue beene rigo- rously pursued for slight causes, being sensible of the treacherie of their household ser- uants, which hath been held a great offence, for that they had affected the said Princes seruice, and hee had taken their protection. 8. Hee said they had vsed all art and inuentions to leauy money of the people, and that there had beene thirtie five or forty Edicts sealed to that end. That this money was not appointed to come into the Kings Coffers, nor to supply the publique necessitie of the State, but to glut the in- satiable couerousnesse of some private persons. 9. That these things and many o- ther of the like nature, too boldly attempted, had beene made manifest to the Estates, E who hauing nothing remaining but the name of their ancient Dignitie, it was not law- full for them to propound any thing without the consent of those which are the au- thors of disorders; and if any good men (not defiled with corruption, and in whose hearts there remained any sparke of the vertue of our Ancestors) haue started for griefe, and cast out the last sobes of their dying libertie, they were put to silence, and by this means the little good which was expected from this assembly was smothered. Moreover hee said, that being resolu'd to goe and exhort euery one to lay- aside priuate interests, and to bend their affections to the good of the Kings seruice, and the ease of his people, and to expose himselfe first of all to the censure of the E- states, and to awaken their fidelitie and diligence, to doe their endeavors for the lay- ing open of the causes and authors of so many miseries; to propound the reme- dies, and to beseech the King to punish the guiltie; hee had notice giuen him, that the King forbade him to goe to the Estates. 10. Hee complaineth that ha- uing forborne to enter into the Estates, to the end there should no fault be imputed vnto him (but that his too great affection vnto the Kings seruice, and the good of the State is made a crime) they would haue seised vpon his person, and of other Princes, Of- ficers of the Crowne and Noblemen, who cannot endure to see the Maiesty of their King 10

A so miserably troden vnder foot, nor the shamefull and licentious prophanation of all things: And for that the people could not be perswaded that such violencies had beene commanded by his Maiestie. It was concluded in concell to disfigure the Parisians, to change the Captaines of quarters; to take away the chains of their streets; to weaken the strength of the Towne; and to lodge Swifles and other Souldiers there. 11. He said that as these Estates had yielded no fruit, but pensions and aides to many Deputies of corrupt consciences, and a doubling of miseries, and apprehensions to the poore people. The Court of Parliament of Paris (which hath alwayes yielded so many testimonies of her fidelitie for the preservation of this Crowne, which watcheth continually for B the Kings seruice; and hath alwayes to profitably directed her Councells to the good of the Estate) had in March last decreed vnder the Kings good pleasure, that the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and other Officers of the Crowne, which haue place and voice in the Court, should be invited, to aduise vpon the propositions which should be made for the Kings seruice; the ease of his subjects, and the good of his Estate: they sought presently to perswade his Maiestie that the Parliament had attempted against his authoritie, and by diuers practices to make the iust intentions of this company to be suspected; yea to moue him to indignation. Whereupon the Parliament hauing presented their humble remon- strances, whereby they layed open the miseries which did afflict the State, and discouered those which were the Authors: which made euery good man hope to see a speedy refor- C mation of the affaires, & examples of iustice in the punishment of the culpable: But they made a Decree in the Councell of State, declaring the Parliament incompetent, to repre- sent vnto the King the miseries & disorders which multiplied daily to the oppression of his subjects, and ruine of his Estate, terming them calumnious, & enterprisers of disobe- dience against his Maiestie, ordaining that (to extinguish the memory) they should be taken out of the Registers of the Court & brought to his Maiesty. 12. He complains that they suffer some Councillors of State to vsurpe all the power of the kingdome, & to change all things as they list; peruert the lawes and order of iustice; to abuse and tread downe the Parliament, suppress all honest true Frenchmen, and the Kings faithfull seruants, all the D Court depending vpon them which can giue Pensions, and Benefices, Offices and govern- ments, and dare offer violence at the gate of the Loure, in the Kings Chamber, and in his presence. 13. He saith that the world sees, that since the alliances with Spaine, what contempt they make of forraigne Princes and Neighbourhood, and of the ancient friends & allies of this Crowne, and the great aduantages the Spaniards haue gotten in diuers places, witnesse the taking of Aix and Wesell, and many others vnjustly detained by the Mar- quis Spinola in the Countries of Cleues and Iuliers. They know that this alliance is not onely of persons, but of Councells. They see that the King goes to mingle his affaires with a Prince which is in his full vigour; opens an entry for him into all the parts of his Realme; communicates his counsels vnto him to rectifie his, for the government of his Estate: and they are not ignorant that the Queene his wife will haue her affections, her E fauourites, and her designs. That shee will haue power to bring in Spaniards into the greatest governments of the most important places, as they had seene Italians since the Kings death.

That they were in alarme for the Kings sudden departure, to see them without ne- cessitie (the affaires of the Realme being in so bad an estate) secke to force Nature, and to hazard the health of his person, by the accomplishment of this marriage; the which might be deferred to another season, to auoid the dangers and inconueniences which are to be feared. In the meane time the King should grow in age, and in strength of body and minde; the affaires in better estate; His subjects more content; his neighbours and allies better assured, and his person in better disposition to marry. Hee should no more depend F on the ambition, couerousnesse, and peruerse affections of any one. Hee should be mode- rator of his owne will, and hold the reines of his Empire. Hee should be wife to free his people from miserie; strong to resist his enemies, and powerful to assure his ancient Al- lies. He should be flourishing in peace, inuincible in warre, his Realme filled with all blef- sings from heaven, and abound in all earthly felicities.

That they of the reformed Religion, who desire nothing, but rest vnder the benefit of the Edicts, complained also of this marriage, during the Kings tender age, as tending to their ruine; and also of the refusall made by the Nobilitie in the Estates, to demand the

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maintenance of the Edicts of pacification, the which ought to bee obserued as a fundamentall law of state. And also of the reception and obseruation of the Councell of Trent, sworne so solemnly within these few dayes by the Clergie, assembled at Paris, in view of the King and of his Councell, to the great contempt of his authoritie, and the honour of his Crowne, a thing neuer heard of before, and which had not been practised in France or elsewhere. Wherefore the Prince affirms that these reasons haue bound him humbly to beseech the King before his departure to prouide for the reformation of his Councells, and the disorders of the State. In the meane time to prevent slanders, and to informe the world of the integritie of his intention, hee addes what he thought fit for the satisfying of all Kings, Princes, Estates, and Nations of Christendome; and of the iust and necessarie reasons which moued him to retire from Court.

14. He saith, that since the Kings maiorieitie, and the assembly of the generall Estates, he hath benee alwayes neere vnto his Maieslie, to testifie his humble obedience by his preference and actions; confessing that he hath benee receiued with all testimonies of honour and fauour, when he hath benee silent of the publique miseries and calamities; and contrariwise ill intreated whensoever he came to touch this vicer. Euery man knew the affronts he had receiued; and that notwithstanding this contempt, (very sensible to a Prince of his quality and courage) he had continued eight moneths in Paris and although he had been often excited by his duty, prouoked by the cry of the publique; and urged by the violence of the cull it selfe, yet had hee alwayes patiently attended and tryed all means, vntill all men saw his preference grew more contemptible, then profitable. And to take away all occasion from such as were wont to calumniate his actions, hee restored into the Kings hands (in view of the Estates) the Towne and Castle of Amboise, which had benee giuen him by the Treatie of S. Manchould; to make knowne vnto all France, that he desired no other security but that which depended on his own innocencie, the fauour of their Maiesities; and the loue of all good men.

That they had vsed his Maiesties name, and sent the Siegneur of Saint Geran to forbid him to goe into the Parliament, vpon diuers occurrents, for the good of the State, with commandement to arrest him if he did not obey this violence, proceeding from the same counsaile which had often resolved put him in the Bastile, with the other Princes and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, which were vnto him. In the end (seeing that he exposed himselfe dayly to all sorts of dangers) he had retired himselfe to his houses for his more safety. After which followed the conferences with Monsieur de Villeroi and the Seigneur of Pont-Chartrain, as I haue formerly written. 15. Hee complains that vnder colour of this conference, they had a designe to surprize him in Clermont, hauing caused many companies of men at Armes and light-horse, to aduance and lodge thereabouts. But now it was no wonder if they had broken off the said conference, and negotiation begonne by Monsieur de Villeroi, seeing it did serue but for a cloake to a wicked and pernicious designe, the which they would since haue disguised.

With this Declaration the Prince of Conde, with the rest of the Princes and Noblemen which assisted him, publish a Proclamation, containing, That they had no other end but to yeeld all humble obedience due vnto his Maieslie, and the Queene his mother: That they did not consent vnto, nor participate with any of the pernicious Councells which were vsed in the government of this Estate. That they detested all factions, enterprises, and intelligences against the Kings authoritie; and that they desired to see a reformation of the State; the people relieved; iustice to raigine; the good to bee defended from all violence; the bad to bee punished, and things to be restored to their ancient splendour and dignity, by a generall reformation of so many disorders, and by the iust punishment of those which are the Authors. In the end, they entreated and exhorted all men of what condition or quality so euer, that call themselves Frenchmen, to assist and aide them in so iust a cause, coniuring all Princes and foraine Estates to doe the like, and not to suffer such good and loyall subiects to be suppressed by such a conspiracie. Cency 9. August.

The Prince sent this declaration with a Letter vnto the King, beseeching him to take it in good part, if he sent the said Declaration vnto all his Courts of Parliament, and other assemblies, and to all Princes and Estates, his allies and confederates; to the end that euery one might know whereto his actions tended, which had neuer any other end, but the good of his estate, and the preferuation of his Crowne. Hee wrote also

The Prince's protestation.

The Prince writes to the King.

A also vnto the Queene mother, by the which he gaue her to vnderstand, That his fidelity, birth, and courage, bound him to complaine of a Letter sent vnder the Kings authority vnto all the townes of France, forbidding them to open him their Gates: Madam, take good aduice, reiect that which is giuen you, seeing by the euent they are found ruinous. Excuse me (said he) if I oppose my selfe vnto the cull, observing my obedience to the King, and the respect due vnto your Maieslie; I send vnto the King the declaration of the iustificatiō of my actions past, and what I shall haue to doe hereafter, which he will communicate I hope vnto your Maieslie. He sent also this Manifestation vnto all the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, and to each one a Letter of almost one tenour.

B As for the Letters which the Prince sent vnto the Parliaments, he besought them, Not to endure (during his Maiesities tender age) those Ministers of State, which made a pretext of the Kings name to ruine the ancient Maximes and fundamentall lawes of the State, for the preferuation whereof their Court had benee established; Ioyne (said he) your designes with mine, which tend but vnto the publicke good, without any particular interest; this I protest and swear vnto you, which I beseech you to beleene. It is written, that all the Soueraigne Courts to the which hee wrote, sent the packets forthwith vnto his Maieslie without opening them.

On the thirtieth of Iuly, the Prince had sent the Seigneur of La Hay to the Assembly of the Reformed Religion at Grenoble; and he likewise sent to the Maior and Sheriffes of C Rochell, writing as followeth.

My masters, I send vnto you the Seigneur of Gruyolle, to let you vnderstand, that I haue likewise sent vnto the Assembly at Grenoble, and to enforme you particularly of that which hath past in the conference betwixt me and Monsieur de Villeroi, and the resolution which I haue thereupon taken; by the which I inuite you to ioyne your selues to my holy intentions, as well for the preferuation of the State, as to maintaine your selues in particular. It concerns you. The assistance that my Father and Grandfather haue alwayes had from you, makes me to hope for the like counterfeite from you, seeing that I haue the same affection to serue you. His Letter to the Assembly at Grenoble was to the same effect.

D Their Maiesities being aduertised of all these proceedings, and that the Prince continued discontent, yea that he meant to take Armes, it was resolved to prouide for the safety of the Townes and Prouinces of the Realme, especially for the Isle of France and Picardy, whither they sent many Commissions to leaue souldiers, and the Regiments of Ramburge and Nauarre were set on foot. The towne of Soissons (being the chiefe retreat for the Princes) their Maiesities were enformed that it was easie to surprize; there being yet no souldiers within it; and that the chiefe inhabitants would countenance this enterprise, if their Maiesities would send some souldiers of the Regiment of the Guards to execute it. They made this action so easie, and the profit so great, (for that it seemed if this Towne were taken from the Princes, they should be forced to lue in peace) that one night they drew 800 men out of the Regiment to doe this execution. But as in ciuill warres there is alwayes some friend in the Cabinet, by whom they discover their conclusions; so the Duke of Mayenne (being aduertised of this designe) put so strong a Garrison into Soissons, as the troops (finding it was discovered) returned to their lodgings. Afterwards, the Duke put those out of the Towne whom he suspected to affect their Maiesities seruice, and to haue any credit within the towne.

All things now prepared to armes on either side, the Marshall D'Ancre leaues Paris, and comes to Amiens on the sixt of August, where he began to raise 600 horse, and 4000 foot for the preferuation of Picardy. Hee presently aduertised all the Gouvernours and Maiors of Townes of their Maiesities intention, contrary to that of the Duke of Longueville: all assure him of their fidelity to the King. Hee of Ardres (who was held to affect the Duke) remained a neuter during these confusions. But the Gouernor of Chastelet followed the Princes party, contrary to the promise he had made. The Marquis of Bon-neuer fought to fortifie himselfe in Estaples, but it was without effect: So as in all Picardy there was not any but Ruberpré in Corbie, and Harancourt in Chastelet, that declared themselves of the Princes partie. There were great leauies made in Picardy for both parties. The Prouost Marshall of Amiens being commanded by the Marshall D'Ancre to goe with eight men at armes of the Queenes Company and his Archers, to seize vpon a Gentle.

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and to the
Queene.To the Princes
and Nobility.To the Courts
of Parliament.To the Rochel-
lers.Preparations
to warre.Marshall D'An-
cre goes into
Picardy.

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Gentlemen who leaued Souldiers for the Princes. Hee came thither, found him in his house, spake with him, and yet suffered him to escape; the Prouost returned to Amiens, thinking to excuse himselfe, saying, he could not execute the Marshalls command, without killing of the Gentleman, and that hee had no commission to take him alive or dead; wherewith the Marshall was much discontented, and causing a gibbet to be set vp, he told the Prouost that he should be hanged, for an example to all others to serue the King faithfully. The Prouost was in great feare of his life, although he were not committed; but the Noblemen which were with the Marshall interceded for him, and obtained his pardon, for the which he gaue them thanks.

The Marshall of Bois Dauphin Lieutenant general of the Kings army.

Being resolved in Councell to raise an army, the Marshall of Bois Dauphin was made Lieutenant General of the Kings Army (which should consist of 1500 horse, 8000 French foot, and 2000 Swisses) in the Ile of France, Brie, Picardy, and Champagne, during their Maiesties voyage, to stop the passages of the Riuer, and to oppose himselfe against the Princes attempts: They put new Garisons into the townes vpon the Riuer of Seine and Marne, forbidding them to suffer any to passe without authority from the King or the said Marshall. The Bridges of Nante were broken by the Kings commandement: and in the meane time the Princes lay still at Coucy, Corbie, and Soissons, without any apparent shew of leauing any troops.

It was decreed that their Maiesties should part from Paris on the 17 of August, and that the Duke of Guise should conduct Madam the Kings sister, promised vnto the King of Spaine, to Bayonne; and receive the Infanta which should be married to the King, which was a great honor to the Duke. They drew much money out of the Exchequer, for the extraordinary expences of this voyage: and the Assembly of the Clergy (which was then held at Paris, to heare the accounts of their Receiver general) promised to giue their Maiesties 44000 pound sterling.

The Magistrates of Paris sent to the Louure.

Before their Maiesties departure, the Prouost of Merchants of Paris, with other Magistrates, were sent for to the Louure, where they receiued commandement to haue a speciall care to all things which past within the City and thereabouts during the voyage: to looke into the dispositions of all men: to prevent seditions and tumults: to hinder practices & factions: and to be watchful, that there should be no leauies of souldiers, nor transport of armes or munition for warre, but for the Kings seruice: that their Maiesties left the guard of the Citie to the fidelity of the Burgeses vnder the authority of *Monsieur de Lion-cour* their Gouvernor, and of President *Miron* Prouost of Merchants of the same City: and to assure and comfort the Parisians during the Kings absence, his Maiestic said that he left with them Monsieur his brother, desiring them to guard him carefully.

The King departed from Paris.

The day for the Kings departure being come, hauing taken the oath of fidelity from the Magistrates of the Citie, the Court of Parliament, and some other Officers, he went out of the City by five of the clocke in the morning. It is written, that some dayes before, he had sent word to *Monsieur le lay*, one of the Presidents of the great chamber, that he desired to make vse of his seruice in this voyage: But hee excusing himselfe by reason of his indisposition, their Maiesties grew ialous of him, which made them loath to leaue him in Paris during their voyage. Wherupon two Exempts or Yomen vthers of his guards, with 15 Archers of the body, went in his Maiesties name vnto the President, and told him that hee must resolve to depart presently, for that the Kings pleasure was hee should follow him in this voyage. They found him laid in his bed, ill disposed and sicke, yet notwithstanding any excuse, they caused him to rise suddenly, and going out of his house, they put him into a Caroch drawn by sixe horses, and let downe the windowes, and in this manner he was conducted by twelue or fiftene horse to Amboise, and there put into the Caste vnder a good guard.

President lay carried away.

The Queene mother parted after the King, and the Noblemen and officers in like manner: but about three of the clocke in the afternoon, Madam the Kings sister went out of Paris in great state. The Prouost of Merchants and the Sherifes of Paris (hauing the honor alone to accompany the Daughters of France, when they goe out of Paris to accomplish the promise of their marriages) prepared themselves to performe this duty vnto the Lady, and to take their leaues of her: they sent commandement to the 16 Captaines of the quarters, to come to the Towne-house by two of the clocke in the afternoon, with twelue Burgeses out of euery quarter on horse backe: and the like charge was giuen vnto the

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A the three Companies of the Archers to be there also on horsebacke. All being ready according to the accustomed order, the Prouost and other officers being attired in their liveries on horse back, went to the Louure, where hauing saluted the Lady, she came forth and entered into a Litter, open on all sides, and richly embroydered with gold and siluer, and so she passed through the streets of Paris with great ioy and acclamations, they wishing all happinesse to her voyage and mariage.

The day after the Kings departure, President *La Hayes* wife came to the Court of Parliament, complains of her husbands imprisonment, and craues their assistance and fauour in her distresse; at whose instance there were certaine Councillors of the Court deputed to goe vnto the King to know his pleasure: who had no other answer from his Maiestic, but that he meant to vse his seruice in that voyage: but the cleare sighted iudged it should be but to the Caste of Amboise, where they would lodge him; which they conceiued was done, both for that he had great credit in the Parliament, and was very familiar with the Prince of Conde, who came often to visit the President during his abode in Paris.

Now after the Kings departure they beganne to draw their Forces together, and to frame their camps. The King is at Meaulx. On the 20 of August, the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* being in Paris, gaue order for ammunition bread for his army, consisting then but of 4000 foot, and 7 or 800 horse, but there came presently vnto him many Commanders, C Noblemen, and Captaines; among others, *Monsieur de Pralin*, the Barons of Vitry and Monglas, Colonel *Gallatis*, the Baron of Busy, D'Amboise, Bassompierre, La Marke, Rembure, and diuers others: In the meane time the Princes leauy new troops about Noyon, and Soissons, Corbie, Abeuille, Sedan, and Mezieres. This great preparation to armes on either side, doth amaze and terrifie the poore people with the euent of the warre: The villages in Picardy and Brie are abandoned, and they retire their goods into Townes and Castles: about Paris the peasants carie away all they might lose, yea the very suburbs of the City was left empty both of people and goods; fearing that if the Prince should aduance with his army towards Paris, or neere vnto it, to find a passage; his troops would spoile euen vnto the very gates, which apprehension continued from the Kings departure vntill the end of October. They put strong Garisons into Saint Denis, Saint Cloud, and other places, as well for the assurance and commodity of the City of Paris, as to guard the passages of the Riuer of Seine against the Prince.

Troops leauied for the King and Princes.

The Prouost of Merchants and Magistrates of Paris, sent to Corbeil, to know if they needed any Forces for the preferuation of their Towne; who gaue them thanks for their care, but refused any helpe; saying that the place had at other times defended it selfe against greater attempts, and that now the danger was not so much to be feared, as they must haue recourse to Garisons and new Forces, onely to guard the passage of a Riuer.

Paris and other townes fortifie themselves.

They fortifie themselves euery where, apprehending the danger to be greater then it was. Paris labours in the reparation of her wals; repaires the chaines within, keeps good E guard at their gates; keeping nine open, they shut vp sixe. Saint Denis doth neither solemnize Hooliday nor Sunday, the inhabitants are so busie continually about their fortifications. The Reliques and other pretious things, referred in the Treasury of the Abbey, are for more safety sent to Paris: so great was the brue of warre in the Ile of France.

In the meane time the Duke of Montbazon leauies troops in Normandy for the Kings seruice; assures them of Rouen; puts Garisons in places of most importance where need required, especially towards Picardy and the sea coast. In Champagne the Marquis of Vieville the Kings Lieutenant there, with *Dandelot* and others, obserue the Prince of Tingre; and hinder his surprizes, yet they could not prevent it, but that his souldiers being about foure hundred foot, and three hundred horse, spoiled the Champagne country, F vntill they were defeated by the inhabitants of Troyes, who slue many of them.

The Duke of Montbazon assures Normandy.

The Prince relying vpon his friends promises, leaues Coucy and retires to Soissons, where he finds the Dukes of Longueuille and Mayen, who had disarmed the inhabitants, feted a good Garison, and made himselfe master of the place. The Prince was receiued with all honor and respect, being followed by many Noblemen and Gentlemen.

About the end of August the Marshall of Bonillon came to Soissons with good numbers of horse and foot: he brought artillery with him, and good store of munition, especially of armes for their foot; but it was not sufficient for their new leauied souldiers: for

The Princes preparation to armes.

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for the Prince found men enough, but they could hardly recouer armes: the King ha-
uing giuen commandment throughout all the townes, that they should not suffer any to
passe but for his seruice. They got some quantity out of Paris, but without the know-
ledge of the inhabitants: for being once discovered that the Prince had any intelligence
in the towne for the recouering of armes, the Gates were more strictly guarded, and eu-
ery thing searched that went forth.

The Duke of
Bouillon made
Marshall of
the Camp.

The Marshall of Bouillon being come to Soissons, hee was made Marshall of the Prin-
ces campe: All the armie is muffled, and within few dayes Noyon was wholly reduced
to their obedience, where the Camp was assigned, and all commissions deliuered for the
leasing of men. As soone as the Princes campe was settled at Noyon, the Kings Forces, B
commanded by the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin*, prepare themselves to march, and to stop
the Princes passage.

The Kings De-
claration against
the Prince of
Conde and his
associates.

In the meane time their Maiesties goe on their voyage and come to Poitiers, where
on the tenth of September the King made a Declaration, whereby he deputed the Prince
of Conde, with the other Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and all which did assist and
adhere vnto their designs, of all their honours, Estates, offices, governments, pensions,
priviledges and prerogatives, which they had from him or his Predecessors: declaring
the said Prince and all his adherents, disobedient, rebels, and guilty of treason: command-
ing all his souveraine Courts and others, to seize vpon their persons and goods; if with-
in one month after the publication thereof in the Court of Parliament, the said Prince C
and they which did assist him, did not acknowledge their faults, and come or send vnto
him to performe that effectually which belongs vnto their duties: and in regard of gentle-
men and priuate subiects, if they did not make declaration and protestation enrolled in
some of his Courts, and did not abandon all actions and enterprises contrary to his autho-
rity and seruice.

This Declaration brought vnto the Court of Parliament at Paris to be verified: There
were diuers opinions by reason of the Prince of Conde the third person of France: some
were of opinion they should write vnto the King, and lay downe the reasons and confide-
rations why the Court could not proceed to the publication and enrolling thereof: that
it should be sufficient to forbid the taking of armes without the Kings commission: D
and to enioyne all the Princes to goe and attend their Maiesties persons to doe their seruice.
Others said, that the rebellion being so plaine and apparant, they should sinne against the
Maximes of State, if they should not follow the Kings will. So the 18 of September it
was verified, and a decree published and fixed on the corners of the streets of Paris.

The proceeding
of the two
armies.

Their Maiesties coming to Poitiers on the fourth of September, they stayed there
vntill the third of October, for that the young Lady fell sick of the small pox. In the meane
time let vs obserue what passed betwixt the two Armies. The King on the one side,
and the Prince of Conde with his friends on the other, made leauiques of souldiers in all the
prouinces of France: But the King had the aduantage at the bridges of Riuers and of
Townes, which made his army the stronger, and much hindered the Princes from pass- E
ing the Loire, and those Lords which had leauied troops for him beyond the riuier of
Seine from ioyning with him.

The taking of
the Siege of
Friaize.

During these leauiques it happened, that *Friaize* one of the Princes Gentlemen, being at
Chartres in Beausse, was there taken, with commissions to leauy companies for his seruice:
being thus seized on, hee is caried to Paris, imprisoned, and deliuered our vnto the Par-
liament, to bee proceeded against: the Court deputed certaine Commissioners to
make his processe, and it was bruted through all Paris that hee should bee executed; but
many good and particular considerations stayed the Parliament from further proceeding.
Before this resolution of the Court, the Prince being aduertised in what danger *Friaize*
was in doing him seruice, laboured to free him: He wrote first to the Marshall of Bois- F
Dauphin, demanding his friend detained prisoner, promising to doe the like by the first
which should fall into his hands: To whom the Marshall answered, That hee could not
hinder iustice, nor giue any pardons, the which was referred to the King and the Parlia-
ment. Whereupon the Prince wrote particularly to the Court, setting downe the causes
which had moued him to take armes, which he said were for his Maiesties seruice, the pre-
servation of his Estate, the good of the publicke, and the reuenge of the deceased Kings
death. Then making relation of the taking of this Gentleman, he concludes thus; And
to

The Prince
writes to the
Marshall Bois-
Dauphin, and
to the Parlia-
ment.

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A to the end I may haue no cause to complaine, I beseech you to entreat him in such sort,
as I may haue no occasion to liue otherwise then I haue propounded, resoluing hereafter
to make all those which shall fall into my hands to endure the same which he shall suffer.
I shall be much grieved to come to these extremities. But seeing the enemies of the State
are resolved to all rigour, I will doe the like, and will make reparaill of the goods and per-
sons of such as shall meddle in this businesse, if the fortune of the warre put them into
my hands.

In the beginning, the Princes army was about 1500 good horse, as well men at armes,
light horse, as Carabins; and about 4 or 5000 foot, but most of them ill armed: with two
B Culuerins, and two field pieces. The Duke of Longueville had in his troope which hee
brought out of Picardy 4 or 500 horse, and 1500 foot. The Seigneur of Montbarot was
his Marshall. The Duke of Mayen had 3 or 400 horse, and some foot: The Viscount of
Tauannes his brother in law was Marshall of his troops. These two troops made the
foreward. The Princes troop consisted of 3 or 400 horse, and that of the Duke of Bo-
uillon of 300 horse, and 800 foot, the which were well armed. Some write, that these
Princes being at Noyon, concluded:

The estate of
the Princes
army at Noyon

I. That as their armes were leauied for the good of the State, the charges should bee
borne by the money which was ordained for the maintenance of the Crowne: That they
should appoint places for the receipt of the Kings money, wherof the Marshall of Bo-
uillon should haue the direction as well as the conduct of the army.

The resolution
of the Princes.

II. For that the townes of Roie and Montdidier did hinder the free passage between
Noyon and Corbie, the army should approach, to the end they might make some at-
tempt vpon those townes.

III. That from thence they should march into the Country of Beauvoisin to put
garisons into the Castle of Clermon, and the towne of Creil vpon Oyle, and there ap-
point the receipt.

IV. That from thence they should crosse into Vexin, to force some one of the Bridges
vpon the Riuier of Seine, that they might ioyne with the troops which the Vidame of
Chartres had leauied in Beausse and thereabouts, and that they should send for the Duke
D of Luxemburg to come with his troops which he had leauied in Champagne.

V. That to winne the hearts and affections of the Parisians, the army should not ap-
proach neere vnto the City, and preserve all their Countie houses.

VI. That they should march with what speed they could into Guienne, to ioyne with
the Earle of Saint Paul and their other friends, to the end they might hinder the execu-
tion of the marriages, and take from their enemies the government of the State.

With this resolution the Princes army passeth the Riuier of Oyle, and lodgeth about
Roy and Montdidier, but they preuailed nothing; the townes being well supplied with
mgn; wherupon they turned head towards Clermont. In the meane time the Marshall
Bois-Dauphin (who was stronger in foot and Cannon then the Princes, but not in horse,
E for that his troops were not yet come vnto him) put good garisons into all the townes,
bridges, and passages which are vpon the Riuier of Oyle, and at the same instant hee put a
garison into Creil. The Princes being aduertised that all the bridges vpon the Riuier of
Seine from Paris to Rouen were strongly guarded; they altered their first designe, and re-
solved to secke their passage through Champagne ouer the Riuers of Marne, Seine, and
Yonne, which was a great march for their army, yet notwithstanding it encreased daily.

On the 17 of September, 4 or 500 souldiers of the Regiments of Piedmont and Picar-
die, were charged by the Duke of Mayen, with the Princes Cheualerie, who defeated
them, and put them to runne, where some were slaine vpon the place, and many drowned
in the Riuier of Thierin: some Commanders, with many souldiers, were taken prisoners;
F all which the Prince released, except those which would follow his party: In which de-
fect they got armes for 200 souldiers. The Marshall Bois-Dauphin hearing that the
Prince had a desire to passe the Riuier of Seine at Pontoise or Poissie, came and encamped
at Daumartin; and fearing lest he should attempt to surprize Saint Denis, thereby to annoy
Paris, the Parisians thought good to send 200 men to fortifie the garison, the towne be-
ing of so great guard. But the Princes went and passed the riuier of Elne at Soissons, and
thereabouts, and marched directly to Chasteau Thierry, which they did inuest, causing
part of their armie to passe the riuier of Marne, which was then so low as they might easily
wade

A defeat of
some of the
Kings troops.

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Colleague-This
entry yielded to
the Princes.Espermy yield-
ed to the
Princes.Progress of the
Princes army.The Duke of
Luxemburg
troops defeated600 Retiers
come to the
Princes.The Marquis
of Renell de-
fected and
faine.Death of Buff
d'Amboise.

wade through. The Kings army made haste to relieue this towne: but the Marshall of A Bouillon hauing discharged some volleys of Cannon, the inhabitants were so amazed, as they forced the Gouvernor to yield to a composition, which was made the last day of September. The Prince being entred, he exacted a good summe of money from the inhabitants. The Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* hearing of this towne, he imagined that the Princes would turne the head of their army towards the riuer of Seine; where vpon he sent garisons to Montreault-Yonne, and other townes where there were bridges, but the riuers were so shallow, as they might easily wade through them. The Kings army lying about Sezanne in Brie, multied about 10000 foot, and 2000 horse. The Princes army marcht vp on both sides the riuer of Maine, as if they meant to inuest *Espemay*: the which did so amaze the inhabitants, as they yielded suddenly; where the Prince also leauied great summes of money.

The Marshall of Bouillon hauing receiued a commission from the Prince, appointed *Espemay* for the receipt of the Kings reuennues from the hands of the Kings Receiuers: and thereupon gaue warrant to two of his guard to force the said Receiuers to deliuer such money as was due by them, vnto one whom he had appointed for the receipt thereof. The Princes gaue it out, that they would besiege Rheims, but they presently marched towards Nery vpon Seine, where they passed their Cannon through the riuer with much ease; then turning towards Yonne, the Kings army past those two Riuers at Monstreau, to hinder their attempts against Sens, Joigny, & Auxerre. They thought the Prince would attempt Sens, where the inhabitants did much affect him, by reason of his neighbourhood. The army came to Marigny, whereas the Duke of Luxemburg (called Prince of Tingry in his fathers life time) joined them with 300 horse. The Prince comming within a league of Sens, heard that the Marshall was entred, and that the Kings army was thereabouts: whereupon the army marched vpon the riuer of Yonne, and passed at diuers Fords neere vnto Joigny; so as they which had leauied troops for the Princes betwene Seine and Loire, had good meanes to ioyne with them. The Duke of Luxemburgs troops lying at Chanlay neere to Joigny, were inuested by part of the Kings army; and in the end (after some volleys of great shot) forced to yield by composition, where they lost all their horses and baggage. The next day being the 22 of October, the Princes army forced a small towne called Espoungny, and spoiled it. It is written, there were great violences and rapes committed, whereof the Prince and Duke *de Mayen* being aduertised, they caused two souldiers to bee hanged. The two armies were neere together about Bony, where there was some appearance of a battell, if the Princes had not marched away in the evening, and past the riuer of Loire at Neufuy, by three Fords; at what time the Duke of Luxemburg (who for the losse which he had at Chanlay could not follow them) hauing obtained a passport from the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin*, retired into Champagne with many others which did accompany him. And at the same instant there were 600 Retiers (which had crossed through Champagne from Sedan) came to the bankes of Loire, and waded through it, and then ioynd with the Princes army in Berry.

The Marquis of Renell, Gouvernor of Vitry, hearing of their march, without any further discouery of them, went to charge them with certaine Carabins, they (who had double the number and were all old souldiers well mounted and well armed) had some put to rout these Carabins: where the Marquis was slaine vpon the place. He was a valiant Gentleman of the House of Amboise, whose death was much lamented. But it is commonly said, an ill fortune comes not alone, for this death was the second which the House of Amboise receiued during this warre: for in September past, certaine Cheualiers of either army meeting neere vnto Clermont, charged one another, in the which *Buffy d'Amboise* was slaine on the Kings side, hauing aduertured himselfe too farre: His death was much lamented by the Marshall *Bois-Dauphin* and all the Commanders of the army.

Matters doe not alwaies succeed according to the desires of Kings, Princes, and great men. The Princes had a conceit that their friends in Guenne of either religion should haue so much power and credit, as to procure their Maiesties to end their voyage at Poitiers: but they were deceived. For they entred into Bourdeaux the 7 of October. Madam parted the 21 to goe to Bayonne, and from thence came to the Riuer of Bidassio to accomplish the exchange of the marriages, and all without any lett, as you shall heare. On the other side their Maiesties, (who had great confidence that the Assembly at Grenoble

would

A would end to their contents, and that the Marshall *Desiguieres* had credit enough to hinder their diuisions) found the contrary to their expectation.

The Assembly hauing still craued the assistance of the said Marshall by their Deputies; he came on the 21 of October into the said Assembly, saying vnto them, That their Maiesties Letters were full of shewes of their loue and fauour, and that those of the Dukes of Rohan and Sully gaue testimony of the vnion and correspondency which they would haue in the resolutions of the said Assembly. But whereas it seemed they had resolved to retire from that towne by reason of the Letters which they had receiued from their Deputies at Court, whereby they had no great hope of any good answer to their requests and grieuances; he would by no meanes aduise them to it, before they had receiued the answer and the Kings commandements. To say, that after your retreat from hence you will goe and continue together in some other place, as they did a little before the Edicts of Nantes: I must answer, That there was no settled peace for them of the Religion, who liued vnder toleration in those times: but to take that liberty now, were directly to breake the said Edict, and to ruine the Churches: neither could they doe it without the consent of their Prouinces, and the Kings permission: it were a marke of distrust where there is no cause; it were a signe of lightnesse by an vnlawfull change, wherewith they should offend his Maiestie, and make him thinke that his subjects of the religion (who haue alwayes bene a pattered of perfect obedience) proiect an open rebellion without any lawfull cause. The offence his Maiestie shall receiue will be very sensible, and there will not want men to aggrauate the crime, especially those which seeke authority by armes, and to haue the chiefe command. They haue talked of the stay of the marriages: It is now too late: the King is too farre advanced, and the Prince is in the remotest part of the Realme, who doth not any thing capable to deferre it: Nay it seemes hee hath giuen ouer this instance, to content himselfe with the obseruation of the ancient Ordinances which doe not allow strangers in the Councell, nor to hold any offices or benefices in the Realme.

These marriages being accomplished, there is no doubt but the Queene will be tractable for to content the Prince vpon the rest of his demands; whereof there had bene some speech as Tours, to send the Seigneur of *Rigac* to the Duke of Bouillon: and the Duke of Neuers, who holds himselfe neuter, is ready to employ himselfe in this treaty: besides that, as the Prince is resolved not to attempt any thing; so the Marshall *de Bois-Dauphin* is commanded not to aduance, which makes men thinke that there is no cause to despair: wherefore they must containe themselves within the bounds of discretion, and not to draw vpon the Churches the hatred of the troubles of the State.

The Assembly must wisely foresee what it may obtaine according to the condition of the present estate and our owne: Wee must measure our felues to that which wee may, and not to what wee would; to that we may get, and not to that which we thinke due vnto vs. If we march alwayes by declinings, without doubt wee shall fall into the precipice of warre. Behold the inconueniences which will follow, and cannot bee auoided. We would haue our vnion appeare, and it will bee disioyned more and more: for there will bee a great number of them of the Religion found, who (being wise and well aduised) would neuer consent to their owne ruine. The Deputies to whom peace hath bene especially recommended, will bee disaduaied at their returne: and they will be demanded why they haue concluded of things whereof they had no Commission to giue their opinions. The King shall bee counselled to take the way of rigour, or of mildnesse: if of clemency, in suffering them, which containe themselves to liue vnder his Edicts, hee shall with-draw from them that take armes, most of the men by whom they should bee assisted; and so hee shall haue an easie conquest of the rest: If of rigour, in forbidding the Exercise, and all entreating them of the Religion, who haue no retreat, there will bee lost in one day two or three hundred Churches: The Iesuits will set their feet vpon their throats; they will lose no occasions to make massacres, finding the people flinch against those whom they hold the authors of the warre. All good Frenchmen (who would pittie vs, and grieve for vs, if wee were persecuted without cause) will then desire

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Aduise of the
Marshall *Desiguieres* to the
Assembly at
Grenoble.

and hate vs as turbulent persons which cannot be content to live in rest and quietnesse. A

And what can be the cūent of this warre? They must iudge whose many years have taught them great experience. They will consider the difference betwene necessary armes, and those which are wilfully vnderaken: betwixt the resolution of one of the Religion pressed and persecuted, and one that may live at quiet. They will remember how often our fathers and we have sighed for such a liberty as wee now enioy: they will observe that there is no Estate in Christendome, vnder a Prince of a contrary Religion, where it hath the like: the Gospell generally preached; the Ministers partly entertained at the Princes charge; many places given them for their safety, and the garisons paid by him, and chambers erected to doe them iustice: In the which if there be any defect, wee must not exceed the bounds of conscience or wisdom, of conscience in taking armes, which cannot be blest of God but when they are iust; nor iust, if they be not necessary. Of wisdom, in hazarding against stronger and better prepared Forces then ours, a certain condition, vpon a weak hope of some small aduantage.

Some one will reply, that our condition is not secure by reason of the alliance with Spaine: whereunto I will answer, That a Prince which takes his neighbours daughter, doth not marry his Councils, neither will hee willingly set fire on his Estate to doe him a pleasure: Wee haue leisure to see the storme come, and to prepare for our owne preservation.

Finally, hauing continued constant in our duties, if they seeke to deprime vs of our religion, or to take that from vs whereon our liberty and safety depends, purchased by the blood of our fathers and our owne, and granted vnto vs by that great King the restorer of France: we shall enter into this carriere full of iustice and true zeale; finde againe in our breasts the courage and vertue of our ancestors; wee shall bee supported in our iust defence by all good Frenchmen; assisted by all Princes and Estates which loue the true religion, or the good of this Estate: and in a word, we shall bee fauoured with the blessings of God, whereof wee haue heretofore had good experience in our armes, and which will bee to the glorie of his Name, and the spirituall aduancement of our Churches.

His conclusion was, That he wished them to forbear from all violent courses, if a iust necessity did not force them; and that they should attend in that place for those which they had sent vnto his Maiestic, to vnderstand his pleasure; which was not onely his aduice, but also many other Noblemens of the said religion.

The Assembly
goes from Gre-
noble to
Nismes.

Within some dayes after, contrary to this graue aduice, the Assembly left Grenoble, and went to Nismes in Languedoc. Men spake diuersly of this translation made of their owne motion, contrary to the Kings will. Some write, that the practices of the Prince of Condes agents were the chiefe cause: afterwards the King sent them word, that he would allow of the continuation of the said Assembly at Montpellier: wherevpon the Deputies would not yeeld; saying, That the same reasons which had caused them to retire from Grenoble, presented themselves at Montpellier: that is to say, a Gouverneur for the King, and a Soueraigne Court, which might diuert them from their resolutions.

The King goes
from Poitiers.

This change of the Assembly was nothing pleasing vnto the Marshall *Desdignieres*, to whom they sent their Deputies to entreat him not to abandon the body of the said Assembly, assuring him that hee should alwayes find amongst them the rancke and respect which was due vnto his quality. To whom hee answered, That hee would continue alwayes vnited, notwithstanding the displeasure hee felt by their change.

Madame the Kings sister being recovered, they parted from Poitiers the third of October. It was expected there would haue bene some opposition made vpon the passing of the river of Dordone, there being many good townes of safety vpon that riuer, which were held by the Protestants, and many great men were on the Princes party, as the Earle of Saint Paul, the Duke of Rohan (who should haue bene their leader) the Marquis of La Force, Gouverneur of Bearne, the Seigneurs of Boisse, Faus, and Pardillan, with many other Lords of Guienne, all which should ioyne together, and make

A make the bodie of an Armie of one thousand horse, and foure thousand foot: But their Maiesties were resolved to force a passage, hauing twelue hundred horse, with the Regiment of his Guards, in which there were aboute three thousand men, and the Swisses.

The King being at Angoulesme, the Countesse of Saint Paul had so laboured with the Earle her husband, as shee reconciled him to their Maiesties, and Fronic and Caumont were assured for their seruice: The Earle came afterwards to Bourdeaux to their Maiesties.

During the Kings abode at Angoulesme, there fell out an accident which troubled B them. The Earle of Candale, eldest sonne to the Duke of Espernon, had ioyned himselfe to the Duke of Rohan, and made profession of the reformed Religion. This did much trouble the Duke his father (whom they of Rochel held for their capital enemy) and hee was so inwardly afflicted, as he fell dangerously sicke. Thus the Earle of Candale left the King, and embraced the party of the Princes, and of the Assembly at Nismes, contrary to his fathers will.

The Earle of
Candale ioynes
with the
Princes.

Whilest the King aduanceth from Poitiers to Bourdeaux, the Prince of Conde comes to his house at Chasteauroux, where hee findes aboute two thousand foot, and neere twelue hundred horse, which his wife had caused to be leauied for him in Berry: There the Visdame of Chartres ioyned with his troops, and the Marquis of Rhosny came to visit him, and assisted him with some horse: Whereupon being thus fortified, hee marched into Poictou. The Marshall of Bois-Dauphin seeing that the Prince had past all the riuers and was farre aduanced, resolved onely to follow him, and to keepe the townes from surprize: being in Poictou, he sent vnto the King to know his pleasure, who commanded him not to hazard any thing, but to hinder the Prince from entering into the Countrey of Angoulesme.

The Princes
army fortified.

The Prince being camped in Poictou, hee required them of the religion to ioyne with him, sending first to Rochel, and letting them vnderstand, that his taking of armes was for the peace of their Churches, the tranquility of the Estate, and the reformation of disorders, demanding ayd from them for the warre which hee had begunne. To whom they D made answer, That they could not ioyne with him in that warre, seeing it would be found a bad example and of perillous consequence, which would draw after it, both the Kings indignation against them, and the curse of the whole Countrey, which might iustly blame them for renewing a cruell ciuill warre, to their great charges, who liue in peace vnder the power and benefit of the Edicts: all which they would leaue vnto his Excellencies consideration; for whose particular contentment they would not spare their liues, goods, honors, and fortunes, in any thing wherein his Maiesties seruice and the peace of the State should not be interested.

The answer of
the Rochellers
to the Prince.

Their Maiesties being come to Bourdeaux, it was resolved, that the Espousals should be solemnized vpon the eighteenth of October, the which was performed with great ceremonies in Saint Andrewes Church, where the Duke of Guise did espouse Madam the Kings sister, in the name of the Prince of Spaine: and the same day the Duke of Lerma was to doe the like for the King with the Infanta at Burgos.

Their Maiesties being informed that the Duke of Rohan, with the rest of the reformed Religion (which had taken armes) had past the riuer of Garrone, to stop the Ladies passage, they sent *La Brosse*, (an Ensigne of the Kings Guard) to know why they were armed, and to what content. To whom they made answer:

The answer of
the Duke of
Rohan and his
associates.

1. That hauing sent many souldiers leauied in many parts of the Realme, and none of them employed, they had bene forced to arme for their defence. Moreover, they had bene aduised by the Assembly of Grenoble, to put themselves in defence, in case F their Deputies (which they had sent to the King) should receiue no contentment vpon their demands.

2. That they had bene assured their Deputies were sent backe without any content: and that there was no regard had vnto the Princes Remonstrances, nor to those of the Court of Parliament of Paris, as they had humbly besought their Maiesties by their Deputies.

3. That it was published in diuers parts of the Realme, that by the meanes of these mariages betwixt France and Spaine, they would ruine all those of the Religion: and

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These towns
upon the way
to Bayonne,
affured to the
King.

Madam's depar-
ture to
Bayonne.

Exploits of the
Marshall
D'Ancre.

Clermont taken by the Mar-
shall D'Ancre.

The Kings de-
cree against
them 'till
Religion.

and that this iust feare had caused them to arme, without doing any act of Hostilitie. A This report made, they held it not fit for their Maiesties dignitie to send againe to the Duke of Rohan and his associates, but to hold them as sworn enemies against the Kings seruice, and the publicke peace: That they should prouide for the Govern- ment of Bearne, and other places which the Marquis of La Force held; and that they should make a Declaration against all them of the Reformed Religion which had taken armes.

The King sent to the Gouernors of Tartas, Acqs, and Montmarfan (three townes which are lying in the way to Bayonne) to assure them to his seruice: The Gouernors of these three townes desired their Maiesties by their Letters, that they would not doubt of their fidelity, nor of the inhabitants deuotion: which made them iudge that the Princes parti- fans hauing no retreat, the passage for Madam would be safe: the Earle of Grammont, Gouernor of Bayonne, hauing also sent to assure their Maiesties that he would serue them in this voyage with 200 horse, and 1000 foot.

After the Espousals, it was resolved that Madam should part on the one and twentieth day, being conducted by the Duke of Guise, who also had the command of the army, which consisted of 4000 foot, 1200 horse, and foure Cannon; besides the Earle of Grammonts Forces which should meet with them. Upon this resolution Madam takes leave of the King and Queene, of the Princesses and the whole Court, where there was much weeping for her departure. The King conducted her halfe a League out of the towne: C the Queene betooke her to her chamber very heauy for the Ladies departure; where shee remained in priuate two dayes. The Lady arrived at Bayonne the second of Nouember without any disturbance; whereof they presently aduertised their Maiesties.

In the meane time the Marshall D'Ancre lay not still in Picardy, hauing leauied an army of 3500 foot, and 600 700 horse: He caused two Forts to bee built neere vnto Corbie, where *Ruberpré* commanded with two Regiments, which much annoyed the towne of Amiens.

In Clermont *Marancourt* commanded for the Princes, with a Regiment of eight Com- panies, which did much oppress the neighbour Provinces by their leauying of taxes. This made the Marshall resolute to take this towne from the Princes: whereupon D he sent *Nereffan* with certaine Companies of horse and foot, to force the bafe towne by Petard, who coming neere vnto Clermont, found that the enterprise was discovered; yet he resolved to goe on, and in the end rooke the bafe towne, where they barricadoed themselves, attending the Marshall D'Ancre with the rest of his troops and artilerie, who being come, and his artilerie planted, the besieged yielded by composition, and retired to Noyon.

During these ciuill combustions, the poore Peasants were wonderfully oppressed by the soldiers, and forced to pay their taxes double, by the receipts which were erected by the Princes in the Provinces of Picardy, the Ile of France, Champagne, Auxerre, Berry, Tour- raine, Poitou, and part of Anjou, sending out their garisons to take the richest Peasants in euery Parish, whom they kept prisoners vntill they had paid the tax of the whole Village.

Monsieur de Plessis Gouernor of Saumur (continuing in his Maiesties obedience) made a Decree, by the which hee commanded the Parishes to set vpon those rebels which sought to leauy the Kings money, forbidding all Gentlemen to assist them, vpon paine to be made liable to taxes.

Let vs returne now to Bayonne. On the sixt of Nouember, Madam the Kings sister came to Saint John de Luz, and at the same time the Catholike King with the Infanta arrived at Fontarabie. The riuier of Bidaso or Margari makes a diuision of France from Spaine, at a place called Andajo which is a League from Fontarabie, and two from Saint John de Luz. There the exchange was made betwene the two Princesses. But I cannot in- sist vpon the particularities, which were very stately: hauing a very copious subiect to treat of.

The Assembly at Nismes, thinking that they of the religion in Guienne, should ioyne their Forces with the Earle of Saint Paul, sent Letters to their Churches, to encourage them to take armes and to ioyne with the Prince. Whereupon the King made a Decla- ration against them of the Religion, with this Prouiso, That if within one month after the publi-

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A publication thereof, they make declaration in the Registers of the Bailiwicks where they remained: That they would desist from all enterprises, and doe him faithfull seruice, and in no sort assist or fauour those which shall persist in their rebellion; and deliuer vp such places as they had surpris'd: He then tooke them into his protection, forbidding all his subiects to wrong them in word or deed, by reason of that which had past. But if after the time expired, they still continued in their rebellion, either in carrying armes, or as- sisting and fauouring them that doe: he would haue them punished as guilty of treason, and troublers of the publicke peace and that the townes and communalities which should adhere vnto them, should lose all their liberties and priuiledges which had beene granted B vnto them.

The Kings Espouse being entred into the Realme, he wrote vnto her in these termes: The Kings first Madam, Hauing no meanes according vnto my desire, to meet you at the entry of my Realme, for to put you in possession thereof, as of my affection to loue and serue you: I send *Luyues* vnto you, to salute you in my name, and to tell you that I expect you with impatieny, to offer you both the one and the other: I pray you receiue him fauourably, and beleue what he shall say vnto you. The Queens first

The Queene mother did also write vnto her, to assure her of her affection, in tearmes of a good mother, and a great Princeesse.

Madam my Daughter, The King my Son, hauing made choice of *Monsieur de Luyues*, as one of his most confident seruants, to congratulate your happy entry into his King- dome, and to let you know with what passion and desire you are expected by him: I would not lose the opportunity to let you know, that I participate in the same desire to see you, for the comfort I shall receiue in mine owne particular, and to confirme by mouth the cordiall loue I beare you: I pray you beleue what hee shall deliuer on my behalfe. The Queens Letter.

The Seigneur de *Luyues* met with the Queene at Bayonne, and was receiued with as honourable a reception as could be desired, to shew the loue and affection shee bare vnto the King, in his person, whom she knew was much beloued of his Maiestie. The young Queene entred into Bourdeaux.

On the 21 of Nouember, the King with his whole Court went out of Bourdeaux to D meet with the Queene his Spouse, three leagues without the towne, where shee was recei- ued in wonderful great state: after which the Nuptials were celebrated in the Cathed- dral Church.

During their stay at Bourdeaux, there happened an accident which much troubled their Maiesties, and gaue a great affront to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, by an eminent person. A Gentleman called *Hault Chastel*, a prisoner at that time in the Towne, being condemned to lose his head for many foule crimes, there was great fute made vnto the King for his pardon, and a Lieutenant of the Guards was sent vnto the prison, to stay the execution. Hereupon the Court sent Deputies to their Maiesties and the Chancellor, to enforce them of the fact; so as they had commandement to doe iustice, and the Guards E were commanded to retire: whereupon they meant to execute him that euening: but a Iesuit which had him in confession, said, that he had so many crimes vpon his conscience, as it would require three houres to admonish him, and therefore they must deferre it till the next day; neither could the Executioner be found, they being both corrupted to make this delay. The Court being risen, the Cardinal of Sourdis came presently on horse- backed, booted, and his Almoner before him with a Crosse, accompanied with thirty or forty Gentlemen of note, whom hee had not acquainted with his intent; and holding a paper in his hand, commanding neere the Palace, he cryed out, A Pardon, a Pardon, God saue the King: but he found the Palace gate shut, the which hee commanded to be forced by such as were about him: the like hee did to the prison; where finding the Keeper, hee F would haue forced him to deliuer the keyes; who vpon his refusal was slaine, his keyes being taken away, *Hault Chastel* was drawne out of a hole and set at liberty, conducted to the Riuier, and put into a boat. The Cardinal also retired himselfe by water, to a house of his a league from the towne.

Vpon this violence the whole Court went vnto his Maiestie, to make complaint of this attempt, and to beseech him that vntill this affront were repaired, the adherents pun- nished, and the condemned man restored, they might bee dispensed withall from doing any act of iustice to any of his Maiesties subiects. An insolence committed by the Cardinal of Sourdis.

An insolence
committed by
the Cardinal
of Sourdis.

The complaint
of the Parlia-
ment at Bour-
deaux.

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The King did let them vaderstand, that his pleasure was they should proceed against the Cardinall and his adherents, by the vsuall formes, for the repairing of such a crime, and that he would countenance them by his authority: but he would also haue them continue in doing iustice to priuate persons: whereupon warrants were giuen out for the apprehending of the party and many of the complices. Thus you heare the History of a new spirit, who going among prisoners, raised one from death, and put to death one that was liuing, whereby in the Kings presence he abused his name and authority, to commit a violence vnworthy the thoughts of a man of his quality. Hereupon the Court made a decree, enioyning all the inhabitants of the towne, and others which had seene the said force and murder, and which knew the persons which had committed or assisted it, to come and depose the truth, and reueale their knowledge to the Commisaries deputed by the Court, and vpon their refusal to bee punished as authors and fauorers of the said crime of treason, and enemies to the King. In like manner they made another decree for the apprehending of the Cardinall, and diuers others mentioned therein.

The Duke of Guise made Generall of the Kings armies.

Articles concluded betweene the Princes and the Assembly at Nismes.

On the 27 of Nouember, there were two actions past worthy of obseruation, the one was in the Councell at Bourdeaux, whereas the King made the Duke of Guise Lieutenant general of both his armies, which he meant to draw into one, giuing him all power & authority by his Letters Patents, to lead and conduct his troops in his absence. The other was at Sanjay in Poictou, whereas the Prince of Conde and the Deputies of the Assemblies at Nismes signed their Accord, whereof the chiefe Articles were: 1. To write themselves, and to demand an answer to the first Article of the third Estate: and to make an exact search for all those which had participated in the murder of the deceased King. 2. To hinder the reception of the Councell of Trent. 3. To prevent the inconueniences which might happen vnto the Estate, by the accomplishment of the alliances with Spaine. 4. To procure a new Councell of State about the King. 5. Not to lay downe armes before the King had granted the demands of them of the Religion. 6. To provide that they of the religion which had taken armes might bee restored to their goods, places, and pensions. 7. Not to giue eare vnto a peace without a common consent. 8. That there should be a correspondency of Councell betweene the Prince and the Assembly at Nismes. 9. That the direction of all money leauied in the towines which were held by them of the Religion, and the disposing of their armies should be managed by the Assembly at Nismes. 10. That there should bee a provision made of new places of safety in those Prouinces where those of the Religion had no retreat. 11. To allow free exercise of the same Religion in the armies and towines held by the Princes. 12. That provision should bee made for them of the Religion which were fled from their houses.

Men spake diuersly of this accord: some said, that the Prince made himselfe in effect protector of them of the Religion, although he had not taken the title, for that King Henrie the Great had in his life time abhorred it, and was watchfull they should haue no other protector but himselfe or his successors: he knew the importance of this protection better then any one of his Realme, and said that it tended onely, to make an Estate within the Estate.

Some on the other side said, that the Prince had put himselfe vnder the protection of them of the Religion: that he had bound himselfe to serue them well, and not to make any peace before the King had granted them that which had bene often reiected. That they finding the necessity the Prince had of their succours, and to make his retreat during the winter into their towines of safety, they had forced him to accept of any conditions they pleased.

The two armies in Poictou.

Both the Armies are now in Poictou, where the poore people are much oppressed, and the King was dayly expected with the other Armie, lead by the Duke of Guise, so as it seemed all their quarrels should be decided by Armes in Poictou. In the meane time the Prince hauing taken Tonny-Charante, he visited Saint John D'Angely, Rochel, and some other Townes where he was receiued with much respect.

Many sectes persuade the Prince to demand a peace of the King.

In the most violent heate of warre, there are alwaies some men of qualitie which imploy themselves to make ouertures of peace. There were some Noblemen of either religion desiring to draw the Prince therunto, and spake vnto him, as of their owne motion, but they preuailed not. Men doe sometimes seeme to reiect that which they desire most, and

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A and whereof they haue most need; either to preferue their reputation, or get the better composition. Some write that the Prince passing neere to Chastellerault, a Capuchin letting him to vaderstand the disorders and violences which his Souldiers committed: I am more grieved (said he) then any man in France; but I haue bene forced to haue recourse to Armes for my safety. The Duke of Neuers seemed to haue continued a Newer in his Towne of Neuers, and yet it is reported that hee had fauoured their passage of the Riuer of Loire, and fortified their Armie with some part of the troopes which hee had raised vnder the Kings Commissions. Yet hee did not openly declare himselfe for them; but went from Neuers about the midst of Nouember towards Bourdeaux, where B hee arrived about the beginning of December, as well to salute the Queene, as also to beseech the King to giue him leaue to conferre with the Prince, and to dispose him & the rest to demand a peace of his Maiestie: with which designe their Maiesties were well pleased. He had a great interest in these Princes, for he was a deare friend vnto the Prince, and the Marshall of Bouillon; the Duke of Longueuille was his Sisters sonne; and the Duke of Mayen his wiues brother.

Some write that at the same instant Sir Thomas Edmunds Ambassador Leiger for his Maiestie of Great Britaine residing in Court, told their Maiesties that the King his Master would neuer aduow the Princes taking of Armes. That the Marquis of Boniuet being sent into England by the said Prince to negotiate for succours of men and money, hee had for his answer; that His Maiestie would neuer goe against the peace, alliance, & good neighbourhood which was betweene the two Kings and Realmes of France and England. That the King his Master, hauing bene alwaies careful to maintaine peace in his owne Kingdomes, hee could not but desire the same in the Estates of neighbour Kings his allies, whereunto he would giue his best assistance. That hee had receiued commandement from the King his Master to acquaint his Maiestie therewith, and had charge to repaire vnto the Prince, to dispose him to demand a peace: The which the King tooke in good part.

It is written that the poorer sort of them of the Religion had their braines so troubled with an imaginary perfection, as it was bruted in many good Townes of France, that vpon the first alteration they would set fire on their houses, and come forth with their Armes to sell their liues dearely. The wisdom of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, seeking to prevent the causes in time, decreed that they of the reformed Religion should bring their Armes into the Towne-house, to take away all subiect of sedition and trouble, and to free many from feare which grew through their owne weaknesse, or some bad designe. Vpon this Decree, the two Ministers of Bourdeaux desired to retire themselves, and aduised others to doe the like. Two Aduocates called Saint Angell, and L'Auergnac, professing the said Religion, presented a Petition to the Parliament, to the end those Ministers might be inioyned to continue the exercise at Beze: which was decreed accordingly, vpon paine to be punished as Troublers of the publique peace: and the Iurats E had charge to haue a care that they of the Religion might goe and come safely. Notwithstanding this Decree the two Ministers retired from Bourdeaux: The one to Toineux, where the Duke of Rohan remained; and the other to Rochel.

Let vs now see what passed in Champagne after the Princes had left it about the end of October. The Marquis of Vicuaille the Kings Lieutenant in that Prouince about Rheims, and the Seigneur of Dandelot, being also Lieutenant towards Langres, hauing leauied some troopes of horse and foot: the Marquis went and tooke Neuchastell: and finding that Mery did much annoy the Riuer of Seine, and the inhabitants of Trois, (who desired to be freed) he came thither with his troopes, and treated with the inhabitants, who promised to furnish him with foure Cannons, & powder for five hundred shot, with F eight or nine hundred good men. The Seigneur of Poitrincourt, (being at his House neere to Mery, and aduertised of the Marquis his enterprize) gathered together his friends, and with some souldiers of the Regiment of Nauarre, which were in Garison at Nogent and Bray, hee went on the fift of December and lodged in the base Towne of Mery, where hee found no resistance, for that Lamet the Gouvernour kept no guard there.

The same day the Marquis arriued with his troopes and Cannon before the high town where after the eighth shot, the besieged demanded composition, which was granted, and

The Ambassador of England's Speech to his Maiesty.

A Decree of the Parliament at Bourdeaux touching them of the religion.

Neuchastell taken for the King.

Mery besieged and taken for the King.

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and they departed the next day with their Armes and baggage. Some write that *Poitrin-court* having a designe to make himselfe Gouverneur of Mery (as hee had beene during the League) seeing that the Marquis of Vieuxville as the Kings Lieutenant in that Province would place one of his owne; he resolved that night with his friends, to make himselfe Master of Mery in the morning. You must understand that betwene the base Towne and the high there was a little streame of water, which at that time might be easily waded through. Neither were there any walles betwene the two Townes but onely Baricadoes.

Poitrin-court
slaine at Mery.

At the same time when as the Seigneur of Reaux, appointed by the Marquis, entered into Mery to effect the capitulation, and *Lamet* with his men on horsebacke ready to depart; *Poitrin-court* couered with a Target, having a naked sword in his left hand, and a Pistoll in his right, and followed by his friends past the water, and entered into the towne by the Baricadoes, crying out, God save the King and *Poitrin-court*, and at the same time hee caused the souldiers of the Regiment of Navarre to enter by the gate, thinking they would have seconded him, which they did not, but stood still in battell in one of the streets without moving, which saved their lives. The Marquis his troope seeing this attempt, and that they cried, kill, kill, did likewise advance with the like noise, so as the skirmish grew hot, in the which *Poitrin-court* was slaine, with some hundred of his followers, and his sonne was taken prisoner. These bee the effects of civill combustions; where we have scene an old Captaine, who after imploiment at Sea, and having beene present at divers goodly actions, comes to die neere unto his owne house.

Exploits in
Champaigns.

Ruberpre thrust
out of Corbie
by his Sergeant
Major.

The Marquis having left a Garrison in Mery, returned his Cannon to Troys. After which, the Seigneur of Dandelot came likewise to Troys to borrow their foure Cannons, with the which hee tooke the Castles of Brienne, with the townes of Rosnay, Pongy, and others.

Ruberpre as you have heard, had left the Kings service to follow the Duke of Longueville, and the Princes. About the end of this year *Le Heaume* his Sergeant Major, (whom the Marshall of Bouillon had recommended unto him, being of the reformed Religion) having intelligence with *Helincourt*, and other Captaines, hee met *Ruberpre* in the open street, and told him, that he had intelligence with the Marshall D'Ancre, so as hee might stay no longer in Corbie, whereupon he led him to the gate, and thrust him out of the Towne, where he continued foure houres, shaking of an Ague, without money, and not knowing whither he might safely retire himselfe. *Le Heaume* and *Helincourt* having assured *Corbie*, and seized vpon that which did belong to *Ruberpre*, they sent him one of his horses, with some money, to retire where he pleased. You may easily iudge how hee was perplexed, fearing to fall into their hands, which kept the Marshalls forts. Being in this distresse, hee took his way towards Soissons, where the Princeesse Dowager of Conde, and the Duchesse, mother to the Duke of Longueville remained. Afterwards *Helincourt* did also expell *Le Heaume* out of Corbie.

The Chevalier
of Vendome comes
to Rome.

This year the King had resolved to send a solemne embassy to Rome, to yeeld his filiall obedience unto his Holinesse.

The Chevalier of Vendome, Grand Prior of Tholouse, was chosen to execute this charge in the Kings name: having beene five yeares at Malta, hee received commandment from the King to returne into France, and to passe by Rome; there to performe the said obedience, where his reception and entry was with very great state, and done in three severall dayes; that is to say, the day of his first entry, where he was met by the Dukes of *Brachiano*, *Santo Iovanni* and *County*; the Prince of Sulmona the Popes Nephew, with an infinite number of Cardinals, Prelates, and Noblemen, being himselfe followed by many Noblemen and Knights of Malta of the French Nation: and this was performed on the second of September. On the fourth hee made his second entry into Rome in State: and two dayes after, hee was conducted to the publique Consistorie, where hee performed the Ceremonie of the Kings obedience.

The Baron of
Montglas
slaine.

In the Kings Armie there hapned a great disaster, namely, the Duell of the Barons of Vitry, and Montglas: their quarrell chanced vpon a slight occasion, and beganne in the presence of Monsieur de Guise, and many of the chiefe of the Armie, comming forth of the Duke of Guises Chamber. Monsieur de Montglas taking exceptions at some words which Monsieur de Vitry had spoken unto him, he challenged him, who thinking that he

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A had spoken in iest, gave little regard thereto for the present. But Monsieur de Montglas still offering him the Combate; and he making many excuses and intreaties not to fight with him, as having beene alwayes great friends; in the end they came into the field in Xaintronge, where after some encounters, Monsieur de Montglas was slaine, to the great griefe of the chiefe Commanders of the Kings Army. His body was caried to the Castle neere Provins in Brie.

In the meane time the Prince came from Rochel to Saint Iohn D'Angely, where at the instant request of his Maiesties Ambassador of Great Britaine, and of the Duke of Neuers, hee resolved to a peace, and sent the Baron of Thiangeto his Maieity with this Letter B following.

Sir, I haue heretofore presented vnto your Maieestic, by my most humble Remonstrances, the disorders and miseries, which threatened your Realme, and haue besought you with humilitie & respect, which a faithfull subject owes vnto his King, to direct them by your wisdom, and to apply fit and necessary remedies in time; left being neglected, the mischiefe grow incurable: wherein I neuer had nor will have any other end or intent, then the preservation of your Estate, and the publique peace. Whereunto desiring to apply all my actions, and to seeke out all possible means to attaine thereunto; for the aboyding of those miseries and calamities which a civill warre doth procure; I was determined before the arrival of Sir Thomas Edmunds the K. of Great Britaines C Ambassador, and of the Duke of Neuers, to doe my dutie, and satisfie the desire and request of the Deputies of the Religion (assembled by your permission) to send vnto your Maieestic some man of qualitie, humbly to beseech you to give peace vnto your Realme, so necessarie, and so much desired of all your subjects: and to take into consideration (if you please) the remonstrances presented vnto your Maieestic, by the generall Estates, the Court of Parliament and my selfe: and to that end to call into your Councell the ancient Councillors whom the deceased King your father had so profitably employed, who are not interested in the said remonstrances, and desire nothing but the good of the Realme, &c.

The Princes
Letter vnto
the King.

With this Letter there were certaine Articles presented vnto the King to treat of the D Peace, on the behalfe of the Prince of Conde, and the assembly at Nismes. 1. The Prince of Conde, first Prince of the blood, and they of the religion ioynd with him, desiring peace, humbly besought the King to give it vnto his subjects. 2. That if it pleased the King to grant conference, and to send his Deputies, the Prince and they of the Assembly at Nismes will send on their behalves. 3. The Prince humbly besought the King to grant a Brieffe to them of the Assembly at Nismes, to transport themselves to some place neere vnto the Court. 4. The Prince desires that the Ambassador of Great Britaine may be present to be a witnesse to this Treatie. 5. That the Countesse of Soissons, and the Duchesse of Longueville might be also called to assist. 6. That the Prince might know the place and the persons whom his Maieestic would employ; and what should become of both Armies during the Treatie. The difficultie was vpon the second Article, touching the Deputies of the generall assembly at Nismes, for they would not heare them, nor read their letters in this qualitie. In the end the Baron of Thianget told the King, that he could not returne vnto the Prince, before the Deputies of the Assembly had presented their Letters and had audience. This was granted as to Deputies of the Assembly at Nismes, and not of the generall Assembly of them of the reformed religion: so as in the beginning of this year 1616. the King being come to Roche-Foucault, they had audience and presented their Letters, which tended onely to peace.

Articles touching
the treatie of peace.

On the 8 of January, the Duke of Neuers, and the Baron of Thianget returned to the Court being at Poitiers: and to agree vpon the time, the place, and the circumstances of the conference, the Marshall of Brillac, and Monsieur de Villeroi deputed by the King, parted from Poitiers, with the Duke and Baron, to goe to Frontenay le Conte; whither the Prince had promised to come, and these following Articles were concluded. 1. That the King was pleased to enter into conference with the Prince, and all others which had ioynd with him, and assisted him of both religions. 2. That the conference should be held in the Towne of Loudun, by Commisaries deputed from his Maieestic, to treat with the said Prince and other Lords, and should begin on the tenth of February next. 3. And that nothing might trouble so good a worke, if

Articles agreed
on touching
the suspension
of Armes.

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was thought good with the Kings good pleasure, to haue a suspension of Armes through all the Countreys of his Maiesties obedience, and likewise in the souerainety of Sedan and Raucourt. To begin in regard of the Prouinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, Bretagne, Anjou, Touraine, and Berry, on the day that the present Articles shall bee ratified by his Maiestie, of whose will the said Prince shall bee satisfied by the thirtieth of this month. And in regard of other remote Prouinces, this suspension should begin the day of the publication thereof, and end the first day of March following, whereof the Prince should at the same time aduertise such as commanded in any places for him. 4. That his Maiestie should be humbly intreated to send speedy commandement for the publication of the said suspension of Armes: and that in the meane time all prisoners taken on either side, after the thirtieth day of this present month to be set at libertie. 5. That no fortification should be made during this suspension in any towns or places, taken since the first of September last; nor any souldier leauied within the Realme. 6. And to hinder alteration by nearnesse of the Armies: it was agreed, That his Maiesties troopes should retire beyond the Riuer of Vienne, and not approach within eight Leagues of Loudun. But as for the Garisons which might be held necessarie for the safety of the townes and places on this side the riuers of Vienne, and Chain, which might giue some cause of ialousie, there should be a list giuen vnto the Prince of the numbers which should bee employed. 7. The like Article was concluded touching the Princes Armie which should not approach within fixe leagues of Poitiers. 8. That the Prince might lodge some troopes in Loudun and thereabouts for the safety of the conference. 9. That the troopes might retire if they pleased, hauing leaue from their Generals in all safety, so as they aduertise the Gouernors of places where they past, and did not march about twenty together. This Accord was confirmed by the Kings Decree. Signed the 23 of Ianuary.

A strange accident at Tours in the Council Chamber.

The falling of Saint Michaels bridge at Paris.

Great mortalitye vnto the Kings returne from Bourdeaux.

profitless consumed during his suspension. See A. 14. c.

After this, the King came to Tours, during the extremity of the cold, where on the nine and twentieth day the Councell being assembled, the Floore of the Chamber began to sinke, so as many Noblemen and great Personages fell with it, in the which the Earle of Soissons, the Duke of Espemon, with many Noblemen were hurt. The Queene Mother was on the other side of the Chamber, conferring with the Chancellor, and some other Councillors of State and fell not, which gaue great content to all the Court.

This newes being brought to Paris increased their sorrow, for the same night of the 20 day: the Riuer of Seine hauing bene frozen; there comming a thawe, the Ice brake and caried away many boates laden with Wood, Corne, Wine, Salt and other Merchandize of a very great value; a part of Saint Michaels bridge fell into the water, which caused great losse, but none drowned but one Maid-servant: the other moiety of this bridge fell in Iuly following; so as they were forced to make another of wood towards the Augustins, whilest they built the other of stone.

The season of the year, was violently cold, during the Kings passage from Bourdeaux to Tours; whereof they write extraordinary things. That between Poitiers and Chastelleraut, there were Coachmen scene to fall downe dead from their Coaches; that there died of many groomes and seruants to Princes and Noblemen, that being at Tours they were forced to make new traines; and such as escaped, some lost an eare, some fingers, some toes which were frozen off. That in the Regiment of the guards which consisted of three thousand men, there died about a third part as well of cold, as of burning Feuers. That without any combat there was dead in the Kings Armie, and the Princes about 10000 souldiers, which had so infected the Country from Bloys to Ancenis (which is 50 leagues) as there died afterwards about 10000 other persons, and of the best families. The King lost at Tours his Schoolemaster, the Queene her Physician, and Dole a Councillor of State, with diuers others left this life.

The conference was now beginning at Loudun; yet the suspension of Armes was not generally obserued. In Guienne, La Force and Grammont continued the warre one against another; and the Duke of Vendosmes troopes committed great Acts of Hostility. Many Townes of Anjou, Maine, Pearch, and Britanie were forced to contribute money vnto them. Whereupon the Court of Parliament at Rennes (seeing him vnwilling to discharge his troopes) made a Decree against him, giuing leaue to the countrey people to set vpon them. This made him to write a Letter vnto the King, which gaue their Maiesties no great content, but made them coniecture, that the Prince (notwithstanding all his protestations)

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A testations) had some secret intelligence with the Duke of Vendosme, who should play the Newter during the conference, and by that meanes obtaine by force the advantages they desired. Vpon this occasion his Maiestie did three things. First, he caused many of his troopes to passe the Riuer of Loire, hearing that the Duke of Vendosme was gone towards Britanie with his troopes. Secondly, he caused eight Cannons to be drawne out of Paris with munition, and conducted to Orleans to be employed as occasion should serue; and thirdly, his Maiestie sent an Herald to the Duke of Vendosme, who found him in the Castle of Chantocé in Anjou on the eighteenth of February. He was conducted into his Castle by two of his guard, comming to the gate, heooke his coat of Armes, and so went into the Dukes Chamber, who was accompanied by many Gentlemen and others. The Duke hauing his hat in his hand, and the Herald couered, he said vnto him:

An Herald sent vnto the Duke of Vendosme.

To you César of Vendosme: I command you by the King my Soberaigne Lord your Master and mine, and all your adherents, that presently you lay downe Armes, and dismisst the troopes which you haue leauied, and come vnto his Maiestie; and all those which assist you to retire to their Houses; and for want herof I pronounce you a Rebelle, and guilty of Treason, and as such an one, to be pursued by force of Armes. To whom the Duke made answer, I am a most humble seruant to the Master whom you serue, I will conserue with these Gentlemen which doe meet the honour to assist me, and then giue you my resolution.

After dinner he said vnto him, That he was a most humble seruant to the King, and that the Armes which he had taken were ioynt to the Prince of Condés intentions, to reuenge the death of the deceased King his Father, to which end he would employ his life, goods and friends.

The Dukes answer to the Herald.

This Declaration stayed the Kings troopes from further proceeding, vntill the conference at Loudun; the which began on the tenth of February, according to the Treatie made at Fontenay. There came for the King, the Countesse of Soissons, the Duke of Neuers, the Marshall of Brillac, Monsieur de Villeroi, President Thou, and Monsieur de Vicq Councillors of State. For the Prince besides himselfe, there were, the Princeesse his Mother, the Duchesse of Longueuille, the Dukes of Longueuille, Mayenne and Luxemburg, with the Marshall of Bouillon. Soone after came the Dukes of Rohan, Sully, Tremouille, and the Earle of Candale: Sir Thomas Edmunds Ambassador for his Maiestie of Great Britaine assisted also, and the Assembly of Niimes was transferred to Rochel. The Prince presented thirty Articles, whereby it was coniectured that the peace could not be so soon concluded, and therefore the truce was prolonged till the 15 of March. In the meane time the Duke of Vendosme came to the Conference to be comprehended in the Treatie, and present his complaints.

The conference at Loudun begun.

The Kings Deputies had giuen answer in writing to the thirty Articles; but for that there was some contestation touching three which were suspended, the truce was againe prolonged vnto the 15 of Aprill: the chiefe question being about the razing of the Citadell of Amiens towards the towne; but in the end the Kings Councell gaue the Prince to vnderstand, that the King would not haue the Citadell razed, and that the Marshall D'Ancre would deliuer it into his Maiesties hands, to giue the government to some one that should not be suspect vnto the Duke of Longueuille, Gouernour of Picardy. The interests, advantages, and assurances which the Prince and his associates desired: and the contentments which they had secretly demanded, caused a new prolongation of the Truce, vntill the 25 of Aprill, during the which the priuate Articles were often sent to Tours: in the end the King caused the Castle of Chynon to be deliuered vnto the Prince. They promise him the Tower of Bourges, and Berry, with 1500000 Franks for the charges of his Armie. For the satisfying whereof, there were impositions raised vpon the Salt, and other Merchandize.

The Castle of Chynon deliuered to the Prince. 150000 pound Sterling.

Some held this peace to be dearely bought by the King, and that a warre had bin more profitable and honorable: but the Estate of the Kings affaires being considered, it was resolved to giue the Prince what he should require for his content. There was no speech now but of Peace, the Court was full of ioy, & the Princes drinke to the King and Queenes health, and protest to doe their best endeouours for the entertainment of the said peace.

But in the meane time the Prince fell dangerously sick at Loudun. Their Maiesties sent to visit him, and the truce was prolonged vntill the 15 of May, as well by reason of the Princes

The Prince of Condé falls sick.

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The French Church shall be conferred in her rights and liberties. The King shall not suffer any thing to be done against his authority concerning the Council of Trent. The Cattle of Lestourne shall be put into the hands of an Exempt of the guard, vntill the difference betweene the Seigneurs of Fonterailes and D'Auglin be iudged by the King. *Villemercau* a Councillor of the Parliament, and *Le Maistre*, Master of Accompts, shall be readmitted to their Offices. The Ministers of the Religion, shall enioy those exemptions which have been granted vnto them. The inhabitants of Millaw shall enioy the effects of the abolitions heretofore granted. The Lady *D'Audoux*, and the Siegneur of Saint Foy, shall be discharged of that which hath past at Belfort. The Siegneur of Aradon shall be reestablished Governour in Vannes. The charge of great Master of the Artillery confirmed in his authority, notwithstanding the Declaration made in fauour of the Siegneur de Bors. *Cugnais* the Princiual Recieuer of Tithes in Burgundy shall be discharged of one and twenty thousand Franckes, which *Atouf*, de *Mayen* hath recieued of him. The Commision for the razing of the Cattle of Tigny in Anion reuoked. The Duke of Vendosme and those which have followed him shall haue euocation for a yeare of all the suits which they haue in the Parliament at Rennes. Fifteen hundred thousand Francks to be giuen to the Prince for the charges of the warre.

The Kings declaration touching his oath at his Coronation.

At the end of the General Estates in the year 1615 there had been a great dispute between the Deputies of the Nobility of both Religions, for that the Catholics had concluded in their Chamber, that petition should be made unto the King, That he would preferre the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romish Religion, according to the oath which he had taken at his Coronation : which was in these termes : *I will endeavour with my whole power, faithfully to expell out of my jurisdiction, and the lands of my subjection, all which shall be declared Heretiques by the Church.* They of the Religion made great complaints hereupon, so as the King made a Declaration of his intent ; but they not satisfied therewith, the King was intreated to make a second this year the twentieth of Iuly, whereby he declared, That his intent was not in the oath which he had taken at his Coronation, to comprehend his subjects of the Religion living in his Realme under the benefit of his Edicts, the which he would have innuoiably observed.

A Shoemaker
bitten by the
Marshall
D. anagris men.

On the 19 of June, a Shoemaker called *Pycard*, Sergeant of the quarter neere to Saint Michaels Bridge, going into Saint Germaines suburbs, was beaten with cudgels by two Groomes, first on by the Marshall *D Anores* Gentleman of the horse, & then was in danger of death. This action was so followed; as the parties which committed this insolency were hanged. Some said that he had beene thus intreated in reuenge of that which had past at Port Bushy, the day before Palme Sunday where he was in guard, and had stayed the Marquis *D Anere* from going into the suburbs without a Passport from the towne according to the order; whereupon the Marshall was forced to returne to the Louvre. Others affirmed that this Shoemaker was much affected to the Princes party, and had vied no respect in this action, so as he was growne so proud; as he spake scandalously of the Marshall in all places where he came, the which the Gentleman of the Marshalls horse hearing, could not endure, but had caused him to be beaten as a seditious Detractor.

The Earle of
Auvergne
set at liberty
and restored to
his place.

The Earle of Armerique, having bene eleven yeares and eight moneths prisoner in the castle, the King caused him to be set at libertie, and gaue him his sword againe, for which hee yielded thanks vnto their Maiesties. Their pleasures were that the Duke of Nemours should reside vnto him the place of Colonell of the light-horse, which had bene given him by the imprisonment of the said Earle. What a strange alteration, to see him that was a prisoner, and neuer thought to be freed at libertie, and within three weekes to command the Kings troopes?

**An Ambassador
from the great
Master of
Malta.**

About this time *Don Lewis Morder y Paconcelles* Bayliffe of Acre, and extraordinary Ambassador for the great Mafter, and all the order of Saint Iohn of Ierusalem, came from Malta to Paris. Many great perfonages went to meet him, and the King cauled him to be lodged, defrayed and ferued by his Officers. On the day of his audience he came to the Louure with two and twenty Caroches : where making an honorable relation of the great Mafter, and of the Knights of the Order, hee befoight his Maieftie, that as heere to the vertues of his predecessors, as well as of their Estates, so he would continue the effects of his love, and not suffer the Duke of Nevers to diminish the order of the holy Sepulchre from this of Ierusalem, considering their long possession, and the

Donation

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A Donation made by *Pope Innocent* the 8, with the generall content of all Christian Kings and Princes, as well of the dignity of great Masters, as of all the lands which they held in their countries. He also let him understand, that this order of *S. Iohn* of Ierusalem was a Seminary of brave and experienced Capitaines, and the refuge of the younger brothers of the best Houses of France, where they purchased honor, if they did surmount the hazards which they must undergoe. Besides the Ports of the Ilands which did import much the shipping which did traffique into the Levant. Moreover, he said, that by the erecting of this new Order, the French Knights should have the greatest loffe, if they holding the most important charges, yea, the great Masters being most commonly Frenchmen, in the end be con-

B cluded, that this new infiltration would be very prejudicial to the Soueraigne, who should suffer his fubiection to engage the will & affections of his Nobility, by a particular vow: ſhe-
wing that *Philip the K. of Spain*; being moved with a holy zeale to advance the dignitie
of the great Maſter of the Order of the holy ſepulchre, hee no ſooner heard the ſenſible
complaints which were made unto him by the Order of Ieruſalem, but he renounced his
pretention, and commanded his Ambaſſador to moue his Holineſſe to giue them a confir-
mation of the annexion of the order of the holy ſepulchre. To whom the King answered,
*If my Predceſſors haue heretofore proteſted the order with their Lowe, I haue no leſſe will to reſti-
fie my affection; ſo as being informed of the viciou which hath bene heretofore made of the Order
of the holy Sepulchre, I will giue charge vnto my Ambaſſador reſiding neere his Holineſſe, to in-
treat him on my behalfe that there may be nothing innoued* The which was preſently done.
C In like manner the D. of Neuers wrote vnto the great Maſter, That if he had known his
pursuite had been fo prejudicial to their Order, he would neuer haue moued it.

† Marshal Brizola
7 sent to Poitiers

Rokhsari, a Gentleman whom the Prince of Conde affected much, came to Paris, & went to **salute** their Majesty on the Princes behalf; telling them that hee would bee sodainly there: but withall he besought the King, that the 33 Article of the Edit of Loudun, touching the inhabitants of Poitiers, who had retired themselves by reason of the rumile might be observed. Hereupon the King sent the Marshall of Brissac thither. By the Article they were to enter into their charges, as well Militarie, as Iudicature. The common Councell of the towne increased his Majesty that they might not enter into their military charges. Hereupon there were many voyages made to the Prince; so as in the end the Militarie charges were excepted, and the Articles put in execution.

Viscount Den-
caster comes
to Paris.

The Prince of *Condé* arrived at Paris the 20 of July : all the Princes and great men of France came thither in a manner at the same instant, amongst the which the Dukes of Vendôme, Rohan, Sully, and Tremouille, with the Earle of Candale, the Prince of Orange, brother in law to the Prince, with Count *John* of Nassau came to visit him. They sent Ambassadors to all the neighbour Kings, Princes and States, to advertise them of the Peace which the King had given unto his subjects. And his Maiestie of Great Brittain sent an extraordinary Embassage by the Lord *Hays*, Viscount Dancaster, and now Earle of Carlisle, to his Maiestie, to congratulate his marriage, who came with many Noblemen and E Knights, and a very honorable traine. He was received almost as farre as Saint Denis by the Prince of Ioinville, and many of the French Nobility. He was conducted to his first audience by the Duke of Guise, accompanied by many great Personages, during his abode in Paris he was much feasted, namely, by the Marshall of Bouillon, the D. of Nevers, the Prince of Conde, and others. But a tumult which hapned at Peronne, and the Prince of Condes detention, made an end of their feasts, and bred a great alteration in Court.

The taking of
Peronne, the
cause of the
third Ciuill
Warre.

הנהגתו של הרב הראשי
היהודי בארץ ישראל
הוא כדלהלן:

The Entry which the inhabitants of Peronne gave vnto the Duke of Longueuille into their towne, and to put out *Fauls*, a Gentleman of Gascoine, Lieutenant to the Marshall *D'Ancre*, Gouvernour in particular of Peronne, Roy, and Mont-Didier, and what followed of these towne in the year 1610, he made *Fauls* his Lieutenant in Peronne; who lodged in the Caffe; and the Garison in the towne, who had for Capitaine *Rame Balgnekille*, who had in his company 150 fouldiers. In Iuly there was a brute dispersed, that the Marshall with his Lieutenant *Fauls*, would lodge 1000 men in Garison there, of those which should come out of the Cittadell of Amiens: that they would tyrannize ouer them; *F*ilisthy their wiues and children, and ruine their towne. They seeme amazed, and fend to aduise the Marshall *D'Ancre*, who was then going to his gouernment in Normandy. But whilst they advertised the Duke of Longueuille of their affeccion: irritating him

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favour their request vnto the King, for the entertainment of that which the deceased King A Henry had promised them when they left the league: That they should haue no Governour but one of the Country a good Catholique. The Duke sent them word hee would see them shortly, perswading them not to suffer any Garison to enter. The chiefe Magistrates were willing to receive the Duke, whereunto their Governour opposed, protesting that he would maintaine the Marshalls authority with the hazard of his life, and not to suffer the Duke to enter into the towne. Whereupon they resolved to send to Court, to aduertise his Maiestie, and the Prince of Conde: but before their Deputies departed, they resolved to summon Fauols to shew the commission he had to refuse the entry of the towne vnto the Duke of Longueuille, which summons Fauols derided. So the Deputies departed. B Soone after they held an Assembly in the towne, where it was concluded, not to suffer any Gentlemen or Souldiers, friends vnto the Governour Fauols, to enter into Peronne, vntill their Deputies were returned from Court. After many things which past that I must omit, the Duke of Longueuille entred into Peronne, with great applause of the chiefe Magistrates.

The Duke of Longueuille enters Peronne

The Castle is yielded vnto him.

Monsieur d'Ancre is sent to the Duke of Longueuille.

Fauols is left with goods at Peronne, and was imprisoned at Rouen.

A resolution to seize vpon the Prince of Conde.

On the sixteenth of August, Monsieur Mangot, a Secretarie of State, was sent with Letters from the King to the Duke of Longueuille, but hee arrived not before the Duke was Master of the Castle, and had given it in guard to the Baron of Bernieules, the which was done by the souldiers who were perswaded to yeeld: the Capitaine and other Commanders being resolved to defend it, and to attend the Kings troopes which were coming from Paris vnder the leading of the Earle of Auvergne. Monsieur Mangot, having presented C his Letters, he said vnto the Duke, That euery man blamed and condemned that which had beene done at Peronne, both by him and the Inhabitants. To whom the Duke answered, That there had not been any thing done against his Maiesties service; but onely to suppress the contempt which Fauols and Rames had made of him and of his quality, as Generall of the Province, contrary to his Maiesties expresse will and intention, and the Treatie of London. Morcuir, he assured himselfe, that the King would not take it ill, his service being no way interested, nor the generall of the State, it onely concerning him, and the Marshall D'Ancre in particular, who would not acknowledge him in his quality of Governour Generall, and that he hoped his Maiestie would not make himselfe a party in priuate quarrels, as hee had formerly most humbly besought him by his Letters.

The same day Fauols with his wife and family were thrust out of Peronne about fixe of the clocke in the euening; having thus lost his goods and fortune: thinking to goe and excuse himselfe to the Marshall D'Ancre, he was committed to prison at Rouen vpon this Maxime; That the Capitaine which hath the guard of a strong place importing the State, and suffers it to be lost, should lose his life; yet afterwards he was set at liberty.

The Prince being returned to Paris, there was a councill held touching the businesse at Peronne. It was held that they should not aggravate any thing: and that matters might be reconciled, the Marshall of Bouillon was sent to Peronne to that effect; who vpon his returne vnto their Maiesties, reported, that the Duke of Longueuille, & those of the town besought the King to giue them leaue to name three Gentlemen of the Country, one of the which his Maiestie should choofe to be their Governour; or that he would confirm the Baron of Bernieules, whom the Duke had already put into the Castle. This demand did nothing please their Maiesties, thinking it a blemish to the Soueraignty. The Earle of Auvergne approaching with his light-horse, and part of the Regiment of the Kings guard, thought to lodge in Mount Saint Quintin neere vnto Peronne: but hee found that the Duke of Longueuille assisted by many of his friends and souldiers, which had beene sent vnto him, had seized vpon the place, and made it with a strong Garison. The inhabitants of Peronne, were then annoyed not onely with the Dukes Garison within the Towne, but also with the Earles troopes which lay about it.

Vpon these combustions there was a resolution taken in the Queenes Cabinet to seize vpon the Prince of Condes person; it being giuen out that hee was the author of these Broiles; that a greater designe would burst forth, and that they meant to seize vpon their Maiesties persons. Wherefore they perswaded the Queene Mother, that if hee would saue her selfe & assure the Kings person, she should lay hold on the Prince, vnder whose name & authority this conspiracy was plotted. Some write that shee refused to this remedy with griefe, & detested in heart the pernicious counsels which had ruined this

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A this great Prince, and had thrust him headlong into these miserable designs, which forced the King to intreat him lesse worthily then his qualitie required, and that for her particular she desired.

The execution of this resolution was on the first of December; the Prince coming to the Louure to assist in Councill. The day before in the euening, the Queene Mother had sent commandement to the Marshalls of France, the Campe-Master of the Regiment of the guards, to the Collonell of the Swisses, and to the Capitaines of light-horse to attend the King the next morning. All came, and the Queene saw the Prince enter into the Councill Chamber. Monsieur de Themines had received commandement to haue his two B sonnes still by him, and to giue order that a dozen of his people whom he did best trust, should walke in the Court to be employed vpon occasion. D'Elbene, Lieutenant to the Duke of Anions company of light-horse, had the like charge. They draw their people together, and were led into a Chamber where they found the King and Queene alone: the King gaue to euery one of them a Halbard, saying, I doe not giue you these Armes to offend any man, if you doe not see that Themines and D'Elbene are forced to draw their swords, and that there is resistance made to the execution of my command. All hauing promised to live and dye in the fidelitie which they ought him, they were brought into a low Hall, whither the Prince should be brought as soone as he was arrested. All the Capitaines which were in guard about the Louure were commanded to stand at their guard. The Baron of C Thianghes who walked in the Court, and seeing this stirring, hee coniectured there was some designe: and for that there was none of the Princes in the Louure but the Prince of Conde, he doubted of some enterprize against his Person, which made him goe to the Councill chamber doore, where were many Councillors of State.

The Queene Mother who was ready to execute this great designe, had a watchfull eye to all occurrences: she sent a Gentleman to the Councill chamber doore to see what became of the Prince. The Baron of Thianghes seeing him come, said vnto him; you come to call the Prince vnto the Queene. To whom he answered, pardon me, Sir, I haue some businesse with a person who is there within, but I feare me he will not come out so soon. Wherefore I will leaue my Lackey here, to desire him that I may haue the honour to D speake with him before he goe from the Louure. Hereupon Thianghes became the lesse suspitious: yet he stayed at the Councill chamber doore, vntill the Prince came forth, and drawing neere vnto him told him in his eare the ialousie which hee had. But the Prince little regarding this aduice, passed along through the Swissers Hall, with the keeper of the Seales, the Marshall of Brisac, and the President Iannin, and so entered all foure into the Queenes Chamber, where the King was leaning in the window with many Lords about him. The Queene was in her Cabinet. The King turning vnto him as he entered, said, Good morrow Monsieur le Prince, I am going a hunting, will you make one? To whom hee answered, Your Maiestie, if you please will excuse me: Hereunto the King replied, I will goe tell the Queene my mother that I goe to hunt the Roobucke E after I haue heard Misses. Adieu Monsieur le Prince.

The Kings Speech to the Prince of Conde

The King being entered into the Queenes Cabinet, Themines came with his two sonnes out of an entry, who approaching neere vnto the Prince, said;

My Lord the King being aduertised that you giue care to many Counsels, contrarie to his service, and that they will make you embrace designs ruinous to the Estate, and to your owne condition, hee hath commanded mee to seize vpon your person, to keepe you from falling into these accidents: and at the same time his two sonnes came on either side the Prince, who said to the Seigneur de Themines: Me? He answered, I you my Lord. Then said the Prince, You know my qualitie: Themines, I know the respect I owe you; but I know also the obedience I owe vnto the King. Hereupon the Prince desired to speake vnto the King, and F to iustifie himselfe before their Maisties. Themines said vnto him, My Lord, let us goe whither the King hath commanded me to conduct you. The Prince offering to retire backe, and turning towards the Noblemen which were present, said, Is there no man heere for mee? but they stood gazing at this contestation, like transformed Statues; they were amazed to see the first Prince of the blood thus arrested, but knew not the cause. Then Themines said vnto him, My Lord, heere is no place to make resistance. The Prince seeing himselfe prest to goe out of the Chamber, desired againe to speake with their Maisties, for he had no will to goe forth, vntill that Themines had

The Prince seized on in the Queenes Chamber.

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assured him, that neither he nor any other had charge to wrong him. In the end suffering himselfe to be led into a Hall which was prepared for him : and seeing *D'Elbene* (whom he loued not) with so many men with Halberets, he said, *Alas I am dead, for he had a great apprehension of death, the which D'Elbene pacified, saying, That all they whom hee saw there were Gentlemen and no murderers, who had not any other commandement from the King but to guard him.* He spake not any word against their Maiesties, but stood long silent, seeming much grieved for the change of his liberty into captiuitie.

The Princes flee
from Paris.

At the same instant all the guards were set vpon the approaches of the Loure, and they which were walking in the Court were put forth. The newes hereof was soone brought vnto the Princes his associates. They were sodainly dispersed like a Cove of Partridges before the Hawke; they apprehended the danger, but were ignorant of the cause. They which were sent to seize vpon the Duke of Vendosme, found that in coming to the Loure he had bene aduertised, and was escaped by Saint Honorie suburbs, posting towards La Fere (a towne which belonged vnto him, as the inheritance of the Dukes of Vendosme) so as they could not ouertake him. The Marquis of Cœuure, gouernour of Laon, vncle by the mothers side to the Duke of Vendosme, went to aduertise the Duke of Mayen of the Princes arrest. Hereupon there was no other talke but of going to horse-backe, all flee away in small troopes. They goe and meet the Marshall of Bouillon neere vnto Charenton, being gone forth that morning to the preaching. At the rising of the Palace, *President le Jay* remembering Amboise, desired rather to take the fresh aire of the fields by Saint Anthonies gate, then to remaine in Paris.

The Princes flee
Downer of
Conde: he
goe moue the
people.

The newes of this arrest being brought to Conde House, in the Suburbs of Saint Germain, where the Princes Mother remained, she presently tooke her Caroe and went to our Ladies Bridge, thinking to moue the people, some of the Princes Gentlemen did the like, crying, *To Armes my masters of Paris, the Marshall D'Ancre hath caused the Prince of Conde, the first Prince of the Blood to be slaine, To Armes good Frenchmen to Armes.* But there were very few which made any shew to stir: which the Princesse seeing, she returned to her lodging, where many Noble men, and Captaines came to take aduice whether they should arme and goe directly to the Loure for the Princes deliuerie. It was proposed, that there might be some Burgeesses well affected would ioyne with them, and so together they might make an attempt. You may doe it said one of them: but consider that the Magistrates of Paris, with the common people will bee for their Maiesties, and then what shall become of vs, when as the Kings guards shall hinder our approach to the Loure, and at our backs they shall draw the chaines: before wee goe to this dangerous attempt, it shall be good to sweeten the multitude with the spoile of the Marshall *D'Ancre* lodging, and thereby breed a desire in them to follow vs.

The Marshall
D'Ancre house
spoiled.

This aduice was allowed, and presently executed. The Marshalls House was neere vnto the Palace, which the Queene was building, and Conde house was in the same street. Some of the Princes household seruants, hauing encouraged certain Mafons and other labourers which wrought in the Queenes buildings. They goe and breake open the gates, with such fury, as the Porter and other seruants were glad to saue themselves by the Garden. They went into the Halls and Chambers; some cast goods out at the windowes, others filled their pockets with gold, siluer, and what they found most precious. The first which carried any thing into the Citie, serued as Trumpets to aduertise the multitude that the Marshall *D'Ancre* lodging was vpon spoile.

In the afternoone Monsieur de Lioncourt, Gouernour of Paris, with the Knight of the Watch came thither with their Archers, thinking to stay this Spoile, but they found some of the Princes people armed with their Pistols, and encouraging the multitude, and one of them flew *Adonville* with a shot: whereupon the Gouernour retired. The multitude was so great, and to greedy of Spoile, as they hurt one another, yea, some were crucified in pieces with that was throwne from above. All good men trembled at this action, and detested their counsell which had taught the people the way to spoile.

The Marshall
D'Ancre house
spoiled.

In the meane time the Duke of Mayen and the Marshall of Bouillons troopes encreased, marching towards Picardie. The Duke with some others were of opinion to returne to Paris, and to ioyne with them of their faction, but the Marshall of Bouillon was of another opinion, saying, *Our proceffe cannot be decided but when the doores are open, they that*

have

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A have bene accustomed to iudge when the doores are shut let them goe to Paris, if they desire to creep vnder, I hold that the way to Soissons is the safest for vs.

The Prouoft of Merchants hauing bene at the Loure to know the Kings pleasure, he vnderstood that the Prince was onely in custody, the which was presently made knowne to all the quarters where many had shut vp their shops, commanding all the Coronels and Captaines to see the peace maintained, and to forbid them to arme but vpon commandement. The Duke of Guise being at his house, was presently aduertised of this accident: He sent the Prince of Joinville his brother vnto their Maiesties, to know the cause; and soone after, *Monsieur de Pralin* came from the King vnto the Duke, who about foure of the clocke in the afternoone retired out of Paris, with the Prince his brother, following the Duke of Mayen their Cousin towards Soissons.

The Duke of
Guise, and the
Prince his brother
retire from
Court.

During these actions, *Monsieur Theminis*, his sonnes, and *D'Elbene*, entertained the Prince: they asked him if he would care, but he refused it; yet in the end he was content so as his officers might bring it: whereupon it was agreed, that one should come and serue him, and not depart; and that his officers should prepare his diet and bring it to the chamber doore. *Monsieur de Luynes* came to visit him from the King, and *La Motte* from the Queene mother. He demanded if the Marshall of Bouillon were taken, and spake many things of him. The Queene mother hearing that *Rochefort* (a Gentleman whom the Prince affected much, and whom he had made Gouernor of the Caste of Chynon) was gone thither, with an intent to hold it by strength, and to draw together the friends of that partie; she caused the Prince to signe Letters and to adresse them to such as hee had pur into Chynon and the Tower of Bourges, that they should resigne those places into the hands of those the King should ordaine: which hee promised to doe, and afterwards performed.

The King and
Queene send to
visit the Prince.

Night hauing caused them to stay their spoile in the Marshall *D'Ancre* house, hauing left nothing but the rafters, Iron, and some Lead, they came in troopes to make an end, and carie away all, which was a fearful sight. About nine of the clocke, this rascall rable fell vpon the house of *Corbinelly* the Marshalls Secretary, the which within an houre and a halfe they emptied of all the goods, siluer, plate, or whatsoever was portable. They threatened the neighbour houses, and they were consulting to goe into the City, and to doe as much to the Colledge of Marmoutier, where the Abbot (brother to the Marshall *D'Ancre* wife) was lodged: This aduice was caried to the Loure. They of the Suburbs of Saint Germaine were presently commanded to arme: the Lieutenant Criminal with his Sergeants to goe into Saint Iames street, and *Monsieur de Creguy* to the Marshall *D'Ancre* house, with the three Companies, which should be relieved from their Guard at the Loure, which he effected accordingly. These spoilers saw themselves presently shut vp betwene the Kings Guards and the inhabitants of the suburbs who were in armes; yet they thought it good to giue them a free passage, with commandement to retire, and not to returne any more, vpon paine of punishment; for they desired to pacifie and not to exasperate things.

The Marshalls
secretary house
spoiled.

Thus from Thursday till Friday at noone, the Marshall *D'Ancre* house and his Secretaries were spoiled and ruined, so as there remained nothing but foure bare wals, without couering. The losse was very great in pictures, guildings, marbles, apparell, linnen, moueables, tapistry, mettals of gold and siluer, plate, with many goodly curiosities, which great men haue in their cabinets: all which did nothing profit them which were the authors. There was an intent to make criminall searches by the ordinary Iustice, but it was thought best to proceed ciuilly and by way of excommunication. There were some Curats which so detested this act, as many of the petty thecues brought what they had stolne to the Commissarie of the Quarter, or cast it into a Waggon which was appointed to F that end.

Their Maiesties seeing themselves ill assisted by their ordinary Guards, they sent commandement to the Earle of Auerngne, who lay about Peronne, to returne speedily with his troopes to Paris: the which he did. The long and faithfull seruices of braue Cheualiers haue for their reward honors and great military charges. So the King knowing the good and faithfull seruices which the Seigneurs of Theminis and Montigny had done vnto the Estate, he made them Marshalls of France. In the meane time they prepared a Chamber, the windowes barred with Iron, about the great Hall in the Loure for

the

1616 the Princes lodging, whether hee was conducted the third of September.

The Duke of Guise being at Soissons, wrote vnto the King, and the Duke of Neuers from Charleville, they desiring to be certified of the cause why the Prince had bene stayed. The Duke of Guise wrote in this manner :

The Duke of Guise's Letter to the King.

Sir : I haue receiued from Monsieur D'Amant the Letter which it pleased your Maie-
 stie to write vnto me, and haue heard the credit which you haue giuen him, testifying
 the continuance of the assurance which it pleaseth your Maieftie to haue of the fidelity
 of my seruice, the which I will continue without any exception. Hearing of the Princes
 detention, I sent my brother the Prince of Ioinville to know the cause, the which I could
 not, neither by him nor any other that came vnto me: holding this businesse of such con-
 sequence, as if the grounds be not very cleere, and the proofes infallible, they may in-
 volve in the like proceedings your best seruants, as I am and will alwayes be : and know-
 ing the departure of Monsieur de Mayen, he gaue me occasion to come to this place, where
 I most humbly beseech your Maieftie that I may know what the Prince hath committed
 against his dutie and your seruice : to the end I may haue meanes to enforme your ser-
 uants, and to iustice them to continue their seruice vnto your Maieftie, and to free them
 from the imputations which they may take, being engaged by bad Counsels in some pre-
 iudicial action. I will euer rest your most humble and most obedient subiect and ser-
 uant, Charles of Loiraine Duke of Guise.

The Duke of Neuers Letter to the King.

The Duke of Neuers wrote in another style in these termes : Sir, When I came vn-
 to this frontier, to take my way directly towards the Emperors Court, according to the
 commandement and commission I had from your Maieftie ; I receiued the Letter where-
 with it pleased you to honour mee : by the which I vnderstand of the arrest which hath
 bene made of the Princes person, vpon an aduice which you sent mee word was giuen
 you, that some meaning to attempt against your person, and that of the Queene mother,
 desired also the Prince to ioyne with them in that bad designe : I must confesse these
 newes bred a great amazement in me, considering the good disposition wherein I left the
 affaires, which made me hope to see a peace firmly settled : in the negotiation whereof, ha-
 uing had the honor to be one of those which was employed, to give the assurance which
 was necessary to such a treaty : I held my selfe more bound then any other, to desire the
 entertainment thereof : so as if since the treaty any one be found culpable to haue attempt-
 ed against your Maieftie, they can neuer haue a greater enemy then my selfe. But in
 like manner I thinke it necessary as well for your Maiesties seruice, as the satisfaction of
 the publike, and the content of all good men; that this businesse may bee speedily mani-
 fested, and that the truth may be knowne both within and without the Realme. In the
 meane time I will delay my iourney for a season, and give all necessary order for the towns
 of this Province, according to the commandment which you haue giuen me, wherein I
 will not faile, but will alwayes remaine your most affectionate and faithfull seruant, Charles
 of Gonzague of Cleues.

The King re- solves to raise three armies.

This Letter did not much please, but doubled the ieaiousies which they had of the
 Dukes carriage. Yet the King was willing that all men should know wherefore he had
 detained the Prince of Conde, not by particular Letters, but by a Declaration verified in
 Parliament, sitting himselfe in his seat of Iustice. And in regard that the Princes and
 Noblemen were retired to Soissons, and that such as the Prince of Conde had put into
 the places in Berry, and in Chynon in Touraine, seemed to haue a will to take armes, it
 was resolved in Councell to leaue three armies, the one to bee led by the Earle of Au-
 uergne towards Soissons, the other by the Marshall of Montigny for Berry ; and the
 third by the Marshall of Souuise to goe into Touraine : But these armies could not bee
 raised without money, and the Kings Treasure had bene exhausted during the second ci-
 uill warres, wherefore they had recourse vnto extraordinary meanes : among the which, if
 as lesse burthenfome, it was decreed that an Edict should bee made touching the sale of
 many Offices.

The Kings De- clation touch- ing the Prin- ces detention.

The Kings coming to Parliament was appointed on the 7 of September : all things
 were made ready according to the vsuall manner, and the King came vnto the Palace
 about 10 of the clocke, with the like state hee had bene accustomed in such actions ; the
 particularities as well thereof as of the Kings sitting in the seat of Iustice, I must omit, to
 auoid tediousnesse.

After

A After some short speeches made by the keeper of the Seales by the Kings comman-
 dement, and the first President, he caused a Declaration to be read concerning the seizure
 of the Prince of Conde, and the Princes and Noblemen which were retired : wherein he
 said that he was forced to publish vnto the world the iust complaints which he made, as well
 against his Cousin the Prince of Conde, as the Princes, Noblemen, and others, which
 did adhere vnto the pernicious designs which had bene practised against his person and
 state : That they had lately risen vp in armes, vnder colour to hinder the most honorable
 alliance which he could make in all Christendome, and to reforme his Estate by the ruine
 thereof : That by the treaty of Loudun, he had granted vnto his Cousin, whatsoever hee
 demanded, and had not onely left vnto him the Government of Berry, but did redeme
 all places of strength which were within the Province : That hee had giuen him great
 summes of money, either by way of gratification, or for the dismissing of his troops :
 That the charges of this war and of the treaty amounted to about twenty millions : That
 to content his cousin the Duke of Longueville, he had drawne out of Picardy and the Cit-
 tadell of Amiens such as commanded there, to place one who was pleasing vnto him : that
 he had giuen vnto the Prince what part he desired in the managing of the State, and espe-
 cially the direction of the Treasure : that notwithstanding the abundance of his graces
 and fauours, they could not restraints their disordered wils, who found no rest but in the
 trouble of the Estate, and put all their hope in his ruine. Morouer, he complained, that
 both before and since the Princes arrival there had bene many nightly Assemblies in his
 City of Paris and elsewhere, at the which there assisted diuers Princes and great per-
 sonages, yea and some of his Officers, whereof some of them were since retired, iustifying
 their crime by their sight.

Two millions sterling.

After which he said that they had practised to debauch his people, and to moue them
 to sedition, and to winne the Colonels, Captaines, and such as had charge of Armes, vpon
 diuers pretexts : That they had seized vpon the towne and castle of Peronne, the resolu-
 tions whereof had bene taken neere his person, and although he had great reason to be
 incensed for this excess, yet he had accommodated himselfe to al the propositions which
 had bene made to reconcile the businesse quietly : That notwithstanding his bounty and
 indulgence, they had drawne foure companies of foot into the towne ; the which did
 very much displease all such as had any respect vnto his authority, that a Princesse very so-
 ally allied to those which were interessed in that action, moued with compassion of their for-
 tunes, had giuen aduertisement to the Queene his mother, of the designs of the vnder-
 takers, and that they should haue a care of themselves, for that their Councels tended to
 seize vpon his person and the Queene mothers, and so to canton themselves throughout
 all the Provinces : the horror whereof had bene so great in the hearts of some of them,
 that euen his cousin the Prince before his detention had ingenuously confessed to the
 Queene mother, that hee had assisted at the said Councell ; and that in truth they had
 cause to suspect him : adding withall, that they were bound to him as much as to their
 owne fathers : That one of the greatest of the Realme had bene at one of the said Coun-
 cels (as he confessed to the Queene mother) in which they treated of the seizure of his
 person, and the government of the State, with many other aduertisements to the like ef-
 fect. That the Ambassadors of foraigne Princes had giuen him aduertisement by writing,
 and perswaded him to be carefull of his person : That they leauied men in all parts of the
 Realme, without commission or pretext : That for these and many other considerations,
 he had resolved to prevent this imminent danger, and to assure himselfe of the person of
 his said cousin, whom he had lodged neere vnto him in his castle of the Loure, with as
 honorable vlsage as could be desired in such a case. In the end, by his Declaration he con-
 firmed the treaty of Loudun, with a pardon to all those which were culpable and had as-
 sisted themselves, if they came within fifteene dayes and demanded it.

Complaints for the seizure of Peronne.

That they meant to seize vpon the King and Queene mother.

These are the reasons suggested in the Kings Declaration for the Princes detention. I
 will not presume to examine the truth of them, but will leaue it to the iudicious Reader ;
 but howeouer, it was verified by the Court of Parliament.

The King being desirous to suppress all causes of further alteration, sent the Seigneurs
 of Boissie and Chanvallon to Soissons, being aduertised that the Dukes of Longueville, of
 Vendosme, and Mayen, the Marshall of Bouillon, and the Marquis of Capua, should
 meet with the three brethren of Guise, to conferrre of the meanes to pacifie these com-
 buctions.

The King sends the King sends to Soissons.

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The King pre-
pares to armes.The Duke of
Neuers refused
entry into
Chalons.
The countess
of this let or to
the King.The Prince sent
to the Bastile.The Princes
dissent.

buftions. On the 14 of September, there was a Proclamation made, commanding all Gentlemen and others of what qualitie soever, belonging unto the Prince of Conde or the Dukes of Vendome, Mayen and Bouillon, to depart out of the Citie and suburbs of Paris within 24 houres: forbidding all the inhabitants to lodge them or assist them with any victuals, vpon paine of confiscation of all their goods; except such as shall make protestation to liue and dye in the Kings obedience, and vnder the authority of his commandements, and that had relinquished all intelligence with the said Prince and Dukes. The King prepares for peace on the one side, and for warre on the other, in case hee bee not obeyed. He sendeth into Swisserland to make leuies. Foure field-pieces and two culuerins, with their munition, are drawne out of Paris to goe to Meaux: The Earle of Auergerne parted the next day, and makes it the rendezuous for the Kings army. They put garisons into the townes vpon the riuier of Marne: *Vaubecourt* with his Regiment of Loraines, was lodged about Chalons; and *D'Elbene* was put into Espernay.

During these preparations to warre, there was a new cause of discontent given to the Duke of Neuers. Being at Rheims he sent *Marailles* vnto the King with Letters dated the fifteenth of September, complaining that he had refused him the gates of Chalons, one of the chiefe townes of his Government. He complained by his Letters, that hauing receiued commandement from his Maieftie to take order for the frontiers of that Province, and to visit the other places of his government: hee vnderstood that commandement had beene given vnto the inhabitants of Chalons to refuse him entrie into their towne, if he should present himselfe, the which he said did much amaze him, considering the contrariety of two dispatches; by the one vnto himselfe, he did assure him hee would commit vnto him the conduct of his army; and by the other hee deuiued him of the exercise of his charge: the which had made him to examine himselfe whether his actions had giuen any iust cause of jealousy to his Maieftie: then making a long repetition of his seruices, he concluded in these termes; I find, Sir, with much griefe, that my seruices haue beene waiged by those which now giue your Maieftie counsell, and who are afraid that my good endeouours about the peace might procure me that happinesse which they desire to di- priue me of, fearing to encounter their losse in peace by the discouerie of their violent counsels, and pernicious designs. This onely consideration in my opinion hath made them to doe me this affront, your Maieftie will pardon me if I call it so, being so assured of mine innocency, the which I hope God will in time make knowne vnto you, when you shall please to take the paines to enforme your selfe more particularly of these affaires, and of those which are your true and faithfull seruants, amongst the which I think my selfe to hold one of the first ranks, as being alwayes your most humble and obedient subiect and seruant, the Duke of Neuers.

Thenewes in Court were verry variable, one day peace, another day warre. The Seigneurs of Boissile and Chanvallon deputed from the King, being come to Soissons, the three brethren of Guise vnderstood by them the intentions of their Maiefties, vnto which they conformed themselves. Then they began to treat with the Dukes of Vendome and Mayen, the Marshall of Bouillon, Marquis of Cœuvres, and others, of the meanes to preserve the peace in France. The season of Winter which approached; the intelligences of the Princes out of frame, by the detention of their Hosts, the small preparations which they then had for warre; and the King on the contrary being in armes and ready to set vpon them, were the principall causes which made them make choice of peace. Finally, the Princes and those which were vntied vnto them in Soissons, propounded thirteene Articles, which the duke of Guise returning to Paris on the 24 of September, presented vnto their Maiefties, he being receiued by them with much content. That night the Prince was conueyed to the Bastile. The duke of Guise returned to Soissons to acquaint the Princes with his Maiefties pleasure, who came back again on Michaelmas day, & the day after, the King resolu'd in Councell touching the Princes' demands, which were as followeth.

I. That the treaty of Loudun, with all the priuate Articles, should be obserued & speedily put in execution: as well in that which concerns the Prince of Conde, as other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, and all others which were comprehended therein: and if it pleased the King, that the sieges of the towne and castle of Chynon, and the tower of Bourges might be raised, and they which commanded in those places, maintained in their charges.

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A. *Anf: His Maiefties intention is, To entertaine the treaty of Loudun, and to cause it to be faith fully executed: but touching the Prince of Conde, hee refuseth that to himselfe, to dispose as hereafter shall be thought fit for the good of his seruice.*

II. That the Declaration which it shall please his Maieftie to grant vnto the said Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and others, shall be published in all the Parliaments of his Realme, and other inferior Courts, as hath beene accustomed, and to that end Letters should be sent vnto the Parliament.

Anf: Granted.

III. That the summe of 100000 crownes promised by the Treaty of Loudun, and assigned vpon the impositions of the Riuer (which haue not beene established) shall be supplied, all difficulties ceasing, for that the said Princes haue advanced the money for the dismissing of their troops.

Anf: It hath beene satisfied by the first Article. And if the Assignment be not good, it shall be otherwise provided.

IV. That the garisons in such places as the Duke of de Mayen holds, shall bee encreased with 200 foot, and the companies of men at armes and light horse, entertained according to the treaty of Loudun, to be put in garison in such places as the Duke de Mayen should thinke fit for the Kings seruice.

Anf: His Maieftie grants to the D. de Mayen the sum whereunto the payment of the said 200 foot may amount, for the three moneths remaining of this year, and for the next year following: as for the companies of men at armes and light horse, they shall be entertained as hath beene assigned by the said Treaty. And the said companies of men at armes shall be paid two quarters of this present year, and three of the year following, and after that manner successively.

V. That the payment of pensions, estates, and appointments, and the entertainment of the garisons and companies of horse of the Duke of Mayen, shall bee assigned vpon the generall receipt of Soissons, and of the taxes, customes, and imposts of the said generality, by the accustomed order of the Treasure, and that for this present year, and the next following.

Anf: His Maieftie cannot particularly affect any receipt for the payment contained in the said Article: notwithstanding it shall be so provided for, as the Duke of Mayen shall haue cause of content.

VI. That the summe of 10000 Franckes, granted heretofore to the said Duke for the fortification of such places as he holds, may be continued for two years. 1000 pound sterling.

Anf: In setting downe the estate of the fortification, his Maieftie will haue regard vnto the remembrance contained in this present Article.

M. II. That the commission to assemble the States of Britanie this present year, may bee sent to the Duke of Vendome, according to the promise which was made vnto him at Loudun.

Anf: The expeditions for the said Assembly being already sent, his Maieftie cannot alter any thing for this year, but when as the Duke of Vendome shall come to receive his Maiefties commandements, he will then giue him all occasion of content, and grant him the Assembly of the said Estates for the next year.

VIII. That the Duke of Vendome may haue an assignation of 30000 pounds sterling, which was promised him by the treaty of Loudun, in recompence of his Government of Nantes: offering in lieu thereof to giue ouer the place.

Anf: The Duke de Vendome being with his Maieftie, it shall bee aduised vpon with him within the time of the Assembly of States the year following.

IX. That the company of light horse of the said Duke, shall serue where the said Duke of Vendome shall appoint them, and hold most expedient for the Kings seruice.

Anf: The said companie of light horse were created as all others, to serue neere vnto his Maieftie, but the directions and commandements of his Maieftie touching the said companie, shall be addressed to the said Duke of Vendome.

X. His Maieftie, if he please, shall ordaine the entertainment of 100 foot, to keepe a garison in the towne of La Fere.

Anf: His Maieftie hath granted vnto the said D. of Vendome, the sum vnto which the payment of 100 footmen will amount for 3 moneths remaining of the year now expiring; and the next year wholly. The same summe to be paid like vnto the rest of the garisons of the kingdom.

XI. His

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XI. His Maieſtie ſhall command, if he pleaſe, the razing of the fortifications at Blauet and Donarvenez, in the execution of the treaties of Saint Manchould and Loudun.

Anſw: By the ſayd Treaties his Maieſties not bound to raze any fortifications as he ſhall thinke fit for his ſervice.

XII. That the garriſons newly put into townes and places, ſhall be caſhiered, and the ſaid places continue as they were before the detention of the Prince of Conde. And the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, moſt humbly beſeech his Maieſty to take into his conſideration, whether it bee fit for his ſervice to hold ſtill his new leauiſed arme on foot.

Anſw: His Maieſtie meanes not to entertaine any other garriſons then ſhall be neceſſary for the aſſurance of places. And for his army, his Maieſtie hauing taken the aduice of the Princes and Noblemen about him, will ordaine what ſhall be beſt for his ſervice.

XIII. That there be giuen vnto the ſaid Princes, Lords, and Officers, a copie of the ſayd Declaration.

Anſ: Granted.

Theſe Anſwers were ſent to Soiſſons, the which were thus vnder-written: *We haue received the Articles and Anſwers above mentioned, by Monsieur de Boiſſie, by the expreſſe commandement of the King, and to obey his will. Made at Soiſſons the 6 of October. 1616.*

After this, they treated at Paris for the pacifying of the alteration which had bene at C Peronne, where it was concluded, that he whom the Duke of Longueville had put into the Caſtle, ſhould reſigne it vnto the Viſcount of Blencourt, whom the King had advanced to that government: and that it ſhould be at the Dukes diſpoſition to put whom he thought fit into the Caſtle of Han for his Maieſties ſervice: And thus all things were pacified touching the action of Peronne. After which the King made a Declaration vpon the Articles granted to the Princes: ſhewing that (vpon his proper motion, full power, and royall authority, with the aduice of the Queene his mother, and the Princes and Lords of his Council) neither by any general or particular words contained in his former declaration concerning the Princes detention, he did not meane to comprehend the ſaid Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, Lords, Officers of ſoueraigne Courts, or other perſons of what quality and condition ſoeuer, which went out of Paris on the day of the arreſt and detention of the Prince, and ſince vpon that occaſion, which had made knowne vnto him their good intentions, and the reſolutions that they haue ever had to remaine in his Maieſties obedience: but would that they ſhould enjoy his graces, fauours, rewards, honors, and governments, and to exerce their charges as they did before, notwithstanding any interdiction and Letters patents granted to the contrary: and alſo is pleaſed that his Ediſt lately made at Loudun ſhould be obſerved; and that his ſubjects comprehended in the general, particular, and ſecret Articles granted in fauour of that Ediſt, ſhould enjoy the effect of the ſame. After this, there was a declaration made to confirme that which had bene concluded touching the buſineſſe at Peronne.

The firſt of the Articles which the Princes retired vnto Soiſſons preſented vnto the King, importeth, *That the ſieges before the towne and caſtle of Chynon, and the tower of Bourges, might be raiſed, and theſe which commanded in theſe places maintained and kept in their charges.* But the King vpon this firſt Article, referred vnto himſelfe to ordaine what hee ſhould afterwards thinke fit for the good of his ſervice. Therefore he ſent the Marſhall of Montigny with Letters vnto Bourges to eſta bliſh him Gouvernor of Berry in the abſence of the Prince, who arrived there on the 8 of September; and on the morrow ſummoned La Lande, who commanded in Tower of Bourges, to deliuer it vp for the King: La Lande requeſted ten dayes ſpace to aduerſe Rochefort who had placed him there, which was granted him, vpon condition that the ſaid Marſhall might intrench himſelfe before the ſaid Tower, which hee did; and beſides, ſet vp his gabions, and planted his peeces ready for battery. After ten dayes, La Lande reſuſing to yeeld vp the Tower, the Marſhall of Montigny reſolved to beat him out: and to that end, the tenth day about ten of the clock at night, being aſſiſted by many of the Gentlemen of the Country, and inhabitants of Bourges, he made an ouerture in a wall, and brake downe the garden gate of the Tower; and from thence at fixe a clocke in the morning, made a breach in the Tower that one man might paſſe: which La Lande ſeeing, he alſo ſhot foure volles of Cannon from the

The kings declaration touching the Princes.

The Marſhall of Montigny ſent Gouvernor into Berry.

The Tower of Bourges beſieged and taken.

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A top of the Tower cleare ouer the Towne, and then craved to paſſe, which being granted, this compoſition was, That he ſhould come forth with his ſuſtained ſouldiers, with their armes and baggage, without carrying with them any munition or armes belonging to the ſaid Tower. A while after, the inhabitants of Bourges ſent to beſeech his Maieſty that this Tower might be raiſed: But the King ſent Capitaine Dauphin, an Exempt of his Guards, to command therein.

Soone after, the Seigneur of Rochefort who had gotten into Chynon ſome two hundred horſe, foure hundred foot, and great numbers of catſell among others, foure hundred Becues, ſeing himſelfe almoſt beſieged by the Marſhall de Saunoy, and that eighty Cannon were coming from Towers, he reſolved to obey the Letters which were preſented him from the Prince his maſter. They write, that he would not accept of any recompence for his coming forth, but retired home to his owne houſe. D'Elbene was made Gouvernor of the towne and caſtle of Chynon by the King.

Theſe remained yet to reconcile the difference betweene Monsieur D'Efpernon and the Rochellers, renewed ſince the detention of the Prince. The Rochellers pretend by priuiledges, confirmed (as they ſay) by many Kings, to haue exemption from Governours in the Towne and Country of Rochel, in which they compoſe the Country. And the Duke of Efpernon alledgeth the contrary, being Gouvernor for the King in Xaintonge and Aulins. Now vpon the common brute of the Princes detention at Paris, the Rochellers ſent ſome ſouldiers to ſeize vpon a Caſtle called Rochefort, which is in the Country of Aulins and vpon the Riuer of Charente, where they placed a garriſon. The Duke of Efpernon hearing hereof, took in for an enterpriſe vpon his Government, and reſolved to make the Rochellers know that there was no other Gouvernor but himſelfe in the Country of Aulins. Hereupon he aſſembled his troopes, and came out of Augoumois into Aulins, where he put a ſtrong garriſon into the Caſtle of Surgeres, which is but foure leagues from Rochel. In briefe, it ſeemed by the leauiſes made on both parties, that they would come to armes, but they proceeded not, either party publiſhing his pretensions in writing.

Vpon complaint made vnto the King of the Duke of Efpernon carriages, his Maieſty ſent ſpeedily one Capaine Bourgogne, with two Archers, to command them of Rochel to deliuer the Caſtle of Rochefort into his hands: who hauing deliuered his charge vnto the Maior and Towne, and ſhewed his Commiſſion and priuate inſtructions, whereby he had charge to goe vnto the Duke of Efpernon, and to command him in the Kings name to retire his ſouldiers from Toney-charante, and other places. The Rochellers obeyed preſently, but they let him vnderſtand, that ſince their firſt complaint, the Duke of Efpernon had ſeized vpon the Caſtle of Surgeres, an extraordinary paſſage to bring all commodities to Rochel: That ſeing the Kings pleaſure was, that the Duke of Efpernon ſhould retire all his men of warre, it was reaſon he ſhould withdraw them which he had put into the Caſtle of Surgeres: they entreated Capaine Bourgogne to make the like Remonſtrances to the Duke of Efpernon, and to perſwade him to performe as much as his Maieſty had commanded the Rochellers: Which being found ſound and reaſonable, hee went preſently to Rochefort, which was deliuered into his hands without delay. Whereupon he went to the Duke of Efpernon, being at Xaintes, to acquaint him with the Kings commandement, from whom he returned to Rochel on the ninth of October; telling them that he would not obey, nor retire his men from Toney-charante nor Surgeres; That he had no commandement but to withdraw them out of the Champion Country, and not from any place where he had lodged them: Morouer, that he was Gouvernor of the Country of Aulins, and that he would take poſſeſſion of his Government: That what he had done at Surgeres was as a Gouvernor, and that he would enter into all the Government of Rochel.

Vpon this report, the Inhabitants of Rochel ſent to his Maieſty to beſeech him to ſtay the violence of the Duke of Efpernon: but ſeing that he augmented his garriſon at Surgeres, brought in munition and victuals, and cauſed them to labour daily at the fortifications, they grew iſouſ that he would not be ſo ſatiſfied, but it might be hee would attempt againſt their towne: whereupon they began to aſſure themſelves of all their friends to repaſſe the Dukes violence, to haue the King obeyed, and to defend themſelves.

The Duke of Efpernon challenge was held vniuſt, pretending that during the reign of Henry the third (when few things were denied him) he had ioyned to his government of

[P.]

Xain-

Reduction of Chynon.

Difference betweene the Duke of Efpernon and the Rochellers.

The King ſent to the Rochellers to deliuer Rochefort.

The Duke of Efpernon reſuſes to obey the Kings commandement.

The Duke of Efpernon vniuſt pretensions to the government of Rochel.

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Xaintonge that of the towne of Rochel, and the Country of Aulins : whereof they of Rochel had neuer knowledge, neither did hee euer attempt to take possession of the gouernment of the towne or country: against the which his pretention they had priuiledges farre more ancient then his pretended prouisions : the which being confirmed by all pre-cedent Kings, the sayd towne of Rochel was freed from all gouernors and garisons.

The King being aduertised of these alterations by the Depuries of Rochel, he let them vnderstand by his Letters, that he was resolu'd to send *Monsieur Bossife* Counsellor of State to end the differences betwene the Duke of Espernon and them, touching the Castles of Rochefort and Surgeres, and in the meane time hee enioyned them not to attempt any thing which might aggrauate this businesse, giuing the like commandement B to the Duke of Espernon. But after much contestation, the Rochellers retired their men out of the castle of Rochefort which was razed; and the Duke of Espernon abandoned the Castle of Surgeres.

These tumults being past, there was a calme peace throughout all the Prouinces of France: There was no speech but of Aduenturers which resolu'd to passe the Alpes to see the warres which grew hot betwene the Sauoyard and Spaniard in Piedmont, and the Duchy of Millane.

The Princes retired to Soissons, had in their twelfth Article entreated the King to take into consideration whether it were expedient for his seruice to maintaine an army newly raise d: but a part was dismissed, and the rest were lodged in diuers garisons of Cham-pagne, vnder the commatid of *Monsieur de Pralin*. The Duke of Neuers going sometimes to visit the Marshall of Bouillon at Sedan, made the King to send some troops to that frontier. They sayd that there was some new designe: That the Marshall of Bouillon desired to manage this warre, and that the Duke of Vendosme being in *La Fere*, had drawne certaine armes from Sedan: Finally, there was no speech in Court but of practices within and without the Kingdome.

In Nouember the Duke of Neuers wrote vnto the King, making great complaints against the Marquis of Vieuville Gouernor of Rheims, for that hee would not suffer the Duchesse his wife to enter into the town, who came thither in her Litter great with child, attended onely by her Gentlewomen and Officers, but was forced to lodge in the Sub-urbs, and could not haue the vse of her bed and baggage, which was entred an houre be-fore into the towne: That this adion was an affront and a discourtesie done vnto his wife. Some say, the Duke of Neuers had no cause to complaine of the Marquis of Vieu-ville, in regard of the Kings ialousie, hauing forbidden them of Chalon to receiue the Duke into their towne; and that the Marquis had written vnto the Duchesse of Neuers, that he was very fory he was forced to entreat her to giue him time to expect the Kings answer touching her passage or the Dukes through Rheims, the which he attended within two houres: which shewed that he had no priuate interest, but that he obeyed the Kings pleasure.

The same day the Duke of Neuers had sent vnto the King, he dispatched Capitaine *Ref- fies* to seize vpon the Castle of Sii in Rethelois, belonging vnto the said Marquis, which he did. The Duke gaue charge to his Proctor generall in the Duchy of Rethel, to make an information of that which had past at the refusal which the Marquis had made vnto his wife at Rheims; and to make a seizure of all his lands in the said Duchy; for that hee had not done his homage, nor paid the duties he ought since his fathers death: which was done accordingly, and a Capitaine put into the Castle of Sii to guard it. On the 21 of Nouember *Bourceton*, an Exempt of the Guards, deliuered the Kings Letters to the D. of Neuers; by the which he let him vnderstand, that what the Marquis of Vieuville had done at Rheims touching *Madam de Neuers* entry into the towne, was by his commande-ment: That the Duke should deliuer the Castle of Sii into the hands of *Bourceton*, and that if he would not withdraw those which were within it, he had giuen order to aduance some troops to force obedience. The Duke made answer, that the Souldiers which were in Sii by his command had abandoned it, and that if there were any guard at that present, it was by order of the Iustice at the request of his Proctor generall. *Bourceton* transports himselfe to Sii, he summons Capitaine *Perroche* to depart: who answers, that he was ap- pointed there by the Iustice; which he taking for a refusal, made a verball proceffe, and so returned: which added, more fiewell to the fire of their ialousies, as you shall heare.

The

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The Marshall
D. de la Roche
places many
Officers of
State.

A The Marshall *D'Ancre* and his wife, to the end they might absolutely dispose of the affaires of the Kingdome, had counselled the *Queene* mother to change and displace the ancient Officers of the Crowne, and Ministers of State which serued the King, to bring in such as they pleased: continuing still their designes, on the foure and twentieth of No- uember they caused the Seales to be taken from *Monsieur du Vair*, which were giuen to *Monsieur Mangot*: the Bishop of Luçon was made Secretary of State in the place of the Seigneurs of Villeroy and Pisieux: and *Barbin* had the generall controll of the Treasure, which President *Lamun* had exercised. These changes did astonish many vpon a report that the said Marshall and his wife had a desire not only to change all the Kings Council, B but also many principall Officers of Soueraigne Courts. There were many discourses written touching this dismission, which were full of viturh; wherefore they caused to be printed this following Answer which *Monsieur du Vair* made vnto two Counsellors of the Parliament, whom they had deputed vnto him, before they would verifie the Letters of Prouision for *Monsieur Mangot*.

He answered, That he held it a great fauour that the Court would send vnto him be- fore the verification of the Letters of his succesor, Keeper of the Seales of France: The which hereceeded rather as a testimony of that companies loue, then for any need they had of any further consent from him. For that wherefoeuer they should see this com- mandement from the King, they might instantly presuppose a ready and absolute obedi- C ence on his part. That he thought the whole course of his life should be a sufficient war- rant of this belief, both to them and all others which had knowne him. That there were many in that honourable company with whom he had seru'd the King and State faith- fully and courageously, in the most dangerous and miserable times that euer threatned this Monarchy with ruine. That hee had bene sent from them to the extremities of the Realme, to the administration of the most desolate Prouince in France, gaped after by strangers, full of quarrels, seditions, and diuisions. That after twenty yeares he had left it so peaceable, so obedient, and so wealthy, as it had no reason to enuy any other. That nei- ther at the death of the deceased King *Henry* his good Master, nor in the two troubles which haue followed and afflicted this Estate, there had bene no alteration, neither had D any man offered to fall from his obedience. That he had had the honour to see strangers from all the extremities of Europe, Asia, and Africa, at the feet of Iustice, who had returned from them, blessing the name of their Kings, and commending the lawes of France. After which he had bene called to the greatest charge of the Realme, beyond his merit and desire, whereof he had thrice excused himselfe, beseeching their Maiesties to cast their eyes vpon some one whose age and strength were more able to beare so great a burthen, and whose spirit might more easily apply it selfe to a courtly life. They refused him this grace, and by an absolute command forced his obedience, to make knowne by experience that he had iudged better of himselfe then any other; for after fixe moneths, his manners and his proceedings in the execution of that charge, had bene found so disproportionable E and so vnfit for the age, as they could not endure them: whereupon their Maiesties re- quired the Seales of him againe, which he more willingly gaue vp then hee had receiued them. They haue committed them, sayd he, to a personage of much more vertue and de- sert; by whose administration he hoped France should receiue rest and remedy of those calamities which threatned it. In which hee could doe no lesse then greatly praise their goodnesse and wisdom, to haue at once provided for their affaires and cased him. And so his intent was to retire himselfe, to pray vnto God for the prosperity of their Maiesties, as hauing no other meanes to serue them: yet contented enough if hee may continue in their fauours: Which he said, because he was aduertised that certaine persons (as malicious as cunning and ill affected towards him) had written a Discourse in his name full F of words which they beleueed might incense their Maiesties against him. Whereupon he besought the Court to assist him in the discouery of the authors, and to interpose th: se- uerity of Iustice for their punishment.

Hauing nothing then remaining after fise and thirty yeares seruice and so much paines and labour, but the honour to haue serued well and faithfully, and caused others to obey; no man should imagine that hee would vpon this subiect blemish the glory of his obedience, and not submit himselfe to the wills of his Masters, what preiudice soeuer hee might receiue. Wherefore hee entreated them to make report

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vnto the Court, who had done him the honour to send them : That he neither hath A nor neuer will haue any other will then that of their Maiesties : That hee will be euer content with what it shall please them to ordaine in any thing which did concerne him, and in any condition whatsoever : Hee did with all his heart the encrease of their power and establishment of their felicity. And touching their company, seeing he had now no society with it, to thanke them personally for the honour they had done him, and to witness the loue he beares them, the memory of his name assures him, that thinking thereof sometimes, they will finde that neuer any man entred into the charge which he now leaues, that hath more desired to preferre the authority which the lawes of State giues it, and the respect which their integrities deserue.

The Baron of *Quemadene* Gouvernor of Fougères, going to the Estates of Britanie which were held at Rennes, slew the Baron of Neuet, and then left the towne with his traine, and retired to Fougères; the quarrell grew for precedence, which did much trouble these Estates. The Marshall of Brifac, the Kings Lieutenant in Britanie, who had been sent to hold this Assembly, drew his friends and some forces together to besiege him in the Castle of Fougères, drawing Cannon out of Saint Malo : *Quemadene* on the other side (although he was beloued of the inhabitants of Fougères) hauing some good friends to assist him, had well strengthened the place : But the King hauing heard of this trouble, sent three Exempts of his guard one after another, vnto Fougères; the last with a commandement vnto *Quemadene*, to yeeld vp the Towne and Castle into his hands. C So *Quemadene* was counsell'd to leaue the Castle, and yeeld vnto the time, which he did, and his wife afterwards gaue vp the guard of the place into the Exempts hands, according to his commission.

Vertau Treasurer generall of France, put out of Châlons.

The last of November, *Vertau*, Treasurer generall of France in the generality of Châlons, was put out of the towne by the commandement of *Monseur de Pralin*, the Kings Lieutenant in the Government of Champagne. The occasion hereof was, for that on the six and twentieth of November the said *Vertau* being come to Châlons, the Earle of Tresmes, who was Gouvernor, being aduertised thereof, complained vnto *Monseur de Pralin*, and vnto the body of the towne, of some words which the said *Vertau* had vsed of him, such bitter words, as hee could doe no lesse, if he met with him, but to endanger D his life. Hereupon *Monseur de Pralin*, to hinder all sinister accidents, sent for *Vertau*, and said vnto him, *I must tell you that the Earle of Tresmes hath bene with me, and hath made great complaints of you, I feare if he encounter you in the streets he will doe you some affront: wherefore I would entreat you to absent your selfe; and if you will not doe it willingly, I will enforce you: for I haue no desire that any new accident should happen in this towne, there being too many in the Province.* *Vertau* hearing him say he would put him out by force, grew obstinate, saying, That he would not commit such an error, being the Kings officer, to goe voluntarily out of Châlons, without his Maiesties expresse commandement. Hereupon *Monseur de Pralin* replied, You shall not goe out of your selfe, but I will write presently vnto the King of what hath past, and you shall carie the Letter: if his pleasure bee E you shall remaine in this towne, you may returne, it imports not me; I onely feare they will doe you some displeasure.

In the meane time the Earle of Tresmes hauing solicited the Townsmen to put *Vertau* out of Châlons, the Lieutenant of the towne, accompanied with tenne or twelue of the Councell, went to enforce *Monseur de Pralin* that *Vertau* was still in his chamber, after whose departure there past many words betweene him and *Vertau*, and the Lieutenant of the Queene mothers company, who perswaded him to goe out of the Towne: but they could not preuaile; only he said he would depart the third of November to make his visitations in the Election of Espernay. The next day *Monseur de Pralin* meeting *Vertau* neere vnto the Towne-house, they fell into such contestation, as hee caused F him to be caried by three of his followers out of the gates into the suburbs, where the next day he tooke poste to make his complaints vnto the King.

The Marshall of Bouillon Letter to the King.

Notwithstanding the Kings Declaration vnto the Princes in September last, yet still there remained some iocalousies: Marshall of Bouillon seemed discontented, as appeared by his Letters to their Maiesties, which were published to the world, whereunto was annexed the Kings answer. The Marshall in his Letter to the King complained, That hauing bene alwayes an humble seruant vnto his Maiesty, as hee had witnessed by

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A by his Declaration the last of September: he had hoped that he should haue tasted the effects of his fauour by the execution of the Treatie of Loudon, especially for the protection of his souerainety of Sedan: That hitherto he had tasted no fruits, but contrariwise they fought to misconstrue his actions, and to giue bad impressions vnto his Maiesty, for that he prouided carefully for the safety of a place of such importance, to the end he might preferre himselfe and his for his Maiesties seruice, and the good of France, in whose protection it had continued aboue fixscore yeares, and to take from his neighbours the desire they had to attempt against it, and by that meanes to encrease their limits (with his ruine) vpon the frontiers of his Realme, whereof they made apparent show; B there being no kind of bad viage but they suffered, which came vnto that place through the Archdukes countries, or by rigorous prohibitions, the passage being stop, contrary to the common liberty of commerce: That it seemed his Maiesties Ambassadors did contribute, yea were the chiefe motives, being well enformed of the bad offices they did him daily in diuers places: That this gaue him iust cause of distrust, seeing himselfe also enuironed with great Forces, and extraordinary garisons, the which they had lately without any apparent necessity, caused to aduance to his frontiers of Champagne, with an intent to annoy him rather then to assist him if he were in necessity; whereupon hee humbly besought his Maiesty to provide for it by his wisdom and authority, according to his royall protection; and to giue him leaue to vie those lawfull meanes which Nature allows to euery man for his owne defence. C He also wrote a Letter to the Queene mother to the same effect.

The King made answer vnto this Letter: That there had bene nothing done in his Prouince of Champagne but by his commandement: neither had he done any thing to the preiudice of the treaty of Loudon, nor of his declaration of the last of September: but that he himselfe and the Duke of Neuers by their departures, haue bene the first which haue broken that treaty: That they had sent into Holland, and diuers places of Germany to discontinue his affaires: To haue bought vp great quantity of armes, and passed them ouer with many souldiers vnto Sedan: That they were his actions, and not the interpretations giuen him, which bred his distrust and discontentments: That if his Ambassadors haue not yeelded vnto his desires, but rather haue bene contrary, they had done but their dutie: That they haue not bene matters of commerce, but acts of hostility, which seemed to tend to some other designe then the safeguard of his place, seeing he hath not bene assailed either by any of his or any other to his knowledge: that his jealousy was the more augmented by hearing of the leaues in Champagne, and forces put into many of his places, and that by night; so as many of the inhabitants of the towne of S. Manchoire were glad to abandon the same, for that they were affectioned to his seruice: that these reasons had made him resolute to send forces into Champagne to prevent the enterprises which might be made against his authority, and the quiet of his subjects, and to see execution done vpon the commissions which hee had sent to enforce E against the breach of his ordinances: that he was content to giue them respite which had erred, hauing no other end but to reduce euery man to his duty, wherein hee had vsed greater moderation then was ordinary, so as hee had no cause to complaine nor distrust, nor any pretext to couer his actions, the which hee would haue him to forbear: And whereas he desired to haue leaue to vie the lawfull meanes which Nature did allow him; he wished him to explaine himselfe more intelligibly; and in the meane time he did aduertise him, that the lawfull meanes which he could expect to preferre himselfe, were to adresse himselfe vnto his Maiesty, from whom hee must attend the preferuation of that which he enjoyed by the grace and bounty of the deceased King, in carying himselfe as he ought to doe, whereof he doubted not, &c.

F In December this yeare there was a resolution to change the Prince of Condes Guards, the causes were onely knowne to their Maiesties, but the execution was after this manner: They gaue *Vence* (who had the guard of the Bastile euer since the deceased Seigneur of Chasteauvieux had bene made Capitaine and Gouverneur) to vnderstand, that it was resolved to change all the Princes Guard, asking his opinion by what meanes they might bring *Du Thier* (who commanded the Queene Mothers Light Horse) with twelue of his companie to effect it. *Vence* made answer, That it was easie to bee done, if they came one by one without armes

The Kings answer to the Marshall of Bouillons Letter.

The Prince of Condes guard at the Bastile changed.

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armes to aske for him, where they should haue entry to speake with him, and hee would A bring them into his Cabiner of armes, where they might furnish themselves. As for *du Thier*, he might come to visit him and dine with him. This enterprise was held easie, and they were admitted into the Bastile. *Vouze* shuts them into his Cabinet, and gives each of them a petronell : *Du Thier* dines with him : about three a clocke in the afternoon, they told *Conté* (who had the chiefe charge of the Princes guard) that there was one to speake with him from the *Queene* mother : coming downe, one of *Vouze* his people, who attended expresse in the court, told him, that the party which asked for him was in the other court without the draw-bridge, who going thither found not any one, and coming backe, the bridge was drawne vp ; so as he was out of the Bastile and knew not B whom to speake vnto. In the meane time *Du Thier* with his companions came forth well armed : they went to the Princes chamber, assuring themselves of his guards, and of *Conté* his seruant. In the beginning the Prince was troubled, *du Thier* told him he had no cause. After many speeches the Prince said vnto him, Their Maiesties haue twice done me the honor in changing my guards, to acquaint me with their pleasure : doe me this fauour as to tell them that I beseech them to doe the like now. Thus the Prince had a new guard, and *Vouze* went vp to the battlements of the Bastile, telling *Conté* (who was without the draw-bridge) that he desired him to goe vnto the Loure, where he should vnderstand their Maiesties pleasure, & that he had done nothing but by their commandement : after which, *Conté* retired, and they put the old guards and his seruants out of the Bastile. C There yet remained thirty or forty French souldiers, with their Captaine, in the Bulwark which looks towards the fields, but *Vouze* commanded him to goe and speake with the *Queene* mother, who returning presently drew forth his souldiers, in whose place they put so many Swisses who were daily changed.

Saint Mane-
hould yielded
to the King.

Their Maiesties were then discontented with the Duke of Neuers, for that he had put 500 souldiers into Saint Manehould ; for by this meanes he couered Mezieres and Sedan ; held a great part of the Country in subiection, stopped the passage to Verdun and Loraine, and made shew that he would approach to Chaalons, which is but sixe leagues from S. Manehould : whereupon *Monsieur de Pralin*, who commanded the Kings forces in Champagne, had commandement to recouer Saint Manehould : and the President *Commartin* D Iudge of the army, was sent to make their proccesse, which should bee found armed in Champagne without the Kings commission.

On the 26 of December, *Bouconville* who commanded in the Castle of Saint Manehould, thinking that *Monsieur de Pralin* had bene gone towards Rethel, he sees him with 2000 men betwene the Castle and the Towne, who presently summons him by a trumpet to come and speake with him. On the other side, the commanders of the Duke of Neuers garison which were within the towne, seeing the Kings troops at their gates, would haue perswaded the inhabitants to take armes ; but they made answer, they could not doe it, being the Kings subiects. Hereupon they grew amazed, and *Bouconville* entred into treaty, where in the end it was concluded, that he should remaine still Gouvernour of E the Castle, vpon promise to continue faithfull in his Maiesties seruice. There were 600 Swisses put into the town, and the Duke of Neuers men departed with their baggage, and were conducted to Rethel, and the inhabitants of Saint Manehould were well pleased to see themselves thus freed.

The warres
continued in Sauoy.

The warres beganne againe in Italy betwene the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sa- uoy. *Don Pedro de Toledo* being made Governour of Millane, not onely kept the army still on foot, (saying, that he was not bound to disarme by the treatie of Alste) but leaued great Forces, and made extraordinary preparations. The Venetians grew iousal for that they were then in warre against the Archduke *Ferdinand* of Grete, a prince of the House of Austria. The Duke of Sauoy stood vpon his guard : He sent his complaints against the King of Spaine, to the Pope, the French King, the King of Great Britaine, and the Venetians, who had signed the treaty of Alste, and promised to assist him, if hee should invade his Estates. He sent to the Marshall *D'Elziguieres*, to summon him to effect the seventh article of the said Treaty : the Marshall vpon these summons goes to Thurin, where the D. of Sauoy gaue him a royal reception : hauing long stayed there to enforme himself of the truth of the Dukes iousalities, & finding that Piedmont had need of a speedy & powerfull reliefe, he returned into France to make a great leauy of horse and foot, and to draw the

A the Duke of Nemours who was at Nici, to aduance the leauy which hee made for the Duke of Sauoy.

During their preparations to Warre, the Pope sent Cardinall *Ludonice*, and the French King, the Baron of Berthones, to mediate a peace betwene them : many propositions were made, but in the meane time the Duke of Sauoy, and the Duke of Nemours (being both of one house) fell at iarre, being both in Armes : the Duke of Nemours hauing intelligence with the Spaniard ; but being weakly assisted by them, and in some extremitie, by the mediation of *Monsieur le Grand*, Governour of Bourgundy, and some other Councellors of State, who had commandement from the French King, to make a reconciliation B betwene two kinsmen so nearely allied in blood : in the end a peace was concluded betwene them to their great contents ; whereby the Duke of Sauoy had no enemy, remaining this year but the Spaniard.

A peace be-
twene the
Duke of Sauoy,
and the Duke
of Nemours.

To conclude this yeare we must make mention of the death of a memorable man. A *Charles de Harlay*, who had bene first President of the Parliament at Paris. Much was written of his life and death, to preserve his happy memorie, and to serue for an example to those who may and ought administer iustice religiously. This great personage was borne in the year 1536, at the age of two and twenty he was made Councillor in Parliament, at 36 President : and at 46 K. *Henry* the third made him first President, by the deccasse of *Christopher de Thou* ; wherein he continued vntill the yeare 1611, that age & sicknes tooke from him all habilitie to labour for the publike. His fidelitie and affection to the Kings and Crowne, hath bene much commended by the world ; vpon the words which hee spake the day of the Baricades to the head of the league in the Palace garden : *It is great pity said he, when the servant chaseth away the Master, My soule is for God, my heart for the King, and my body in the hands of violence to dispose of me as they please.* His constancy was admired in the Prison of the Bastile, speaking to such as had him in guard : *My time is not yet come, but when it happens we shall speake together and neere.* And when they told him that he would bee prevented, and that they would take his life from him, hee replied ; *I haue neither head nor life, which I preferre before the love I owe vnto God, the seruice which I owe vnto the King, and the good which I desire to my Countrey.* Finally, his manners, his commendable actions, his reuerend grauitie ; his brieue and succinct speaking ; his hands which neuer serued but to hold the ballance of the foueraigne iustice of France, and to be as a sword, to preserve the good, and to punish the wicked, his eyes which neuer regarded the condition and qualitie of parties ; and his eares which could neuer heare flatterie, haue purchased him the Title of the most excellent and worthiest man that euer fate vpon the seat of iustice in his time.

Death of the
President of
Harlay.

The iousalities begonne the last yeere increased dayly. In the beginning of the yeare, the Marshall of Bouillon made a reply vnto the Kings answer. By the which hee excuseth the visits betwixt the Duke of Neuers and him, in regard of the nearnesse of their Houses, hauing seene no declaration against him which might diuert him. That hee did not E thinke in so doing, to haue giuen any iust cause of distrust, nor to contradict the treatie of Loudun, as it seemes his Maiestie would inferre by his Letters, vntill that all ciuill iouserie were interdicted amongst his subiects, and reputed for a crime. Neither had hee found that hee had attempted any thing against the respect which was due to his Maiesties authoritie within his Government, nor obserued in his words or actions any thing but fidelity and affection to his seruice. That touching the summes they had of his intelligences in Holland and Germany ; he said, that his Maiestie might easily informe himself of the truth, by the Princes and Estates of Germanie, and the Low-Countries, who were strictly allied vnto his Crowne, whereby he should finde that the alliance he had with the said Princes, had neuer made him desire any thing from them, but the onely continuance of F their friendship, the which also his enemies would draw into suspicion. That whereas hee had bene charged to buy Armes, and draw many Souldiers into Sedan : and that it had bene verified by Letters which he had written to some of his Ambassadors, his answer was, that if they were produced they would verifie the truth : which was, that in the beginning of Nouember, he had written to *Monsieur Pericard*, Ambassador for his Maiestie at Brussels, to vnderstand from him, if since the Declaration made the last of September there had bene any commandement from his Maiestie, to hinder the passage through the Archdukes Countries for those which came into his Territories, and to mo-
lest

The Marshall
reply to the
Kings Letter.

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left them, and ill intreat them, as they did then, and haue since continued: desiring to A know if it were with his Maiesties priuie and command; if not, he intreated him to employ the authoritie of his charge to hinder it hereafter, seeing it concerned the publique good, and his Maiesties seruice. That if he had informed any other thing to his Maiestie, he would accuse him openly of slander and falshood whereof he could conuince him by his owne Letters. That if for the preferuation of his place, against the enterprizes of strangers, he had been forced to doe as his enemies had suggested; he did not think he should incur any blame with his Maiestie, neither could they take it for any act of hostilitie. And yet they should not finde any other Garisons in his places, then those which had been accustomed for the guard thereof, and which his Maiestie had giuen him hope to entertaine. B That whereas they would maliciously perswade his Maiestie that many Souldiers had gone out of Sedan, and were lodged in diuers places of his Realme; hee said it was so grosse, as he could not thinke that any man would be so indiscreet, as to maintaine so manifest an inuaspure, which might be easily verified. Touching the Baron of Peche, he had no knowledge of his businesse in the Towne of Leige when he was murdered; neither could it be iustified that he had euer employed him in any sort whatsoever. That hee humbly besought his Maiestie to let him vnderstand his pleasure what hee should expect touching the protection of Sedan, seeing that the designes which strangers haue proieded against it, continued, and bound him to provide in time for his safety. And touching the explaining of himselfe, for that which hee had formerly written touching the lawfull C meanes to defend himselfe; he said, that nature teacheth euery man to preferue his owne, and bindes him to leaue it to his posteritie. That if any one seeketh to oppress him by violence; if he be in subiection, he hath recourse to his Soueraigne, who is to protect him from all oppression: if he be onely in protection, hee addresseth himselfe to him which hath promised it, who comming to abandon him, *hee useth such meanes as hee may finde elsewhere*, to oppose a iust defence, to an vnjust violence. That he had the happinesse to be borne his subiect, and in that qualitie could not but attend from his Maiestie alone the preferuation of that which he held in France by succession from his Ancestors. That hee had also the honour to be vnder the protection of his Crowne, by reason of the Soueraignie of Sedan, and the places depending, hauing bin alwayes confirmed since Charles D the eighth, and religiously entertained by Kings his predecessors, hoping that his Maiesty would not breake it now in fauour of his neighbours, which neither loue France, nor the greatnesse of his Estate, and suffer him to want meanes to preferue it for his seruice, as he was bound. He concludes, that the necessitie of his preferuation, made him to beseech his Maiestie, *That hee would be pleased he might use the meanes which nature allowes euery man for his owne defence*. If he were assaulted, hee would oppose the assistance of all his subiects and friends, and of those whom the interest of blood bound naturally vnto him; and that he would not omit any thing to defend himselfe, yet without doing any thing which might preiudice the seruice which he ought vnto his Maiestie and France, by the Treatie of his protection, or to the duty of a faithfull subiect vnto his country, &c.

The Duke de Mayne writes to the King.

The Kings answer.

After this, there came a Letter vnto the King from the Duke of Mayenne, sent by the Baron of Linieres, by which he complained of enterprizes made against his life, and the places of his Government. He besought his Maiestie, to cause exemplary iustice to be done vpon one whose name was *Fauger*, who had been corrupted with money to vndertake that wicked designe to kill him. He complains also of the Ministers which were about him. To whom the King made answer: That the preferuation of his subiects was so deare vnto him, and especially of those which were of his ranke, that if hee did contribute as much for his part, as the King would for the punishment of the crime, hee should without doubt receive all the contentment he could desire. That hee would easily beleue it when he saw that his Parliament, (which doth iustice to all the world, and hath the interest of the Peeres in singular recommendation) takes knowledge thereof. And that with so much care, as they haue already ordained that the cause shall be examined and iudged in the place where you are; to the end that being found culpable, hee may receive the iust punishment due vnto the enormitie of so detestable an attempt. The which would be vnadvisedly executed if he would, there being no meanes to auoid it but his flight, which he might prevent being in his power, causing him to bee safely conducted to Paris, where hee would not onely see him punished as he deserved; but all others which had been

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A been the instigators of so pernicious a designe. That he would neither suffer any enterprises to be made against the places which his subiects and seruants kept for him, nor against their liues. And therefore containing himselfe within the bounds of his duty, hee might assure himselfe that nothing should preferue the townes hee held more safely, then his authoritie. In the end, he coniuers him to second the protestation of his innocencie with so good effects, as he might not be grieved to haue troubled the profitable designes hee had for the Realme.

On the seventeenth of Ianuary following, the King made a Declaration against the D. of Neuers, the which was verified in Parliament. Where, after a long repetition of all the supposed crimes and disobediences of the said Duke; in the end it concludes, that for the causes therein mentioned, after view of the informations taken by his Commisaries, and other his Officers in the Province of Champagne, with the aduice of the Queene Mother, and his councill of State; he declared the said Duke and all which did assist him in his disobedience, false from all honors, dignities, offices, governments, penitions, priuiledges, and prerogatives, which they had from him or his predecessors, all which he did instantly reuoke: declaring the said Duke and all his adherents, disobedient, rebels, troublers of the publique peace, and guilty of Treason; if within fifteene dayes after publication thereof made in his Court of Parliament, the said Duke did not acknowledge his fault, and come vnto him to performe effectually, and personally, that whereunto hee was bound by duty, and discharge the Garisons which had bene placed by him or his adherents, without order or Commission from his Maiestie: And in regard of Gentlemen, and other his subiects; if within the said time they did not present themselves vnto the presidiall Court where they had their residence, to make their Declarations; and did not abstaine from all actions, and enterprises, preiudiciall to his authoritie and seruice, and to his ordinances and Declarations. But in so doing, the said Duke & all that had assisted him, should be free from punishment, and receiued into his good grace and fauour.

The Kings declaration against the Duke of Neuers.

In the beginning of this year, newes came to Court that many Souldiers trooped together in the Countries Thimerays, Perche, Mayen, and vpon the frontiers of Normandie, which ioynes vpon those Provinces, countenanced as well by the Nobility, who had openly caried themselves for the Princes in the second ciuill warre, as by others who had behaued themselves as Newters. But the King to prevent such practices, sent the Earle of Auvergne thither with two Cannons, and foure thousand souldiers, who assured all those Countries by the Garisons which he put into diuers places.

Troopers in Perche, Mayen, and Normandie for the Princes.

The Duchesse of Neuers parting from Rethelois, crost Champagne, and came into Nyuernois, where she began to leaue souldiers for the Kings seruice (as shee said) vnder husbands auhoritic. And the Marshall of Bouillons Lady went this winter from Sedan to Touars, and from thence to Turenne, which ministred a great subiect of lealouise.

In the end of the moneth, the Dukes of Neuers, Vendosme, Mayenne: the Marshall of Bouillon; the Marquis of Crauure, President *Le Tay*, and other Noblemen of their party, made a kinde of an Assembly at Soissons, where they resolved to make open warres to seize vpon the Kings reuennues; and to fortifie those Towns and Castles which they held in their Governments. They also sent into diuers parts both within and without the Realme. The Duke of Neuers Letter in answer of the Kings declaration made against the said Duke, was drawne in this assembly at Soissons the last of Ianuary: and the Remonstrances of the said Dukes and Marshall, which aymed directly at the Marshall *D'Antre* and his wife.

An Assembly of the Princes at Soissons.

The D. of Neuers, vpon the Kings declaration, wrote vnto his Maiestie, assuring him, that he would let him see by infallible prooves, the vntruth of all the disobediences mentioned in the said declaration: by the which they pretended to make him guilty, with such spleene, as euen his thoughts and intentions were not freed from crime, in the iudgement of those passionate spirits. But the testimonie of my conscience (said he) shall for this time suffice, vntill it shall please God (who is the soueraigne iudge) to giue you more knowledge of the truth, and my integritie: the which I hope your Maiestie shall know plainly to the confusion of slander, when it shall please you to heare mee; and that I may iustifie my selfe in your presence; or if you thinke it good in the Court of Peeres, who are my naturall Iudges, in regard of the ranke and dignity, which by birth I haue the honour to hold within your Realme. To this end, Sir, I am come to this place,

The D. of Neuers Letter to the King.

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place, being ready to attend your Maiestie, to yeeld you all obedience, and the humble A
 seruice which I owe you, and to discharge the souldiers which I haue put into my houses
 to defend them, and to prevent the secret enterprizes which are daily practised; whereof
 the president of those which haue bene executed giue me iust cause of distrust. But for
 that, Sir, the whole power of the government of your Estate, is now in the hands of the
 Marshall *D'Ancre* and his Partisans, whom he hath drawne neere vnto your Maiestie, and
 into your Councils, to the end he may doe all things at his pleasure, and be sole Arbitra-
 tor of the life, goods, honours, and dignities of your subiects; hauing to that end diminit your
 ancient Councillors, and taken away the Seales from *Monseigneur du Fair* for his integritie.
 Being also apparant, that he makes your authoritie seru as an instrument to my ruine, a-
 busing (with wonderfull contempt, and insupportable audaciousnesse) your Maiesties B
 name, to exercise the violence of his passions, as well vpon mee, as all others whom he
 thinks may be an obstacle to his vnstable couetousnesse, and ambitious designs; vsur-
 ping within your Realme an absolute power, to dispose, establish, and change all things
 at his pleasure; all things being possible vnto him, although vniust, so as he may doe it by
 corruption or force, treading vnder foot the Lawes and Magistrates. And for that no man
 can haue any assurance, seeing that the publique faith hath bene violated, by the infracti-
 on of the treatie of Loudun; I most humbly beseech your Maiestie, to giue me necessarie
 assurances, both for my person and houses, and to provide by your authoritie, that the
 Marshall *D'Ancre*, nor his partisans may hereafter take any knowledge of that which C
 concernes me, they hauing no other end but my ruine; to the end iustice may be done me
 by indifferent iudges, and not passionate. That it would please you to call the Princes,
 Dukes, Peeres, and ancient Officers of your Crowne and Councillors of State, whom
 your deceased father employed in his greatest affaires, to whose iudgement bee it in your
 presence, or in the said Court of Peeres, I will alwayes submit my selfe most willingly,
 according to the lawes and accustomed formes of your Realme, to make my innocencie
 knowne, and the integritie of my actions, to the confusion of those who through malice
 and slander haue disguised them to your Maiestie. I presume that out of your bounty you
 will not deny me the securitie which all your subiects ought to expect from your Maie-
 ty, if it please you to consider, that if the Marshall *D'Ancre* had power to force you against D
 your owne intention, to violate the publique faith, hauing now by the means of his
 partisans, the hand, the Seale, & the Treasure of your Maiestie, with your forces and Ar-
 mies at his disposition; he will haue power enough to oppress my innocencie, and make
 you approve my ruine, and to signe my condemnation against your will: whereunto I
 thought it not fit to expose my selfe, remaining your most humble obedient subiect and
 seruant: *Neuers*.

The King
 makes a decla-
 ration against
 the Princes.

In February following, the King made a Declaration against the Dukes of Vendosme
 and Mayenne, the Marshall of Bouillon, the Marquis of Cœuvres, President *Le Lay*, and
 all others which did assent there: conformable to that which he had made against the D.
 of Neuers, and of the same Tenour, and therefore I doe forbear to make any more men- E
 tion thereof.

The Remon-
 strance of the
 Princes.

After this Declaration, the Princes made a Remonstrance vnto the King: in the which
 after their humble submission made, and assurances of their fidelities and seruice to his
 Maiestie; They said, We know well that the mischief is concealed from you by them
 which doe it, who labour to make them odious to your Maiestie which complaine. And
 the miserie of France is such, that hauing the whole power of your Estate in their
 hands, they make you to hold your most faithfull seruants for enemies. But the violence
 of their tyrannicall behauiour is come to that excess, as it can not be suffered. The com-
 plaint thereof is generall, every one sees and feels the miserable effects, and their practi-
 ces can no longer hinder the voice and grievance of the people from sounding in your
 eares, to moue your compassion for their ease, and your iustice against the Authors of so
 many calamities, which all men know, and publicly detest. It is the Marshall of *Ancre*,
 Sir, and his wife, with his adherents, who by their couetousnesse are the sole cause of the
 miseries which we feele: of the disorders which we see, and of worse which we feare.
 He hath by his practices since the death of the deceased King, drawne vnto himselfe the
 whole administration of the Realme: hee hath made himselfe Master of your counsels;
 of your Amices; & of your Forts. He hath suppressed the lawful liberty of the remonstrances
 of

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A of your Parliaments. Hee hath caused your chiefe Officers to be imprisoned; and is the
 cause of the violence done to the first Prince of the blood; hauing by this audacious ac-
 tion, violated the publique faith of the Treatie of Loudun: of the obseruation whereof
 depended the peace and tranquillitie of your State. We humbly beseech your Maiestie to
 take the Duke of Neuers into your protection, against the extraordinary proceedings
 which haue bene made vpon false pretexts and slanders; he being a Prince of one of the
 most famous Houses of your Realme, who loves his Countie, hath no other zeale but
 your seruice; and doth not acknowledge any other lawful authoritie but yours. He hath
 complained of some wrongs done vnto him by a private person his vassall; and that in
 B contempt of the dignitie of his charge, they haue not allowed him the free exercise of
 his government. He hath prosecuted the execution of some feodall rights in his lands, by
 the ordinarie course of iustice. And not to suffer that to be lost, which his Predecessors
 had left him by succession, seeing secret enterprizes ready to be executed vpon his hou-
 ses, he hath provided as he ought to defend them, vnder your authoritie, and for your
 seruice: and these things so necessarie, are imputed vnto him for a crime of Rebellion.
 To the end, Sir, that we be not reproached to haue bene so little affected vnto your
 Maiestie, so vngatefull to our Countie, and so vnfaithfull to our selues and our posse-
 ssions as to hold our peace; seeing the prodigious fauour of this stranger giuing the go-
 vernments of your places; disappointing the ancient and chiefe Officers of your Coun-
 cell and Parliaments; wresting from them Titles of Honour, which their age, vertue and
 merit had purchased, to put into their places his creatures, vnworthy persons without
 C experience for the conduct of an Estate, and men borne to seruitude: We beseech your
 Maiestie to provide by convenient means for the disorders of your Estate; to cause the
 treatie of Loudun to be obserued, and to call into your Councils the Princes of your
 blood; with the other Princes, Dukes, Peeres, ancient Officers of the Crowne, & Coun-
 cellors of State, whom the deceased King had employed during his reigne. We shall then
 haue the happidest to yeeld you with all safety the humble seruice and obedience which
 we owe you, as your most humble, most faithfull and obedient subiects and seruants:
Cesar de Vendosme, Henry de Lorraine, Henry de la Tour,

D After this, the King made another declaration to satisfie his subiects touching these
 Combuitions. Although (said he) that the Rebellion of the Dukes of Neuers, Vendosme,
 Mayen and Bouillon, authors of the Letters which had bene brought vnto his Maie-
 stie from Soissons, the seventh and fourteenth of this moneth of February, made them
 vnworthy of any answer; yet for the desire he had to satisfie himselfe in satisfiing the
 publique, he had resolved to confirme such as might haue receiued any bad impressi-
 on by their practices: and to let the world know, that vnder pretext of their particular
 preservation, and the good of the State, they haue no other end but to seeke their great-
 nes by his ruine. These two Letters (he said) which contained many points, might be re-
 duced to two chiefe heads. The one is to perswade, that there is no safety neere the King,
 E whereby they would inferre, that they cannot obey the commandments which his Maie-
 stie makes them to come vnto him. The other is to blemish the Government of his
 Estate: the which they did, accusing it of violence and iniustice, and threatening this Mo-
 narchy with an inevitable subuersion, thereby (vnder colour to preserve it) to moue
 the people to fauour the resolutions which they had taken to make warre against their
 Prince. To these two points there was a long answer made by the Kings commande-
 ment, and signed by him on the 15 of February. To the first, he said that Kings assured
 Sanctuaries for those which acknowledge them and repent them of their faults: that
 their word is inuiolable, and their faith the most assured signe of a Royaltie. That to thinke
 otherwise were a crime. Touching the second, he said he did not wonder if they (whose
 F disobedience was so great) blamed those to whom he had committed part of his affaires,
 and whose integritie and sinceritie was so well knowne vnto him, that they taxed any
 whom his Maiestie employed, and who caried themselves courageously for the mainte-
 nance of his authority, and the settling of his affaires: The which (he said) appeared plain-
 ly in that they now commended and desired those whom they blamed being in Court,
 and of whose dismissal they themselves were the cause.

An accord being made as you haue heard, betwene the Duke of Nemours and the
 Prince of Piedmont, eldest sonne to the Duke of Sauoy, he repast the Mountaines, by Val
 d'oste

The Kings de-
 clarations tou-
 ching the
 Princes.

Exploit of
 the Prince of
 Piedmont.

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d'offe, and entred the Lands of the Prince of the Masseran, which is diuided from Pied. A recent, by a little River called *Eppo*. *Don Pedro de Toledo* Governour of Millan, fearing this itome, which would fall vpon the Prince of Masseran, offered him men to put into his Townes; but the Prince (fearing that if he drew in Spaniards, hee should not so easily get them forth) made answer that he had no need. Finally, Masseran being inuested by the Prince of Piedmont, was forced to open his gates. Then he went and belieged Circueur which after some resistance was taken by assault, and the Castle yielded by the *Princesse* of Masseran, who was within it. After which, hee went and charged the Spaniards lying in their Trenches, which he forced; and thus *Don Tancade de Luna*, Governour of the Castle of Millan, with many others, which was about Guardella, and Guardabazon.

The Marshall *D'Esquignen* passing into Piedmont with ten or eight thousand horse and foot, ioyned with the Duke of Saouys Armie, and vpon the second of February went to besiege Saint-Damien, which after a breach made, they tooke. After which hee recovered other places. The taking of Townes and Ports from Princes and Noblemen which were vnder the protection of Spaine, caused many (which feared the like danger) to seeke their preservation from France. Amongst the which, *Anthony de Grimaldi* Baron Bueil obtained Letters of Protection from the French King and Crowne of France for security for him, his Wife, Family, Successors, Goods, Lands, Seigneries and Subiects.

But let vs now returne to France. The King being aduerted that there were many Townes in Thimerais, Pêche, Mayen, and other adiacent Prouinces, which belonged vnto the Princes and others which did adhere vnto their party; and that there were many Gentlemen in those Countreys, who attended but a command from the Princes assembled at Soissons, to goe to horsebacke, and to crosse the Kings affaires in those parts, wherein the said Princes might annoy his Maiestie in three places at once. First, in Pêche, and those countreys which are betweene the Rivers of Seine and Loire. Secondly, in Nyuenois towards the head of the River of Loire, where they held two Bridges, Desfort and Neuers. And thirdly in the countreys of Soissons, Laon, and Reims, where betweene the Rivers of Aisne, Oyse, and Meuze, they held the Townes of Laon, Coufay, Richemont and other places. Vpon the River of Aisne, the Townes of Soissons, Chastell, Portien, and Reims. Vpon Oyse, Noyon, Chantilly, and La Fere. Vpon Meuze, Meziers, Donchery, and Sedan. In the country of Vallois, the Castle of Pierfont: and in Tirache, vpon the Frontiers of Chambrésis, Casteller, where the Seigneur of Haraucourt was Governour. Their Maiesties resolved first to assure those places which might annoy them betwixt the Rivers of Seine and Loire. They sent for the Baron of Melclau, Governour of the towne and Castle of Verneuil; hee sent his wife, by whom hee had commandement to deliuer it into the Kings hands; which after some delay hee performed: and *Longueval* a follower of the Marshall *D'Ancré* was put in his place, for that the Towne is in the Government of Normandie.

The Earle of Auvergne by the Kings commandement, went into those parts with three thousand horse and foot about the end of January, putting garrisons into diuers places for the King; namely, into Senoches in Thimerais, Chastellaneuf, La Forteau, Vidane, La Loupe, and Nogent le Rotrou. From thence he came to Mantes, where hee was receiued with great honour, and some Gentlemen came vnto him, making protestation to remaine most humble subiects, and obedient to their Maiesties commandement. They which were in the Castle of Pierfont for the Marquis of Cœuvres, began to runne into the government of the Ile of France, taking the ordinary Coaches which went from Normandie and Picardy to Paris, and carrying away the passengers prisoners. Thus the warre began: A part of the Earle of Candales company who was for the King, was defeated by the Duke of Vendosmes horse, and Vaubecour charged some Carabins of the Duke of Neuers troopes. There were many discourses published against the Marshall *D'Ancré* vpon these alterations, and some were put in prison vpon diuers subiects. It was furnished that the Gibbets which had bene set vp in the publique places of Paris, were to hang such as should speake against the Marshall *D'Ancré*. Others said, that they were by a Decree of the Court, to hang such without any forme of Iustice which had been banished for their thefts, and yet robbed nightly in Paris, whereof there had bene great complaints.

Their Maiesties resolved to raise three Armies: the one vnder the command of the Marshall

Townes held
by the Princes.

Garrisons put
into diuers
Townes for
the King.

Couche of
them of Pier-
font.

The Kings
sent three
Armies.

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A Marshall of Montigny to goe into Nyuenois. The other vnder the Earle of Auvergne, to set vpon those Townes which the Princes held in the Ile of France. And the third was to bee commanded by the Duke of Guise, assisted by the Marshall of Themines, to goe into Champagne against the Duke of Neuers. Having drawne his forces together, hee inuested the Castle of Richemont on the first of March. The Duke of Neuers had put Captaine *Felmes* into it with three score souldiers, who the first three dayes defended it gallantly: but the Artillery being planted, and hauing made two hundred shot, hee demanded composition, the which was granted, and hee and his souldiers departed with their drums beating, and matches light, and then the Castle was dismantled. After this B Rozoy was also yeelded.

Richemont
yeelded and
dismantled.

The fire of Ciuill Warre did not onely flame in diuers Prouinces of France; but the Princes also hundred out their complaints against the Authors of all those miseries, as they said. They published a solemne declaration, and protestation, for the restoring of the Kings authoritie, and preservation of the Realme, against the conspiracie and tyrannie (as they termed it) of the Marshall *D'Ancré* and his adherents.

Protestation of
the Princes
against the
Marshall
D'Ancré.

They said that by the Treatie of Loudun, they promised vnto themselves a serious reformation of all disorders, by the obseruation of the Lawes. And when as the said Princes were at Court, without requiring any other assurance then the publique faith, and the inuolable word which Sir *Thomas Edmunds*, Ambassador for the King of Great Brittain; the Countesse of Soissons, and the Duke of Neuers had giuen them, on the behalfe of the King and Queene Mother: the hope and assured peace, made them forget the miseries of warre, every one containing himselfe in his dutie, and the respect due vnto the lawes. But this good disposition, was interrupted and crost by the pernicious counsell of the Marshall *D'Ancré*, and his adherents; who finding no safety in the setting of Iustice, hee resolved to make tryall of his power, by violating the publique faith, thereby to plunge the Realme into new troubles, and combustions, having attempted by the most horrible conspiracie which can be imagined against the person of the first Prince of the blood, and of other Princes, Dukes, Peeres and chiefe Officers of the Crowne, to oppress them all together with the State, who hee thought would bee an obstacle to his ambitious designs.

And to giue colour to so audacious an enterprize, they vsed false accusations; and vpon pretext of the said Princes absence which were retired from Paris, they published by their instruments, that they had a designe to attempt against the persons of the King and Queene Mother; and that they sought to perswade the Prince to ioyne with them; whereupon his Maiestie had bene aduised to assure himselfe of his person. And to giue some satisfaction to the world, they caused the King to goe in person to his Court of Parliament, to publish a declaration, by the which the Prince and the other Princes and Officers of the Crowne were declared guilty of treason.

E That being ashamed of such an vnjust course against innocent persons, finding that their frauds beganne to bee discovered, and that the Princes had resolved to represent vnto the King the iust causes of their absence, and to let him see the falshood of the slanders and bad impressions which those conspirators had giuen of their fidelitie and the sinceritie of their intentions; To prevent the which, they caused a declaration to bee published contrarie to that of the last of September; by the which the King better informed, declares that he holds them for his good, faithful, and affectionate subiects and seruants; not consenting nor participating with the facts contained in the former declaration; and that his meaning was the treatie of Loudun should be executed; laying by this meanes (but very vnjustly) all the accusation vpon the Prince, to make him onely culpable: they haue let the world see that it was onely a pretext and a testimonie of their passion, but no proofe of any crime. That hauing failed of the execution which they pretended (the which fell onely vpon the Princes person) they had still continued their bad intents; employing both poison and sword but in vaine, and that the declaration made the last of September, and the Treatie of Loudun had bene but a pretext to decieve them, if they would haue suffered themselves againe to bee surprized by their disloyalty and treacherie. That after the conference at Soissons,

[q] and

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and the Declaration of September; they had continued their enterprises; kept the field with their troops; leaued new Regiments; drawne Suiffers into France without any apparant necessitie, to oppress the said Princes; and to execute the designs of the Marshall *D'Ancres*, whose intent was to kindle a new warre in France. And for that the season of the year was not fit to make any open attempt, they lodged their troops in all places, which might give any ieaousie to the Princes; who lay still without any alteration, although they had no power in their Governments, nor were paid that which was due vnto them, as well for their pensions, as the entertainment of their Garisons established long before for the safety of the said places.

That knowing how much the mediation of the Duke of Neuers, had preuailed at the conclusion of the Treatie of Loudun, by the assurances which hee gave on the behalfe of the King and Queene mother: and apprehending that a Prince of his qualitie, would haue a iust feeling of their disloyaltie, and the breach which they had made of the publique faith; they drew their Maiesties into ieaousie of his fidelitie, and by insolent and extraordinary proceedings, sought to draw him to resolutions contrarie to his dutie and intentions; to the end they might haue some pretext to make him culpable. Norwithstanding hee had suffered all patiently, vntill they had executed some enterprises vpon his houses; attempted against his person, and imprisoned his friends and seruants, whose faith they could not corrupt. This necessitie bound him to augment his Garisons, to preserve himselfe, Saint Manchould giuing him iust cause of distrust.

This transported them with such fury, as they presently caused a declaration to be published on the seuenteenth of January: by the which vpon false and slanderous pretexts, hee was declared guilty, if within fiftene dayes hee came not to his Maiestie; whose commandements hee had benee always ready to obey. That coming to Soissons to that end, hee had beforesh his Maiestie by Letters within the time prefixed, to giue him indifferent iudges; not suspect, nor passionate, with necessarie assurances for his person and Houses, seeing there was no free access vnto his Maiestie; for that the Marshall *D'Ancres* and his adherents, had caused the publique faith to be broken, as you may reade more at large in his Letter.

That the Dukes of Vendosme, Mayenne, and Bouillon, had by their Remonstrance beforesh his Maiestie not to suffer the innocencie of the Duke of Neuers to bee oppressed, by the violence and iniustice of the Marshall *D'Ancres*. But the Bishop of Luçon, Secretarie of State, with *Mangot* and *Barbin* (confident Ministers of the Marshall *D'Ancres* tyrannie) had suppressed these Letters and Remonstrances, to the end they might not come to the Kings knowledge, abusing his name and authoritie with wonderfull contempt, to oppress his good & faithfull seruants. That on the thirteenth of February they had published a Declaration: by the which the said Dukes and diuers others were declared guilty of Treason; and at the same instant they vied all acts of hostilitie against them and their seruants, to make them thereby irreconcilable, and to bring matters to the extremity of warre. That besides all the aboue-mentioned indignities and causes of mistrust, they had attempted against the life of the Duke of Mayen, which was discovered, being ready to bee executed; that the proofes were manifest and verified in the Proceffe. That the murderer had benee practised with money, and sent to that end to Soissons, by *Desfontis* a creature to the Marshall *D'Ancres*, and the ordinarie executioner of his violencies.

That notwithstanding all these iust causes of distrust, which had forced the said Princes to fortifie their places; to leauy men, and to entertaine them with the Kings money, hauing no other means; to the end they might preserve them vnder his authority, and for his seruice, yet they were persecuted by the rigour of Armes; and they beganne to take, burne, and ruine their Houses; necessitie forcing them to oppose themselves to this oppression. That to the end hee might settle his tyrannies in the Kings Councell and neere his person, hee had caused the Seales to bee taken from *Monsieur du Vair*; and dismissed with contempt the Kings ancient Councillors, who forth their integritie, had the testimonie of all good men, because they opposed themselves

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A felues to that which they know preiudiciall and pernicious to the State, and had brought in others of his faction, pensioners to strangers, men of base and infamous qualitie, ignorant and mercinarie; and by a new example, of a Bishop had made a Secretarie of State against the Lawes and Canoniall constitutions: Of a petti-farmer, or vnder-taker, a superintendent of the Treasure; to the end he might be sole Arbitrator of all the affaires of the Kingdom; to dispose of peace and warre, yea, of the life and goods of priuate men; to resolve what he pleased without contradiction; and to make all things passe vnder the law of his will.

Finally, that hee had vsurped vnder the Kings name (like vnto the ancient Maires B of the Palace) an absolute authoritie within the Realme; and had not left vnto his Maiestie the title and Image of the Royall Dignitie, hauing drawne to himselfe the whole government of the State, the which hee exercised with such tyrannie, as it was not lawfull without crime to open their mouths to complaine. That he smothered the libertie of the generall Estates, and Soueraigne Courts, by violence or corruption; the two chiefe means hee vied to oppress iustice, and reduce France to a miserable seruitude.

That hee had benee so audacious as to make a chiefe Officer to bee violently carried out of the capitall Citie in view of the Parliament of Paris; and to cause him to bee shut vp in the Cattle of Amboise, without any kinde of proceffe, accusation, or prooffe C of crime, imploying therein the Kings name and royall authoritie.

That his designs proceeded yet further, tending to an alteration of the State in fauour of strangers, by the ruine of the Princes of the blood of the House of Bourbon, which onely remained of the Royall race, at that time wholly at his disposition. That the King nor his brother were not safe in his hands, seeing that both hee and his wife, by an impie and curiositie (punishable by the lawes) had enquired of the continuance of their liues. That they had consulted with Magicians, vpon the time of their death; the which it might bee they had limited by their incantments and sorceries, being certain that vnto this end hee entertained *Monsieur Allo* the Physician, and the Abbot of Saint Mahe that abominable Monster, the honour of whose D death did shew what his life was. That it was well knowne that in the Assemblies of the generall Estates, hee had sought by his partisans to haue a Law enacted; That the Princes of the blood should bee no more admitted to the government of the State; the which was reiecte as contrarie to the Lawes of the Realme, which admit them in this right, and exclude women and strangers; And since, seeing the Prince armed to defend the Kings authoritie, hee made vse of this occasion, to haue him declared guilty of Treason, with a blemish to his posteritie: The which the Court of Parliament finding vniust and against the Lawes, obserued in the like cases; resolving to acquaint the King with the reasons why they could not verifie the Declaration, hee found such insolent Ministers of his passions, as hee caused a false Decree to E be supposed and published, attempting by an insupportable presumption and fraud, that which neuer had benee heard of in that reuerent Company, whose resolutions had benee alwayes holy and inuolable. And when as the Officers who understood this falsehood would haue discovered it; hee caused them to be threatened to lose their places, and to be banished from their houses.

And the better to make knowne that hee had no other end, but the ruine of the Estate; hauing thus diuided, and weakened it within; hee made it a lawfull excuse to abandon the ancient allies and confederates of the Crowne abroad: denying succours and assistance at neede, which by the Treaties solemnly sworn with them, they might expect.

To this end hee had caused the protection of the Soueraignie of Sedan to bee refused to the Duke of Bouillon, the which had beene alwayes held necessarie for France; by reason of the situation and strength of the places which depend thereon. That it had benee carefully kept from *Charles* the eighth, vntill that day, with promise of assistance, and protection against all their enemies, and had benee comprehended in the Treaties of Peace betwene France and Spaine. That *Barbin* had benee so audacious, so treacherous and vnfaithfull to the King and France, as to say vnto certaine persons without exception: that they must abandon this protection; as they

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they had done Weafell and other places belonging to the succession of the Duke of A Cleues.

For these reasons and others mentioned at large in their Declaration, they said that they were assembled together, for the restoring of the Kings authoritie, their soueraigne Prince and Lord, and the preservation of the State; according to the duty they did owe vnto the Crowne; called thereunto by the publique clamours; pressed by the violence and feeling they had of the common miserie, and the necessitie of their private preservation, against the conspiracie and pernicious designs of the Marshall *D'Ancre* and his adherents: against whom as troublers of the peace and tranquillitie of the Realme; breakers of the publique faith, and enemies of the State and House of France, B they opposed their iust Armes, and against them alone. Inuiring all true-hearted Frenchmen, by the naturall bond which they owe vnto the Kings seruice; the preservation of their Country, and their common libertie, to ioyne with them, and to assist and fauour them in their necessarie defence.

After this, the King sent a declaration to the Court of Parliament, enioyning them to proceede against the Dukes of Neuers, Vendosme, Mayenne, Bouillon; the Marquis of Cœure, and President *Le Jay*, with all rigour, and against their memorie and posteritie, according to the Lawes: commanding them to confiscate and vnite separably vnto the Crowne, the Duchies, Earledomes, Seigneuries and Lands which they held within his Realme, and Countries of his obedience; the which was verified by C the Court.

Wee will now returne to the exploits of Warre. On the one and twentieth of March the Baron of Heurteuau was beheaded in Paris. Hee thought not to die, and could hardly resolute. They said hee had beene accused to haue had a designe to surprize a place in Normandie for the Princes, and that vnderhand hee had leauied Souldiers. The King had made Proclamation throughout all France, not to leaue any Souldiers without commission vnder his Great Seale, vpon paine of high Treason.

The Prouost Marshall likewise in many parts of France, hanged vp as many souldiers as they found in Armes, which were not vnder Capitaines with the Kings Commission, which kept many at home that would haue gone to serue the Princes; who D were also reported not be strong enough to keepe the field vntill their Reiters were come vnto Sedan: all which was done to hinder the succours of such as were willing to ioyne with them.

On the twelfth of March, there went fixe Cannons, and ten Companies of the Regiment of the Guard from Paris vnto the Kings Arme, commanded by the Cont *D'Auergne*, which he had assembled about Crespie in Valois.

The Duke of Mayenne who was retired to Soissons where hee prepared for a Siege, issued out with good numbers of horse and foote to surprize *Monsieur de Robans* quarter, which was in *Villiers Casterles*; which to effect, hee left his foot on the foote nere adioyning, to fauour his retreat and with his horse charged and forced their entry, where E after they had rifled the Stables, finding the Kings people to haue taken the alarme, and ready on horsebacke to receive them, hee retired vnder couert of the forest, and his foot companies vnto Soissons, with the losse of fise of his company, and as many prisoners.

The foure and twentieth of the said moneth, the Castle of Pierrefont was inuested by the Earle of Auvergne. It was commanded by Capitaine *Villeneuve* and the two brethren of Malortis, for the Marquis of Cœure. It was thought this siege would haue continued three moneths: for that during the League this Castle had endured eleuen hundred Cannon shot without breach making. At the first, the besieged made shew of resistance: but seeing themselves battered with foure Cannons (with which their defences were beaten downe, their Port broken, and some little breach made) F they be thought themselves of composition.

Capitaine *Villeneuve* came forth on the first of Aprill to salute the Earle of Auvergne; and on Sunday the second of the moneth, the besieged parleyed and were licensed to retire with their Armes and baggage; which they did at eight of the clocke that night.

The seven and twentieth of March two great vessels laden with twenty Cannons and great quantitie of all sorts of Munition, parted from Paris, to goe, vp the River of

Heurteuau beheaded.

Many souldiers hanged by the Marshall law for being in armes.

The Duke of Mayenne entertained vpon Villiers Casterles.

Pierrefont besieged and yielded to the Count of Auvergne.

Preparation to besiege Soissons.

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A of Oyse to Compeigne, and from thence to the siege of Soissons, whither (it was said) the King would goe: but vpon the Remonstrances and requests of the chiefe Companies and body of the Towne of Paris, (although the Collonell of his guard was already gone) it was concluded, that his Maiestie should still remaine at Paris, and not goe to the siege. About this time newes was brought the King, that the Marshall of Montigny had taken many places in Niernois, and Douzibis into the Kings obedience, and that hee had seized on the person of the Prince of Portian, second sonne to the Duke of Neuers.

The first of Aprill the King had newes of the rendring of Chateau Portian. The B Duke of Guise having taken Richécour and Rozoy, hee went on the fifteenth of March to inuest Chateau Portian: hee planted a batterie of foure Pieces, and discharged some Volleys of shot, which did not much amaze the besieged. The Seigneur of *Ville-aux-bois* being Gouverneur (seeing himselfe besieged) gaue aduertisement to the Duke of Neuers, being at Rethel two leagues off, who presently sent two hundred Wallons, which entered as the batterie began, which continued vntill some of their Ordnance were spoiled; so as the Duke of Guise was forced to send to Chaalons and Rheims for more Cannon. The besieged were still relieved with men, victuall, and munition from Rethel, by reason of the passage of the Riuier. The Duke attempting to force the Suburbs by Pettarde, and failing, he continued his batterie; where having made a reasonable breach, the souldiers C retired into the Castle, and the townne was yielded by the inhabitants; and the next day the Castle demanded Parley, and yielded the same vpon certaine Articles to the Duke: and among others, That they should depart with their Armes, Baggage, Drummes beating, Matches light, and Bullets in their mouths, and their ensignes wrapped vp.

The D. of Guise being aduertised on the first of Aprill, that there was three hundred horse and some foot of the Princes, lodged in the suburbs of Laon, called Vaufoulan and thereabouts, hee refused to charge them, although it were fixe leagues off. Hee parced about fixe of the clock in the evening with foure hundred horse, an hundred Carabins; and the Company of his guards. Hee came neere to Laon at two of the clocke after midnight; commanding ten of his Guards, twenty Carabins, and an hundred Light-horse to D leaue their horses, he gaue them charge to force the first Barricado of the suburbs; where they slue the Sentinell, and recovered the place of Armes without any resistance. This surprize by night amazed the Princes men, who retired into the Townne after some losse on either side.

The King being aduertised that there were certaine Capitaines of the reformed Religion which leauied men in the country of Seuennes for the Princes, which should crosse Velay, Viuarais, Forest, and Bourbonnois, to come into Niernois, the Seigneur of Saint Chaumont had commission from the King to leaue troopes of horse and foot in the Country of Lionois and the neighbour Prouinces, to ioyne with the Marshall of Montignies Arme. But it was thought these succours of Seuennes were too farre E from Neuers, and would goe to smooke, as they did.

The Prince of Gniulle was sent into his government of Auvergne, to leaue troopes to haue an eye to the practices which were made in the countries of March, bafe Lymosin, and the neighbour Prouinces by the Duchesse of Bouillon, who solicited a generall assembly of them of the Religion, to incite them to take Armes. And in the end of March, the King was aduertised that many of the Religion sent as Deputies of fixe Prouinces, had met at Roehel, and had resolved to hold a generall Assembly of all their Churches; and that they would fend their Deputies to his Maiestie for league. These Deputies had no good answer in Court, yet notwithstanding they continued their resolution; for the which they published certaine reasons which I may not set downe in F particular.

The breaches of Chateau Portian being repaired, the Arme advanced on the eighth of Aprill towards Rethel, a great Towne, well peopled, and rich, as the Capitall of the whole Duchie, the which the Duke had manned with a strong Garison. They made their approaches, planted their batteries, and had made a sufficient breach, meaning to give an assault the next day. But the Duke of Neuers hearing in what estate the Towne stood, sent the Seigneur of Marolles vnto the Duke of Guise, to make certaine propositions vnto him, to hinder the spoile and

Chateau Portian besieged and yielded.

The Duke of Guise charged the Princes troopes in the suburbs of Laon.

Leauies of men in Seuennes for the Princes.

Rethel besieged and yielded.

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ruine of this Towne. The Duke of Guise gave a willing care vnto it at sixe of the clocke at night, and gaue him leaue to enter into *Reibel* the next morning, to acquaint the souldiers with what he had charge from the Duke of Neuers; appointing him to returne by noone; and in the meane time there was a truce. At the returne of *Marshall* the Capitulation was made, and the towne yielded vpon very honorable conditions.

Troopes coming out of Germany.

The King receiuing aduertisement that the Reiters which came for the Princes, vpon the Marshall of *Bouillons* credit, were entred into Lorraine, being about 1200, with eight hundred Carabins, either of them carying two short Muskets: and that they of the Count *Ringraue*, which the Earle of Saint Chomberg Nauileuil had leaued for the King with certaine Lands Kenets, advanced towards the frontiers; the Duke of Guise B receiued commandement to goe and receiue them; and to hinder the entry of the Princes Reiters into France.

Reasons why the King resolues to besiege Soissons.

Their Maiesties resolved to besiege Soissons; for the which they pretended some reasons: For that the Duke of Mayenne after the losse of Pierefont had no place of retreat on this side the Riuer of Aisne but Soissons. As for Noyon, Coufisy, and Chauny, which are the three townes of his Gouernment, which hee held beyond the Riuer of Aisne; Soissons being taken, they had not bene able to resist the Kings forces; but would come and submit themselves to his obedience. To goe first and besiege one of the other three places, they should giue the Duke of Mayenne, and the other Princes meanes to ioyne together in Soissons, from whence they might C vpon all occasions attempt vpon the Kings Armie, and make roades to the gates of Paris.

Soissons besieged.

The Princes being assured, that their resolution in Councell was to besiege Soissons: they fortified it with what horse and foot they could. The Duke of Vendosme sent him his Inginer with two hundred Souldiers. Finally, the Duke of Mayenne resolved to defend it with 1200 foot, and about three hundred horse. The Earle of Auvergne inuested the Towne on the twelfth of April. Hee tooke his quarter on the other side of the Riuer of Aisne neere Saint Val, which they of Soissons during the League called their Citadell, being diuided from the Towne by the Riuer, and defended with three great Bastions, Trenches and halfe Moones. On the other side of the Riuer where D Soissons stands, he lodged the foot and horse, as well French as Liegeois (which were sent by the Marshall *D'Ancre*).

During the siege the Duke of Mayenne, with some troopes of horse and foot, went forth by night with two pieces of Ordnance, and forced one of their quarters where they slue fifty men, disarmed the rest, and tooke many prisoners with three ensignes, then hauing burnt the quarter called *Presle*, they returned into the Towne; *Monsieur de Mayenne* carying with him *Buffy Lamet*, his three Ensignes, and about two hundred Souldiers, hauing lost but eight of his owne. This Militarie exploit was much commended euen by his enemies. The continuall raine had much annoyed the besiegers; yett they continued their trenches in such fort, and so restrained the besieged, as they E imagined Soissons might bee taken: the Earle of Auvergne hauing planted two and twenty Cannons in diuers places; so as in all mens opinions Soissons could not hold out long.

The clouds were gathered together, and the storme ready to fall vpon the Princes, who had nothing left them but despair, and the integritie of their intentions, which they protested to be innocent. But God who holds the hearts of Kings in his hand, and gouernes the motions of these inferior Orbes at his pleasure, had resolved in his diuine Councell to crosse these great designs, and to quench the fire of these ciuill combustions, when there was least hope of quenching it but with the ruine of the Princes; whose honors were blemished with the feueritie of Edicts; their persons and liues exposed to the rigour of the lawes, and their Lands and Seignuries confiscated and vnted to the reuenges of the Crowne. But God (I say) meaning to free France from this ciuill warre wherein it was engaged, and could not be ended but with the losse of many great personages, who had resolved (as they said) to dye in their Armes at a breach, rather then to fall vnder the tyrannie of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, changed the face of the affaires of France in the twinkling of an eye, by the death of the said Marshall, which hapned on the 24 of April about ten of the clocke in the morning.

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A The Marshall *D'Ancre* being gone into Normandy, as well to finish his fortifications at Quille-beuf, as to pursue the verification of his gift of a wood of timber trees, sought by all means to draw vnto him the Nobility, the Kings officers, and all such as he thought might any way assist him. Some could not loue him, others following the course of the time did adhere vnto him: whereupon the children of Rouen in counterfeiting him, said one to another, *Sir loue me and I will doe you fauour*. But vpon three points, that is to say, 1. The refusal he had of the verification of his gift of Timber trees, against the which *Monsieur de Fleury* great Master of the Waters and Forests of Normandy opposed himselfe. 2. Vpon that he sought to establish a Master of Requests intendant of the Iustice B within Rouen. And 3. Vpon a report that he meant to put one of his creatures into the old Palace at Rouen, and to repaire Saint Katherins Fort; they write that he was aduertised to beware of the Letany, *Afurore Normannorum*: whereunto hee answered, *I will make them cate their fingers which shall contradict my will*. Whereupon being at Ponteaudemere neere to Quille-beuf, vpon an aduice which he receiued from Paris, that he should returne speedily to Court, he tooke his journey, and leauing Rouen, past at Pont de Larche. Being arriued at Paris, his people spake openly, that he was come for two reasons: first, to remoue from about his Majesty many persons in whom he did not trust, and to place others which should be confident vnto him: and secondly, to haue Letters of commandement to verifie his gift of timber.

The Marshall *D'Ancre* goes from Quille-beuf to Paris.

C The King, who for the reasons specified in Letters to the Gouvernors, had made shew to be ignorant of the Marshalls designs, was againe aduertised, that passing at Pont de Larche, he had offered the Gouernment of some places in Normandy to certaine Captaines, so as they would take an oath to be for him against all men, without this exception, *Forlesse I see a commandement sealed from the King*. They also shewed him Letters written to the Marshall by his confident, whereby he found that their designe was onely to entertaine warre in France; to continue their authority in the Gouernment of the State which they vsurped. Kings should not doe any thing without counsell, especially in matters of consequence. The French Historiours report, that King Henry the great sayd vnto his Councell, *Do not make me seize on the Marshall of Biran, if you doe not hold him D worthy of death*. So the King said vnto them which shewed him these Letters, *Before I cause this man to be apprehended, take aduice of such, and let me know it*. They deliuered their aduice vnto the King; that for the good of his Estate, he should take knowledge of his affaires. They sayd, that the voyce of the people against the said Marshall, was the best and most faithfull counsell a King could haue, to resolve himselfe in an action of that importance: and that the time and occasion seemed to fauour this arrest. In the end the King resolves, and commands the Seigneur of Vitry Captaine of the Guards of his bodie, to seize vpon the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and to cause assistance in case of resistance. Finally, that he should take him aliuie or dead. The difficulty of the execution was, first, for the great traine of Noblemen which did still accompanie the Marshall, besides his E household seruants, with twelue of his Guard, who were souldiers of action of five and thirty or forty yeares of age, attired in his livery, and were alwayes about him, were hee in Caroch or on foot. Secondly, the place where he should be apprehended: and thirdly, to know the houre and time of his comming to the Loure. They resolved that he could not be more conveniently arrested, then betwixt the great gate of the Loure and the Court, where the passage is long and narrow, when they haue past the draw-bridge. The Marshall *D'Ancre* was lodged neere vnto the wals of the Loure without the Castle, towards the Riuer side. Some dayes were spent betwene the resolution and the execution. One day he tooke Phyllicke; another, he came not out of his Cabinet: so as you may easily iudge if they did not feare the enterprife had bene discovered: the dispute hee had F during that time with his wife, with the question some asked him, what reception he had of the King, made many thinke that he had some aduertisement of the enterprife, but withall they did beleue that it could not be executed.

The King resolves to seize vpon the Marshall *D'Ancre*.

On Munday the 24. of April, about ten of the clocke in the morning, the Marshall *D'Ancre* leauing his lodging, came on foot to the Loure, being followed after his accustomed manner: the great gate of the Loure was opened for him, and shut againe as soone as he was entred. *Monsieur de Vitry* (who was at the entry of the Court, with his followers and Archers which should assist him) seeing the great gate open, demanded who entred?

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Marshall D'Ancres (haie, going into the Loure.

entred: they came and told him it was the Marshall *D'Ancres*: whereupon he aduanced A presently (being assisted by his followers armed with Pistols) to meet him, and coming to the entry of the inner bridge, presenting his staffe, he sayd vnto him, *I arrest you in the Kings name*: wherat the Marshall stepping backe, as if he would resist, sayd, *Mee?* which they who accompanied *Monseur Vitry* seeing, discharged three Pistols vpon him; the one stricke through his heart, the second into his braines, and the third into his belly, so as he fell downe dead without speaking word. A Nobleman also close by him talking with him, fell downe on the other side, but was not hurt; they which did accompany him slip away, seeing him dead. This being done, he was carryed halfe dragged into the Porters lodge: his goodly scarfe, and his rich Diamond, with whatsoeuer he had good B about him, were soone laid hold on. The noyse of the three Pistoll shot put the whole Loure into alarme: the gates were presently shut, and they which commanded the companies of the French Guard, seized vpon all the approaches vnto the Loure. According to that which had bene resolved, there was a generall cry of *God saue the King*, through the whole Loure. In the meane time *Monseur de Vitry* went vnto the King, and his Maiesty receiving him with a good eye, and embracing him, sayd, *Goe and giue order that the mischiefe fall on none but himselfe*: therewith the King was entreated to shew himselfe at the window to the Nobility, and others which were in the Court, who desired to see him: he shewed himselfe with his hat in his hand, the which made them to renew their acclamations; so as the Noblemen which were about him were forced to cry C out *The King thanks you*. And this was all which past at the Marshall *D'Ancres* death.

By the Kings commandement the Seigneurs of Villeroi, and President *Jannin* came presently to the Loure. *Monseur de Liancourt* went to horse to take order for the City gates, and to tell the people that the King was in health, because there had bene a brute which ran through Paris like lightning, that there had bene a tumult at the Loure, in the which the King was hurt. Those which accompanied him, told every man that the Marshall *D'Ancres* was slaine, wherat the people seemed to reioyce. *Monseur D'Ornano* hauing also commandement to take some Archers & to go & aduertise the Court of Parliament, he came soone after they were risen: the Archers coming into the great Hall with their Pistols about their heads, and crying, *God saue the King*, it was strange to see D how the multitude was amazed, euery one seeking to flye out of the doores, one falling vpon another, so as they stopped the passage. *Monseur D'Ornano* went to the first President, and told him what had hapned at the Loure, whereupon he went with two other Councillors to Court, where he vnderstood the Kings pleasure. As soone as the newes of the Marshall *D'Ancres* death was knowne in the Palace Hall, there was such exclamations of ioy, as they which had lost their square caps and hats in falling, rising vp againe cryed, *God be thanked we haue a peace*. *Monseur Mangot* came to the Loure by the Kings commandement, to deliuer the Seales into his hands. *Barbin* was met vpon the way, and caried backe to his house, and there guarded by certaine Archers, and afterwards committed to the For-l'Euêque. The Bishop of Luçon was commanded to keepe E his lodging. The Marshall *D'Ancres* wife was brought prisoner to the Loure, and put into the same roome where the Prince of Conde was lodged vpon his first arrest. Two of the Councill of State were appointed to take an Inuentory of the Marshalls goods, and two other for *Barbins* and for his papers.

The Kings Letters to the Governours of Prouinces touching the Marshalls death.

The same day the King sent Letters to the Governours of Prouinces, to aduertise them of the Marshall *D'Ancres* death, and of the reasons: For that since his fathers death, the said Marshall and his wife abusing his Nonage, and the power which they had gotten with the Queene his Mother, had procured to vsurpe all the authority, to dispose absolutely of his Estate, and to deprime him of the meanes to take knowledge thereof: so as he had nothing remaining but the bare name of King; and that it was a capitall crime for his officers and subiects to see him in priuate, or to entertaine him with any serious discourse. F That God letting him see the imminent danger of his person and State by that vntrestrained ambition, if he should haue made any shew to apprehend it; he had bene forced to dissemble his inward resolution by his exterior actions, vntill that God by his bounty should prepare him meanes and opportunity to preventie. And withall considering that besides the danger of his person, the publicke hatred they bare to the Government of those men, had so altered and incited the minds of his Subiects, as a generall confusion

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A was to be feared, if he deferred it any longer. For which iust considerations, he had commanded *Monseur de Vitry* to seize vpon the said Marshall, who being wonderfully well followed, and seeking to make resistance, was there shot and slaine. That he had caused his wife and some of his instruments to be committed, and had entreated the Queene his mother to rest contented if he did hereafter hold the Helme of his owne Estate, and seeke to raise it from those extremities wherinto the bad counsell she had followed had plunged it. In the end he entreated them to giue notice of this action throughout their Governments, and of the reasons which had induced him thereunto.

The body of the Marshall being taken out of the Porters Hall, was all that afternoone B in the little Tennis-court of the Loure, vntill nine of the clocke at night, that it was commanded to be buried at Saint Germans of l'Auxerois. He was woound vp in a course foule Table-cloth, tyed at both ends with a riband; he was carryed without light or prayers, but very low, there being but a Priest, the Clerke, and Graue-maker present; they laid him vnder the Organs, and his Coffin vpon him, and then plaisted vp his graue, so as there was no shew that any had bene intombd there: the next day about tenne of the clocke, about three hundred Lackayes, with a multitude of people, came to S. Germans Church, where vnderstanding the Marshall had bene interred vnder the Organs, they found meane (whilest the Chanoines were gone in procession) to open the ground, where they tooke out the cover of a Coffin of wood, and finding nothing within it, they thought themselves deceived of their hope; but hauing notice giuen them that the body was vnderneath it, they tooke out the Coffin, where they found it groueling; then they began to draw it out, crying, *Come out Cullion*: hauing vnburied him, they dragged him to the end of the new Bridge, and there hung him by the feet vpon an old gibbet: hanging thus, they cut off his nose, eares, hands, and members; others stricke him with their Swords and Staues: they pulled off hayre and beard, and after he had hung there halfe an houre, they tooke him downe, and dragged him through the streets, striking him with staues, and crying *God saue the King*: and if any as they passed put not off their hats, they compelled them with blowes to cry, *God saue the King*. Some laughed at all this, others blamed this action although they were glad of his death: Thus they dragged him to the Bastile, then drew D him backe to the Vniuersity, and from thence to the Suburbs of Saint Germans, where they beganne to burne the body before his owne house with straw, and some few faggots they had snatched vp as they went along; but being angry that it burned not according to their wils, they dragged him againe to the new bridge, forcing the Merchants, which had wood vpon the Wharfes, to giue them some to make an end of burning this miserable carcase. They made all the Princesses, Ladies, and Gentlewomen which passed by to vnmaske themselves and cry, *God saue the King*, forcing them to giue money to buy wood: the like they did to the Princes and Noblemen. In the end seeing the bones were long before they were consumed, they cast them into the Riuer.

On Saint Markes day there was a Proclamation made by sound of Trumper, whereby E all the Marshall *D'Ancres* seruants were enioyned to depart out of Paris within foure and twenty houres, vpon paine of death: And the same day her Brother, who by his fauour had bene aduanced to the Archbishopspricke of Towers, the Abbey of Marmoustier, and many other Benefices, fearing the fury of the multitude, elaped by the backe gate of the Colledge where he was lodged, and retired himselfe into a Monastery. His Armes were afterwards taken downe from about the Colledge gate, and those of the Cheualier of Vendosme set vp as Abbot of Marmoustier.

The new Councillors which had gouerned the State for the space of five moneths, were either guarded in their lodgings, or committed to prison, the King sending for all the ancient Officers of the State, who had bene displaced by the Marshall *D'Ancres* F meanes, to come vnto him, and to execute their places. The first day of Councill being the 27 of April, they which were in the Court of the Loure, seeing the Chancellor of Silbery, the Seigneurs of Villeroi and Jannin, *Monseur du Vair*, Keeper of the Seales, with *Chasteau-neuf*, and others come forth, they blest the King, hoping that his teigne would be happy, seeing he began by the establishment of his Councill, and that he would not employ any but such as had faithfully serued the Kings and State.

The same day the Earle of Suze came to the Court, and presented vnto the King the keyes of Soissons, which the Duke of Mayen had sent. They vnderstood from him, that the

Indignities done to the body of the Marshall D'Ancres by the people.

The ancient Councillors of State restored.

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The Duke having received newes of the Marshalls death, that day in the evening, he gave thanks to God, being vpon the Rampiers, and advertised the besiegers thereof, who soon after received the newes: That the next day he had given entry to all those of the Kings Army that would come into Soissons: That they had generally made Bonfires: That there was now no difference among them, visiting and embracing one another lovingly: That the Duke prepared to come to serve his Majesty, with the Dukes of Nevers and Vendosme, who had entreated him to stay for them: That he was about to dismiss his troops, beseeching the King to command his Army about Soissons to retire. Vpon the same day the Duke of Longueville (who in this last warre had not leaved armes, neither had he come to Court in regard of the private quarrell betwixt him and the Marshall *D'Ancre*) came from Picardy to Paris, and went to salute the King. Nine dayes after he married the young Lady of Soissons.

The Queene
mother returns
to Blois

Vpon the fourth of May, the Queene Mother parted from the Louvre to goe to Blois, well attended by her seruants and Guard: many Princesses and Ladies conducted her vnto Burg la Roine. Some write, that the King came into her Chamber to bid her farewell, to whom he vsed this speech, *Madam, I come hither to take my leave of you, and to assure you that I will have a care of you as of my mother: I haue desired to ease you of the paines you haue taken in my affaires: It is my resolution not to suffer any one but my selfe to command within my Realme. I haue given order for that which is necessary for your voyage, and commanded La Courbe to accompany you: you shall heare from me at your coming to Blois: Adieu, Madam.*

The Princes
come vnto the
King.

The Queene Mother having made a great obeysance vnto the King, she said something vnto him touching the care which she had taken of his person and affaires during her Regency, desiring him to remember her paines and trauell, and that she was his Mother. Whereupon the King kissed her, and with a great reuerence tooke his leave, and retired. The same day the King, Queene, and Monsieur, with a great troop of Nobles, went to Bois de Vincennes, where they continued eight dayes. The Dukes of Vendosme, Nevers, and Mayenne, came vpon Ascension day thither, and did their duties to his Majesty.

Du Transil excused for attempting to kill the Queene mother.

Du Transil, who had beene committed to For. l'Éueque, was by the Kings commandement sent vnto the Concergerie of the Palace, where he was confronted with the Seigneurs of Luynes and Bressieux, and vpon the tenth of May hee was broken vpon the wheele, & his body burnt at the Greue, and this was his sentence: *Alonso du Transil*, born at Grenoble, for hauing attempted against the life of the Queene the Kings mother, is attainted and convicted of Treason, and condemned by the Court of Parliament, to haue his members broken, his body and proesse burnt, the ashes to be cast into the winde, and his goods to be confiscate to the King. They which had knowne him, sayd, That he was a man of bad life: that hauing bene of the Reformed Religion, and a Souldier to the age of thirty yeares, he made himselfe a Catholike, and then a Capuchin; but the Capuchins discouering his lewd life, had chased him away, and taken the habit from him in a Prouinciall Chapter: that since, he had bene a spy in Sauoy, and vnto his dying day a Bawd, a corrupter and feller of virgins: finally, that the least of his offences were a number of murders, at the which he had assisted. He commonly caried vnder his cassoocke a short sword, broad, and well pointed, and had the shew of a bold vnderfaker. Going to his death, he had a smiling countenance, and seemed like one that had his spirits transported, as many conceiued, seeing him in the Chappell when his sentence was pronounced: for as soone as it was read, he rose vp, and thrusting forth his arme hee said vnto them, feeke my pulse, and see if there bee any alteration in mee since I heard my sentence of death.

The Kings Declaration in fauour of the Princes.

On the twelfth of May, there was a Declaration made in fauour of the Princes which had absented themselves from the King, during this last ciuill warre: Shewing that the ready obedience which the Princes and others which had assisted them, had yielded to his commandements, gaue a sufficient testimony that the onely desire of their preferuation, and to prevent their ruine which was practised by the insolent, violent, and pernicious designs of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, had forced them to retire themselves, and to secke their safety by armes (although vnlawfully) for that the said Marshall (contrary to his intention) had made vse of his Forces to oppress them: But being sufficiently informed of their good intentions towards him and his Realme, and of the desire they had to employ their

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A their lides for the maintenance of his greatness and authority: and that they were displeased to haue leauied souldiers, or done any act contrary to their duties: hauing protested that they would neuer haue attempted it, if they had not bene forced to avoid the total ruine of themselves and their Families: out of his clemency and royall bounty, entreating them fauourably in pardoning their faults which they had committed, Hee declared that he held the said Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and all which had assisted them, for his good and royall subjects and seruants: and that he would haue the remembrance of what had happened in these last alterations suppressed and abolished: Prouided, that they should containe themselves within the bounds of their duty and respect, and that they should presently renounce all leagues and affociations both within and without the Realme: in regard whereof he restored them to all their lands, goods, honors, dignities, charges, Estates, offices, and pensions, to enioy them as they had formerly done.

Thus the third Ciuill warre had an end. The Kings Forces were dismissed. The Earle of Auerngne, who commanded the Army before Soissons, returned to Court the eighth of May: and the same day President *le Tay* went to the Parliament. The Deputies of the Assembly of them of the Reformed Religion at Rochel, coming to Court, the King gaue them this answer by his Chancellor: Follow those courtes which all good subjects ought to hold in that which they desire to obtaine from their King: Prepare your Petitions: and Grieuances with all speed, and when as you haue chosen Deputies to present them to his Majesty, dissolve your Assembly, and let every man returne into his Prouinces: and the King promised to answer your Grieuances fauourably in all that shall be conformable to reason and iustice. Vpon the two and twentieth of May, the King made *Monsieur de Vitry* Marshall of France, and he was received by the Parliament of Paris, being accompanied thither by a goodly troop of Noblemen: and presently after, the Duke of Guise hauing discharged part of the Army, and put the rest into garrison, returned to Paris.

The Gouernors and Captaines which the Marshall *D'Ancre* had put into the Castles and Fortresses of Caen, Quille-beauf, Alençon, Verneuil, Falaise, Pont de Larche, and other Townes of Normandy, hauing given ouer their places and charges vpon their first summons, into their hands whom the King had sent with commiſſion to that end: All France beganne to enioy general peace, and Iustice and the Lawes to haue force and authority. And the King hauing resolved to proceed against the memory of the Marshall *D'Ancre*, and against his wife and their adherents, by the ordinary course of Iustice, hee gaue commandement to three Councillors of State, being Masters of the Requests, to informe against the Marshalls wife, and to examine their officers and household seruants, the which they beganne in the Louvre on the 26 of April, and on the 2 of May she was conducted to the Bastile, where they continued their examinations; which being finished, they sent it to the Court of Parliament, who hauing proceeded in the proceſſe, shee was brought on the 11 of May to the Concergerie, at which change shee was somewhat amazed; and for that they had left her but two Archers to guard her. The chiefe charges in the proceſſe were collected into foure heads: The first was treason against God: The second, Treason diuine and humane mixt: The third was Treason against the King: And the fourth was the murder committed vpon the person of *Prognille*, Sergeant Maior of Amiens. The Sentence did import, That in regard of the impieties of *Conchini*, in his life time Marquis *D'Ancre*, Marshall of France, and of *Leonora Galigai* his widow, their enterprises against the Kings authority and his Estate, secret negotiations with strangers, casting of Artillery, changing the Kings Armes, and setting his owne vpon the said Peeces, employing the publicke Treasurie to their owne private profit, and transporting it out of the Realme without the Kings permission, as also for the murder of *Prognille*; Sergeant Maior of Amiens, they were condemned as guilty of diuine and humane Treason; and for reparation, the memory of the said *Conchini* condemned for euer, and *Galigai* to lose her head, and her body to be burnt, and all their lands to be incorporated to the Crowne; his house to be razed, and his lands which did not hold of the Crowne, to be sold, and the money to be put into the Kings Officers: *Prognilles* widow had 2400 pound sterling, adjudged her out of his goods confiscated, one third part for her selfe, the other two parts for her children; and likewise there was to be extracted out of his confiscation 4800 pound sterling for a fine, to be employed in pious vices, the reliefe of prisoners and other

The Kings Forces dismissed.

Places in Normandy which the Marshall field, deliuered to the King.

The sentence of the Parliament against the Marshall *D'Ancre* and his wife.

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other necessities. His Secretaries *Vincent Lodouici* and *Anthony Montanbert*, were set A at liberty, with charge to present themselves when the Court should call for them.

Vpon the eight of Iuly, sentence of death being giuen against her, it was resolved shee should dye the same day: in the afternoon the Porter (according to custome) brought her vp into the Chappell, where the Iudges would question her, and said vnto her, Gowe Madam, this is the last time, you shall goe from hence this day; Shee dreamed not of death, thinking she should be onely banished, so as she went reasonably well pleased from her chamber to the Chappell; where entring, and seeing they commanded her to pull off her maske, she beganne to enter into an apprehension, saying, *What a world of people!* for indeed the Chappell was wonderfull full. The Register comming to her, willed her B to prepare her selfe to heare her sentence: they caused her to kneele downe, and as soone as she vnderstood, *And the sayd Galigai to haue her head stricke off vpon a scaffold*, shee stood vp and cryed out, *Ayme, I am with child:* so as they could not make her to heare the rest of her sentence. The Executioner presently seized vpon her person, and foure Diuines came to comfort her: they also sent for some certaine Midwiues and Surgeons to search her, for that she pretended to be with child, which was but counterfeit. After this, shee was conducted to the place of execution, where she spied asure off a Gentleman belonging to the Commander of Silley, whom she called often by his name, and entreated him to tell the Chancellor and the Commander, that she prayed them to forgive her, for that she had greatly wronged and persecuted them; making him with instance, promise C not to forget her entreaty. Being vpon the Scaffold, she entreated all men to forgive her whom she had offended, telling the Register, that what she had sayd against the Chancellor when she enjoyed the Queene mothers fauour, was not true: After this preparing her selfe for death, her head was stricke off, and both it and the body cast into the fire and burnt.

Some haue written, That her name was *Leonara Dory*, and that she had taken the surname of *Galigai* but since her comming into France. That her Father was a Ioyner, one of those who after the manner of Florence, went vp and downe to seeke worke with his tooles: That she was not foster sister to the Queene mother, as it was supposed: That at the age of tenne yeares she was taken to serue the Marquis of Striua, and the Queene mother, who was then but Princeesse of Florence, seeing her of a quick spirit and a iouiall humour, would haue her seruice.

On the eight of Iune, the Seigneure of Barrault, Vice Admirall of Guienne, had a great fight at Sea with diuers Pyrates, whose names were *Blanquet*, *Gaillard*, *Trelebois*, and *Ponteville*, who commonly retired themselves into the Islands, and about Rochel, being resolved to make themselves masters of the mouth of Garonne, and to rob all Ships that went and came to Bourdeaux. Having drawne together foure Ships, and foure great Pinaces, with the which they lay in the mouth of the Riuer nere vnto Royan, where they began to molest all passengers. The Parliament of Bourdeaux being enformed hereof, they sent to the Marquis of Aubeterre Gouvernor of Blay, and to *Candelay* Gouvernor of E Royan, to summon them to serue the King against these Pyrates: finding them well disposed, they sought to speake with *Blanquet*, but could not. Whereupon they went to Rochel, where the Mayor and Sherifffs protested they were very fery that *Blanquets* Ships had bene rigged in their Hauens; notwithstanding, they were ready to serue the King against him and his adherents: And withall they sent one of their Sherifffs with Letters of credit both from the Towne and the Princeesse Dowager of Conde, (who was then there) to draw him to his duty, hauing in his company *Laumont* an Exempt of the Scottish Guard. Being aboard *Blanquets* Ship, *Laumont* commanded him to cease his exactions, and to retire himselfe speedily, deliuering him also a Letter from the first President of Bourdeaux, full of good admonitions: But *Blanquets* answer and his companions F was full of contempt against the King, his Iustice, and the Mayor and Sherifffs of Rochel, vnto also great threats against the towne of Bourdeaux. *Laumont* hauing made his report at Bourdeaux, the businesse was propounded in Parliament in the presence of the D. of Espernon and the Marshall of Roquelaure, where it was resolved, that they should speedily arme some ships to set vpon these Pyrates, and that the charge should be giuen to *Barrault*, Vice Admirall of Guienne. Whereupon he made choice of nine Ships and Pinaces, which being armed, manned, and victualled, they fell downe before the Towne of Blay.

The execution
of the Marshall
of Anvers wille.

French Pyrates
in the mouth of
the Riuer of
Garonne.

The Vice
Admirall of Guienne
goes to
Sea against the
Pirates.

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A Blay. Having received directions from their Admirall, as well for the fight as for the conduct of 150 great Merchants Ships which followed them to be defended from those Pyrates, they set sayle towards the Port of Royan, right against the which *Blanquet* lay with foure Ships and foure great Pinaces: who perceiving that they made towards them, weighed Anchor and put to Sea; the Vice Admirall still following them, vntill the night approaching, and a tempest forced him to cast Anchor.

On the eight of Iune, the Vice Admirall hauing conducted the Merchants nine or ten Leagues into the Sea, and hearing that *Blanquet* with his Ships had gotten into the Riuer of Sudre, which was of hard access, and dangerous for great Ships; hee thought they B could not now auoid the Combat. Whereupon he called for the Pilots, employing them which had most frequented that Riuer to make the way, when as suddenly the winde and tyde were fauourable vnto them, so as within a short space, the Pyrates discovered the Kings Fleet comming towards them with full sayles, wherupon they cut their Cables, and hoyle vp sayles to get to Sea: But *Blanquets* Ship, which was the first, fell presently aground, not being able to recover the Current by reason of the violence of the winde. Three others being about a Cannon shot off had the like fortune. These bad beginnings amazed some of their Souldiers and Mariners, so as they sought to save themselves by swimming, and in their Boats. *Blanquet*, on the other side (thinking that the Vice Admirall would also runne aground, or cast Anchor, for that he could not come neerer him by C reason of the contrary winde, and shallownesse of the water) prepared himselfe courageously to fight: and having giuen order for all things, hee shewed himselfe armed in the fore-castle. The Vice Admirall cast Anchor nere vnto him; there were two other Ships came within Cannon shot to set vpon the other Ships which were runne on ground, and presently the rest of the Fleet followed to charge those they found in front. The Vice Admirall set vpon *Blanquet*, and came within twenty paces of him, but could approach no nearer, lest he should haue runne on ground: The fight was very furious for about an houres space in the end, the Vice Admirall sent a Capitaine with some souldiers to board *Blanquet*, the which they performed resolutely, notwithstanding his great resistance; where he was taken, being hurt in the left arme with a splinter, with sixteene of his men, D which were left vntillaine, being all caried to the Vice Admirall Ship, *Gaillard*, one of the Pyrate Capitaines, was taken at Land flying away, and caried backe to the Vice Admirall: All their Ships and Pinaces were taken, being abandoned by their men, only two got to sea.

After this, the Vice Admirall returned in triumph to Bourdeaux, with his prisoners, and six Vessels more then he caried forth. The Court of Parliament fell presently to worke about their proceesse, and in the end *Blanquet* and *Gaillard* were broken vpon the wheele, and their heads set vpon the Towers next to the Port, and sixteene Mariners were hanged.

About this time, the Clergy of France made their ordinary assembly at the Augustins in Paris, which they vsually doe every two yeares. The Bishop of Malcon, one of the Deputies, made an Oration vnto the King on the second of Iune, in the presence of many Princes, Dukes, Councillors, and Officers of State, which comprehended two complaints. 1. He made relation of the grieuances of the Catholicks of Montpellier: and 2. hee insisted vpon the restoring of the Romish religion in the Soueraignty of Bearne. Touching the first, he sayd, That the Bishop of Montpellier desiring to reforme a small Couent of Iacobins, and to bring in good men of that Order, with the approbation of their Generall, and the authority of the Court of Parliament: The inhabitants of the Towne not onely opposed themselves, but also thrust out those which liued before in the Couent. In like manner that about the same time, the Bishop hauing (according to the duty of his charge) F provided famous Preachers for the Catholicks in that towne for the time of Lent, they would not suffer them to enter, notwithstanding a Decree of his Councill, and the commandement of the Gouvernor of the Province, tending to a manifest disobedience. Secondly, that in Bearne they had deprived the Catholicks of the exercise of their religion, & of their Churches: that they had dispossessed the Clergy of all their goods, & had employed them to the entertainment of Ministers, penions of Schollers, & profane vses. Whereupon there was a Decree made in the Kings Councill, Iune 15. by the which the free exercise of the Romish Religion was restored in all the Townes, Borrowes, and Villages of Bearne, [r] and

He fights with
them and de-
feats them.

Blanquet and
Gaillard broken
on the wheeles.

The Bishop of
Malcon his
complaint vnto
the King.

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The Kings
which touching
the affairs of
France.Remonstrance
made by the
Clergy to the
King.

1. Complaint.

2. Complaint.

3. Complaint.

4. Complaint.

The Baron of
Quemadauc
beheaded at
Paris.

and the Clergy-men as well secular as regular, within the sayd Country, had a full release of all their Goods, Lands, Seigneuries, Tythes, Rents, Rennuues, and other Rights of what nature soever, being in his Maiesties hands, without reservation or exception. And in like manner he did maintaine his subiects of that Country, making profession of the reformed Religion, in the exercise thereof, and of all that depends thereon, as well for their Wages, Pensiones, Almshouses, and Ecclesiasticall Discipline: all which being at this present assigned vpon the Rennuues of the Clergy, his Maiesty doth assigne vpon the clearest Rennuues of his Demesnes, as well of the Country of Bearne, as of other Duchies, Earldomes, and Seigneuries formerly re-venited thereunto.

At the dissolving of this Assembly of the Clergy, they being accustomed to take their leave of the King before they separate themselves, and to make their Remonstrances of the disorders which might have crept into the Church; the Bishop of Ayre was deputed among other to make this Speech vnto the King.

His first complaint was against that detestable butchery (as he termed it) that infernall law of cursed Duels, which France baptized (in imitation of the Pagans) with the name of honour; but in truth, and according to the iudgement of God and his Angels, it was a rage and madnesse of men, the shame, contempt, and mockery of Christianity, of the Saviour of Kings, and of Diuinity it selfe. Having discoursed long vpon this subiect, hee entreated his Maiesty to giue him leave to continue his speech with as much liberty as he brought verity, loue, and fidelity. These wretches, (said he) who like enraged Lyons teare one another in pieces in Duels, Sinne but once; they are onely guilty of their owne crimes; but your Maiesty (who is bound to hinder all, and to punish all) if you faile in this duty, you Sinne alone with all; you make your selfe culpable for all; and will draw vpon you alone (if you doe not prevent it) a burthen of the iustice and vengeance of God, insupportable to an hundred thousand, and whose waight doth crush downe and ruine eternally. That the Church demanded not the law, but the execution of it; not by threats, but by punishment; not by a prescription which doth the sicke no good, but by some wholesome letting of blood, which will stanch this flux of blood in your Estate.

The second complaint of the Church, was, That whereas his Maiesty was bound to giue them Fathers, he gaue them Children: That the name of Abbot signified Father, and that a Bishop required more care, wisdom, affection, and fatherly authority: That notwithstanding, France was filled with Bishops and Abbots, which are yet in their Nurses armes, or vnder Regents in Colledges. Nay more, the abuse goes before their being; they are Fathers before they be Children, Abbots before they are borne; they know not yet whether they be males or females, and yet all the world knows they are crowned with Miters: monstrous Hermaphrodites, not onely against the law of Nature, but euen against God, the Author of Nature, which it behoues your Maiesty to prevent.

That secular and lay Pensiones approached nere to this sacrilegious disorder: it is a Tribute which the Church payeth (saith he) to the world which persecuteth it, and is sworn enemy to his Epouise: it is that cursed ranfome which doth evidently denote her captivity; and yet, contrary to the nature of a ranfome, doth not deliuer her. And that which most afflicts vs, Sir, is this, That others hauing the profit, your Maiesty is like to pay the interest, at that day when nothing will be remitted, and that the inexorable Iudge will make the mightiest Monarches of the world to tremble with the feare and horror of a punishment a thousand times greater then death it selfe.

That the Soueraigne Courts by their Decrees attempted vpon the authority which was committed to the Clergy, in that which concerned Ecclesiasticall Discipline, and the government of the Church.

We haue formerly made mention, how that the Baron of Quemadauc, Gouvernor of Fougieres in Britanny, had slaine the Baron of Neuet at Rennes during the Assembly of the Estates, for the which he was forced to goe to Paris to iustifie himselfe in Court, and to deliuer the Castle of Fougieres into the hands of an Exempt of the Kings Guard, who during his absence, should exercise his charge of Gouvernor. Now whether it were that he doubted of his cause, or for some other designe; in the Month of Iune, this *Quemadauc* parted from Paris, and went into Britanie, and surpris'd the Castle of Fougieres, making himselfe again master thereof. As soon as the King heard hereof, he commanded the D.

of

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A of Vendosme and the Marshall *de Vitry*, to repaire with all speed thither before *Quemadauc* might be aware thereof, which charge they so affectionately performed, as they found him rather dreaming on what he had done, then on what he had to doe. Hee excused himselfe vnto them; and they promised him to employ their credits to restore him to his Maisties fauour. They brought him through Normandy to Paris, where he was committed to prison, and his proccesse made, by which he was condemned of treason, and of the murders committed vpon the Baron of Neuet, and of the Senechal of Chastillon in Vandre-lois, with other crimes. He was executed accordingly, notwithstanding all the suit made by his friends and his wife, who call her selfe at his Maisties feet to craue his pardon: but the King answered her, it is Iustice which makes Kings to reigne, I owe it to my subiects, and in this case I must preferre Iustice before Mercy: as for his goods which are confiscate vnto me, I giue them you.

The warre continued still betwene the King of Spaine and the Duke of Sauoy, notwithstanding all the Propositions of peace which had bene made in the end of the last yeare, by the Popes Legate and the Ambassador of France. In the beginning of the yeare the Spaniard had but ill successe; for the Prince of Piedmont had taken two Townes from the Prince of Masseran, a partizan to the Spaniard, and had defeated some of their best troops in the Valley of Sezia: and on the other side, towards Montserrat, the Duke of Sauoy, with the assistance of the Marshall *D'Esquigueres*, tooke Saint Damian, Garennes, and Albe. Yet the Gouvernor of Millane seemed more inclined to warre then peace. He leauied men in all places, and made great preparations to enter the Duke of Sauoyes Country in the Spring. At that time there was an aduice made by a Spaniard vnto his Catholick Maiesty, touching the means of making a peace with the D. of Sauoy, wherein he sets downe many reasons for the continuance of the warre; and in the end concludes, That if the D. of Sauoy doth not deliuer for caution and assurance of the peace, the Forts of his Country, by the which he may attempt vpon the Duchy of Millane, and doth not put them into the hands of his Catholick Maiesty, a peace could not be made: That no assurance could be giuen but those Forts, notwithstanding all that the Popes Nuncios did propound: But they should continue the warre, and not attend untill the French King came of age, or that the Duke of Sauoy had provided for the defence of his Countries: That about all things he should consider, what an opportunity was now offered him to make his way to the Imperiall Monarchy, and how fully God had diuerted the Councils of King *Henry* the fourth: That France was now gouerned by a woman; Italy without good Commanders; Germany full of dissensions; the Turke so weakened by his wars in the East; finally, all things were so impaired and confused, as there was not any one able to redress the power of the Catholick King.

It seemed this yeare in the Spring, that things would succeed fauourably according to the desire of *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Gouvernor of Millane, against the Duke of Sauoy, the Marshall *D'Esquigueres* being returned into D'Auphine, and the Ciuill wars so kindled in France, as his Highnesse of Sauoy could expect little helpe from thence: so as *Don Pedro* hoped to take two of the goodliest places belonging to the Duke, *Verfel* vpon Seiza, which is a frontier to Millane; and *Aste* towards Montserrat. *Verfel* was speedily besieged with 16000 foot, and 4000 horse; and 32 Peeces of Battery, and on the 23 of Iuly they yielded vpon honorable conditions. The Duke of Sauoy seeing so powerful an enemy in his Estate, who fought to take from him his best places, he sent to all the Kings, Princes, and Common-weales his allies, to be assisted with men: but he found not any one in case to doe it but the French King. After the death of the Marshall *D'Ancres*, his Maiesty during the Month of May, was busie in discharging of the troops, as well French and Liegeois, as Germanes, which had bene leauied by either party; retaining onely one Regiment of F. Lancknets, which the Queene Mother had caused to be leauied by the Earle of Schomberg, his Maiesty refusing to send them into Sauoy, and therefore he commanded the Marshall *D'Esquigueres* to ioyne his Forces with them, and to passe the mountains speedily. In August the Marshall with the Duke of Rohan, the Earles of Candale and Schomberg, *Mont de Termes*, and many of the French Nobility with their troops came into Piedmont, who being ioynd with the D. of Sauoyes Forces, they set vpon Felizan, in the which were 2000 Trentains of the Spaniards army lodged, which they forced and slew or took all that were in it that bare armes. After which the Sauoyards took None & la Rocque

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which

Continuation
of the warre
in Sauoy.An aduice
giuen to the
Catholick King
touching the
peace with
Sauoy.Verfel besieged
by the SpaniardFelizan taken
by the Duke of
Sauoyes Forces.

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which was abandoned by the Spaniards, Lombards, Neopolitanes and Suiffes : which being persecuted by some of the Scouts of the Army, they were pursued by the French Carabins, who overtook them : where after some small resistance, they yielded. After these exploits, the Duke with the Marshall returned to Afte, from whence they sent their newes to Paris :

Wee haue defeated in fixe dayes five thousand of the best men the Spaniard had in his army, some of which were slaine, others taken prisoners, and the rest sent home to their houses : in this short space we haue also gotten fiftene Ensignes, and one Corner, hauing forced five places, conquered many Borowghes, with a large extent of the Country, and by this meanes deliuered the Towne of Afte from a siege which threatened the totall ruine B thereof, and many Citadels and places of strength, which did greatly annoy it.

The King hauing taken vpon him the government of his Estate, desiring to bee assured of him that should haue the keeping of the Prince of Conde, this year in May hee committed him to the guard of the Baron of Perfan, brother in law to the Marshall of Vitry, with the command of the Bastile. The Princeesse of Conde besought the King she might see her husband, and lue with him, the which his Maiefty granted : which act of hers was much commended, and God fo blest her, as soone after her coming thither, she grew with child ; the which did much ease the Princes griefe for his detention.

The Prince of Conde and his Lady consulted to Boe de Vincennes.

On the 15 of September, they were both conducted vnto Bois de Vincennes, still vnder the guard of the Baron of Perfan, who commanded in the dungeon where they were lodged, a farre better ayre then the Bastile. This change of lodging did much please them, the Lady hoping that she should be more conveniently lodged at her lying in : but she was deliuered before her time of a sonne still borne, which did much afflict him.

The King calls an Assembly of the chief of his Realme.

In October the King sent forth his Letters for the assembling of the most famous Personages of France, as well of the Clergy as of the Nobility, and the Officers of his Parliaments, by their aduice to provide for the Remonstrances and Grievances exhibited by the generall Estates assembled in the year 1615, which had not bene yett done, by reason of his voyage into Guenne, and the alterations which followed : To settle an order in his Councils ; and the managing of his Treasure : The reformation of the abuses which were crept into all the orders of the Realme : and generally touching all which should D be found necessary and expedient for the good and ease of his subiects, the safety of his Estate, the honour and dignitie of his Crowne, and the settling of a firme peace within his Kingdome.

And to the end this holy worke might bee more famous and commendable, he commanded all the Princes, Cardinals, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of his Crowne, to be there present, to heare their aduice touching that which should be presented by the Assembly, protesting before God, that he had no other end but his honour, and the good and ease of his subiects : coniuering those he should call, and commanding them expressly, that without any other respect, feare, or desire, to please or displease any man, they should with all freedom and sincerity, giue those Councils which they held in their consciences to be most wholesome and convenient for the good of the Commonwealth.

The Assembly held at Rouen.

About the end of Nouember, the King came from the Caste of Gaillon (where hee had spent some time in hunting) to Rouen, the Assembly beginning the fourth of December in the Archbishopps Palace : This Assembly was very stately, where there assisted all the prime men of the Kingdome of all degrees. At the beginning there were two speeches made, his Maiesties was short, but in royall termes, vpon the content hee had, hoping that this Assembly would giue him Counsels profitable both for himselfe and his Estate : commanding the Chancellor to deliuer his pleasure more at large, the which he performed with so fluent a discourse, as the whole Assembly (wherein were the greatest Personages and the best speakers of France) gaue him this commendations, that he could F both doe well and speake well.

The Assembly beganne five dayes after, during the which his Maiesties caused this Act to be made : First, The nomination of those which hee would haue to preside the said Assembly. Secondly, His pleasure vpon the strife arising betweene the chief of the Parliaments and the Nobility, about their places. Thirdly, By whom the Propositions should be exhibited to the Assembly. And fourthly, The forme which should be observed in deliuering their opinions.

His

A His Maiefty for many good considerations importing the good of his seruice, established the Duke of Anjou, his only Brother, President in this Assembly, the more to honor it, ioyning with him the Cardinals of Perron, and Roch-Foucault, the Duke of Montbazon, and the Earle of Brissac Marshall of France. That the Propositions which should be made in the Assembly, should be presented in writing vnto Monsieur, or his Adiuncts, by the Proctor generall of the Parliament of Paris. That in matters which should be pronounced touching the Clergy, the Presidents should cause them of the Clergy to deliuer their opinions first, and such as they should thinke fit for the opening of that business. That in that which concerned the Nobility, the Nobles should first speake. And B in matters of Iustice, the Officers and others of that ranke should first giue their aduice. As for the Treasure, the Chambers of Account, and Court of Ayds should be first heard. There was some question about their sitting : the Nobility saying, that they were the second Member of the State : That their seats ought to be right against the Clergy, and that the Presidents of Parliaments were but to represent the third Estate. Whereunto they answered, That it was no Assembly of the Generall Estates : That they were sent for by his Maiefty to giue their aduice touching the Propositions hee desired to make : That they were no Deputies of the Prouinces to the Estates ; neither were they euer deputed to the generall Estates ; and whensoever they assisted at the beginning or ending thereof, it was in quality of Councillors of State : That there was no reason the Nobility should precede, they hauing iurisdiction ouer them.

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The Duke of Anjou under President in the Assembly with four Adiuncts.

Debate touching places in the Assembly.

The Nobility not satisfied with this Act, procured Letters Patents from the King, by which he declared, That moued with the good affection which he had alwayes borne vnto his Nobility (whom he knew to be his right arme) his intention was not in this Conuocation to hold an Assembly of the Estates : That hee had appointed them their seat about his person, and of those whom he had appointed to preside in the said Assembly, as most honourable and fit for the action : as well at the beginning of the said Assembly, as the continuation, without any prejudice to that which had alwayes belonged vnto them in the generall Estates, that is, the second place next to the Clergy, the which hee would haue maintained.

D On either side of the Presidents of the Assembly sat the Nobles, being thirteene Gentlemen of speciall note, chosen for their wisdomes. There were eleuen of the Clergie in their places, whereof foure were Archbishops, the other Bishops : and lastly, sat the Heads of Parliaments, there being two Presidents of Paris, with the first Presidents of Tholouse, Grenoble, Disjon, Rouen, Aix, and Rennes, with the Proctors generall of the said Parliaments : beneath them on the right hand, were the Presidents of the Chambers of Accompts of Paris and Rouen, with their Proctors generall : and on the left hand, the Lieutenant Ciuill of the Viscountie of Paris : Behind the Presidents of Parliaments, were the Presidents of the Courts of Ayds of Paris and Rouen, with their Proctors ; with the Prouost of Merchants of Paris. He that was chosen by the King to be Register E of the Assembly, had his place in the middle. President Iannin Super-Intendant of the Treasure, with the foure Intendants, coming twice into this Assembly, tooke their places directly before the Register. Monsieur de Rhodes, Great Master of the Ceremonies, stood behinde the Presidents. Behind Monsieur Chaire, and a little more retired then the seat of the Nobility, stood his Gouverneur, the Capitaine of his Guard, his vnder Gouverneur and Secretary. This was the order observed in this Assembly touching their sitting.

The manner of their sitting in the Assembly.

The Assembly hauing giuen his Maiefty thanks for their election, and for his religious intentions, they proceeded to their Propositions. The first was touching the managing of the secret affaires of State, which could not bee divulged without great prejudice thereunto. Although the King in his Maiority may, like vnto his Predecessors, F commit the managing to whom he pleaseth ; yet his desire had bene to giue the greatest part to the Princes and great Personages of his Realme : whereby many difficulties had risen.

Touching the government of the secret affaires of State.

First, the great number of those of that quality, whereof no one thought to be excluded, and yet in this great number, liberty (so necessary in affaires) could not be kept, and the multitude of opinions would cause delays and confusion.

Secondly, that the difficulties which were growne among the great men of the Realme

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were

1617 were such, as there had been no means for them to sit in Councell together.

Thirdly, that it didd seldom happen but the aduertilements which came from within or without the Realme, concerned the interest of some one of this great number.

Fourthly, That to many Princes and great Personages which could not giue their necessary attendance, by reason of their Governments, Charges, and particular Affaires, the managing of the State would bee interrupted. That for these reasons his Maiestie had bene forced to leaue the managing of affaires to those Ministers whom his deceased Father had employed. Notwithstanding, causing all dispatches, aduertilements, instructions, and resolutions, to be daily read in his presence, and of the Princes and Officers of the Crowne: they haue free liberty to assist in his Councils, and to participate in the affaires which were there treated.

And for that his Maiestie desired to giue vnto the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, all the honour and respect which might bee in the Government of the State, and managing of his affaires; His pleasure was, the Assembly should aduise if they could find out any better or more contentment means then that which hee had obserued for the conduct of secret affaires: whereby without interest of the State, and prejudice to his Maiesties seruice, he might satisfie the desire of priuate men.

The Assembly humbly thanked the King, that it had pleased his Maiestie to demand their aduice vpon so important a businesse, which wholly depended vpon his pleasure. Notwithstanding, to obey his commandement, the Assembly was of opinion, that they could not giue him better aduice, then to continue (if it were his pleasure) the same order hee now held in the managing of his secret affaires, and by the aduice and counsel of the same persons which were employed. There were in all twenty Propositions deliuered vnto them: but because they are very long, and would take vp too much roome in this briefe Continuation, I must entreat the Reader to rest satisfied with the Heads of them.

The second was for an order and reformation of the Council, concerning causes which were litigious; and of the Council of affaires. 3. What persons should haue place and voyce in his Councils. Of the Decrees of the Council. That Decrees in Soueraigne Courts should not be reuoked. 4. Of the Council of State and Treasure, wherein they should treat of breaches of the Edicts: Petitions concerning the affaires of the Clergy: Differences which should happen for Offices: A Iudication of Farmes, Bridges, and publicke Workes: Abatements and Diminutions: Orders for the refreshing of Munitions in Frontier places: Petitions for the leauing of Money, Taxes, and Rents of Farmes. 5. What should be treated of in his Priuie Council, as Petitions, Reuocations: and for the ordering of Iudges in matters of question, concerning their Iurisdiction Requests against the Decrees of the Council, and opposition to the expedition of Letters of Prouision for Offices. That Differences for Benefices in the Kings Nomination, should be sent to the Grand Council. Of the charge of Masters of Requests. Of the Council of Warre: and the preheminnence of the Marshals of France in the sayd Council. 6. Reduction of the Expences of the Kings House, and of the entertainment of men of Warre. 7. Cutting off of Pensions, and the suppression of Treasurers of Pensions. 8. Of the exemption of Taxes, and of Letters of ennobling. That the King should forbear to giue any great gifts in present money, but reward seruices done, with Offices and other Charges which were in his disposition. 9. That it should be prohibited to sell any Offices or Places in the Kings House, in the Warre, or Governments. 10. Of the Reuerfions of Charges, Offices, and Benefices, and of the reuoking of the said Reuerfions. 11. Of the means to settle Monasteries and Abbies, and that they may be hereafter supplied with Religious men, and no Commendatories. 12. Of simple and rurall Priories, which haue no charge of soules, depending on Abbies and other Monasteries, and held by men most commonly, vnprofitable for the seruice of GOD, who by Resignations, made them hereditary to their Houses. 13. That the Pope should bee entreated not to receive the Resignation of any of the said Priories, and to ordaine, that when any fell voyd, they should bee re-vnted vnto the Monasteries whereon they depended. 14. To haue the Ordinances obserued, touching Artillery, Armes, and Munition. 15. That none should arme either by Sea or Land, without Letters signed by a Secretary of State; and in that which concerned

A concerned any Land-seruice by the Gouvernours of Prouinces; for the Sea, by the Admirals of France. 16. Not to communicate with fo-aine Ambassadors without the Kings permission. 17. Of the disorders in Commitments, the which are Letters of priuilege, which the Kings seruants and others of the Infants of France obtaine, to call any one from the remotest places of the Kingdome, to come and plead before the Masters of the Requests. 18. Of the alliances and kindreds which are crept, contrarie to the Ordinances, into Parliaments and Soueraigne Courts. 19. Of the means to prevent the oppressions which are committed by some, as well in Soueraigne as Precidiall Courts. 20. To reuoke the Paulette or Annuall right, and to take away the sale of Offices. The aduice of the B assembly to these Propositions, was giuen on the 26 of December 1617.

During this assembly at Rouen, *Monsieur de Villeroi* died, being 74 years old; a great Personage said, all the griefe we haue for his death is, that we finde not written in our bookes what he know. He was made Secretarie of State by King *Charles* the ninth, in the year 1566. And it may be said, that during the space of fifty and three years, there were not any affaires in France, no treaties of Peace, Alliances, Mariages, or Reunions, wherein he employed not himselfe with such dexteritie, as the foure Kings which he had serued, had giuen him great commendations. And King *Henry* the Great was wont to say of him, that the affaires of France, were the affaires of *Monsieur de Villeroi*. That hee laboured continually, and was neuer weary of well-doing. I know not, said this great King *C* (when as in the year 1605, they brought him word that *Monsieur de Villeroi* was sicke) which of the two liues were more necessarie for my Estate, either mine or *Monsieur de Villerois*.

The last yeare the King had bene aduised to vnite the Soueraigntie of Bearne to the Crowne of France. Whereupon they of the reformed Religion in the said Countrie, vnder the name of the generall Estates of Bearne, called extraordinarily together in the Towne of Pau, on the second of February 1617, caused a Decree to bee published, by the which they pretended, That the Country of Bearne was a Soueraigne Seigneurie, distinct from any other Soueraigntie or Realme; and that the Inhabitants thereof, who in the beginning governed themselves by their Lawes and Customes, did make choice of their Lords to bee continued in the same, they hauing no power to change, correct, or reforme them, but with the consents of the States of the said countrie. And that therefore his said Maiestie cannot (vnder correction) vnite the said Countrie vnto the Kingdome of France, without the consent of the said States, without infringing the principall marke and ground of the said Lawes and Liberties, which are dearer vnto them then their owne liues. That the said Estates may not transfere vnto posteritie so fundamentall a change of State; as that which should happen by the said vnion, which was reproued by the deceased King *Henry* the Great of famous memory, when he made the vnion of the ancient Demesnes vnto the Kingdome of France. Therefore the said Estates doe giue expresse charge vnto their Sindics to oppose themselves to all dispatches and Letters Patents which should bee sent, and all Acts made in the Countrie for the establishment of the said vnion. That there should be deputed certaine of both Estates to aduise of some remedies, and to vphold their oppositions, and if need were to demand a generall assembly of the States to provide for the same. And that the said Estates taking leaue of *Monsieur de la Force* the Kings Lieutenant generall, should report vnto him the aforesaid busines, beseeching him to giue aduice thereof vnto his Maiestie, as of a matter much importing his seruice. This Decree was signed as well by the Nobilitie, as the second Estate, in their assembly, the second of February 1617. Some write that this Decree was an enterprife vpon the Kings Soueraigntie in Bearne, vnder the name of States, which neither had nor could haue any iurisdiction or power to make a Decree; and that it shewed the bad intentions of such (as being farre from the Court) endeououred to stirre vp troubles vnder pretence of Religion.

We haue before made mention of the Kings Decree, for the establishment of the Romane Catholique Religion in Bearne, and touching the restitution of Ecclesiasticall goods: And how the King before he made the said Edict, had written vnto the Ministers of the reformed Churches of Bearne, to send their Deputies to the Court to see the proceedings for the restoring of the Ecclesiasticall reuennues, whereof his Maiestie had made graunt. The Apologie of the said Churches saith, That vpon the receipt of this Letter, they

Death of Monsieur de Villeroi.

A Decree of those of Bearne against their vnion vnto the Crowne of France.

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An assembly of
the reformed
Churches of
Bearn at
Orthes.

they had a very great assembly at Orthes, in July, where it was resolved, *That it was better to dye then to receive the said Graunt, and make restitution of the Ecclesiasticall goods, which would ruine the Religion & state of Bearn.* That in this assembly it was decreed to send vnto the King the Seigneur of L'Escun, to beseech him in the name of the Churches, to permit, that the Deputies required by his Maiestie, to see the proceeding of the reestablishment might be chosen by an Assembly of the three Estates of Bearn, and the Deputies of the reformed Churches of the Prouinces of high Languedoc, & low Guienne. That being come to Court, and hauing taken by the way at Rochel, the Maior & Sheriffs Letters to present vnto his Maiestie; He had audience at Saint Germanes in Lay, the seuenteenth of September. The said Apologie, faith also, *that Monsieur de la Force*, as Gouverneur of Bearn brought him in, and that the generall Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, which accompanied him in this audience, said vnto the King: That if the other Prouinces might haue assembled without offence to his Maiestie, as those of Rochel, they would haue presented Letters from all of them, beseeching his Maiestie to giue audience to *Monsieur de L'Escun*, who hauing done his obeisance, spake thus vnto his Maiestie.

Monsieur de
L'Escun spake
to the King.

Sir, the Lawes and customes of men differ one from another. But it hath bin alwayes honorable for every country to obserue their owne: whereof your subjects of Bearn haue bene more carefull then any other. And they haue had this particular fauour from heaven; That for these three hundred yeares and more, that they haue been subject vnto your Maiestie, and your Predecessors, their fundamentall lawes haue been so religiously obserued, as no one of their Soueraigne Lords hath ever made any alteration in the State, without the aduice and request of all the orders of the State. To which end, your Maiestie hauing commanded by Letters to the Ministers and Ancients of the reformed Churches, of your fouraigntie, to send Deputies to see the proceedings for the restitution of the goods of the Clergie; being desirous to yeld the humble obedience which they owe vnto your commandements, without breach of the fundamentall lawes of the Estate, vnder which they are borne and bred; they haue giuen mee charge to cast my selfe at your Maiesties feet, humbly to beseech you, that it would please you, that the deputation may bee made by an Assembly of the Deputies of all the Orders of the Estate, together with them of the reformed Churches of high Languedoc, and bafe Guienne; seeing that by your Maiesties permission they treat their affaires ioyntly with them. And for that there were certaine Petitions, presented vnto your Maiestie and Councell the last yeare which are vnanswered, they humbly beseech you, that you would bee pleased to vouchsafe them your accustomed iustice; and especially, touching a Petition, whereby your Maiestie was intreated to command, that information might be made against the Authors of a scandalous Libell, called the Monke, very preiudiciall to the safety of your Sacred Person, and the rights of your Soueraignty, the which they seeke to make subject to the Realme of Arragon; whereby your Petitioners apprehend, that they will in time make them subject to the rigour of the inquisition of Spaine, and draw them from the mildnes of your naturall subiection and obedience, to captiuate them vnder the yoke of a foraine command, then the which they had rather endure a thousand deaths. For the preventing of which danger, they humbly beseech your Maiestie to allow of their supplication, and they will continue their vovs and prayers to God, for your health, prosperitie and long life. To whom the King made answer, I haue vnderstood you well; I will conferre with my Councell, and you shall haue my answer.

The Kings
Edict for the
restoring of
the Clergie of
Bearn.

Soone after in September, the King made an Edict, for the settling of the Romish religion in Bearn, and the restitution of the Church-livings, the which they shall freely enioy, from the Feast of the Purification in the yeare 1618, from which time his Maiestie should bee freed and discharged of the summe of 2400 pound sterling yearly, and other summes, graces, and benefits, wherewith he had gratified them by way of annuall pension, commanding *Monsieur de la Force*, his Gouverneur and Lieutenant generall in his Realme of Nauarre and Soueraignty of Bearn, to see the execution of his will effected: yet not meaning in any sort to alter or diminish the graces and fauours which his deceased Lord and Father, and himselfe had conferred vpon his subjects, inhabiting the said Soueraignty, of what quality or condition soeuer, which were paid their wages, appointments, pensions, or gratifications, out of the reuenues of the said Clergie.

The

A The Seigneur of L'Escun and his fellow Deputies, hearing that this Edict was concluded and adrawing, they presently aduertised the reformed Churches of Bearn, who in the name of the Estates made a Decree on the tenth of November, by the which they concluded, that the Graunt of the restitution of the Clergies Lands, caused many grieuances against the liberties of the Country. Wherefore in case the prouisions for the said restitution should be presented, or any Commislarie, or other sent to proceed to the execution, they should aduise of the remedies, whereby they might make their opposition, and obtaine reparation of the wrong done by the Graunt thereof against their Lawes and Liberties. Notwithstanding, the Edict of restitution was verified in the Parliaments of B Thoulouse and Bourdeaux in December following.

But for that the Ministers complained, that his Maiestie had assigned their pensions out of the Countrie of Bearn, although that by the Decree of restitution, the Demesnes of Bearn were expressly mentioned: vpon a Proposition made in the Councell of Nauarre, by the Seigneur of *Plessis Moray*, the King being present, it was decreed; that for as much as in the Edict of restitution, there was no mention made of the Demesnes and Reuenues of Bearn, which were more then sufficient to free the said charges, which amounted yearly to the summe of seuen thousand and eight hundred pound sterling: And to the end that they who had the interest, should not doubt of his Maiesties goodwill and meaning, that they should bee duly paid their wages, pensions, appointments, and entertainments, which were formerly assigned vpon the Church-lands, should bee hereafter payed, out of all the Reuenues ordinarie, and extraordinarie, as well of the Demesnes of Bearn, as of those which his Maiestie had already affected by his Edict of restitution, the which should not be diuerted by himselfe or his successors to their preiudice, vpon any colour or pretext whatsoever.

In the famous Assembly at Rouen, the two last Propositions were, touching the reuocation of the Annuall right or Paulet, and the suppression of the Sale of Offices, which troubled the mindes of many Officers.

There were many propositions made to the Kings Councell for the one and the other. To proue that this Annuall right was profitable; they said, that the deceased King *Henry the Great* had established it; & it had bin approved by all the orders of the State. That this right brought vnto his Maiestie 100000 pound sterling yearly. They pretended that it was necessarie, and that it had giuen the King affectionate Officers in these last alterations, and made them depend vpon him alone. That it supplied the place of other impositions, and was paid only by the rich. That there was no inconuenience to exclude the poore from publique charges, neither was it necessarie that euery vertuous man should be an Officer. That it was profitable for the King to haue rich Officers, whose wealth was a warrant of their wisdomes; and that they were alwayes enemies to Factions. That the sale of Offices had been forbidden: but all their Lawes had proued vnprofitable. That it had bin alwayes vsed in France. That the King could not know all vertuous men in his Kingdom, and that the expedient propounded, of a roll wherein all well deservuing men should be written, was ridiculous, and an intution of Courtiers. That the Annuall right had made Officers grow old in their places, and gotten much experience. That to take away this Annuall right, wold chase away the ancient Officers. That the children succeeding in their Fathers Offices, were also bound to succeed to their virtues. Many other reasons were produced touching this subiect. But all their propositions were reiected, and his Maiestie made a Decree, by the which he did reuoke for euery the dispensation of forty dayes, granted to many of his Officers, in paying the Annuall right, wherunto they were taxed. Referring notwithstanding to acknowledge the vertue and merit of his Officers, who had discharged their places, with the reputation of integritie and sufficiency, to be it in their life time, by advancing them to higher places; or after their deaths, in gratifying their Widowes and children, out of the price of their offices, in case they dye before the forty dayes be expired. And touching the interdiction of the Sale of Offices, although his Maiestie had an intent to prouide for it, holding it necessary for the publique good: notwithstanding, to gratifie his Officers, and to giue them some time to accommodate their affaires, and also to haue meanes to finde some grounds for his Maiestie to make good his casuall reuenues: Hee was pleased to deferre the effect of the interdiction.

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A Decree made
by the States
of Bearn, against the re-
stitution.

The Kings
Edict touching
the Protestants
of Bearn.

Proposition for
the continuance
of the Annuall
right, and
sale of Offices.

A Decree of
the Councell
touching the
reuoking of the
Annuall right.

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The Kings Decree for restoring the Jesuits to their public Lectures.

We have formerly made mention of the contestations between the Vniuersitie of Paris and the Iesuits, who required to be admitted to teach in their Colledge at Paris. For the which the generall Estates had bene suitors vnto the King. Whereupon, the matter being called in question before the Councell of State, there was a Decree past the fifteenth of February this year, in fauour of the Iesuits; by the which his Maiestie did call vnto himselfe and his Councell the instance depending in the Court of Parliament of Paris, betwixt the Iesuites on the one part, and the Rectour, Deane, and Proctors of the Vniuersitie on the other, in regard of the said opposition. And hauing respect vnto the Petition of the States, and the publique interst; He ordained that the Iesuites should hereafter, make their publique Lectures in all sorts of sciences; and all other exercises of their profession in their Colledge of Clermont, as they had formerly done, and on such dayes and houres as shall be most convenient for their schollers; which Lectures his Maiesties meaning was, should be presently reestablished, without any opposition; with this Proviso, That they should obserue the rules of the Edict, and submit themselves to the Lawes and Orders of the Vniuersitie, as his Maiestie should ordaine. And his pleasure was, that the said Iesuites should be put in full possession of the said Lectures, by two Councillors and masters of Requests, or other Councillors of the Soueraigne Court, being first required by vertue of this Decree, and Letters of Commission, who shall transporth themselves vnto the places, notwithstanding any opposition, or appellation whatsoever; and if any hapned, his Maiestie reserved the knowledge thereof to himselfe and his Councell, forbidding all Courts to take notice thereof. This Decree was executed accordingly, and the Iesuites put in full possession of their Lectures.

The burning of the great Hall of the Palace at Paris.

On the fourth of March hapned that fearful fire of the great Hall of the Palace at Paris. About two of the clocke or more after midnight, the Sentinell at the Louure, next vnto the Riuier, saw as it were a circle of fire ouer the cowering of the Palace Hall. Soone after, the singing men of the holy Chappell, and some neighbours, by reason of a cry of fire which was made, saw this circle, which increased by little and little, and of the bignesse of a Hoghead. The watchmen who ordinarily keeps the gate of the Palace Court was vp at midnight; they knocked at one of the Hall doores; they cried out fire; but the Houfe-keeper and his seruants being in their first sleepe heard nothing of all this.

About halfe an houre after, some singing men and Merchants, who came running at the cry, forced open a little doore neere vnto the holy Chappell, by which they entered into the little Hall, and from thence they got into the great, where they saw the fire onely in the top of the rooffe, and beneath in foure of the Merchants shops. By this time the Keeper and his seruants were awake, who came to open the gates. The winde being Southerly, the great rooffe which was of dry wood and varnish, fell suddenly on fire, the girders and rafters began to fall vpon the shops, the Proctors seates, and the Chappell which was made of wood, and newly varnish; in the which there was aboue a hundred and fifty pound weight of Waxe-lights and Torchcs, which did so fire all the lower part of the Hall, as the Keeper had not leisure with his seruants to enter into his Houfe to saue his goods. The Merchants who came running to presteue what they had, were glad to retire for feare of the burning Timber which fell from the rooffe; about foure of the clocke the rooffe towards the Consultations fell, and soone after that of the midst, and about siue of the clocke the rest towards the Prison.

Vnto the Register came running at this cry, and entred into his Office, by the Kings garden, and saued his bookes of Records, and what else was there; as likewise the Registers of the Treasure, and what belonged to the Kings Councell. In the meane time the first President, and *Atensur Seruin* Aduocate generall, being lodged within the wals of the Palace, ordained what they thought fit to hinder the course of this fire. The Colonell of that quarter put the Burgesies in Armes for feare of some disorder. The Fire continuing and caried by a fourtherly winde, fell vpon the lodging of the Requests of the Houthold, of the Register of the Treasure, of the first Chamber of the Inquents, and the others Court, all neere vnto the golden Chamber, which were burnt and consumed in lesse then halfe an houre. It rained still on, and got the passage towards the Mercers gallerie and Court of Aydes. Then began there a great and fearfull cry, as well of the Prisoners who would haue saued themselves by force, (but the Proctor generall caused the chiefe of them to be conducted to other Prisons by the Provostry as by the Merchants who

caried

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caried away their goods, and cast their shops and stalles downe the staires, to take away all combustible matter. The Fire grew so violent, as it blew Slates ouer the Riuier of Seine, and the Tower of the great clocke was set on fire with a burning brand, the which was speedily recovered to saue the rest. Hauing vncouered those rooffes which were in danger of fire, they fell to quenching it; after which they caried away all the Timber & rubbish which lay in the Hall, lest it should endanger the vaults vnderneath.

The next day the Court assembling, they made a Decree concerning their Papers, Proccesses, and Registers which were wanting, inioyning all men of what condition so euer, that had taken and caried any away, or found them by accident, or otherwise, to deliuer them presently vnto *Iohn du Tillet*, Register of the said Court, or to his Deputie, without any fraud or deceit. And withall, they did forbid all Merchants, Apothecaries, or others, to buy directly or indirectly, any Parchments or written Papers: but if any be brought them, to retaine them, and acquaint the Iustice therewith: They spake diuersly of the cause of this accident.

Some would haue it to proceede from some pan of coales shut vp in some of the Mercers shops. Others, say that it was the Houle-keepers fault, who negligently in shutting of the doores, had left the end of a Torch vpon a Mercers shop, whereby the rest were set on fire.

There had beene a Peace concluded in Italy, betweene the Archduke *Ferdinand*, and the Venecians; thus rested nothing to settle a full peace in those parts; but the execution of the Treaties of Asse and Pavia, with the Sauoyard.

The Most Christian King who had vndertaken the performance of these Treaties, sent *Monseur de Motene*, to assist the Baron of Bedunes, to the end that all Townes and places taken on either side might be restored. But *Don Pedro de Toledo* made so many difficulties, and delays, as some wrote his Maiestie was forced to say vnto the Duke of Monteleon, Ambassador in France for the King of Spaine; *The opinion which they haue given the King of Spaine your Master, that I cannot goe out of my Realme, but I shall leave it full of troubles and diuisions, is the cause of the delays of Don Pedro your brother in law, to content my cousin the Duke of Sauoy: but I will haue him know, that although my estate should be abandoned to fire and sword in my absence, yet nothing shall hinder my resolution to passe the mountaines in person, to force Don Pedro to hold his word with me, and to performe the promise which I haue made to the Duke of Sauoy.*

The Kings speech to the Ambassador of Spaine.

After many journeys, according to the Treatie of Pavia, the Duke of Sauoy, beganne first to restore the places which he held from the Duke of Mantua, and the Prince of Masseran. And then *Don Pedro* deliuered to him, Saint German and Oncgle. These restitutiones and others were made by degrees. And on the fifteenth of Iunc, Versell, the most important of all was restored to the Duke of Sauoy.

A Peace concluded betweene the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Sauoy.

After this, his Highnes began first to send backe his Prisoners with Passports, and an honorable conuoy; some to Felizan, and others neere vnto Millan; as *Don Pedro's* Nephew, and the sonne of *Don Iohn de Vines*, Ambassador for his Catholique Maiestie in Italy: And then *Don Pedro* did the like. So as there remained nothing for a full execution of the Peace, but a publication for the restitution of priuate mens goods, which had serued either party: the which the Duke of Sauoy performed accordingly on the eighth of Iuly. After which, the like was performed in the Duchy of Millane, and in Montserrat: So as the Peace was fully settled in Italy.

It is written, that on the fourteenth of February this year: The Lord Chancellor dismissed the Seigneur of L'Escun, Councillor in the Court of Parliament of Pau, and Deputie for the reformed Churches of Bearne, in the presence of the generall Deputies of the reformed Churches of France, and the particular Deputies of base Languedoc. Telling him in the Kings name, that his Maiesties pleasure was they should not make any assemblies within his country of Bearne, to those ends which were mentioned in their Petition of the fourteenth of September; That is to say, *That the Deputies desired by his Maiestie to see the proceeding in the restitution of the Church-lands, should be chosen by an Assembly of three Estates of Bearne, and the Deputies of the reformed Churches of high Languedoc, and base Guenene.*

They of Bearne called an assembly at Caste-laux.

The reformed Churches of Bearne being assembled at Pau, received Letters from L'Escun of his dismissal. Whereupon the States being at that time assembled in the same

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same town, resolved to call the Deputies of the Councils of three Prouinces of France A next adjoining to Bearne, that is to say, high and bafe Languedoc, and bafe Guienne, to meet at Castel Laloux on the first of May.

Forbidden by
the King.

The King aduertised of this Conuocation, sent Letters to the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and the Chamber of the Edict at Nerac to proceed against the Authors thereof, and against all such as should assift them, as breakers of the Edict, and troublers of the publique peace. So as the Gouverneur and Consuls of Castel-laloux, and such as had the command of other Townes in Guienne for them of the Religion, refused the holding of the same assembly.

The Kings
Declaration
against the
Aile by at
Orthes.

The Deputies of Bearne & they of bafe Guienne, and high Languedoc, being come to B the place appointed on the first of May; and seeing the refusal was made to hold the Assembly, they went to Tonnus, where they had the like dismission. Hereupon they consulted together, and resolved to goe to Orthes in Bearne, on the five and twentieth of May, and there to hold their Assembly with all libertie; taking an oath amongst them, not to speake any thing vntill the day. His Maieitie being aduertised that they had assigned their assembly out of the Iurisdiction of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, hee made another Declaration, verified in the Court of Parliament at Paris, on the five and twentieth of May, and in the Chamber of C. sties, commanding all Iudges to proceed against them, which should be found the Authors, and which should assift at the said assembly in Bearne, and in all other assemblies forbidden by the Edicts, as breakers thereof, and troublers of the C publique peace.

Notwithstanding all these prohibitions, the assembly held at Orthes; and they sent Letters to the generall Deputies of France, residing in Court, charging them to present the Assemblies Letter vnto the King, and to beseech him to answer them fauourably in their Petition made by the Seigneur of L'Escun; and in case of refusal to desire a generall Assembly. Hereunto they made answer: That they would not receiue their Letter coming from an vnlawfull Assembly. As for them, they would heare them alwayes as generall Deputies, and not as having commission from the said Assembly.

About the same time, *Monfieur de*, Councillor of State, & Master of Requests, deputed Commissarie by the King, for the execution of the Edict of restitution, parted frō Court, D & arrived at Pau, the 9 of Iune, where hauing delivered vnto the Proctor generall the Edict of restitution with the Decrees of the Courts of Parliament of Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux, to be enrolled in the said Parliament of Pau, and executed: they write that during his abode there, they stirred vp the schollers, and others, to commit many insolencies, and to speake many opprobrious words vnto him at his lodging doore; the which *Monfieur de la Force* the Gouverneur, nor the Court of Parliament, did in no sort punish, but only restrained them. It is also written that the Deputies of the Estates, and the reformed Churches of Bearne, presented their requests vnto the Parliament, to be admitted opponents vnto the Edict, and verifications presented by the Proctor generall, and that the Bishops of Oleron, and L'Escar should giue their request of Recusation against the Seigneur of L'Escun, Councillor in the Parliament, Deputie for the said Churches, as being party.

Decree of the
Parliament of
Pau, against
the Edict of
restitution.

The matter being heard, there was a Decree made by the Parliament, by the which it was said; That in regard of the Edicts, Letters Parents, and Declarations enrolled in that Court, granted as well by his Maieitie now reigning, as by other Kings his Predecessors, in fauour of their subiects of the reformed Religion dwelling in that Country: there was no meanes to proceed to the verification of the Edict concerning the restitution. But his Maieitie should bee humbly intreated to leaue matters as they were, for the good of his seruice; the settling of his estate; and the goods of his subiects: enioyning notwithstanding all the inhabitants of that Country, of what Religion so euer, to retire to their houses, and to liue in p. ace, vnitie and concord.

The Kings
In iunction to the
Parliament
of Pau.

The King being informed of all these proceedings: it was resolved in Councill to send another Iussion to the Soueraine Court of Pau, wherein making repetition of the Errors had been committed; he enioynes them expressly, (notwithstanding their Decree of the one and twentieth of Iune) to proceed without delay to the publication and inrolling of the said Letters Parents, and Edicts of restitution: and the full execution thereof, for as much as should depend of them; and notwithstanding that he had by his Edicts more then plainly satisfied all those which might either directly or indirectly be interested in

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A in the said restitution; yea, with such losse and disadvantage to himselfe, as hee was not only dispossest of all the reuenues which he had in Bearne, but also of a good part of his neighbour-Countries. Yet he declared, that if after the verifying of the said Decrees and Edict, there should be any one found which pretended any losse or prejudice thereby, which deserved consideration and recompence, he would receiue their complaints, and giue them full satisfaction. Withall he gaue commandement, they should make their proceffe, which had come in armes to attempt against his Commissary; and likewise to proceed against those which had assembled at Orthes contrary to his Edicts and Decrees, and to punish them according to the rigor of the lawes.

B This yeare *Monf. de D'Ornano* Gouverneur of Castle-Trompet in Bourdeaux was made Lieutenant Gouverneur in the Prouince of Normandie, and the particular government of *Pont de Larche*, the which *Monf. de Luyne* enioyed after the death of the Marshall *D'Ancre*: And the said *Monf. de D'Ornano* yielded vp Castle-Trompet into the Kings hands. *Monf. de Luyne* was made Gouverneur of the Ile of France, and had likewise the particular government of Soissons, Noyon, Chauny and Compi. by the resignation which the Duke of *Mayenne* made thereof into the Kings hands: whereupon he was made Gouverneur and Lieutenant Generall in Guienne, for which he tooke his oath before his Maieitie. Thus the Duke of *Mayenne* left Soissons to goe to Bourdeaux to be at the Registering of his Letters of Prouision in Parliament. Where hee arrived in the beginning of C Iuly, at the reading whereof there was much spoken in honour of the said Duke, and of the many good seruices which he and the House of Lorraine had done to the House of France.

Exchange of
Gouernments.

Barnonville, who commanded in the Bistille, being accused to haue had his eyes blinded with a diamond, to suffer *Barbin*, a prisoner there, to receiue letters and write answers, lost his place, & was the cause that the Baron of Persan his brother, who had the custodie of the Prince of Conde, being come from Bois de Vincennes to Paris, vpon certaine haughty words which he spake, was committed to prison: the King giuing the guard of the Prince, to the Seigneur of Vernet, brother in law to *Monfieur de Luyne*.

Of all the accused, one was condemned to dye, others banished, some to retire to their D houses, and the Prisons were opened to others. The King being intriued by the kinsmen of some great men condemned, to shew his clemency towards them, would that it should not only extend vnto them for whom they were suitors but vnto all, *Barbin* onely excepted, who had beene banished France, but his punishment was changed to a perpetuall imprisonment.

About the beginning of September, France lost the Cardinall of Perron. King *Henry* the third knowing the sharpnesse of his wit, tooke him into his seruice, and gaue him 1200 crownes a yeare to be his Reader. He followed his Master to Tours. After whose decesse, the Cardinall of Vendosme making great accompt of his learning, brought him to the Court after the siege of Chartres. The King seeing his sufficiency and learning, E beganne to affect him much, and made him Bishop of Eureux. After the Kings conuersion, as some write by his perswasion, hee was sent to Rome to represent his filiall obedience, and to reconcile him to the holy Sea, the which he obtained from Pope *Clement 8*. Being returned from Rome, he purchased a great deale of honour and reputation with the King and Court, vpon a conference which he had at Fontaine Bleau with *Monfieur de Plessis Moray*. Soone after, his Holinesse sent him a Cardinall Hat, the which was very pleasing vnto the King, who gaue him the Archbishopricke of Sens being void, and made him his chiefe Almoner. The Reconciliation of the Pope with the Venetians, was partly made by his aduice, with many other goodly actions. And without doubt it may bee said of him, that he had beene one of the learnedst and greatest Prelates of the Romish Church F in his time.

The Kings
voyage to
Soissons.

On the last of September *Monf. de Luyne* came to Soissons, to take possession of the government of the Ile of France. The next day the King came thither, where he was receiued with all demonstrations of publike ioy; the which the inhabitants did shew by the brute of their Cannon, which they had planted vpon their Bulwarkes. The Kings voyage should haue been longer; but all the Country thereabouts being ruined by the Armies, for the space of four yeares, it drew the King backe againe with his Court to Paris.

The King being aduertised, that the Duke of Sauoy sent the Prince Cardinall his sonne [f]

The Cardinall
of Sauoy comes
to Paris.

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sonne vnto him, as well to giue him thanks for the assistance which he had receiued from A his Ma^{tie} in the protection and pacifying of his Estates and Countries, as to finish the alliance propounded for the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, the Dukes eldest son, and Madam^e *Christienne*, the Kings second Sister. He gaue commandement to the Gouernours of Prouinces and Townes where hee should passe, to receiue him with all honour, and to dⁱst^ray him as was fit for a personage of his qualitie and dignitie, wherein there was nothing wanting during his whole iourney.

In the beginning of Nouember, hee arriued at Paris, where he receiued as honorable entertainment, as he could desire or imagine, no lesse suitable to his blood and ranke, then to the greatnesse and magnificence of the House of France. Hee was lodged in Piquigny place, and was serued by the Kings Officers. He had audience, and in the end obtained a Grant of the Marriage for which hee came: the accomplishment whereof will belong to the next year.

Proposition of
the French
Ambassador: to
the vniued
Estates.

The beginning of this year was troublesome in the vniued Prouinces, by reason of the Arminian faction, and their criminal proceeding against *Barnetus*, Advocate generall of the Estates of Holland and West-Friesland, who was held to bee the head and chiefe of the Arminians. Hee was a man of great credit and authoritie in those Prouinces, having past all the Offices a man could desire in a Soueraigne Commonwealth; but alwayes opposite to the Prince of Orange. Being committed to Prison the last year, they were now vpon the point to proceed against him. Whereupon the French King sent an extraordinarie Ambassadour to the generall Estates, who being assisted by the Leiger; they made their proposition vnto the said Estates, exhorting them, to continue firme in the vnion of their Prouinces; as the chiefe foundation of an Estate, and to be careful left the changes of Magistrats and Consuls, which they had made in their Townes, did not increate the hatred and dissention among the Citizens in stead of curing it. That the Synode which they had called should be free and safe, for all which should assit there. That free Common-weales, had alwayes spared the blood of their Citizens. That the Seigneur of *Barnetus* was recommendable for the good seruices which he had done vnto his Country. That they should giue to him and others accused, Iudges which were not suspect, nor passionat, who may iudge according to the lawes of your Country, by plaine and vndoubtfull proofes, and not by coniectures and presumptions. That the King aduised them to vse Clemencie, and mildnes towards these prisoners, and not rigor, as most pleasing to God, and fit to winne the loues of the people, and make them obedient, which his Ma^{tie} desired for the interest hee hath in the preservation of their State, and the knowledge he had of the great seruices this prisoner had done them, and the affection he had alwayes borne to entertaine the Alliance between France and that Estate; such remarkable testimonies of his loyalty and fidelitie, that they seemed to exclude all treason and treacherie.

The answer of
the generall
Estates.

The generall Estates made answer to the Ambassadors proposition; wherein they complained, for that the most Christian King would not suffer any of the Ministers of France to assit at their Nationall Synod, which began at Dordrecht the last year. And touching the Prisoners, there was no losse of time, but they laboured therein duely and diligently, wherein they had proceeded so farre, as they doubted not but they would doone come to iudgement, which should be such as at the publication thereof, all the Allies which did affect the prosperity of that Estate, and especially his Ma^{tie}, who was a Prince of Iustice and Equitie, would commend their iust proceedings. But touching the Ministers of France, assit at any foraine Synode, *K. Henry the 4.* at the Pacification of Nantes, inserted an Article, whereby all strange Ministers were forbidden to come to the Synods of the reformed Churches in France; and in like manner the Ministers of France restrained from any foraine Synods.

An Italian A-
menist burnt at
Thoulouze.

The last year in Nouember, there was an Italian in the towne of Thoulouze committed Prisoner, who was a Philosopher, and a very learned man, and went from house to house to teach such youth as desired to learne Philosophie. Hee maintained and taught, that our bodies were without soules, & that dying all dies with vs like vnto brut beasts. That the blessed Virgin *Mary* (oh execrable blasphemie) had had carnall knowledge like vnto other women, with other words more scandalous, and vnworthy to be written, or spoken.

B.

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A By his eloquence he did so insinuate his pernicious doctrine into the vnderstandings of his p^rimate auditors, as they began to wauer in their Faith: which comming to the knowledge of the Parliament, they sent out Warrants to apprehend him; who being examined, hee maintained his instructions to bee true: whereupon his proceffe was made, and sentence giuen, by which hee was condemned to doe penance in his shirt, with a Torch in his hand, and to be drawne vpon a Hurdle, his tongue to be cut out, and to be burnt aliue, the which was executed in the beginning of Februarie. He died with as much constancie, patience and resolution, as euery man did. For coming out of the prison with a cheerefull countenance; He spake these words in Italian: *Gou gowe, let us die cheerfully like a Philosopher.* Being aduised to aske God forgiveness, he said in the presence of many; There is neither God nor deuill: for if there were a God, I would intreat him to shooe a Thunderbolt vpon the Parliament, as being altogether vniust. And if there were a Deuill, I would also pray him to swallow them vp into the infernall gulphes: but because there is neither the one or the other, I will not say any thing.

Having made mention of the punishment of Atheists, wee will continue the discourse, with the relation of a Jewish woman, which was burnt by the people of Saint *Iohn de Luz* on the twentieth of March. *Philip* the second of Spain, hauing vniued Portugall to the Crowne of Castile, many Families of Iewes retired themselves into Holland, and other places of Christendome, for feare of a strict Inquisition: and many were fled into the Villages, vpon the Frontiers of Biscay, where they did liue Christian-like in shew, and yet in secret they made their Conuenticles and Synagogues in Caves, contrarie to the Kings ordinances.

The Vicar generall of Bayonne, hauing giuen charge to a Priest of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, to obserue the behaviour of these Portugals, he did it so carefully, as on the 19 of March, certaine Portugall women presenting themselves to Confession, and afterwards to the Communion, which was administred vnto them, by one *Don Anthony* a Portugall Priest, but held for a Iew: he discouered that all these women as soone as they had receiued the sacred Host, they presently put their right hand to their mouths, which made him coniecture that theyooke it forth. Being verie nere vnto the last, whose name was *Katherine Fernandes*, he plainly perceiued, that as soone as she had receiued it, she drew it out with her Handkerchiefe, and hid it in her sleeve. Whereupon the Priest went vnto her, saying, wicked woman, what hast thou done? who seeing her selfe surprized, answered that she was mad. Hereupon the Priest called some to assit him: which the Portugall Priest, & the other women perceiuing, they fled presently away. *Fernandes* being taken, and caused to draw out her handkerchiefe, they found the Host in it somewhat moist, the which they put vp againe with great reuerence into the holy Pixe. The woman being examined by the Vicar generall of Bayonne, she excused her selfe, saying, that the Deuill had made her commit this sinne; that coughing, it had slip out of her mouth, and that she had kept it to take at leisure in her lodging. The people being impatient of any long delay in her examination; and hearing that the Iewes had made a purse to saue her life; they resolved to doe iustice themselves. So going into the Vestry, they brought her forth in the view of many Iudges, putting her presently into an empty barrell, and an empty Pitch-barrel vpon her head and shoulders. Then filling the barrell wherein the fate with Pitch and Rosin, Straw, drie Wood, and other combustible materials, all the people came running and set fire to it, burning her aliue, which the Officers of Iustice could not hinder. Being burnt, they found in the Ashes Jewels of great price, for she was verie rich.

After this, the people gaue present commandement to all the Portugals and Iewes to depart from thence forthwith, if not, to be all burnt: whereunto they were forced to obey flying to Biarritell, a league distant from Bayonne, where they now remaine.

The King Proctor generall of Bourdeaux caused information to be made for this burning, and Warrants to be sent out, to apprehend as well the Bailiffe and Jurats, as against the rest of the Inhabitants of Saint *Iohn de Luz*, being an enterprize of dangerous consequence, and against the authoritie of the Kings iustice: but it was a popular mutinie, zealous in their Religion.

The Duke of Sauoy, hauing receiued newes in the beginning of the year by a Post, sent from the Cardinall of Sauoy; That the Treatie of marriage of the Prince of Pied-

[2]

A lewd woman
burnt by
the people of
Saint Iohn de
Luz.

Triumph at
Thurin for the
conclusion of
the Princes
marriage.

1619 Piedmont with the Ladie *Christienne* second daughter of France was concluded, A they were verie acceptable, being accompanied with a fauor wherewith the King honored the Prince, knding him the Ladies colours, which were presented vnto him by *Monsieur Marin*, Councillor to his Maieftie, and his Agent in Italie. For three daies space there was nothing but publike piceoffions throughout all Sauoy, and Picdmont, shooting off of Cannons, Bonfires; and other exterior signes of ioy.

After which there was a solemne triumph proclaimed, in which the Prince was Challenger, being assisted by eleuen other Knights, and Prince *Thomas* his brother defendant with as many more, all which was performed with great state. The Court of France was in like manner full of ioy. The Duke of Elbauf married the yong Ladie of Vendosme. B The Duke of Guise went from Paris to Marfeilles, to draw a Fleet together to free the Seas from the Pyra's of Argier; and the Duke of Tremouille went to Sedan, to marrie the Duke of Bouillons Daughter, where there was great triumphs and ioy.

The marriage of
the Prince of
Piedmont with
the Ladie
Christienne.

The Prince of Piedmont and his brother Prince *Thomas*, came to Lions on the first of February, where *Monsi. D'Alincourt*, Gouverneur of the Towne, entertained them very sumptuously. From thence they tooke Poste and came to Rouen where they embarked vpon the Loire: but their boat making no such speed as the Prince desired, he landed at Bonne with his brother and some Noblemen, leaving their traine to come after: there they tooke Posts and came to Paris on the seventh of February, wherethey were entertained with all shewes of honour. On the 10 of February the Prince of Piedmont was married to the Ladie *Christienne* the Kings sister: And it was obserued that on the 10 of February, in the year 1606 she was borne. There were manie discourses vpon this marriage, to shew how religiously the will of the deceased King *Henry* the Great, had bene performed in the accomplishment of this marriage: That it was necessary to renew the ancient alliances of the Kings of France and Dukes of Sauoy thereby. To honour this Marriage the King presented the most stateliest masque which hath bene read of.

The Duke of
Espernon re-
turned to Metz.

During these Magnificences in signe of publike ioy for the Ladies marriage, and of an assured peace in France, They might discover a thicke cloud rising about Metz. The King had sent for the Duke of Esperson to come to him to Rouen during the Assembly, who leaving his government of Angoulême attended vpon his Maieftie. The Court returning to Paris, in the beginning of the year 1618, whether he had taken some discontent, or they had giuen him any: In Aprill following, hee tooke occasion to goe visit his faire house of Fontenay in Brie, and some dayes after retired to Metz, being discontented with those whom the King fauoured, so as meeting them once going downe the great staires at the Louure, and they coming vp, he said vnto them, *My masters you mount, and we descend*. The which the Courtiers obserued well. That being at Metz, vpon certain differences which had happened, the President and some of the discreetest Inhabitants, were gone out of the Towne. The King desiring to bee informed of the true cause thereof, had sent *Monsieur Fanier* a Councillor and Master of Requests to Metz, with commission to restore all things to their first state. The which he had done for the President, but not for the rest: whereof he brought Letters from the Duke vnto the King, and that it seemed he had a desire to part from Metz, to goe to Angoulême. Whereupon the King wrote vnto him.

The King wrote
the Duke of
Espernon.

That in regard the warres were newly kindled in Germanie; and that it seemed they would not bee so easily quenched, but might extend further: He held his preference more necessarie now then euer in the towne of Metz, commanding him expressly not to depart without order from him, the which he should haue, as soone as the affaires of the Frontiers would suffer it: assuring himselfe, that hee would yield him the seruice he desired, and whereunto he was bound by his place. Paris the eleuenth of Ianuary 1619.

The Duke of
Espernon an-
swers to the
Kings last let.

The Duke made answer vnto the Kings Letter, the which I amforced to insert, being matter of State, and the forerunner of a great alteration.

Sir, (saith he) I haue nothing to answer to your Maieftie: But that hauing alwaies depended absolutely vpon your commandments, and hauing neuer propounded in my actions any other ends then the good of your Estate; the least interst which shal concern my charge, is not only sufficient to stay me here, but shall bind me to expose my life in all places for your seruice: but now, Sir, France enioying a generall Peace, your affaires

F

so

A so strongly confirmed; and the honour of your friendship so deare vnto your neighbors, that as there is nothing within the Realme, but bowes vnder your authority; so abroad there is no Prince but doth respect your power, or is preferred by your iustice. And touching the troops of Bohemia. The danger which they imagin (who make matters greater then they are) is so farre from this Frontier, as the apprehension wee would take, can haue no ground, seeing that no man Armes on this side the Rhine. These considerations, Sir, doe not binde mee to stay in this Countie where all things are in so good an Estate, and where the stay of my Sonne *La Vallette* shall be sufficient in my absence, to giue order for anything which may concerne the good of your affaires. I assure my selfe your Maie- B ste is so iust, as you will regard the necessitie of my particular, and be pleased that I may returne vnto my house from whence I haue bene absent about fiftene moneths. I take that libertie which you allow vnto the least, which haue the honour to be vnder your obedience. I doubt not but you will be well pleased with the desire I haue to make this Voyage, and I assure my selfe you will consider that since your coming to the Crown, C hauing bene engaged in 100000 crownes for your seruice; for which I pay the interrest at Paris, and not hauing receiued any gift from your Maieftie these two yeares, but the simple pay of a Collonell, at the rate of ten moneths a yeare, it is not possible for mee to defray the great and necessarie charges that I am bound to bee at here, to maintain the dignitie of my charge, and doe your Maieftie seruice with more lustre. Finally, Sir, seeing mine enemies daily seek to raise doubts in your Maiesties minde of my purcell intentions, D & that I am so unfortunate as being growne old in the seruice of three great Kings, I must be troubled to defend my loyaltie against slander. I am inforced to say with much griefe, that I haue contained my selfe in my dutie, when as they propounded vnto me recompence for disobedience: and that I haue defended your authority, when as some abused it, and others contemned it. They doe mee wrong to thinke, that I would begin to faile at this age; and that my particular interrests are more deare vnto me then your seruice. Wherein Sir, I will freely confesse, that I haue no cause to complaine but of my bad fortune, being assured that verue is not suspected vnder your raigne, nor reputation odious; and that your Maieftie is too iust, not to distinguish the innocent from the Nocent. For E in effect, Sir, seeing that when you were not yet at libertie, the mildnesse of your disposition was so great, as you did alwayes oppose against violent Councils, and could not endure that your authority should be employed to the ruine of your subiects. There is no apparance, that now when you depend wholly of your selfe, and that no man doth force the bounty of your inclination: you would toyle the age of one of your best seruants, and the most ancient Officer of your Crowne, nor deny him that rest which Nature demands. I thinke, Sir, I may hope for this, at the least as a recompence of my long & faithful seruices, seeing your Maieftie may giue it me, (as I most humbly beseech you) without any discommoditie of your affaires: hauing neuer expected any other fruit of my actions, then the contentment to haue done them. I shall hold my selfe happie enough to receiue the Testimonie of my conscience, to haue bene truly, and so will continue, your most humble, faithfull, and affectionate subiect and seruant, *L. Louis de La Vallette*. From Metz the seventeenth of Ianuary 1619.

Thus the King would haue the Duke of Esperson continue at Metz, and he desired to goe to Angoulême. The subiect of his desire will bee knowne hereafter by that which happened.

Vpon this resolution he made preparation for all which he held necessarie for his voyage; that is to say, of Men, Armes, and Horfes, hauing drawne together 200 Cheualiers and Carabins. All being ready, he caused the gates of Metz to be shut (some daies together before his departure; and certaine daies after, so as they could haue no aduertisement at Court, before he had crost Lorraine and Bourgundie, past the Riuer of Loire betwene Desire and Rouane, and Lallerat at Pont de Vichy. From whence hee wrote thus vnto the King.

Sir, hauing formerly represented vnto your Maieftie the long patience wherein I haue attended in my government of Metz all occasions to doe your seruice, and promising vnto my selfe, that hauing taken into consideration, the necessitie of my affaires, you would bee fully satisfied of my resolution, so lawfully grounded. I did beleue that I should not bee blamed by your Maieftie, or any other; if at this age (hauing giuen the best

part

[3]

part

The Duke of
Espernon
leaves Metz
contrary to the
Kings will.

Another
Letter of
the Duke of
Espermon.

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part of my life vnto the publike) I desired to goe and end it in peace, and to enioy part of that rest, which you haue purchased for your estate. Notwithstanding, Sir, the least of your desires are so deare vnto me, and I am so religious in all the circumstances of my duty, as I had not vnderaken my journey, if the subiect of my stay had not ceased, and the difficulties of the warre of Bohemia quite taken away. But hearing that the Duke of Lorraine had bene aduertised from those Countries, that the affaires were vpon point of reconciliation; and that the ouerture began by a suspension of Armes, I did not thinke that the good of your seruice bound mee to stay any longer in a place, which is in no danger in the time of Peace, and which will reape benefit by the weaknesse of the Empire, if the warre continue. If there be any part in this Estate which is lesse sound B then other, and where the publike tranquillitie hath need to bee more carefully preferred: I assure my selfe that your Maiestie will iudge, it is the Prouince whither I goe: And that seeing it is vnder my charge, I am bound to watch for all which may concerne the quiet thereof, and not to suffer any thing to passe, which may preiudice your authoritie. So as Sir, if now I embrace the occasions, your Maiestie (if you please) will doe mee the honour to consider that herein I disobay not your commandements, but doe expound them according to their true sense, and giue them their best interpretation, being most profitable for your seruice. For in effect, Sir, no man is ignorant, that as the maintenance of your authoritie is the first law of your Estate; so the good of your affaires, is the most important of your commandements: which being absolutely true, C what apparance should there be (if hauing means to preserve a Prouince diuided in will, for your Maiestie; and by my presence to stay them which might bee subiect to alterations, if they were not fortified in their duties) to breake off a necessarie voyage, I should propound to my selfe so weak and remote considerations as those of the warre of Bohemia. I am not, Sir, of that age that I should feede my selfe with vanities; neither doe I thinke that your Maiestie doth regard me so slightly, as you will make no other vse of my seruice, then to see your pocketes safely conueyed from Germany. Nor doe I hold my selfe so vnprofitable as I must be forced to doe you and your Estate seruices of so small consequence. I humbly beseech your Maiestie to iudge fauourably, and to doe me the honour to beleuee that wherofeuer I am, (notwithstanding the bad vltage D I haue receiued for these twenty moneths) there is not any man liuing, that can corrupt me; nor any powerfull necessitie alter me, but will alwayes be your most humble, most obedient, faithfull, and affectionate seruant, *Lo: Lewis de la Vallée*. From Pont de Vichy the 7 of February 1619.

The Duke of
Espemou
was going
out of Metz.

The Duke continued on his journey to recouer Angoulême, by the Country of Lymosin. It was written to Court, that going from Metz, hee would see all his troope that should accompanie him in this voyage, goe out of the gates before him: that hee came last, and that the gates were shut vpon him. That hauing viewed his companie, and finding them all to bee well mounted and armed, he said, *I goe to vndertake the boldest enterprise that euer I made*. They thought in Court that his meaning was concerning his going from Metz, contrary to the Kings expresse commandement (which indeed was verie bold:) but afterwards they found, that his meaning was, by the assistance which he gaue vnto the Queene to conduct her from Blois to Angoulême.

The Duke of
Espemou
knows the
Queenes de-
parture from
Blois.

The King and the whole Court was gone in the beginning of Lent to Saint Germain in Lay, but he stayed not long; for on the three and twentieth of Februarie, a Nobleman brought him Newes that the Queene his Mother was gone from the Castle of Blois, vpon the one and twentieth, at night: That she had past by Mont Richard, whete the Archbishop of Thoulouſe met her with twenty horse; and a little beyond, the Duke of Espemou attended her with a great troope, and conducted her to Loches. These newes were the subiect of the Kings speedie returne to Paris, where hee receiued this Letter from the Queene his Mother.

The queens
letter to
king.

My Lord, my sonne, I haue suffered my honour and libertie to bee long oppressed, and haue endured strong apprehensions of my life; and that which was most sensible vnto me, was the priuation of your sight. All which hath bene done, being in some fort countenanced by your name: with the like patience would I haue attended the future, without search for mine owne particular, whether your will were well or ill aduised, but being informed to my great griefe, of the apparant danger of your affaires, if it were not soone

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A soone made knowne vnto you, I resolved to put my selfe into some sure place, where being free, I might let you vnderstand that which was impossible for me, being in the power of those which hide it from you, as some of the greatest of your Kingdome and abroad, haue with a thousand protestations counſelled me to doe. To this end I haue hazarded a perillous departure, and haue entreated my Cousin the Duke of Espemou, to retire me to Angoulême, whither I goe in regard of the certaine knowledge I haue of his fidelity and affection to your seruice, and by that which your father of happy memory my Lord and Husband gaue me, commanding me to rely wholly vpon his integrity and wisdom, in your most important affaires; and for mine owne particular, if they could bee diuided B from yours: which hauing done for your good, and to moue you to preuent the inconveniences which might trouble you, I assure my selfe that you will allow of my resolution, and be well pleased that I invite you therunto, by the most tender affections of a good mother, and by the trueſt duties a faithfull seruant can doe you; assuring you that you shall doe much for your selfe, and shall greatly binde me, if you giue the means and manner which it shall please you I shall hold to acquaint you therewith, without hatred or ambition: to the end I may see your reigne happy, and your Realme in peace; and that it may bee knowne, that I neither haue had, haue, or will haue hereafter any other end but your seruice: for the which I will not only forget all my discontents, but will willingly sacrifice my liberty and life, when the good counsell you should haue, or your selfe shall C hold it profitable. Delay will breed impossibility in the remedies, the which are now easie, safe, and honorable, as I will let you vnderstand with all sincerity and respect, and with protestation neuer to affect any authoritie in the conduct of your affaires: for as I deal therein with much paine and danger during your tender age, being therunto bound, so now I pretend no other part but the glorie to see them managed by your selfe, with the dignity and authority which is due vnto you, and to reioyce (as I would I now could) hearing every man content with your reigne, proclaime your vertues and your prayſes, in what place it pleased you I should end the remainder of my dayes: Praying God, as I doe continually, with the most passionate feeling of my soule for your prosperity, and of your whole Realme, being your most humble and affectionate mother and seruant, *Mary*. D From Loches the 23 of February.

The Duke of Espemou in like manner the same day, and from the sayd place wrote this following Letter to the King.

Sir, presently after my coming to this Towne, I receiued commandement from the Queene your Maiesties Mother, to receiue her here, and then to conduct her to Angoulême, wherewith I thinke she hath acquainted your Maiesty by her Letters, and with the subiect of her resolution: the which I thought I could not refuse, without failing much in my duty to your Maiesty and her; humbly beseeching you to beleuee, that as I haue neuer failed (notwithstanding any bad vltage) in my seruice to the King your Predecessor and your Maiesty, so I would not beginne at this age to make a breach in my duty, defining rather to die a thousand deaths, then to doe any thing contrary to the fidelity of my long seruices, and which might giue your Maiesty iust cause to doubt mee, as I hope to E witnesse by good effects, in all occasions which shall be offered, to be your most humble and obedient subiect and affectionate seruant, *Lo: Lewis de la Vallée*.

There was no answer made to this Letter: but to the Queene Mothers the King wrote this Letter with his owne hand.

Madam, I was at Saint Germaines with a resolution to see you within few dayes, when as three Postes brought me newes, that the Duke of Espemou had caried you from Blois, having first perswaded you to leaue that place, vpon pretext that you could not continue there in safety. This action seemed so extraordinary and strange vnto me, as I could hardly F ly beleuee it: For whether that I consider the quality of your person, or the condition of the time, you will confesse that there is no kind of discontent for the which I should bee lesse prepared, not thinking that there should be any man whatsoeuer, who in a full peace should presume, I will not say to execute, but to conceiue a resolution to attempt vpon the liberty of his Kings Mother; but God who is the iust protector of Kings, and doth assist me visibly in all my designs, will giue me the grace to punish this injury so powerfully, as the mischief shall fall vpon those which couer themselves with your name, and seeke their aduantages in the ruine of my subiects, and the blisfull of my authority. The

The D. of
Espemou
Letter.

The Kings
answer to
the Que
Letter.

marks

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" markes of power which the Duke of Eſpernon doth praſtiſe vpon your ſpirit, are ſo vi. A
 " ſible in the Letter which he hath made you to write, as it is caſie to iudge, you haue writ-
 " ten it with grieſe: For who can imagine, that hauing giuen me ſo many bad impreſſions,
 " you ſhould now ſeeke to perſwade me, that the deſealed King my Lord and Father, had
 " commanded you a little before his death, to make uſe of his counſell both in my affaires
 " and your owne. You know, Madam, in your confidence, that his opinion and apprehen-
 " ſion were quite contrary, as you haue often declared vnto me, and haue your ſelfe made
 " triall by experience. Moreouer, being well informed, as you are, of the good govern-
 " ment of my Eſtate, and hauing ſo often reioyced with me by your Letters, when you
 " will was not transported by the motions and paſſions of another: who would be ſo void B
 " of iudgement, to beleue that you haue not bene forced to complaine, that you haue
 " not receiued that ſlage from me you deſerue? If that were, I deſtined firſt to be blamed,
 " for that all reſolutions which concerne you, haue not onelie bene countenanced by my
 " name, but haue proceeded from mine own motion, and the aduice of my Councell, which
 " is the Councell of the deſealed King my Father.

" Madam, my confidence, yours, and all France can witneſſe, that I haue forgotten no
 " kind of dutie towards you, which is a great ſatisfaction vnto me: The loue and feare of
 " God being ſo engrauen in my ſoule, as I hold my ſelfe more glorious in that fauour, then
 " in the poſſeſſion of my Eſtate. I deſire not that my Crowne ſhould diſpence me of the
 " reſpect which Children owe vnto their Parents. If you haue at any time thought, that C
 " the tender feelings of a ſonne were not viſible, it was to take the true intereſt of a King and
 " Father of my People, and that the condition of times and affaires would not ſuffer me to
 " doe otherwiſe: You your ſelfe haue often witneſſed by your Letters, that this conduct
 " was ſo iuſt, as you could not be offended, and that you willingly preferred the ſafety of
 " the publicke peace before your priuate content. As for the government of my affaires,
 " whereof you are preſſed to complaine with ſubiect, I will make them know (which haue
 " vnderſtanden it) that it is I that gouerne my Realme, and preſide in all my Councells. And
 " when you ſhall be better informed of the truth, you will praife God with me for this
 " bleſſing. And to free you from the trouble wherein you are, I haue reſolued to take armes
 " to reſtore you to the full poſſeſſion of your libertie which your enemies haue taken from D
 " you, and the reſpect and honor which is due vnto you, promiſing in the faith of a Sonne
 " and King, to preſerue them for you as carefully as mine owne life.

" If vpon any occaſion your abode at Blois be not pleaſing, you may chuſe anie of your
 " houſes or mine to liue in with all libertie, and to change at your pleaſure; where I will
 " preſentlie come to viſit you. At this interview, you may deliuer vnto mee by word of
 " mouth, what you thinke imports the good and quiet of my Realme. All other aduertise-
 " ments touching my affaires comming from you, would make the world thinke that they
 " rather ſought ſhewes than profit. I coniure you to giue me the meanes ſpeedlie: muſt
 " me and loue me, as I loue and honor you. The Seigneur of Bethunes, whom I haue cho-
 " ſen as one of my faithful ſeruants and yours, will acquaint you with my particular inten-
 " tions: I pray you beleue him as my ſelfe, who am your moſt humble and obedient ſon,
 " Lewis. Paris the 12 of March, 1619.

This alteration vpon the Queenes departure from Blois, produced nothing but Let-
 " ters and Anſwers, which being a high point of State, I am forced to infer. Hee that
 " brought the Kings Letter to the Queene, preſented this following, to the Prince of
 " Piedmont.

" Son, I take it for a beginning of good hope, that you are now preſent with the King my
 " ſonne, and haue the honor of his alliance, to ioine your prayers vnto mine, and to diſpoſe
 " him to redreſſe the miſeries which are ready to trouble the dignity of his authority, and
 " the quiet of his Eſtate. I haue retired my ſelfe ſafe and without any circumſtance, which F
 " may be ſuſpected for the diſcouery thereof: and to ſatiſfie my duty, and the requeſts
 " which the greateſt and wiſeſt of the Realme make daily vnto me, wherunto the extreame
 " miſery wherein they haue made me liue long, could neuer draw me in regard of my pri-
 " uate intereſt. If there were no queſtion but concerning my ſelfe, the name of a gene-
 " rous integrity which you haue purchaſed, and the reſpect and obedience you yeeld vnto
 " my Couſin the Duke of Sauoy, your Father, would make mee haue a very good conceipt
 " of your good offices. But ſeeing it concerns the intereſt of the King my Sonne, from
 " the

*Adreſſe
 Betwixt
 ſent to the
 Queene
 mother.*

*The Que-
 Letter to
 the Prince
 of Piedmont.*

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A the which mine cannot be ſeparated, and whereby you ſhould expect great advantages, if
 " he gouerned him ſelfe with vertue and reputation, and according to the ancient orders of
 " the Realme which God hath giuen him. I will ſummon you boldly to moue him, that he
 " would ſpeedily heare what I am bound to tell him for the proſperity of his affaires, and
 " the ſpeedy redreſſe of diſorders, which I wiſh with paſſion, praying vnto God for his fe-
 " licity, and to giue you all happineſſe and ſatiſfaction, &c.

Wherunto the Prince made this Anſwer.

Madam, it was a great content to prepare my ſelfe, to accompany the King my Lord,
 " in his reſolued voyage to Blois to viſit your Maieſty; hoping to doe my duty vnto you,
 " and promiſing to my ſelfe that the interview of your Maieſties, ſeeling a perfect vnion (as
 " he hath obſerued all ſignes of good diſpoſition) I ſhould haue better meanes to reſiſte my
 " ſubmiſſion and obedience, and how much I eſteeme the honour to be allied vnto you.
 " But the more I ioied in the expectation of this happineſſe, the more I was grieved to be
 " frustrated thereof by your Maieſties ſudden departure, the which was the more ſenſible,
 " for that I ſaw by your Letters you tooke an occaſion to retire, thinking you were not ſafe,
 " and that you could not freely acquaint the King with the diſorders which you conceived
 " were in his Eſtate: The which I eſteemed proceeded not from your Maieſties meere
 " will, whole iudgement and diſpoſition is too good; but from the practices of ſome, who
 " keene your Maieſties readie to be ſtrictly vnited, haue giuen you theſe impreſſions, hoping
 " C to profit by your diuiſion, and the troubles which they thought to bring vnto the State.
 " For it is moſt certaine, and I can iuſtifie it, that there is no kind of libertie but your Ma-
 " ieſty might haue enioyed at Blois. And that nothing could be added to the tender fe-
 " elings and true affection which the King beares you, nor to the conduct of his publicke and
 " priuate actions, all which are anſwerable to the great reputation which he hath gotten, and
 " the generall eſteeme is made of his vertue and generoſitie. Whereof (beſides the effects
 " which all Chriſtendome haue felt) I obſerue daily manifold proofes, ſeeing him preſent
 " in his Councell, with ſo ſolid a iudgement, exact iuſtice, and ſo firme and conſtant a reſo-
 " lution, as no man (conſidering thereof without paſſion) but will admire him, and thinke
 " that God hath not endued him with ſuch excellent parts, but he will bleſſe his reigne, and
 " D aduance his glorie about his Anceſtors. The profeſſion I haue alwaies made to loue truth,
 " the bond I haue to publiſh that which is ſo well knowne vnto me, and my great grieſe to
 " ſee the Labyrinth wherinto thoſe (which diſguiſe it) ſeeke to plunge your Maieſty, muſt
 " free me for this libertie of ſpeech, beſeeching you with all humilitie, to baniſh from your
 " thoughts whatſoeuer you haue conceived in preiudice of the ſinceritie of the Kings in-
 " tentions, and his wiſe government: aſſuring my ſelfe, that when it ſhall pleaſe you to ſa-
 " tiſfie your ſelfe by meanes which are not ſuſpect, you ſhall finde all good content, ſeeing
 " that as a good & wiſe mother, you can haue no greater ioy then to ſee your ſonnes affaires
 " flouriſh, and to liue in perfect friendſhip with him. I find him to bee greatly incenſed
 " againſt thoſe whom he thinks to bee diſpoſed vnder your name to breed any alteration,
 " E and readie to ſet powerfully vpon them. It appertaines, Madam, vnto your prudence to
 " preuent the infinite hurt which may come thereof, and not to permit that (for your oca-
 " ſion and vnder colour of procuring an order in the State) conuſion and diſorder reigne,
 " which doth ordinarie follow ciuill warres. God is Nature, your owne good, and all con-
 " ſiderations bind you: and I aſſure my ſelfe ſo much of your good diſpoſition, as your Ma-
 " ieſty will be whollye inclined therunto. The Houſe of Sauoy, and my ſelfe eſpecially, are
 " ſo bound vnto the King, as if to preſerue his authoritie, to reduce the enemies of the pub-
 " like peace, and of the greatneſſe of this Crowne, to reaſon, and to reſtore your Maieſty
 " to that libertie which they haue taken from you in going from Blois, he be forced to war,
 " we will willingly employ our liues and goods, and whatſoeuer depends of vs, to witneſſe

F vnto the world, that we are not vnthankfull for thoſe vnſpeakable fauors he hath imparted
 " vnto vs; praying God that he will long preſerue your Maieſty in health, and giue mee
 " meanes to merit by my dutie and ſeruice, the qualitie of your moſt humble and obedi-
 " ent ſeruant, Amédée. Paris the 12 of March.

His Maieſty being aduerted of the Queene Mothers departure from Blois, and that
 " ſhe was arrived at Angoulême with great troops of horſe, hee preſentlie ſent to all the
 " Gouernors and Lieutenants general of Provinces, commanding them to provide for the
 " ſafety of the Townes and places vnder their obedience, and to ſuppreſſe all leauiers of
 " Soldiours

*The P of Pied-
 monts anſwer
 to the Queene
 Letter.*

*The King ſends
 to the Gouern-
 ments of Provin-
 ces.*

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Souldiers without his commission, and to set vpon all those which should attempt the contrary; concerning that those which had giuen this counsell for her departure, had bad designs, and would not faile to make vse of this occasion, and of her name, to seeke their owne aduantages, and to trouble the publicke peace.

At the same time the King wrote particularly to the Marshall of Bouillon being at Sedan, and sent vnto him the Seigneur of La Chesnaye to haue his aduice touching the Queene's departure: to whom he made this Answer.

Your Maiestie commands me to giue my aduice touching these occurrents of the Queene's departure. In obeying I cannot be taxed with presumption, but well of ignorance, for the small iudgement I haue in affaires. My affection to your seruice, and the fidelitie

The D. of Mayen
advice
to the King.

I owe you, shall, if it please your Maiestie supplie the rest. The Queene your mothers departure hath giuen much discontent to all good Frenchmen, to see an alteration in the common and naturall intelligence which should be perpetuall betwixt your Maiesties. But as this displeasure is very sensible, so is it somewhat mollified by the assurance they haue that both by the law of God and Nature, your Maiesties cannot continue diuided in affection: You, Sir, of a good King and a good Sonne; she not onely of a Mother, but of a most humble Subject. Your Maiestie might see by the Letters which she wrote from Loches, that two passions, as the faith, made her goe from Blois with danger. First, the knowledge the hath of many things which concerne your Maiestie: and secondly, the fear of her life, submitting to your choice and will, the means she shal hold to acquaint you therewith: Herewith your Maiestie shal be without constraint, iudge of her actions. That taking those counsels which shall be profitable for your affaires, you may reiect the rest. Sir, France more then any other Realme hath bene crossed with the like sudden accidents, and much more violent: but they haue bene suddenly repaired without armes, which are alwaies hurtfull to an Estate. Thus, Sir, by a royall hand, powerfull, iust, and milde, your Maiestie shal reape profit hereby, and consider what is defectiue to an assured tranquillitie, in which your authority may be preferred, the lawes of the Realme maintained, your Edicts of pacification entertained, the breaches repaired, the ialousies of your subjects taken away, and your fauours and honors imparted to the qualitie and merit of such as your Maiestie shal make choice of. Thus, Sir, you shall enjoy an immortal glorie, and your Realme an assured felicitie. I cannot thinke that any man will aduise your Maiestie to take armes, but such as aime at a dissipation, and to equall their obedience to the equality which they shall finde in the sword, which is a detestable intention: they shall haue Heauen for their Iudge, and shall receiue their punishment on Earth. In like manner, they which offer their seruice to haue wherewithall to deserue, whereof there are manie. Sir, heare the Queene your mother, by faithfull and sufficient men; heare the common desires of your Estate, and giue that which shall bee fitting: in doing so, if there bee any which vnder goodly shewes haue bad intentions, they will discouer themselves, and serue to shew your power and iustice in punishing them. Wherein, Sir, you shall bee serued by your good subjects as they are bound. For my part, who haue little remaining of life, and lesse of health, I will bring all that is in me or mine, without excuse, to serue and settle your authority with an assured peace, and to runne with all my Forces and a perfect obedience to your commandements, vpon those which shall presume to make any opposition: The number of which will be small, if there bee any, seeing nothing in the intentions of the chiefe bodies of the Realme both of the one and the other Religion, but a desire to enjoy peace: thinking (as it is true) that warre would ruine both soules and bodies, and peace giue them a pious and religious vse. I haue dilated of these things more amply with Monsieur de la Chesnaye, whom I humbly beseech your Maiestie to heare, and to hold me your most humble subject and seruant, Henry de la Tour. Sedan, the 4 of March, 1619.

The words in this aduice, *That many would offer their seruice to haue wherewithall to deserue*, were found very true; for some imagining that a war would be kindled in the four corners of the Realme, came to offer themselves without sending for, but they were dismissed with thanks, for that their inclinations were well knowne. But the wisest and most iudicious spake their mindes plainly, saying, That they that should giue aduice to entertaine these diuisions, were pernicious: that it belonged onely to the King and Queen mother betwixt themselves to pacifie this alteration: and that they which should make themselves all gold by the fauour of Kings, should seeke meanes which might not bee prejudiciall

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ciall to the publicke. Within few daies after, the King caused a Declaration to be published, forbidding all leaues of souldiers, without Letters of commission signed by one of the Secretaries of State, and vnder the great Scale, with a Warrant annexed thereunto from the Gouernours of Prouinces where they should be raised, or in their absence by his Lieutenants generally, commanding all which were already leaied to disperse themselves and retire vnto their houses: and if any should attempt the contrary, he gaue charge to all Gouernours, Seneschals, Prouosts, and others, to charge them and cut them in pieces, which was strictly obserued in all France, but in some places of base Guienne and Poictou.

In the beginning of Februarie, there happened a difference in the Government of Guienne, betwixt the Duke of Mayen Gouernour, and the Marshall of Roquelaure the Kings Lieutenant in the said Government, vpon diuers subjects; amongst other, for the Castle of Reole, and the Cannon which was therein. This controuersie grew so bitter, as they drew souldiers to them on either side: and the Garrison of the Castle of Reole, which was usually but of nine men, was encreased to the number of 400, which in the beginning bred some amazement in Guienne, especially in the neighbour Townes and Borowes: for the Nobilitie of high Guienne did rather affect the Marshalls partie then the Dukes. The King hauing sent to the Parliament of Bourdeaux to pacifie this quarrel for the good of his seruice and affaires: Two Councillors of the Court were deputed, who went to the Marshall of Roquelaure, who was at Agen, and to the D. of Mayen to Nerac on the 21 of Februarie; and labored so in this businesse, as they reconciled it. The great Garrison of Reole was discharged, and onely the nine morte payes remained. They restored the Artillerie which the D. of Mayen demanded: and the assemblie of the Estates of the Prouince was concluded at Agen; where the Duke and the Marshall met, and entertained one another with all shewes and demonstrations of good intelligence for the Kings seruice: whereof his Maiestie being aduertised, was very well satisfied, for that they spake diuersly touching these alterations in Guienne: and at the same instant the D. sent vnto the King a copie of the Letter which the Queene Mother had sent vnto him: which was as followeth.

Cousin, I had alwaies resolved to haue more patience then I could haue affliction, as long as there was no question but of mine own interest and troubles: for that I would giue no suspicion vnto the King my Lord and Son, that I meant to separate my selfe from his will, although they held him ill aduised: but hauing bene solicited by complaints and generall entreaties, both within and without the Realme, to acquaint the King my Son with the euident danger of his authoritie, and the quiet of his Realme: I made no difficultie to hazard my life by a most perillous issue, that I might let him vnderstand in all firety the passion of a good and faithfull mother; and haue already written vnto him, most humbly beseeching him to prescribe me the forme I should obserue to giue him knowledge thereof. I thought good to impart the same speedily vnto you, for not onely the account which both my selfe and all France haue of you, makes me desire to haue your opinion: but also knowing that the King my Sonne doth much esteeme your counsels, I wish that you would ioine your prayers vnto mine to inuite him to the remedies which I know you vnderstand better then any other, to bee wonderfull necessarie: Coniuring you as much as possibly I may, to be carefull that no alteration may happen, and that euery man may attend from his good disposition that which hee owes vnto his subjects and his Estate. If I had need of witnesses to proue that the desire of the Kings seruice had moued me to these resolutions, wherein I had no consideration of that which concerns my selfe; I would name you the first. And now I sweare vnto you by the confidence which I desire to haue of your magnanimity for so important a businesse, & for the inclination which you know I haue alwaies had to you, that I haue not in my most inward thoughts other feelings then those which the prosperitie of the King my Lord and Son doe suggest. Let vs then labor therein, and you shall finde me for your particular, your good and affectionate Cousin Marie. From Roche Foday the 6 of March.

To the which he made this answer.

Madam, I cannot conceale the great griefe I conceiue to see the estate, wherinto it seemes your departure from Blois may bring the affaires of the Kingdome: the which I should apprehend the more, without the assurance which it pleaseth you to giue mee of your

A controuersie
betweene the
D. of Mayen
& the Marshall
of Roquelaure.

The Queene's
Letter to the
D. of Mayen.

The Duke of
Mayen's answer.

1619 " your good intentions for the Kings contentment. Madam, I beseech God with all my A
" heart to assist you with his holy inspirations, being vnable herein to contribute any other
" thing then that which belongs to the duty of an honest man and most faithfull seruant to
" the King, and who hath resolved without any other considerations to oblige himselfe only
" to the Kings will. Doe mee the honor, Madam, in the meane time to beleuee that I am
" your most humble and obedient seruant, *de Mayenne*. From Bourdeaux the twelfth of
" March, 1619.

It was obserued, that the three answers from the King, Prince of Piedmont, and Duke
de Mayenne, were all dated on the 12 of March, and that there were 17 dayes past from
the writing of the *Queens* Letter at Loches, and the said 12 of March: the which gaue B
the *Queene* occasion (seeing such preparations of warre) to write foure Letters on the
10 of Murch, that is to say, to the King, the Chancellor, the Keeper of the Seales, and
President *Jannin*. Whereunto the King made no answer, for that hee expected to vnder-
stand the *Queens* intention in answer of that which he had written vnto her: the rest made
their severall answers, the which because they are conformable to the Letter which shee
sent to the D. of Mayen, I will not trouble the Reader with any repetition.

In this moneth of March, the common talke in Court was variable, one day peace,
and another day warre: one day they held it a good signe of peace, that *Monsieur de Be-*
thunes, sent by the King to the *Queene* mother, had also commission to goe see the D. of
Espemnon: and the next day they sayd there would be warre, in regard of the many com- C
missions which were sent to the D. of Mayen in Guienne; to the Earle of Rochefoucault,
in Poitou; and to the Earle of Schaumburg, in Lymosin: one day they shewed the names
of Noblemen, which had assisted at the *Queens* entry into Angoulesme, who knowing
that the King was not well pleased therewith, had retired to their houses, and since had taken
armes for his Maiestie: and the next day they saw a lyst of such as had offered their
service to the *Queene*; yea and some after they had leuied their Companies with the
Kings Commission. Vpon these preparations made by the King to warre, the D. of Espem-
non tooke occasion to extend himselfe to Towne Charente, where hee put a Garrison, to
the end he might make himselfe Master of the Riuer of Charente vnto the Sea, and he sent
his son the Archbishop of Thoulouse to Loches with diuers troops of horse. This so trou- D
bled the inhabitants of Loches with the feare of a siege, as most of them retired to the
neighbour Townes. At this day they had need of strong Citadels and Garisons, to force
the Townes of France to obey their Governours, whom they see disobedient to the Kings
will. In the beginning of April, the inhabitants of Vzerche in Lymosin, and of Bullen
vpon the Scain Picardy (whereof the D. of Espemnon is Governour) shewed the effects to
his Lieutenants.

Vzerche is a reasonable good Towne betwene high and base Lymosin, vpon the
high way to Paris from Thoulouse. It belongs to the Church, the Abbot being Lord of
the Towne. The Abbey is vpon a little hill enuironed with a Riuer, where is only a nar-
row passage which may be easily cut off; so as it is a naturall Citadell, and commands the
Towne, and hee that holds this Abbey, is Governour. It was impertinent to repeat
how this Abbey fell into the D. of Espemons hands during the last alterations, through
the diuision which grew betwene the last Abbot deceased, and the inhabitants: but the
Duke being now in quiet possession, he put Capitaine *Breuil* into the Abbey, with a garison
of 24 souldiers. The inhabitants who had beene for that he had bene a great partizan to
their deceased Abbot, finding that he had an intent to fortifie the Abbey with 100 men &
munition, they resolved to hinder it, to take armes and recouer their liberty vpon this oc-
casion: whereupon they entrenched themselves against the Abbey, and sent to the Earle
of Schaumburg, the Kings Lieutenant in Lymosin, entreating him to succour them, who
presently marched thither with what friends and troops he could draw together. The D. F
of Espemnon on the other side being aduertised that the inhabitants of Vzerche were en-
trenched against the Abbey, he presently raised a flying Campe of 2000 foot 500 horse,
and two peeces of ordnance to relieue the besieged, but they were forced before he came,
as you shall heare: and in the meane time the *Queene* wrote a third Letter vnto the King
in these termes.

The *Queens* " My Lord and Sonne, I will neuer cease humbly to beseech you to receive the sincerity
third Letter " of my intentions, and to know that there is no person liuing that can haue more passion
to the King " or

A or interest then my selfe in the prosperitie of your reigne, hauing propounded to my selfe
to acquaint you with the inconueniences which may alter the power thereof, onely in con- 1619
sideration of your good and of your Estate, and for the great content I shall receiue to see
the inuolable power of your Scepter continue firme. Consider then if you please, whe-
ther it be iust, that in stead of receiving my dutie and affection, they make you leaue armes
particularly round about me, either to suppress the voice of my faithfull remonstrances,
or to overthrow my condition and libertie, which breathes nothing else then your au-
thority and content. If I be so vnfortunate as to haue giuen you such bad impressions of
me, as my petitions and libertie are in no esteeme, yet at the least turne your eyes vpon
B the quiet of your people, and the discommodities which the firme and most absolute
Monarchies doe oftentimes receiue from warre: And consider that in this occurrent you
shall haue no occasion to vse force, being most certaine, then when you shall haue heard
what I shall deliuer vnto you, it shall depend of your selfe to apply those remedies which
you shall hold most conuenient, and I neither can nor will vse any other meanes then sup-
plications and humble remonstrances. Wherefore I coniure you vpon my knees, to free
me from the apprehension of present armes, and to take from the malecontents the pre-
text of making vse of this occasion, and be pleased that I may seeke to preferre Vzerche,
seeing that the Earle of Schaumburg is the assailant, as I vnderstand, contrarie to your in-
tention, which is not to alter the quiet estate of your affaires: to the end that hearing that
C which I am bound to acquaint you withall, euery man may receiue as he ought, (and I
first of all) a law from you, and the order which you shall hold necessary for the good con-
duct of your affaires, &c. Your most humble and affectionate mother and subiect, *Marie*.
Angoulesme the 4 of April, 1619.

Whilst that the D. of Espemnon marched to relieue Vzerche, the *Queene* mother
receiued Letters that the inhabitants of the towne of Bullen had done like vnto those of
Vzerche, and that the Duke of Espemons Lieutenant had put the higher towne into the
Kings hands. This reduction was the subiect of the fourth Letter which the *Queen* mother
wrote vnto the King as followeth.

My Lord and Son, It grieues me extremely to be constrained to beleuee, that my Let-
ters are troublesome vnto you, because I plainly see they preuaile nothing. For hauing be-
sought you many times to giue mee the meanes to let you know (without feare or appre-
hension) that which I am bound vnto for the good of your seruice and State: I doe not
onely see an increase of the appearances of euill, contrarie to that which your goodness
made me hope; but by the counsels they giue you, I beginne to see the most pernicious
effects in the enterprise which vnder your name hath bene made vpon Vzerche,
as I haue already aduertised your Maiestie, and in the other vpon Bullen, which I now
heare of with great griefe, it hauing added vnto my affliction so much the more, for be-
ing done at such a time as the faire speeches which *Monsieur de Bethunes* reported vnto
me from you, and his presence here, had almost giuen assurance vnto my sinceritie,
E and all men hope that I should bee shortly heard in the iust demand of making you
to vnderstand (without perill) that which you are in no case to neglect for the enjoying the
powerfull continuation of your authority, and to giue to all your good subiects that
peaceable tranquillity which they desire. On the contrarie, I plainly perceiue, that they
raise warre, and trouble the dignitie of your power, and the publike peace, onely to op-
press me; seeing they assaile the places which should serue for my surtie and preferua-
tion, during the time that my misshap and other mens passions constrain me to be out of
the protection and assurance of your fauour, finding it very strange, that in stead of giuing
me occasion to moderate my feares and distrusts, into which the bad vltage which I
receiued at Blois hath made me fall, they haue now mightily augmented the subiect.
F I appaile vnto your good nature and your iustice; and if that suffice not, vnto Gods,
against those which are the cause hereof: And in all humilitie coniure you, to hinder
this beginning of mischiefe which they procure, from which I might the better
shield my selfe, if the respect I beare you did not make mee vse all considerations
of not exceeding the termes of the necessitie of a iust defence: In which I
will attend to know, if I may haue hope to make you peaceably to vnderstand
what I hold is my dutie to performe: And doe pray you to beleuee that I will
continue (in seruing you as I should) to make true proofs that I am, my Lord
[t]

my

16:9

my Sonne, your most humble and most affectionate Mother and subiect, *Mary*. From A Angoulême this 11 of April, 1619.

The morrow after the King had received this Letter from the *Queene* his Mother, a Post brought him this following from the Earle of Schomberg.

"Sir, seeing *Monsieur D'Espemon* within two leagues of Vzerche with his flying army, I resolved to assaile the Abbey, and that did so happily succeed, that giuing the assault in five or six places, we forced the same the twelfth of this moneth. At this exploit there were some of the defendants slaine, and composition giuen to therest which had shut themselves vp in a Tower. I thinke *Monsieur D'Espemon* was neuer more grieved, for being so neere and not able to helpe it; if he come to assaile it, he shall finde whom to talke vnto. I keepe the field with my friends, which are in all five hundred horse, and will see what the enemy will doe, continuing to yeeld vnto your Maiesty the best seruices which I may. &c. *Schomberg*.

The Cardinal
of Rochefoucault
sent to the
Queene.

On the tenth of April, the *Seigneur de Berulle*, Rector of the Fathers of the Oratory, who was employed in the reconciliation of the King with the *Queene* his mother, arriued at Paris; and having made report vnto his Maiestie what *Monsieur de Bethunes* had aduanced in the business: the Cardinal of Rochefoucault received commandement to transport himselfe to Angoulême, and to treat in generall of this reconciliation: whereupon he parted presently from Paris with *Berulle* on the ninth of April.

Vpon the receipt of the *Queene*s last Letter, dated the 11 of April, the King sent her C this answer.

The Kings Letter
to the
Queene m.
t. &c.

Madam, louing and honoring you as I doe, I cannot be but much grieved to see that all the care I haue employed for your satisfaction proves fruitlesse. You haue both by my Letters and by diuers personages worthy of credit whom I haue sent vnto you, receiued all manner of assurances of the sincerity of my intentions. I haue caused you to be satisfied touching all ielousies and distrusts which they would giue you. Finally, I haue omitted nothing which I thought might content you; and yet, Madam, I finde by your two last Letters, and by aduertisements which I haue from diuers parts, that you wintesse, or rather that they make you to wintesse, to bee lesse satisfied now then at first. The cause hereof I would gladly find out, to the end that if it proceeded from any thing which depended on me, I might suddenly redresse it: But finding nothing about my person which breathes not as much your good as mine owne, I am easily perswaded, that the mischief proceeds from the cunning of such as are about you, who hauing drawne you to the state wherein you are, disguise all things and diuert you from accepting that which is offered you on my behalfe: labouring to engage you more and more into disorders, hoping to raise their fortunes by our losse. If it please you, Madam, to waigh their proceedings, you shall easily iudge of their designs: they counsell you to write and publish, *That you haue no stronger passion, then to see my reigne to prosper; nor greater desire, then my peoples rest: That you will not attempt any thing to the prejudice of my authority; but will be the first to receive and obey my will.* These are your very words, and as I beleue, your intention. But contrariwise, to trouble the publike peace, and to ruine my Crowne, they haue vnder your name begonne long before your departure from Blois, and since continued, to trouble, corrupt, and stirre vp all they could against me, both within and without my Realme: They haue not onely leauied Souldiers, but seized vpon my Reuenues, imposed vpon my subiects, made enterprises vpon my places; and to omit nothing which might make a breach in my royall authority, they haue brought troops into the field with Cannon to set vpon the *Seigneur de Schomberg* my Lieutenant generall in Lymosin, who they knew had commandement from me to goe to Vzerche, which depends vpon his charge, to persecute the Religious, and other inhabitants whom they would oppress. Iudge, Madam, I pray you, if the effects be answerable to the words which they make you giue; and whether there be any reason I should allow of them, being not allowable either before God or Men: You haue often condemned farre lesser faults, & I rely so much vpon your judgement, that if you were at liberty you would blame these, and would bee the first which would giue me counsell to suppress them.

As for that which they make you write touching the order I haue giuen for the preferuation of Vzerche and Billen, I know not vpon what ground you should haue any cause to take exception. Euery man knowes that Vzerche was vsurped by the D. of Espemon vpon

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A vpon the Church and the inhabitants. That he had put a Garison into it of his owne priuate authority, and against my will: the which hee would haue augmented to molest my subiects, and to hinder the free passage betwene Paris and Thoulouse. As for Billen, the inhabitants seeing, that to make them altogether subiect, he had drawne in many strange souldiers, they opposed themselves, and haue had recourse to me to protect them from this danger: whereupon I haue provided for the safety and perseruacion of these two places. Who can iustly say that I should haue done otherwise, or that you haue reason to say it concerns your safety? they were appointed to another end, neither euer haue you had or shal haue need within my Realm: You shall be alwayes safe & free, where I focuer my power doth extend: And I pray you, Madam, doe not imagine that you shall find in this world a more certaine safety, or more perfect content then in my affection: you cannot finde it elsewhere. I did wonder much, seeing you complaine by your last Letters, that they seek by my Armes to stop your mouth, that I may not heare the aduice you haue to giue mee for the good of my affaires: You know that about three weekes since, I haue (according to your desire) commanded the *Seigneur de Bethunes* to heare them, and to represent them speedily vnto me, whereof you haue not yet made any mention, notwithstanding all his diligence; which makes me thinke, that what they perswade you to write, is but to giue some colour to the enterprises they make against my seruice. When it shall please you to make declaration, the Cardinal of Rochefoucault and the *Seigneur de Bethunes*, haue commandement to entreat you thereunto on my behalfe, and to assure you, that I will take such consideration as is fitting, coming from you. I vnderstand that the chiefe practice they vse to hold vs diuided, is to entertaine you daily in ielousies and distrusts, and to that end they disguise all the actions which passe here, yea those which are most to your aduantage. But I call God to wintesse, that there passeth nor any thing which can be preiudiciall vnto you, nor contradiet the honor, respect, and affection which is due vnto you, and which I will haue euery man yeeld vnto you, as my most deare mother.

It is by this name, Madam, and by the cordiall affections of a good Sonne that I conipern you to settle your spirits; stop your cares hereafter to so many bad reports, and such pernicious counsels as they giue you, and suffer not your name to be a cowering to actions like those which they make you practise, being quite contrary to our common good, and that which you say you desire for the greatesse of this Estate, and the maintenance of my authority. The best will be, Madam, if you please, and I entreat you with all my heart, to embrace the offers which haue beene made you in my name, seeing they containe whatsoever you can desire with reason, and tend particularly to confirme betwixt vs a perfect loue, vniuersity, and confidence, which is the end whereunto wee should aime, and the fault shall be yours if we doe not attaine vnto it: for my part, I will neuer stray from it by any of my actions, but will alwayes wintesse that I am your most humble and most obedient sonne, *Lewis*. Paris the 23 of April, 1619.

E This year in the Spring, the Prince of Conde fell dangerously sicke of an impostume in his bowels, which breaking he voyded the putrid matter by the seage. There was commandement giuen vnto all the Churches to pray for his health, which was performed with great affection, and God restored him: the King sent daily to visit him, and was glad of his recovery. On the eight of April he sent him the skarfe and sword which had beene taken from him when he was first committed, and withall assured him of his loue. His Maiesty commanded they should prepare a Hall for him, whither he might repaire when he went to heare Masse, and that they should suffer him to take the pleasure of hunting. Some hauing spoken maliciously of this sicknesse, were ashamed when as the Princes recovery gaue them the lye, for the false reports they had disperfed amongst the people.

The Prince of
Conde dangerously
sicke.

His Maiesty hauing giuen the rendezuousto his Army of Champagne, on the 27 of April, at Virry, the troopes begonne to march, when as suddenly the King was aduertised, that there was some diuision in Metz, betwene the inhabitants of the towne, and the Marquis of La Vallette, whereupon hee caused his horse to aduance towards Metz, but brought no ease to the inhabitants: for that the Marquis hauing drawne in those souldiers which the Duke his father had engaged vpon the Frontiers of Germany, hee made himselfe absolute master of Metz, and disarmed the inhabitants.

The Inhabitants of Metz
dissatisfied.

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During this retreat of the Queene, there were diuers small Discourses published, touching the present estate of France: among the rest there were two, the one was called *The Torment of the Courtiers Envy*, made in fauour of the Seigneurs of *Luyne*, by the Kings Proctor at Ville Neufue by Aignon; and the other was styled *The Lymosin*: who spake thus in his Discourse.

A Discourse
touching the
estate of
France.

The Queene Mother hath gouerned the State of France seuen yeares during the Kings Minority, the necessity of affaires hath brought in this kind of government, although it agree not with the humour of the French: All things haue past with reasonable good order during her Regency: and this Monarchy is much bound to her wisdom & bounty. It is true, they are parts which are necessary at some season, but not always: for there are some defects whereof her felicity may be accused. All that can bee said if the King hath not bene well serued, is, that there wanted a man. A womans spirit is subtil and inuentiue, but not so fit to gouerne and conduct. If the happinesse of France had produced a man worthy of this charge, it had bene hard to find him without interest. To chuse one which were not aduanced about the rest, no man would haue obeyed him: To take it by authority, and not capable, were the ruine of the Estate. It was then necessary to auoid these inconueniences, that the Queene should haue the government, not for the profit they might expect from her administration, but for the danger which might happen, if it had bene put into any others hands. The person of a sonne, and the quality of a King, could not be in any danger of life or of State, being in the hands of a Mother and Queene.

The King hath already found, and if he may attaine vnto the perfect experience of the government of his Estate, we shall see him iudge of all that hath past for the good of his seruice: amend that which shall be found imperfect, and take away that which the abuse and necessity of the time hath brought in. Such exercises will more fortifie his iudgement, then if he had found all things according to his desire. He will reioyce to see that France had wanted a man, and that hee was the man, which makes himselfe necessary for his affaires, which had need of his presence. The greatest of all the defects which had bene in the Queene mothers government, the King hath repaired of his owne disposition: which were the great aduancements of that obsequant and loothing *Galigai*. It is true, she had given her too great power, and too good a share in her secrets and counsell: for as for her husband, he was an image cast in mettall, his life and motion wrought not but by the springs of his wiues wit: the Queene Mothers credulity could not thinke that this mans fortune should grow suspect, or that any great conceit should enter into his thoughts. She imagined to vndoe him as easily as she had raised him, but shee was decieued. So was it one of the greatest maruels which was euer seene in France, that a stranger, a man vnknowne, without merit, without authority or friends, destitute of courage, of iudgement, and government, had done all for money: hee had made himselfe great, purchased honours, and had drawne many braue men to his partie; had made warre, assured his affaires, and seled his fortune in such fort, as none but the King could stay his violent course.

The Prince of Conde and the greatest of France ioyned their interest to the common apprehension of this insolent fortune, but they could not oppresse it. He had powerful Commanders, Townes and People, which caried the Kings authority vpon the front of their Armies onely to preferre him. The Armies were ready to ioine; and France had bene vndone by France, if the wisdom of the Commanders had not prevented it: God, who neuer fauours the designe of Armes without a iust occasion of warre, vnder-tooke the vengeance of his Anointed, whose innocency was ill serued by either party: both Armies passed vnder the Wine-press of his wrath, and Death caried away more men by sickness, then the sword had done in the bloodiest Battels which we haue seene. The Duke of Mayen endured a siege, and gave goodly testimonies of his valour and courage, but in the end he had had the worst, without the fall of this Huge Colosse, which had couered France with his shadow from East to West. The shadowes retire at the rising of the Sunne: so this spirit of darknesse vanished at the Kings anger: his life, his fortune, and his memory perished in an instant, and there remains nothing but the name of what hee was at the first.

As

A As Nature suffers nothing void, so a royall brest cannot liue without friendship. The King tooke *Monseur de Luyne* into his affection from his infancy, and so preferred it, as whilst he liued he had the goodliest fortune of any man liuing: Such great fauours cannot be enioyed without enuy, which made euery man discourse: some in regard of their private interest, others by opinion: so as all the world spake. Hee drew vnto him two of his Brethren, which fortified him greatly, for they were three in one. And to make them more inuincible, hee contracted alliance with *Hercules* of Rohan, Duke of Montbazon.

Romany in his *Torment of Courtiers Envy*, continues this discourse, saying; That the condition of all men is subiect to censure, for the Tongue is without respect, it pardons none. That the enuious would renew the fable of *Gerion* with three bodies, publishing that vnder the three *Luyne* the whole Estate of France was gouerned, and that they vsurped the absolute authority vnder the Kings name. That they would make the world beleue, that they were strangers and subiects to the Pope, for that they were borne in his County of Aignon; putting in the same ranke the Seigneur of Modena their Vncle, a Gentleman of many good parts, and much esteemed. But admit it were so, said he, for besides that they of Aignon and of the County of Venuffin are reputed for true and naturall Frenchmen; the truth is, that the House of *Luyne* comes out of Prouence, and that they are issued by the fathers side from the Illustrious Family of *Albret*, and by the mothers side from the noble House of Saint Paul. *Monseur de Luyne* Father had bene Knight of the Kings Order, Gouvernor of the Townes and Castles of Beaucaire, Pont S. Esprit, and Baignols, and had a Regiment entertained. The honor which he got during the reign of King *Charles* the ninth, in that furious combat at Vincennes in the face of the whole Court, is memorable, where hee tooke away the sword, and flue Captaine *Pains*, who had bene 36 times in the field. This act wonne him much reputation with the House of *Bourbon*, to whose seruice they haue bene always affected. *Henry* the great did so loue the father, as hee would be God-father to *Monseur de Luyne* his eldest son: And for that he was of the Reformed Religion, he made *Charles*, Cardinall of Bourbon, his Deputy, and *Monseur de Belgard* Master of his Horse: This Christning was in the Abbey of Saint Denis, in the yeare 1592, and the Cardinall named him *Charles*.

This great King finding his God-sonnes good disposition and loyalty, hee gaue him to the King his Son, being then Dauphin: That if this young Prince began then to affect him, it was first in obeying his Fathers will: But being aduanced to age, hee hath loved him by election, inuited by his commendable qualities.

The Author of the booke called *Lymosin*, saith, that looke in what credit *Monseur de Luyne* is with the King, the Duke of Espernon is with the Queene mother. The Sword and force of armes, said he, must be in the Kings right hand, and good Captaines must be called to Councils both of warre and peace: as warre cannot be made without them, so peace should not be concluded without their presence, seeing they are the true Iudges of times and occasions, to take or lay downe armes, and may discern whether a warre bee iust, or a peace dishonorable. There are martiall men of good capacity, which iudge naturally vpon a true and solid reason. A sound and vpright man hath no better Booke then his vnderstanding, nor surer Author then the experience of the affaires of his profession: after the modell whereof, he settles iudgements approaching to Prophecies.

I will not giue my censure vpon the conscience and merit of the Duke of Espernon, whether hee haue taken any cause of discontent, or that they haue given it him; in regard of the time many things might be spoken: But some few obseruations which I haue made thereupon, shall suffice, the which may well be spoken (although they be not common) seeing they are true.

F To speake of his fortune, it is without president hee himselfe made it, and hath preferred it (against mighty enemies) during the reignes of three great Kings vnto this present, when as it seemes hee hath forgotten himselfe, yet the good esteem the world hath of him, doth much assist him, being hard to beleuee that at this age hee would ruine his childrens fortunes.

This man hath gotten great secrets in the conduct of affaires; hee hath the manner to entertaine many with the opinion of his sufficiency, and opens himselfe to few. I wonder (saith hee) how hee can purchase so many friends, seeing his manner to oblige

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The Kings of-
fession to Mar-
sieur de Luyne.

How *Monseur de Luyne* was
descended.

Observations
vpon the Duke
of Espernons
actions.

[c]

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oblige them doth not engage their hearts. He is haughty and wary in the distribution of his favours: more secke him then doe enjoy him: They which secke are without hope, and they which enjoy him, without content: He that engageth himselfe vnto him, enters into servitude: whosoever is his, doth sooner lose his liberty then winne his friendship: If he doth good to any, he makes him feele it in such sort, as it distastes him: if he hate, hee is irreconcilable: he neither knowes humility nor pardon. These are the conditions of a man who makes account to live without the helpe of any: Norwithstanding, he is followed, as if there be any faction, where the King is not interested, you shall hardly find in France so powerfull a friend as he. He hath of all sorts, great and small: but such as hee calls to his friendship, are commonly active men, and fit for something. He makes a difference of their condition by discretion, to the end there might be no enuy amongst them. Without losing any thing of his gravity, he takes wonderfull paines to keepe them, and yet it appeares not. He visits his friends often by Letters of his owne hand: his Secretaries know not all his affaires. He imparts his secrets with so much retention, as he knowes there is capacity or hope of service in him that vnderstands them: for hee alwayes keeps the best, and neuer delivres the bottom of his thoughts, two being made partakers of the secrets of one thing will neuer judge alike of his intention; for that hee propounds it diversly: yet all his diversities answer to one sense: plurality of advertisements never hinder a resolution, whereas his thoughts have past to the determination of his will. His friends are so charmed, as they desire rather to be blamed by him, then commended by another, such esteeme they make of his judgement. He doth all things without any noyse. If hee hath a quarrel, or be forced to fortifie himselfe against some dangerous enemy, whether it be to surpris him, or to prevent a surpris, his preparations are made in his cabinet. Commonly great mens quarrels cary a great brute; they threaten as farre off; they take time to fortifie themselves with friends, and to winne those which will serve the first commor: But he hath the lyft of his friends in hand, a sheet of paper shewes him his strength when there is occasion to employ them: He doth advertise them in time, then they are ready and know whither to goe: So as in any good action when as they shall thinke him ill accompanied, he will be sooner able to draw together the body of an army, then another shall make a confused assembly of his friends, and all this costs him little, nor doth not incommode him.

The Duke of Espernon hath many good parts, we have seene him practise the vse of them in good and bad fortune. In the time of the deceased King, he had found his Master, and therefore he lived retired, and medled not much with affaires, labouring only for his owne preferuation. Since, he hath made himselfe necessary to the State: yet domesticke discontents did much trouble him, and were the cause of his misfortune. The King being mistier, the Murthall *D'Ancres* suppressed, and all things changed, he loyned his interest with that of the Queene mother; it may be he had some spleene against the Kings Favourites, and to maintaine himselfe, and to preserve his childrens fortunes. To attaine therunto, he hath fortified himselfe with friends and intelligences, according to his custome, in all the foure corners of France, where hee hath particular Governments.

His greatest Government is that of his particular Governments in Xaintonge, Angoulmois, and Lymosin, which he hath vntied as one Government, and made thereof a Barre (from the Mountaines of Auvergne vnto the mouth of Charente on the Sea) betwene the Governments of Poitou and Berry, and that of Guienne. But Lymoges and Lymosin remaining in these alterations in the Kings obedience, hee possesseth now but Xaintonge and Angoulmois.

As for his second Government, which is the County and Towne of Bullen, vpon the Frontiers of Picardy, and along the Sea side: the affection and love of the people towards the King, hath deprived him thereof, as hath beene sayd. And touching his third Government, which is Metz and the Country about it, which hath for frontier Germany and Lorraine; although the people bee as ill affectioned vnto him as else where, yet the strong Citadell of Metz keeps them in awe; notwithstanding the Kings Army bee neere them, vnder *Monseigneur de Nemours* command. The tower of Loches, which makes his fourth government, is a strong place, but in the midst of the kingdom on the Frontiers of Tourain, being vpon no important passage of a river.

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A river. This is the estate of his foure governments. As for his forces they are for the present foure or five thousand foot, and a thousand, or a thousand and two hundred French horse, besides the strangers which he hath hired, and are in Metz: and this is all, and little against thirtie thousand men which the King can leaue in eight dayes. On the other side, there needs no more then one siege to ruine a mighty Armie: and as an ancient Councillor of State, said: It is sometime necessarie to appeale Fooles & Malecontents which one might easily chastise, lest the wife become fooles, as in a ciuil warre. Thus farre the discourse called the Lymosin.

At length the Cardinal of Rochefoucault, and the Seigneur of Bethunes, being at Angoulême, on the last of Aprill, agreed vpon these Articles following, in the name of the King and Queene Mother.

1. His Maiestie accordeth that the Queene his Mother may dispose of her house, as she shall please, making choice and retaining of what seruants she will.

2. That she may goe and come, and make her abode in what place of the Kingdome she please, and recee the Kings person if she like.

3. That during her life, she shall enjoy all that she hath held by assignation, gift, pension, and gratification, granted vnto her by the deceased King, and by his Maiestie, and that she should be paid the arrearages.

4. That she should freely dispose of all the Charges, Offices, and Benefices, depending C as well of the Demesnes which her Maiesty now enjoyeth, as those which shall be giuen her, conformable to the expeditions which she hath.

5. His Maiestie promisseth to entreat louingly (like vnto his other subiects) all those which haue served and assisted the said Queene, in her retreat from Blois; namely, the Duke of Espernon, and his children.

6. That his Maiestie will suffer them to enjoy all their Charges, Dignities, Offices, and Benefices, and restore them to the Townes, Places, and Castles, without any exception, whereof they haue beene dispossessed since the Queenes retreat. And moreover, that they shall be paid their Pensions, Estates, and appointments.

7. That all such as had beene dismiss by iudgements, or otherwise, from Court or D of the Realme, should be recalled, and all prisoners set at libertie.

8. That all which hath past by reason of the Queenes retreat from Blois, whether it were leauing of men, imposition of money, or any other thing whatsoever, it should be forgotten by his Maiestie without any question.

9. That within two moneths the Queene Mother should be discharged of the money which she was forced to borrow since her retreat.

10. That within sixe weekes, the Kings Declaration should be verified in all the Courts of Parliament, according vnto forme, without any restriction.

The King receiued these Articles on the second of May. Five dayes after he went into Touraine, to be the neerer to Angoulême, for the execution of the Articles, and to E treat of particular busineses. But especially for that hee had long before let the Queene vnderstand, of a desire hee had like vnto Kings his Predecessors to the government of Normandie, and principally King *Leuis* the eleuenth; who for the nearnesse of this Province to the Capitall Citie of his Realme, would not suffer his owne brother to hold it, although it had been promised him by the Peace concluded in the warre of the Common-wealth. The Queene had beene preferred to this government after the death of the Earle of Soissons, during his Maiesties minority: wherefore the King desired, that she should resigne this Government, and content her selfe with some thing else: the which was amiably compounded by an accord, to giue her the Governments of the Castles of Angiers and Chynon, with some other places.

F After this they began to disarme on either side, and the King wrote his Letter vnto the Court of Parliament of Paris, concerning this reconciliation betwene him and his Mother, and the conclusion of the peace. On the seuenth of Iune, the Duke of Espernon wrote this following Letter vnto the King.

Sir, if I haue beene so vnfortunate, that your Maiestie hath conceiued any bad opinion of my intentions before that you were truly informed, I thinke that I haue since to iustificed them by my proceedings, as there cannot remaine any sinister impression. The Queen your Mother hauing done me the honour to employ me in an occasion which she held

Articles concluded between the King and Queene Mother.

The Queene resigns the government of Normandy vnto the King.

The D. of Espernon Letter to the King.

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held important for the good of your Estate, I dare boldly say, that the conduct I have used hath been such, as without any remembrance of mine owne feelings, or any resolutions which might haue apparently succeeded, I haue contented my selfe to let all France know, that I respect your authoritie euen among mine enemies. By this means, Sir, I thinke I haue cleared my actions to your Maiestie, as you should rest satisfied, and haue giuen you cause to know that as a naturall defence, neuer wants a lawfull excuse: so ciuill warre could haue no iust cause. Now that it hath pleased your Maiestie by a Christian-like action, to adde that which seemed to want in the felicity of your reign to settle a peace in your estate: All your good subjects are bound to haue the more confidence in your word; for that it is at this day the foundation, whereon all Christen dome relies; and that being giuen to the Queene your Maiesties mother; besides that God, Nature, your Conscience, and reputation doth warrant it, vpon this holy and inioinable assurance, haue giuen my interest to the good of your seruice, and taken all good Frenchmen to witnesse, that I haue maintained my fidelitie without reproach in all the troubles of your Estate; I assure my selfe that your Maiestie is so iust, as you will suffer me to passe the remainder of my age with some content; and that you will hold my long seruices worthy of your remembrance. I haue little to liue, and I should thinke I had liued too long, if I should feele my selfe culpable of a thought contrarie to the obedience which I owe your Maiestie. I humbly beseech you to consider, that desiring nothing in this world but a little rest for the end of my labours, and an honorable death, for your seruice, I thinke to deferre that which I desire, which is to die in the end content, so as your Maiestie will doe me the honour to beleeue that I haue neuer bene other then your Maiesties most humble and obedient subject and seruant, *De La Pallette*.

After this, the King caused a Declaration of his will to be verified in Parliament on the twentieth of Iune, concerning the Queenes departure from the Castle of Blois, and the execution of the Articles of the Treatie concluded at Angouleme.

The reduction
of Conquer-
neau.

The King being at Tours in the beginning of Iuly, having receiued many aduertisements touching the carriage of the Seigneur of Lezonnet, Gouverneur of Conquerneau, tending to disobedience and bad designs. He resolved to take from him this place, lying vpon the Sea, importing much, by reason of the strength of the situation. To this end he sent to the Duke of Vendosme, being in his government of Britanie, and made him General of an Armie, the which consisted of three hundred of his men at Armes, three hundred Swisses, and some Cannon, which went downe the River of Loire, and were conducted by Sen. Sixscore Souldiers drawne out of the guards; which were sent to conduct *La Besne*, one of the Captaines of his Maiesties guards, and some companies of the Regiments of Picardie, Nuaire, and Beaumont.

This Captaine made such speed, as in nine dayes hee came to Quimperleg, within six leagues of the place, having marched in feue and fifty leagues in Britanie.

The Duke hearing of his diligence, commanded him to attend him there, and in the meane time to take vp all the Shouels and Pickaxes he could finde in the Towne. The Duke being ariued, he commanded *La Besne* to march away the next day, who came to Conquerneau, and lodged himselfe neere vnto the end of the bridge.

At the same instant the Duke of Vendosme, and the Marshall of Brisac ariued, sending to summon them of the Towne to yeeld it vnto the King. They demanded fiftene dayes respite, to aduertise their Gouverneur, (who was gone forth two dayes before to seeke for succours.) They made answer vnto them, they should not haue one dayes respite. Whereupon the truce was broken, and they all retired.

The Duke of Vendosme, gaue charge to *La Besne* to desire to speake with *L'Hospital*, Sergeant Maior in the towne, and to perswade him to seize vpon *Querchesne*, who commanded in the Gouvernors absence, and deliuer him with the town the next morning, else they should all die. This being done, the Souldiers made answer that if *Querchesne* were comprehended in the Capitulation, they would defend themselves so well, as they would ruine the Kings Armie. To whom *La Besne* replied, Souldiers, you that speake so boldly, there is but one meanes to saue you, in seizing vpon them which play the mutines with the hazard of your liues, the which you will lose ignominiously, for you will be all hang'd.

Hercupon they retired on either side: yet early in the morning the Souldiers desired to

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A to speake with *La Courbe Hiré* Captaine of the Duke of Vendosmes guard: the which *La Besne* refused, he being there present and a Captaine of the Kings Guard. Then they sent vnto him to excuse them, and to tell him that they had a great desire to parley, touching their capitulation. A truce being made, hee went to the end of the bridge, where the Sergeant Maior, and *Querchesne* intreated him to be a meanes that he might be comprehended in the Capitulation. *La Besne* answered them, that when *La Courbe* came, they would both intreat the Duke, but he feared it would not be granted: and therefore their best expedient was to yeeld the place presently. The Souldiers told them that they were the Kings seruants, and that they would willingly yeeld: which *Querchesne* vnderstanding, he said, he would stabbe them all, and himselfe afterwards, if they had not a good composition.

La Besne aduertised the Duke of the parley, and Captaine *La Courbe* came vnto him; who hearing how matters had past, went presently to the Bridge, perswading the Souldiers to seize vpon *Querchesne*, which they did presently, and disarmed him, saying, wee will binde him, and bring him to you. The which *La Besne* vnderstanding, he ranne to the trenches, and brought forth his company in good order towards the Draw-bridge, where he met with *La Courbe*, to whom the souldiers had deliuered *Querchesne*, of whom *La Besne* seized, saying, that the Prisoner belonged to him, as commanding the Kings guard, and having besieged the place.

Querchesne
seized on and
deliuered to
La Courbe.

C Presently after this, they deliuered the Keyes of Conquerneau vnto *La Courbe*, which *La Besne* in like manner challenged: but in the end they agreed that *La Courbe* should present them vnto the Duke in both their names. But in the meane time, *La Besne* got into the towne, and disarmed his souldiers, keeping his men in bartell two houres, attending the Dukes pleasure: who being ariued with the Marshall *Brisac*, their meaning was to capitulate with them. But *La Besne* assured them that he had surprized the Towne & Fort two houres before, and disarmed the Souldiers. The Marshall hearing him, told the Duke that *La Besne* had done his duty in seizing of the place after that manner. Whereupon *Querchesne* was presently condemned and hanged before the Bridge. The Souldiers were sent away naked without their Cloakes, and whire sticks in their hands: yet they were conducted three leagues, lest the Country people should haue slain vpon them.

The Keyes of
Conquerneau
deliuered,

In Iuly and August the King had sent many men of quality to the Queene mother, to summon her for an enterview, and to tell her that her presence was necessary at Court, for the quiet of the State. The Prince of Piedmont, having a great desire to see the Queene before his returne into Sauoy being her sonne in law by his marriage with the Lady *Christien*, the King was very well pleased he should go to Angouleme, with Prince *Thomas* his brother, the which they did with a goodly traine of Noblemen. The Duke of Espernon receiued them with a state befitting their greatness: and the Queene held the marriage of her daughter with this Prince, for a speciall fauour from heaven. The Queen Mother (although they represented vnto her some difficulties, to diuert her from going to the King) told the Prince of Piedmont, that he might assure his Maiesty, that her desire was to approach neere vnto his person, to yeeld him and the State all manner of seruice: whereof he assured the King at his returne. But whether it were by reason of some indisposition, or for some distrust (as some supposed) the King seeing her stay, and desiring to haue the content to see her, he sent this letter by the Duke of Montbazon.

Madam, the perfect vnion which I desire to consume betwixt vs (being one of the worthiest and most commendable effects which a good inclination can produce) I will by all the meanes I can let you see how much I affect it. Madam, you know the persons whom I haue imployed to this end. I now send vnto you my cousin the Duke of Montbazon, whom I loue as much as any other, and the esteeme which you haue alwaies had of him makes me thinke, that you will giue more credit vnto that which hee shall deliuer vnto you on my behalfe, then to any other. Hee will assure you, that I desire not onely a good correspondency with you, but that you should come and take your place in my Court with full confidence as you haue in my heart: you may stay as long as you please, and not depart vnlesse you like: it is the meanes to liue together in amity. Seeing then Madam, that you know my intentions, and that you see them intirely disposed vnto all which you desired, I beseech you to repaire hither so soone as you may, to giue mee the contentment, that we may reture together to Paris: for I would not willingly leaue this Country

The King sends
to the Queene
to come to
Court, and the
Prince of Pied-
mont goes to
see her.

The Kings
Letter to the
Queen Mother

1619 "Country, (where I have so long stayed vpon your occasion) without you. I will attend A
"your resolution, and will remaine your most humble and obedient sonne Lewis, From
"Amboise the 17 of Iuly, 1619.

The Queene Mother hauing receiued this Letter, gaue the Duke such assurance of her resolution, as he told his Maiestie that without any further delay shee disposed her selfe to come to Tours. Whereupon *Monsieur de Brent*, brother to *Monsieur de Luyne* was sent with some troopes of light-horse to attend the Queene in her voyage; who hauing conducted her to Poitiers, came to assure the King, that she would be at Tours by the 5 of September.

At this newes the whole Court prepared for her reception, as for a great feast long desired. Some great Personages which had accompanied the Queene from Angoulême to Poitiers, tooke their leaues, and returned to their houses, which made many thinke that all ielousies were suppressed.

The King sent *Monsieur le Grand* with many Noblemen to meet the Queene at Chastellerault, and himselfe with his Queene and the whole Nobilitie and Ladies, went two stellers out of Tours to receiue her. At their first meeting, there were vnspokeable demonstrations of ioy, and content on either side. They write that the Queene Mother approaching neere the King, said, *My Lord, my Sonne, you are growne tall since I saw you.* To whom the King answered, *Madame, I am growne to doe you seruice.* The Court stayed some dayes at Tours, when as the Queene desired to goe to Angiers to see her new government, where they made preparation to receiue her with great state, and in the meane time she retired to Chynon: And the King taking leaue of his Mother, went to Paris, where he entred not for feare of the Plague, but went directly to Compeigne, where they began to speake of the Prince of Conde's deliuerie.

On the three and twentieth of May past: The King had granted a Brieffe to them of the reformed Religion, to hold a generall assembly in the towne of Loudun: where being met, the Viscount of Turenne, second sonne to the Marshall of Bouillon, passing that way with his Mother, told them that his father would bee alwayes enclined to the good of the Churches, and would willingly embrace their resolutions. Within few dayes after they were assembled, they sent the Marquis of Mouffay, with some other Deputies with seven Articles vnto the King.

1, Touching the reuocation of the Edict for the Church-lands in Berne. 2, Concerning the continuation of their places of safety. 3, To haue the Gouverneur of Lorraine changed being become a Catholique. 4, To haue two Councillors of the Religion receiued into the Parliament of Paris. 5, To haue a substitute among the Kings learned Councill in the said Parliament. 6, To haue satisfaction touching the businesse of Tartas. 7, And for the burning of the Temple of Bourg. The Deputies had this answer giuen them; That it did ill befit the subiects (who termed themselves so zealous of the Royall authoritie) to treat with their King by speciall Articles; and that they should present all their demands together. Whereupon the Assembly laboured in such sort as their generall propositions were concluded in the beginning of December: with a resolution not to dissolue the assembly, vntill they had a full satisfaction of their demands, and the execution of the same. They were caried to the Court by the Seigneurs of Courelles, of Bouteroue, and Allain, who presented them vnto the King the 20 of December, and in giuing them, the Seigneur of Courelles said vnto his Maiestie:

Sir, we acknowledge it to be an inestimable honour vnto vs, that it pleaseth your Maiestie to giue vs so free access vnto you, to present our requests, and most humble supplications. For although, Sir, it seemes to some that the humble petitions which were presented vnto your Maiestie, for the maintaining of your Edicts, concerne vs alone, yet we may sincerely protest before God, that it is not our owne interest, that so much moues vs, as the desire of the quiet of your estate, and to preserve our selues for the good of your seruice, which will be an excellent meanes to maintaine all your subiects in peace, so much desired of all good men.

About the end of December, the said assembly made an order, touching Catholique Preachers, which should goe to preach in their Townes of safety; forbidding all Gouvernours, Maiors, and Sheriffs, to suffer any Iesuits, or of any other order, to preach being sent by the Bishops of the Diocesse.

The

The Queene
Mother comes
to Court.

An Assembly
of them of the
Religion at
Loudun.

Speech of the
Deputies of the
Religion to the
King.

An order made
by the Assembly,
touching
Catholique
Preachers.

A The Kings Proctor generall presented a request to the Parliament of Paris, against the said order. Whereupon there was a Decree made, commanding all Gouvernours and other Officers of the reformed Religion, to receiue all Preachers, were they Iesuits or of any other Order, that should be sent from their Bishops, for the comfort and instruction of Catholikes: forbidding them & all other the Kings subiects, to hinder them in their Sermons, or other spirituall functions, vpon paine to be declared troublers of the publique peace, and guiltie of treason.

Vpon the fourteenth of October, the Queene Mother went from Chynon, to Saurmur, and came to lodge at Pont de Cé, and on the sixteenth she made her ioyfull entry into Angiers. The Marshall of Boisdauphin, the Commander of La Porte, Gouverneur of the Towne and Castle of Angiers, the Marquis of Bellay, the Earle of Montfortau, and the Marquis of Breszé being followed by fifteene hundred Gentlemen well appointed, went to meet her: comming neere the towne, there were 6000 Inhabitants in armes to attend her, where she was receiued with Orations, triumphant Arches, and stately shewes and inuentions: all which I must leaue to the original.

But leauing the Queenes entry into Angiers, wee will obserue the Prince of Conde comming out of the Castle of Bois de Vincennes. The King being come to Compeigne, he resolved to set him at libertie; hauing beene a Prisoner euer since the first of September 1616, whereof he aduertised him by his Letters of the 17 of October. On the nineteenth the King being accompanied by his brother and all the chiefe men in Court, came to Chantilly, from whence he sent *Monsieur de Luyne* to the Prince, to whom he deliuered this Letter from the King. Cousin, I will not tell you how much I loue you, you see it, I send vnto you my cousin the Duke of Luyne, who knowes the secret of my heart, and will acquaint you therewith at large; and come to mee as speedily as you can, for I attend you with impatience: And in the meane time I will pray vnto God to haue you in his keeping.

At the same instant his guards retired, and he with the Princeesse his wife went to walk into the Parke, where *Monsieur de Luyne* acquainted him with his Maiesties pleasure: which done, he returned to the Castle. Hee lodged that night at Paris, and returned the next day to Vincennes, from whence he parted with *Monsieur de Luyne*, *Monsieur Cadinet* his brother, and many others to goe vnto the King, who had commanded the Duke of Mayenne as great Chamberlaine, to goe and meet him, and to bring him into his Maiesties Cabinet.

At his entrance, the Prince saluting the King, and bending his knee to the ground, King raised him vp, saying; Cousin you are welcome: then retiring themselves apart, they had some conference together: which done, the King commanded him to goe and refresh himselfe; and the next day the King and the Prince, with the whole Court returned to Compeigne, and on the fixe and twentieth of Nouember, there was a Declaration made, touching the Prince of Conde's deliuerie. By which he declared the Prince to bee innocent; of all those things which had beene imposed vpon him, and wherewith they had charged his honour and reputation, and had made a pretext to haue him committed: reuoking all Letters, Declarations, Edicts, Decrees, Sentences, and Iudgements, made against his said Cousin, which might any wayes preiudice him; commanding them to bee taken out of all the Registers of his Courts of Parliaments, and other places, and that the memory thereof might bee suppressed. His pleasure also was, That the Prince should enioy all his charges, and governments, rights, prerogatives and preheminences appertaining to his qualitie, as hee did before his detention and arrest.

The King hauing a desire, to take away all the ielousies which of late yeares had bin F betweene the Gouverneur of Picardy, and the Gouvernours and Capitaines of the Cittadell of Amiens; and to assure the peace and quiet of that Prouince, he made these changes following.

The Duke of Longueuille, who was Gouverneur of Picardie, and Capitaine of the Castle of Han: Leauing those places, was made Gouverneur of Normandie, and of the towne of Decepe.

And the Duke of Montbazon, who was Lieutenant generall for the King in Picardie, and Gouverneur of the Towne and Cittadell of Amiens, hauing resigned those charges:

He

The Prince of
Conde set at
libertie.

A Declaration
touching the
Princes deli-
uerie.

Change of go-
uernments in
Normandy and
Picardie.

1620 said Order, held on the 5 of December last past at S. Germaine in Lay. On New-yeares A
Eve, after dinner, the King & the ancient Knights of the order, with the Knights which
were to bee created, came to the President *Segniers* house, neere the Augullins, from
whence about three of the clocke, they went to the Augullins Church to Eueu-long.

First, the Archers of the great Prouost, led by his Lieutenants, the hundred Swissers
of the Guard, the Kings Trumpets, Fifes, and Drummes, cloathed in his Maiesties Liue-
rie of blue Veluet, marched before those Knights which were to be receiued, who went
two and two together; the hindmost of which was the Kings brother, and before him the
yong Earle of Soissons. There were five Prelates named to bee associates to the Order,
which were the Cardinall of Retz; the Archbishop of Tours; the Bishop of Carcassonne, B
the Bishop of Orleans; and the Bishop of Marfeilles. There were 59 Knights receiued
at this creation, being the fiftenth after the first institution.

The Deputies of the Assembly of the reformed Religion at Loudun, had presented
the Articles of their grieuances in the end of the last yeare, and had demanded the
execution thereof, before they should disloue their assembly: the which was contrary
to the Kings permission; according to the which, having drawne their complaints,
they should name fixe Deputies, whereof the King should chooe two, to reside in
Court to sollicite an answer to their grieuances, and to haue a care to the execution of
that which should be decreed in his Maiesties Council.

The King seeing that they continued in their resolution, and would not name their C
Agents, he sent *Monsieur du Mayen* a Councillor of State, and *Marscot*, who coming
into the Assembly on the tenth of Ianuary, *Du Mayen* said vnto them: My Masters you
haue scene by the Kings Letters, the Commission here giuen vs, to acquaint you with
his good intentions, and to deliuer you his commandments, vpon the occurrents of
this assembly. I will deliuer these two points briefly: and I assure my selfe, that you will
giue Io fauourable a hearing to the one; as the other shall be followed with a speedy o-
bedience: seeing it is a father which speak vnto his children; the Master to his good
seruants, and the King to his naturall subiects; who protest that they breathe nothing
but the reformation of the Church and Religion. I will first tell you my masters, that the
King hath commanded vs to assure you that his intention is, to make you enioy fully, D
and peaceably, whatsoever hath bene granted by the Edicts of Kings his Predecess-
sors, and his Maiestic. To this end he hath bene pleased you should set downe your
grieuances in generall, hath receiued them fauourably (notwithstanding that you have
presented them before your separation, contrary to the accustomed forme) and promi-
seth you to make them labour seriously about the answer, and within one moneth, to let
you haue the execution.

Touching the second point, he said, The King had commanded them to let the assem-
bly vnderstand; that seeing he had their demands and grieuances, and they his promises
to receiue all fauour and iustice; the long subsistence of the Assembly, could not bee
pleasing vnto him, being not onely vnprofitable, but also preiudiciall to his authoritie, E
and might rather cause scandall, then edifie his subiects. That hee could not allow of the
reason they gaue, saying, that they would onely attend the answers and executions of
their demands: nor yet the reiterated supplications they might make: for that it seemes
they would extort that which they must attend from his mere grace and bounty, or
participate with him in the bond which his subiects of the reformed Religion owe him,
for the graces, fauour, and iustice which they shall receiue. Wherefore his Maiestic hath
giuen vs in charge to command you expressly from him, to proceed forthwith to the
nomination of fixe Deputies; of which (according to the custome) we will make choice
oftwo to remaine in Court: And to separate yourselves within fiftene dayes at the far-
thest, beginning at this present tenth of Ianuary, and euery man to returne into the P
rouince from whence he was deputed, to carry his promises to all his good subiects of the
reformed Religion, with assurance they should be speedily followed with all the desired
and iust effects they can hope from their good King.

The Assembly gaue them no other answer, but that they must reiterate their
most humble supplications vnto the King, to whom they sent their Deputies:
whereof they presently aduertised all their Churches of what had past touching this
subiect: complaining that the execution of promises made to them of the reformed Re-
ligion

The Kings in-
tention de-
clared to the
Assembly at
Loudun.

The assembly
at Loudun,
where they
were choise
Deputies.

A ligation, was the cause of the subsistence of their assembly. That King *Henry* the Great had
allowed the continuance of their assembly at Saumur, in the yeare 1598. That the
question was to repaire the Edict of Nantes. That there was no touch of the Kings
authoritie: the question being onely to doe iustice to his subiects assembled. And that the
resolution of the assembly was, not to separate themselves before that all which concer-
ned the iustice of their complaints were executed.

The Deputies came vnto his Maiestic with Letters, protesting their humble submis-
sion and seruice; and shewing how necessarie it was, for the reformed Religion to haue
strong Townes for their safety. But they had no other answer, but that they must obey
his Maiesties will, whereof he had acquainted them by *du Mayen* and *Marscot*.

Soone after, there was a Declaration verified in Parliament against them of the As-
sembly at Loudun. By the which he declared them guilty of treason, if they did not se-
parate themselves within the prefixed time, which was three weekes; during which they
should name their Deputies to reside in Court.

After which (they not obeying) he declared the assembly vnlawfull, and contrary to
his authoritie and seruice. This Declaration made many of both religions apprehend
some new alterations. They saw that the iusalouies of such as had taken Armes the yeare
before, increased. Some great men of the reformed Religion (as is mentioned in the De-
claration) all affected to the State, made visits for the continuance of the said distrusts, in
those places whither they could not goe without giuing the King cause to suspect
that they had some bad intent; as it appeared afterwards by the effects.

At this time, the Marshall *Desdiguieres* came to Paris, and was receiued Duke and
Peere of France in Parliament, *Monsieur de Chastillon* was also there. These two be-
ing of the Religion, began to deale in this businesse. The King was well pleased there-
with, and gaue charge to the Prince of Conde and Duke of Luynes to treat with them.

Having heard the Deputies of the Assembly, and scene their complaints, they found
that they consisted vpon three chiefe points. First, in the reception of two Councillors
in the Parliament of Paris. Secondly, to put a Gouernor of the Religion into L'Estore:
D and thirdly, to haue a Briefe for the continuance of places of safety. Of which
three points the Prince of Conde and Duke of Luynes promised verbally, that they of
the Religion should haue all satisfaction and content within fixe monthes.

And touching the restitution of the Clergie goods in Bearne, That within one moneth
after the expiration of the said fixe monthes, his Maiestic would heare the remonstrances
of the reformed Churches of Bearne.

The Prince and *Luynes*, gaue their words in the Kings name, for the execution of
these promises: conditionally that the assembly should proceed speedily to the nomi-
nation of fixe persons, whereof his Maiestic should chooe two to bee generall Deputies
for the reformed Churches in Court: after which choise the said Assembly should se-
parate themselves. The Duke of D'Eldiguieres, and Earle of Chastillon, having aduertised
the assembly of the conditions of this Treatie, they returned them answer that they
were well satisfied therewith.

The Assembly named fixe persons, whereof the King made choise of two. There
remained nothing now, but for the Assembly to disloue it selfe. They desired to haue
in writing that the three Articles promised, should be effected within fixe monthes; and
for want thereof, it should be lawfull for them by the same writing to assemble themselves
again (without any new permission) touching the inexecution of the said promises,
Monsieur de Pleisis Moray, had commandement from the King by the Duke of Montbazou,
to assure the Assembly at Loudun, that what had been promised them, should be kept
F and effected. Vpon their reiterated demand to haue the permission in writing to assem-
ble againe within fixe monthes, if the three Articles were not executed, *Monsieur de Luynes*
told them, that they should not haue any thing in writing; but he promised to doe all his
endeavour with his Maiestic for the permission, in case those things promised were not
executed. Hereupon *Monsieur de Pleisis* sent vnto the Assembly, representing vnto them
of what weight the Kings word should be. Whereupon the assembly dissolued, and they
returned into their Provinces.

The King being intreated in the end of the last yeare, by the Earle of *Fussemburg*

[v2]

The Kings De-
claration a-
gainst the as-
sembly at
Loudun.

The Prince of
Conde, and the
Duke of Luynes,
treat with
the Duke
Desdiguieres
and Chastillon.

The Assembly
at Loudun
dissolued.

1620

The King sends
Ambassadors
into Germany.

Ambassador for the Emperour, to assist him in his warres; He resolved rather to procure a Peace, and to reconcile the troubles of Germanie, then to adde matter which might maintaine the warre. Whereupon he made choice of the Duke of Angouleme, and others (as wee haue formerly said) to goe both to the Protestant Princes and States, which were ancient Allies to the Crowne of France, and to the Emperour. To exhort both the one and the other party, not to enter into warre one against another, as it seemed they were inclined, and that they should onely giue succours to the Emperour, or the Bohemians, according to their affections, and that within the Realme of Bohemia and Austria, where the warre was, and no where else. And secondly, to mediate some accord betweene the Emperour, and the Estates of Bohemia, who had chosen the Elector Palatine for their King.

Dispute about
holding the
Towell to his
King.

About this time there were promyses of future mariages betweene the yong Lady of Bourbon, daughter to the Prince of Conde, and the Prince of Guisille; eldest sonne to the Duke of Guise: and the Duke of Ioyeuse, second sonne to the Duke of Guise, with the Duke of Luynes Daughter. There also hapned a dispute about giuing the Towell to the King, betwixt the Prince of Conde, first Prince of the Blood, and the Cont Soissons, a Prince also of the Blood, and Lord Steward of the Kings House; which to appeale, the King sent presently for his brother, who held the same to his Maiestie.

The Prince of Conde, as first Prince of the Blood, maintained that none in France ought to present the Towell to the King before him, except his Maiesties brother. And the Earle of Soissons, as high Steward and Prince of the blood, maintained that his office ioyned with his qualitie of Prince of the Blood, could not giue place to any person but a sonne of France. The friends of both these Princes repaired to their Houses to offer them their seruices.

The Duke of Guise, ioyned himselfe vnto the Prince of Conde. And the Duke of Mayenne (who was already in some difference with the Prince) drew to the Earle of Soissons: so all those which were not in good termes with the said Prince, or the Dukes of Guise or Luynes, cast themselves on this side. On the other side, all such as were discontented with the creation of the Knights of the Holy Ghost, or for that they were not of the number; or who (hauing been named) would not accept thereof, because of the pretensions of their precedencies; and some about the placing of the Ladies (about the Queene) at that Ceremonie: So that (as wee shall see hereafter) the said Earle of Soissons, with many other Princes and Noblemen, retired themselves one after another from the Court, to ioyne their discontents with the jealousies and distrusts which they possessed the Queene Mother withall.

The King sends
for his Sister
to come to
Court.She excuseth
herselfe.

In the meane time the King (being at Fontaine-Beau) sent the Duke of Montbazon to Angiers, to sollicite the Queene Mother, to draw neere vnto him, and come vnto the Court. And vpon the assurance they gaue him shee would come, his Maiesty went to Orleans to meet her, where he received aduice that she could not as yet come, for the reasons which the Controller of her house (whom she would send vnto his Maiesty) should deliuer.

The King being come backe againe to Fontaine-Beau, was aduertised that the Duke of Mayen (whom hee left at Paris) had taken Post and was gone into his Government without any other leave then what hee tooke by this Letter which he wrote from Precigny.

Monsieur de
Mayenne's Letter
to the King.

Sir, I neuer did any thing with more discontent, and vnwillingnesse, then to part from Paris, before I had the honour to receiue your Maiesties commandement. But hauing too long neglected an aduice giuen mee of some designe against my person, it hath been since confirmed by so many, and with so strong assurances, as I was constrained (that I might eschew the mischiefe which threatened mee) to depart thus sodainly. I craue your Maiesties pardon for the same with all sorts of submission, appertaining to a most humble seruant and subiect; beseeching you not to make mee so vnhappy, as to deprive mee of the honour of your gracious fauour in this regard. For in all therest of my actions I finde my selfe so cleare, as I haue more reason to imploie your iustice against such as would slander them, then any need to haue recourse vnto your clemencie. I hope, Sir, that God will giue mee the grace to performe the like hereafter, or better. And I am going into my Government with this firme resolution

to

1620

A to render vnto your Maiesty all faithfull endeavors, to preserve the reputation (which I hold dearer then my life) to be your Maiesties most humble obedient and faithful subiect and seruant, H. de Lorraine. From Precigny the thirtieth of March, 1620.

Vpon the retreat of the Duke of Mayenne from Court, they assured the King there was a faction framed, and that the Dukes of Vendosme and Longueville were enraged: who iudging themselves not to be safe in Court, the one of them tooke his way towards his government of Normandie; and the other to Anet, from thence to Vendosme, and afterwards to the Queene Mother at Angiers.

Two months time was spent, in diuers voyages to and fro, which the Seigneur of Blainville and other persons on the Kings part, made vnto the Queene Mother at Angiers, to treat with her of the contentment which shee desired; that shee might come to the King, and by this meanes disperse the clouds, which began to appeare in many of the Prouinces, vnder this faire pretext of reformation of the State. But they preuailed little with her at this time by meanes of her distrusts.

In Iune, many Princes and Noblemen retired from Court one after another, which they performed by night. Of the Princes, the Duke of Nemours was the first which beganne, and was followed on the next day by his wife, who went straight towards Angiers. Three dayes after, the Earle of Soissons and the Countesse his Mother, withdrew themselves by night, and went to Dreux, and from thence to the Queene mother. Two daies after, they were followed by the Cheualier of Vendosme, Grand Prior of France. The King had giuen vnto this Prince, (after the Marshall D'Ancre's death) the best of his Benefices and Offices, namely, the Abbey of Marmoutier in Touraine, and the Government of the Towne and Castle of Caen, the best place of Normandy; and of all those which should come to be on the Queenes party: Wherefore he sent thither with all speed, the Seigneur Prudent his Lieutenant, who came vnto the Castle on the first of Iuly to strengthen the place with all which he should hold fit to defend a siege.

All these Princes thus retired from Paris and their associates, they gaue out, that the motive of their leaving the Court, was, because they could not endure (but with greife) the disorder of the State. That they could not impute it vnto the King, but vnto his Fauorites, who being raised from a meane condition, vnto a great and mighty fortune, did wholly enjoy his Maiesties eares and his bounty. That the Queene Mothers partie (as being the most iust) would prooue the strongest; that it was vpheld by the greatest number of the Princes & chiefe Officers of the Crowne: that their designe ought not to be termed rebellion, because all the malecontents were the Kings good seruants, but capital enemies vnto his fauorites; that they would onely settle the State which was almost ruined: That the Queene notwithstanding would not be the first which should arme, but in case they oppressed any of those of her partie, or her allies, that then her defence should be iust, and haue some appearance.

According to the common course in all combustions, many Discourses were dispersed abroad, touching the deformations which they sayd to bee in the State. Some of them were Scurrill: others more milde, which they entituled, *Christian verities vnto the most Christian King*, words a little more sacred, but to the life effect.

The Queene
Mothers parties.

The King was aduertised from many places, that they leauied Souldiers openly in the Queene mothers name: That in Normandy the Duke of Longueville had a partie, who held Diepe on this side the Riuier of Seine, with purpose to make himselfe sole master of Rouen: That beyond the Riuier of Seine, the great Prior of France held the Castle of Caen: and that the Earle of Torigny, the Duke of Longuevilles alie, was Lieutenant generall in Base Normandy: That the Earle of Soissons holding Dreux and La Fyrt Bernard, would be master of the Country of Perche, and a part of Mayen: That the Governor of Alencon was of their party: That the Marshall of Bois-Dauphin had the passages of the Riuers of Sarre and Mayenne, holding in his possession the Townes of Sablé and Chateaugontier: and the Duke of Vendosme those of the Riuier of Loire. The Queene mother had Angiers and Pont de Cé, a passage vpon Loire, with all the Nobility of the Countrie in a manner, which were of her faction. On the other side of Loire, shee had Chynon vpon the Riuier of Vienne, to walke into Touraine, where Loches held for the Duke of Elspenon. Monsieur de la Tremouille Duke of Tours; and the Duke of Retz were Masters in Poitou, which ioynes vpon Loire, and in Britany opposite on the other side.

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The Duke of Roannois had his lands lying in the midft of Poitou, for the leauing of A fouldiers. The Duke of Rohan Gouverneur of Saint Iohn D'Angely, was Master in bafe Poitou nere the Sea. The Duke of Epemnon commanded throughout all Angoulmois, and Naintonge, and vpon all the Riuer of Charente: and the Duke of Mayenne in his Gouvernement of Guierneand Bourdeaux. The Viscount of Aubeterre, held Blaye, and the mouth of the Riuer of Gironde. *Barbin* leauied fouldiers in Liege, to paffe ouer at Metz, which was held by *Monf. de la Valette*, the Duke of Elpernon's sonne. And the Duke of Nemours had sent *Faffeur* his Secrerarie, to leauy fouldiers in the Country about Geneua.

This was the estate of the Queene Mothers party, which held many Prouinces, from B Diepe in Normandy, vnto the other side of the Riuer of Garonne, being almost two hundred leagues. A party wherein we see great personages of either Religion, hauing many good Captaines with strong places vpon all the Riuers. A faction which without troubling themselves to besiege Townes, should haue marched directly to Paris with a great Armie, to reforme the abuses which they said were in the State: thinking it so easie, as they held it in a manner done. Many were not of his opinion, who held this enterprize to be like the warre of the Common-weale, vnder the raigne of *Lewis* the eleuenth, for that there were too many Princes and Generals of Armies, to continue long together without ieaiousies; or to performe any exploit of worth; and that in stead of a reformation, they would breed a deformation in France: yea although the successe should be answerable to their desires: for that they were thus vnitied, onely for their owne private interest.

Deputies sent from the King to the Queene Mother.

The King foreseeing that whatsoeuer hapned, the discommoditie of the warre must fall vpon his estate and subiects, resolved to send an honorable deputation by *Du Peron* Archbishop of Sens; the Duke Montbazon, Monsieur *Belgarde* Master of the Horse, and President *Jauin* to treat with the Queene Mother of the meanes to pacifie these alterations in the breeding; and on the other side to arme strongly, to reduce those by force, which should not yeeld to reason: And to the end there shall bee no stirring in Britanie, he sent the Marshall of Brillac thither. But before their departures, both *Monseigneur de Belgard* and the Marshall, were receiued Dukes and Peeres of France in Par. D liament.

The Popes Nuncio vnto the Queene Mother.

The Popes Nuncio, desiring to imploy his seruice, and his Holinesse authoritie to reconcile the Queene Mother with the King, he wrote a Letter vnto her, and recommended it vnto the Archbishop of Sens: by the which hee gaue her to vnderstand, how much his Holinesse was grieved, to see their old ieaiousies reuiued, the which were growne to discontent. That he had receiued commandement to doe all good Offices with the King, bestitting a businesse of that importance. That the King had protested, that he had beene alwayes carefull to giue her Maiestie all satisfaction, and that he did not thinke to haue euer failed to yeeld her all due honour and respect. That hee had often inuited her to come vnto him, and to that end had sent diuers times vnto her. In the end he exhorted E the Queene in his Holinesse name, that she would likewise contribute for her part, whatsoeuer might serue to reconcile her to the King her sonne, and to vnitie their wils: coniuering her by all meanes, to auoid the occasions which might bring matters to extremitie and draw them to Armes.

Some write, that the King hauing prayed earnestly to God to inspire him what hee should doe for his glory, and the safety of his Estate, he called a Councell, where he assisted in person; and where many aduertisements were represented from all the Prouinces of a nere rebellion. They first considered of the factions which were in Paris, and the restraint of some of their minds who had places in Soueraigne Courts.

After this, they treated of those of Normandie, and particularly of Rouen, where the first President and almost all the Officers of Soueraigne Courts, were for the Kings seruice; and yet there were many of place and qualitie which did fauour the Duke of Longueuille Gouverneur of Normandie, who was of the Queene Mothers faction. They were also aduertised of many practises made by them of the reformed Religion, whereof there were many in that towne; so as the fire began to kindle, the which they must seeke speedily to quench, & to giue order in like manner for the Castle of Caen, whither the Grand Prior of France had sent *Prudent*, to fortifie it, and make himselfe Master of the towne.

Some

Two factions in Rouen.

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A Some said that they should not suffer that Prouince to bee lost, which was the bafe Court to the Loure: but others considering the estate of affaires, were of opinion, that he should first looke to the preferuation of Paris, before that of Rouen and Caen. That the Kings presence in Paris, would disperse all factions, if there were any: wherefore his stay there was most necessarie; and that there was nothing so dangerous, as to draw his Maiestie out of that great Citie. And that if Normandie were oppress by the factions, they might recouer it at another time. That leauing Paris, it would fauour the designe of those murines: and that all factions which had beene made in France, did commonly come and demand Peace, or make warre about Paris. And that those forces which were leauied in Liege, and which might come from Metz, might suffice to oppress it. They did also represent, that if the King did not enter into Rouen, but would paffe on to assure Caen, vndoubtedly all the other Townes would grow amazed, and the Kings reputation would be blemished, both within and without the Realme. They also spake of the danger wherein the King should be if hee found the forces of Normandie in front, those of Angiers on his side; those of Champaigne at his backe marching towards Paris; and those of Guierne and Aulgoumois vpon the banks of Loire.

His Maiestie hauing heard all these difficulties with attention, he said generously: *That amidst so many dangers which presented themselves, they must enter into the greatest and neediest, which was in Normandie: and that his opinion was to goe thither directly, and not to stay in Paris to see his Realme in prey, and his faithfull seruants oppress. That hee had a great hope in the innocencie of his Armes, and that his conscience could not reproach him to haue failed of his duty to the Queene his Mother; of iustice to his people; and of bounty to all the great Personages of his Realme.*

The King resolves to goe into Normandie.

The Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Luynes, were the first which did second his Maiesties opinion, saying, that it was more honorable and safer: for that if it pleased God to suffer his first Armes to triumph in this voyage, he should thereby assure the Prouinces and great Townes which had not bene distracted: and strike a terror into those which were reuolted. The rest of his Councell were of the same opinion. It is said the Prince added moreouer, Sir, you must goe vnto them before they assure themselves: it is a point D of victorie, and the most expedient and easie. I haue found it by experience: for if at the alteration of Mezieres, they had come directly vnto vs, before we had considered of our forces, as some had aduised *Monf. de Villeroi*, without doubt they had easily separated vs.

Hauing in this Councell resolved to warre, they sent out diuers Commissions; to the Marshall of Themines, to oppose himselfe to the Duke of Mayen. The Earle of Rochefoucault, Gouverneur of Poitiers, to make head against the Duke of Rohan. The Marquis of Courtenaut was sent vnto Touraine: And *Monseigneur de Bosompierre* to fetch the troopes which were vpon the Frontiers of Champaigne, and to conduct them speedily towards Chartres.

All Governours of Prouinces were commanded to returne to their gouernments. So E the Duke of Guise prepared to goe into Prouence, and the Duke of Neuers into Champaigne, with Commission to leauy troopes to oppose against the Liegeois, which were comming for the Queene Mother.

Comming from Councell, the Seigneur of Roulet, great Prouost of Normandie, presenting himselfe vnto his Maiestie, said, That it was not fit hee should goe thither, where hee should finde nothing but reuolts, and discontents: To whom the King answered, you are not of my Councell, I haue taken a more generous resolution. Vnderstand that if the way were all paved with armes, I would paffe vpon mine enemies bellies: seeing they haue no cause to declare themselves against mee, who haue not offended any man. You shall haue the content to see it: and I know you will reioyce at it, hauing serued the de- F ceased King my father so faithfully.

The Kings Speech to the great Prouost of Normandie.

Before his going from Paris, hee sent for all the Soueraigne Courts and Magistrates; and recommended vnto them the preferuation of his good Citie, where hee left the Queene his wife for Gouvernesse, and with her the Chancellor, and some of the Councell, for the dispatch of all affaires; leading with him onely the Keeper of the Seales, and some Counsellors of State, and Masters of Requests, hoping to bee backe againe within three weekes.

The 7 of Iuly, the King accompanied with his brother, the Prince of Conde and many Noble

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Deputies come
to the King
from Caen.

Noblemen, left Paris, and lodged at Pontoise, whither the Deputies of Caen came vnto him with Letters, to assure him of the inhabitants fidelitie, who according to his commandement were become Masters of the Towne, whereof they would giue him a good accompt: They let him vnderstand that his presence was very necessarie to preserue the Towne from the oppressions which threatened it; and that in the meane time they would defend themselves with their owne forces. The King had sent the Seigneur of Bellefons with Letters vnto them, giuing them to vnderstand, that the Grand Prior was retired discontented from Court, and that he desired the inhabitants would haue a care of his Towne of Caen vnder his obedience, and not suffer any one to enter the fronger. *Bellefons* (who had sometime beene Governor there) made offer, that if the inhabitants would defend themselves against the Castle, hee would serue them: to whom they answered, That matters were not yet reduced to those extremities: That they were in good iatelligence with those of the Castle, the which they would husband: That this discreet temporizing would more auail the Kings affaires, then his designe which was very hardy, and the successe doubtfull: That it was to no purpose to incense them of the Castle, and expose the Towne to the mercy of the Cannon: That dissembling was more profitable both for the aduancement of the Kings affaires, and of the Towne, on whose preservation depended the safety of the Prouince.

The King
enters
into the
Deputies of Caen.

His Maiesties Letters were imparted to *Seigneur Prudent*, and hee was invited to come into the towne to assist at their deliberations, who thanked the Deputies for this complement, entreating them to assure the bodie of the towne: That he desired nothing more then to serue them, and that they needed not feare any thing from the Castle: That the Grand Prior was not retired from Court to doe the King any bad seruice, but to defend himselfe from the oppression of his enemies, who had conspired to haue him arrested: That in taking leaue of the Grand Prior, he had commanded him expressly to take a care to the preservation of his place and the towne, that if the inhabitants would lue in good intelligence with the castle, they should without danger see the miseries of other townes. Finally, he said, he had not so little experience in his profession, as he knew not how much it did import a Governour to abandon his place in a doubtful and suspicious time, the which he was resolved to preferue for the King vnder his Masters seruice, and that he would endure all extremities by an obdurate siege: Finally, that hee would suffer himselfe to be buried in the ruines thereof.

The Kings an-
swer to the in-
habitants of
Caen.

The townsmen erected a Councell of the chiefe Magistrates, for the government and guard of the Towne, wherewith they acquainted *Prudent*, intreating him to referre the order and the keyes to the disposition of the towne; for that the King desired they should remaine Masters: whereunto he yielded willingly. And this was the state of the towne when the Deputies came vnto the King, who sent them away with Letters of assurance of his great content for their obedience, and that within few dayes he would be with them, and in the meane time the Marshall of Praslin should come vnto them with two thousand foot and five hundred Swisses: and at the same time his Maiestic sent away the Marquis of Muny, who came to Caen on the eight of Iuly, and after him the Seigneur of Arnault. The King lodged within one daies iourney of Rouen, his Harbingers going thither before to marke their lodgings: whereof the Duke of Longueville being aduertised, he sent for one of them, demanding where he had left the King? At Pontoise, my Lord, answered the Marshall, but this night hee lyes at Magny. Where make you account to lodge him, said the Duke? Here, my Lord, replied the Harbinger. It is reason, said the Duke, that I should quit him the place. The Duke had bene the same morning with the Parliament, and made protestation of his fidelity to the Kings seruice, but with some complaints for his owne priuate against those which were nere vnto his Maiestic, with whom they had put him in disgrace without cause: saying, that to auoyd the detention of his person, which they had long protected, he was resolved to retire to Diepe: which hee did, and tooke horse about five of the clocke in the euening. At the same time also some officers and persons of quality left Rouen, whereof the King was aduertised the next day at his departure from Magny. Within an houre after the Dukes going from Rouen, Colonell *Orlando* came thither by the Kings commandement, who presently visited the chiefe of the Parliament, and of the body of the City assuring them that the King came with speed to settle an order for the combustions which they intended to make in Normandy. Hee had

The Duke of Lon-
gueville retires
from Rouen to
Diepe.

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Rouen assured
for the King.

A had also some conference with the Gouvernor of the old Palace, telling him that his Maiestic held him for his seruant: and the gouvernor gaue him his faith to serue the King: but being afterward aduised not to stay the Kings coming, left hee were made an example, he retired and abandoned the place, into which he had put 150 souldiers, besides the ordinary garison. At the same time the Prince of Conde (whom his Maiestic had caused to aduance) arrived at Rouen, who commanded the Colonell to assure himselfe of the old Palace. The King was assured vpon the way that Rouen was wholly at his deuotion; all the ruer of Seine free, and the Duke of Longueville in the Country of Caux, so as he could by no means succour Caen but by Sea; whereupon he commanded the Marshall of Praslin, and *Monsi. de Crequy* to aduance with all speed to Caen, with ten companies of his Guard, and one of Swisses. The King entred into Rouen on the tenth of Iuly, where the people attended him with generall acclamations of ioy and blessings. The Parliament went presently to tender their seruices vnto him: the first President so moued his heart with a short Speech, as he gaue God thanks to haue preferred them from the rebellion which was so nere, confessing that his onely presence had prevented the desolation of the Prouince; and of the City. The next day his Maiestic went to the Parliament, where the Keeper of the Seales represented what had past since the alterations of Angoulême: The gratifications the Queene his mother had receiued; and the care he had to visit her: The offers which had bene lately made vnto her; and his tender affection. He then spake of the Letters which the King had sent vnto *Monsieur de Longueville* to come vnto him, and to accompany him at his entry into the Prouince; and the refusal he had made. After which they presented Letters of suspension of the Dukes authoritie in the Government of Normandie, vntill he had iustified himselfe in his Maiesties presence. The first President gaue the King most humble thanks, that he had vouchsafed to communicate his affaires to his Parliament, who had no part but obedience, & did not breathe but from his commandements, protesting an inuolable fidelitie to his seruice; beseeching him, that as he had preferred them from danger by his coming, whereto they had undoubtedly fallen, so he would not depart the Prouinée, vntill hee had settled their peace. His Maiestic stayed three dayes in Rouen, where he gaue order for the safety of this capital Citie: And at the request of the Parliament he made new Captaines, chosen out of the Soueraigne Courts, who tooke their oath of fidelitie vnto his Maiestic.

The King goes
to the Parlia-
ment at Rouen

The diuers pretexts which had embarked many, were suppressed by the Kings presence: for they wist, that in all Normandy not about eight daies before, no man durst speake of the Kings name, but in blemishing his name and reputation; so powerfull their practices were: That their designe was to assure themselves of Rouen on the ninth of the Moneth, by a great faction of the Nobility which followed the Duke of Longueville, and by 1200 Souldiers which should come thither, and make the execution easie: That it was a wonder, at the very bruite of the Kings coming there being three or foure hundred Gentlemen within the City, of all these there were but five & twentie remaining with the Duke, E all the rest protesting that they would serue the King: That the fidelitie of the Parliament and generally of other officers, was to be honored for euer; for that there was no kind of temptation but had bene tried to withdraw them from their obedience.

But let vs obserue what hath past at Caen; the inhabitants were wholly royall, and breathed nothing but the Kings seruice, yet they apprehended a Garison, and that a Gouvernor for the King, attempting against the Castle, they should grow to those tearmes, as their towne should be ruined on the one side with the Cannon from the Castle, and on the other by the Kings troops which they would lodge in their houses. A considerable feare in a great towne. This Councell of the Towne then was forced discreetly to entertaine a correspondencie with the Seigneur *Prudent*: but they had diuers intentions. He F expected the Grand Prior with forces to constraîne them of Caen to embrace the Queen mothers party: And the Councell of the Towne drew on the time vntill the Kings coming to succour them, and that by his presence he might reduce the Castle to his obedience.

What passed at
Caen.

You haue formerly heard what *Bellefons* offered vnto the Towne, and their answer: *Prudent* grew jealous of his stay there, sending word to the Councell of the towne that he could not endure it: That if they would entertaine their common intelligence, they must cause him retire: That he knew him to be a capitall enemy to the Grand Prior: That if

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The Gouvernor
of the Castle
threateth the
Towne, fincy
put not out
Bellefior.

if they would preferue themselves, they must not vse this conuinnce : And that if the A Towne had bandy against the Castle, he would come down with two thousand men with fire and sword ; entreating them to resolute thereupon, and fend him their answer.

The Councell being assembled vpon this occasion, they found it harsh to entreat the Seigneur of Bellefions to retire, being sent from the King ; and hauing offered his seruice to the Towne : notwithstanding, it was concluded, that he should be inuited thercunto. The Message was deliuered, but he could not relish it : they returned his Answer, which was, That he would rather die then retire without a speciall commandement from the King, or at the least, a Decree made by the body of the Towne, for his iustification to his Maiesty : yet soone after, doubting a mutiny of the people, he left the towne ; the like B did the Seigneur of Bleville, and *Victor* the Bayliffe of Caen.

The Earle of
Thorigny
comes to Caen
thining to
command
there.

The same day, the Earle of Thorigny, the Kings Lieutenant, came to Caen, being allied to the Duke of Longueville, and as they sayd, held his partie. The Councell of the Towne went to entreat him, that hee would allow of the order they had set downe for their preferation : That their Deputies had charge to know the Kings pleasure whom they should obey : That they were bound by his Maiesties Lettres and commandement, neuer to put his power to compromise. The Earle of Thorigny obserued, that he must of necessity yeeld to that which they held : whereupon he returned the next day, seeing all the officers and chiefe Burgesses girt to their swords, and witnessing by their resolute countenances, that they had courage enough to preferue themselves in their ancient fidelitie, and to maintain their libertie. The Towne doubled their guards, and fortified their Suburbs with Barricadoes ; and they of the Castle stood vpon their guard, drawing in all kind of victuall and munition, to endure a siege.

The answer of
the Councell
to Caen to the
Marquis of
Mauny.

The Marquis of Mauny and Arnault being arriued, went to the Town-house, to whom they spake somewhat obscurely, as if they would found their disposition for the receiving of a garison : wherewith they were discontented, saying, That the Towne was not resolute to endure the insolency of Souldiers : That the King should not enter into distrust of their fidelities, their forepassed actions prefiging of the future : and that in stead of confirming the people in the Kings obedience, the word of Garison would thrust them into extremities : That hauing hitherto entertained a good correspondency with them of the Castle, they would make vse of it vntill the Kings arriual : That they of the town would not commit the first acts of hostility ; but if *Prudent* falsifying his oath and promises, should seeke to force them, they would take aduice what was necessary for their defence.

Prudent being aduertised of these communications, he desired them to entreat the said Marquis and *Arnault* to retire : wherunto the Councell made answer, That being sent from the King they could not doe it without crime : but that hee should assure himselfe they should haue no command in the Towne, nor entry within their Councell. Yet to testifie their obedience to his Maiesty, they doubled their guards, drew their chaines, to hinder the descent of them of the garison, and set Corps de guard vpon all the approaches to the Castle.

Vpon the tenth of Iuly, a Gentleman came from the Grand Prior, to aduertise the Towne that he dined at Falaise, and came to preferue the place, and to maintain the liberty of the inhabitants, whom they sought to oppress with garisons ; entreating them to suffer him to passe through the Towne to the Castle : to whom they made answer, That they were sorry the Grand Prior was in bad tearmes with the King, who came directly to Caen : That he should doe well for himselfe and them to submit himselfe, and not to lose a towne which had alwayes much honored and esteemed him : That for the passage he desired, they could not grant it through the Towne, and that hee might take some other way.

The Kings troops aduanced towards Caen, and *Monseur de Crequy* entred the Town, F assuring the Councell that the King burnt with impatience to deliuer them from the oppression of the Castle : That for their parts, they came not to ill intreat the inhabitants, but rather to be ruled by them : That they would willingly expose their liues for their safety : and that they should giue them the most dangerous places to guard : That it was their profession to hazard their liues for the Kings seruice, and that they had gotten their honors and charges by such generous acts. The Lieutenant Generall answered ; That they held themselves very happy to be able to discharge the promise they had made to keepe

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A keepe the towne for the King : That for the present, they which had taken the charge referred this care to them, and would hereafter rely vpon their vigilancy : yet the Towne should willingly furnish whatsoever should be necessary to their desigine, and the inhabitants would be bound to ease their troops, and guard such Ports of the Towne as they pleased.

Soone after, the Marshall of Praslin arriued, who sent a Gentleman with a Trumpet to summon *Prudent* in the Marshalls name (who commanded the Kings army) to yeeld the place ; perswading him to encline rather to obedience then rebellion. *Prudent* answered, That the place had bene committed vnto him by the Grand Prior, and that hee would expect his commandement before he would resolute to leaue it. This made *Prudent* look for a siege, and for that he had no Priests, he sent to demand two from the towne ; but the Marshall would not suffer it, saying, That it was wast, seeing they were Rebels against the King, and guilty of treason ; that they should all dye like beasts. To omit euery particular circumstance of this siege, the King gaue commandement to the Marshall, to assault the Castle.

Vpon the twelfth, the King parted from Rouen, where hee learned by the Prince of Ioinville, that the Cardinal of Guise his brother had failed of his promise to his Maiesty. And that it was reported hee was gone to ioyne with the Liegeois which should come for the *Queenes* party ; for the which the Prince seemed to be much grieved : He continued his journey towards Caen, and came to Diuex, which is within five Leagues vpon the Sea. There the Earle of Sardiny coming from Angiers, presented himselfe suddenly to his Maiesty, to deliuer him a Letter : but he said vnto him, that hee knew well what it contained : That it had bene drawne at Paris : and that he would not receive it : That there were men of quality about the *Queene* his mother, whom he might acquaint with what he desired for her content. Vpon he presently sent one to Angiers to aduertise his Deputies of the reasons which had moued him to refuse the *Queenes* Letters by the hands of *Sardiny*, commanding them to assure her, that he would neuer faile of his affection towards her, notwithstanding the pretexts which she suffered turbulent spirits to take for the troubling of his Realme.

D Some of the chiefe inhabitants of Caen came thither vnto his Maiesty, to know the order of the ceremony he desired they should obserue at his entry. The King received them graciously, and spake much vnto them in few words, *I will haue no ceremony, continue in seruing me well, and I will be a good King vnto you.* Before the King would enter into the towne, he went to visit the Trenches which were brought vnto the Castle Ditch. Within an houre after his entry, hee sent *Les Clusiaux* with a Trumpet to summon *Prudent* to yeeld the place vnto the King, who was then in the Towne. At this summons hee made shew that he would maintaine the siege generously, and seemed ignorant of the Kings being in Caen, *Les Clusiaux* going out of the Castle, and passing by the Corps de guard, said aloud, that there was 10000 Crownes to be gotten for him that should bring *Prudent* E head vnto the King. This liberty of speech did much discontent *Prudent*, yet hee knew well that *Heralds* were sacred persons, and that to wrong him were to violate the law of Nations : He therefore heard him without answer.

Whilest the Kings men laboured in the Trenches, there grew some alteration in the castle. It beganne by the Souldiers which were in guard vpon the Bulwarke towards the towne, who were discontented for that they were too often visited. This murmure was soone dispersed to the Corps de guard, so as all the souldiers of the garison protested that they would not grow obstinate to maintain a siege against the King. In the morning, they of the castle made a call, and *Parifot* Lieutenant to *Prudent*, desired to parlee with *Monfieur de Crequy*. The King was aduertised hereof, and commanded him to goe. *Parifot* he sought him to tell him if the King were in person within the towne : whereof being assured, he made answer, that they were ready to open the gates to his Maiesty without any capitulation. The King hearing of their intention, he sent the Seigneur of Crequy to grant them a pardon for their rebellion, in his Maiesties name, and drew in two companies of the French Guards, and one of Swisses.

A little before this Treaty, *Prudent* had retired into the dungeon with the Souldiers of the garison. Within halfe an houre after, *Parifot* went out of the Castle to craue pardon of his Maiesty, the which he obtained, and withall 3000 Crownes in recompence of his goods.

The Castle of
Caen summoned
by the Mar-
shall of Praslin.

The Cardinal
of Guise retires
from Paris, and
goes into
Champagne.

The King re-
fuses to receive
Letters from
the Queene.

The King cau-
tiously *Prudent*
to be summoned
to yeeld the
Castle.

Lieutenant
Parifot desired
the Castle of
Caen without
capitulation.

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Prudent ceases
parson of the
king.

goods. On the eighteenth, the Garison came forth without any order. After dinner, the King went to see the Castle, being assisted by his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Duke of Luynes, and many other Noblemen. *Prudent* presented himselfe to the King, and craved pardon. His Maiefty full of clemency, who forgets nothing but iniuries, granted it.

Having well viewed and observed the place, finding it much stronger then they imagined, they beganne to smile at the weaknesse of *Prudent*, and the basenesse of such as had bene with him, who had yeelded at discretion, without any capitulation or marke of honour: That if they had but lyen vpon their bellies, they might haue stayed the Kings armie a month, and wonne themselves great reputation. This was their opinion of the Castle, saying inist, *That hereafter to keepe places well, they must chooe Fooles, for the Prudent were nothing worth.*

In the evening *Prudent* left the Castle and Towne to goe make his excuse to the Grand Prior of France. Presently after this reduction, many Noblemen of that Country came vnto the King, and all the Townes of base Normandy brought their keys. It was thought that the iudicious crriage of the Councell of the towne, had much advanced his Maiesties happy successe: for the destiny of France did in a manner depend of the fidelity or disobedience of this towne.

It was propounded in Councell, whether they should raze the Castle towards the Towne, to leaue this marke of libertie to the ancient fidelity of the inhabitants, and to giue courage to other townes to follow their example in the like occasion. But it was not held necessary being so neere the Sea, and the passage from England to France, considering the danger the towne should be exposed vnto, if it were destitute of this reliefe, vpon the sudden descent of strangers; whereupon it was left vntouched, and the Gouernment was giuen to the Marquis of Mauny. The inhabitants were gratified with diuers priuiledges, and some particular men were ennobled, leauing for euer in the said Towne an honorable marke of their fidelities, and a glorious reputation to the King to haue preferred them from the danger wherein they were.

The King sent presently to Angiers to aduertise his Deputies of the reduction of the Castle of Caen. These newes troubled the Princes which were with the Queene, thinking they should soone haue the King with them to reduce them to obedience. Vpon the losse of this Castle, the Earle of Rochfort, the onely sonne of the Duke of Montbazon, was stayed in Angiers. The Duke himselfe retired to the King, and then to Paris, where he continued during this alteration as Gouernour of the Isle of France. They also caused the Duke of Nemours sonne to be seized on in Paris, and two of the Duke of Vendomes children by way of retrifall, but within few dayes after, they were all freed of their detentions. The King doubting the Castle of Alençon, sent *Monsieur de Crauay* with certaine troops to assure it: after which hee marched speedily to Mans, being called by the Marquis of Marigny their Gouernour, who feared an enterprize, the which hee preferred happily for the Kings seruice and the whole Prouince.

The King desiring to goe directly to Angiers, to free all that was held by the discontented Princes and Noblemen, had sent *Monsieur de Crauay* before by the Duchy of Alençon, and County of Mayen: he himselfe parted from Caen on the 21 of Iuly, and tooke the left hand, to cleane the Country of Perche, where Dreux and diuers other Castles were held for the Earle of Soissons: and the Castle of Verneuil, with diuers other thereabout, for the Duke of Vendome: as also to ioyne with those troops which *Monsieur de Bassompier* had brought out of Champagne. Soone after, the Castles of Dreux, Verneuil, and La Ferté Bernard, yeelded to the Kings obedience. The King being at Bellesme on the 28 of Iuly, he made a Declaration to the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, and Officers of the Crowne, which were retired vnto the Queene mother, to lay downe armes, and to come vnto him vpon paine of high treason. After repetition of many breaches made by them, he concludes, That in regard of the Queene his mother he could not beleue nor perswade himselfe that she had forgotten the loue whereunto Nature bound her, and the memory of his deceased Lord and Father required of her, and which hee himselfe had fought to deserue: And although she should carie her selfe otherwise towards him then she ought, yet would he haue no other feeling then a religious patience, and that approaching with his forces neere vnto them which borrowed her name, hee meant not to employ

The Marquis
of Mauny
made Gouern-
nor of Caen.

Alençon and
Mans assured
for the King.

The King: De-
claration
against the
Princes.

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A play them, but to free her from those which (to his prejudice and his Realmes) did captiuate her mind and will, and to hinder the designs they had to the ruine of his Estate. As for his Cousins, the Earle of Soissons, and the Countesse his mother, the Duke of Vendome, and the great Prior of France, the Dukes of Longueville, Nemours, Mayen, Espernon, Retz, Tremouille, Rohan, and Rohannois, the Marshall *Bou-Dauphin*, the Earle of Candale, the Marquis of La Vallée, the Archbishop of Thoulouse, and other Officers of his Crowne, he commanded them expressly to lay downe armes, and to forebare all acts of hostility against his subjects; to relinquish all leagues and associations both within and without the Realme; and within one moneth to come vnto him, and to giue him more ample assurance in person: promising (in so doing) to remit all crimes and offences committed against him in this last alteration, and to receive them into grace and fauour. And likewise to pardon all such as had followed them in armes, if within the time prefixed they retired to their houses, and made declaration thereof to the next Iudge. For not performance hereof, he declared them all guilty of treason, and troublers of the publique peace: To bee degraded of all their Honours, Gouernments, Dignities, Offices and Benefices, and their lands and Seigneuries to be vnto his Crowne.

In the end of the moneth, the Castle of Vendome was abandoned by him that kept it for the Duke, and the Grand Prior had a repulse with some losse, going to charge the Carabins quarter neere Mans; whereupon their army retired somewhat hastily towards Angiers and Pont Cé, which was some blemish to the Princes reputation, being done as it were in feare of the Kings army, which encreased daily both in horse, and new Regiments of Foot.

The King being come to Mans, the Archbishop of Sens (one of the Deputies which he had sent to the Queene his mother) came vnto him with father *Berale*, and told his Maiefty, that the Queene his mother desired peace: but she would treat in general, and haue some respite to make them resolute, which had declared themselves in her fauour. To whom his Maiefty said, Doe my commendations to the Queene my mother, and assure her that I will alwayes haue my heart and hands open to receiue her, and will not cease to entreat her to come vnto me, nor to honor her in my Court, and throughout my whole Realme. As for those turbulent spirits which oppress my subjects, and will share my authority by their faction, there is no danger which I will not vndergoe to driue them out of France, or reduce them to my obedience. God will assist me: pray for me. The Prince said also vnto the Deputies, That he had no other desire in his heart, but to see the Kings authority so respected, as it might prescribe a law to all the world. Hee coniuined them to assure the Queene mother of his seruice; and that he would thinke it a great happinesse to see her in Court, and to receiue all sorts of gratifications from his Maiefty. As for *Monsieur de Luynes*, he enreated them to represent vnto her what his great desire had bene to serue her since her departure from Court, and the care hee had taken to draw her from Angoulesme to Tours, to the end she might not bee farr from his Maiesties presence: E protesting that he had no other ambition, then to see their Maiesties vnted in one desire, and that the Queene might assure the peace of her mind for euer. The which shee could not hope for being retired from the King; considering the priuate interests of such as entertained her ieaiousness. Hee coniuined them not to regard any thing which concerned himselfe, but to labour that a peace might bee concluded, with the Kings dignity, and the safety of the Estate: and after this, not to spare any thing which might giue the Queene content.

On the fourth of August, the King vnted all his Forces into one body, and multered his army neere vnto La Fleche, consisting of 12000 foot, and 1200 horse, and then went to lodge there. They wrote that there was some diuersity of opinions: It was propounded, that (after her retreat from La Fleche to Angiers) shee should goe with a part of the armie to ioyne with the troops of the Dukes of Mayen, Espernon, Thours, Rohan, and Rohannois, on the other side of Loire, and should leade the other part on this side, for the guard of Angiers and Pont de Cé: That one of the greatest of the Country of Aniou, had promised the Queene to preferue Angiers in her absence, and to defend it in case of a siege to the last gaspe: That this Nobleman, hauing afterwards considered of the proposition which he had made vnto the Queene, and hauing conferred thereof, they let him vnderstand, that he should engage himself in an action wherein both he & his children

The Queene
mothers army
retires to
Angiers.

she signifies
her in entreaty
to the King.

The Kings
answer.

Propositions
vnto the
Queene, mo-
tivated to pass
the Loire.

[x]

should

1620 should expose themselves to an inevitable ruine, and purchase the Kings hatred, which A would be irreconcilable, in seeking to oppose himselfe to the first exploits of his armes, and to stay the course of his victories. In like manner, neither the Souldiers which he should draw into Angiers, nor all the rigours hee should use vpon the inhabitants, should euer be able to change the loue and affection which that people (who said already they were afflictd) beare vnto the King. That all the officers of Iustice, the Magistrates, and all men of quality within the towne, sayd plainly, That they were resolu'd to maintaine their allegiance vnto the King. If they spake in this manner the Queene being preser, what would they not say or doe if she were past the Loire? Wherefore there was no assurance to engage himselfe into a Towne, hauing the inhabitants for enemies, transpor- B ted with loue and affection towards their King. Moreouer, victuals beganne to grow deare, the which they could not recouer but by Pont Cé, and from Poictou, the nurse of Angiers. Finally, to attempt to defend Angiers against the King (if the Queene mother retired) was to embarke himselfe in a ship to make a long voyage, without munition and basket. That vpon this consideration the Nobleman did afterwards tell the Queene, that he was most affectionate to her party, and would serue in her army whither soeuer shee went, but to command in Angiers during her absence, he entreated her to giue him leaue to recall his word.

An aduice
giuen to the
Queene.

Hercupon the Queene hauing demanded aduice from one of her Councill, what was fittest to be done, he said vnto her, That as a Clergy-man he had alwayes be sought her to vntie her selfe in will vnto the King, for that all those great Personages (as well as he who had promised to keepe Angiers) had left the Court and vnted themselves to her party, for their priuate interests, the which they alwayes preferred before hers, or that of the State. You are now, Madam (said he) free to treat with the King: If you passe the Loire, you shall not be so. Peace or warre shall be at the disposition of great men, who shall be armed vnder your name, and will not bee so easie to content as you imagine. So many examples in the like case happened in France within these threecore yeares, should serue you as faithfull Councillors.

Besides, Madam, when you haue past the Loire, thinke not that the Duke of Mayen can come so soone vnto you: he is yet vpon the banks of Garonne, and is doubtfull to leaue D it, seeing the Marshall of Thempas leaue troops in Quercy, to enter into Guienne; and the Parliament of Bourdeaux, who attended onely his departure to resume their authority: the which you may coniecture by the Packet you sent vnto them, the which they conuall vn-opened vnto the King.

The Kings Dis-
posicion to the
Queenes
intentions vnto
him.

The Queene hauing considered of all these things, she opened her intention vnto the Kings Deputies; whereupon the Duke of Belgard, the Archbishop of Sens, and father Berule, went to his Maiesty at La Fleche, and told him that the intention of the Queene his mother was to liue hereafter in Court: and that she desired to separate her selfe with honour from the party wherein she was engaged, and to passe the remainder of her dayes in safety, and in his Maiesties good fauour.

The Kings an-
swer.

The King said vnto them, That it was his greatest desire to see her liue after that manner, and that he had nothing to doe to contest with that which concerned her pleasures, and would yeeld to any thing that might serue for the assurance of her peace and happiness. But she should consider, that the dignity of the Crowne could not endure so pernicious a fiction as that which attempted against his authority: That if shee would leaue it for euer, shee should find whatsoeuer she could lawfully desire in his Court and heart. After which, the Deputies returned to the Queene mother with certaine propositions of an Accord, and hope of peace.

Difficulties re-
presented for
the siege of
Angiers.

On the fifth of August, his Maiesty held a Councell of Warre, and disposed of the quarters of his army within three leagues of Angiers, resoluving to draw neere vnto it: But F they laid before him, That the Towne was very great, and that whatsoeuer good men were on this side the Loire for the Queenes party, were within it: that if he did assault it, and faile to take it, the great reputation which he had gotten in the taking of Caen and others where he had past, would be blemished.

They shewed him the inconuenience which had happed vnto the Duke of Anjou at the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely, and to the Prince of Conde at Poitiers, where hee routed his army, which might haue kept the field against the Duke of Anjou, who commanded

A ded vnder Charles the ninth. Many other strong reasons were deliuered to dissuade him from this enterprize.

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The King interrupted this conflict of opinions, saying, I desire not you should resolute presently whether we should assault or leaue Angiers: we must first know whether the Queene my mother will stay there, or goe her way. If she leaues Angiers, and goes into Poictou, we must cast the scabbards of our swords on this side Loire, and follow her. If she remaine, we shall haue a peace speedily. In this incertitude, I am of opinion to aduance as neere as I can to Pont Cé. The place is of great importance for the preservation of Angiers, and without doubt the braviest of all their army will cast themselves into it to defend it. It is not fit for me to haue enemies in field, and so neere, without making them to leaue their Armes, or their Trenches. Let vs embrace this resolution presently, and after we haue seene what God will giue vs at Pont Cé, we will aduise of the rest: In the meane time we must send to Saumur, to haue foure Cannon from Monsieur de Pleisy, and to Orleans to accompany the Cannon and Munition which shall bee embarked there. And that the Marshall of Praslin passe the Loire speedily at Saumur with foure thousand Foot, and foure hundred Horse, to lodge himselfe at the end of Pont Cé, and to hinder the succours which might come from Poictou. All which was concluded as his Maiesty had propounded.

The Queene mother hauing foreseene that they would attempt Pont Cé, she lodged therein three thousand foot, and foure hundred horse, with three pieces of Ordnance to defend it. As for the other part of her armie, she caused them to barricado themselves in the Suburbs of Angiers: and they of Pont Cé had laboured six dayes together to make a great Trench at the end of the Bridge towards Angiers.

Pont Cé is a long street in an Island vpon the Riuer of Loire, with two great Bridges which containe halfe a mile in length; that toward Brissac is a third part longer then that towards Angiers; vpon the which there are draw-bridges, which being drawne vp, there is no entering but by boat: It hath a good Cattle to defend it, the which commands all the approaches of the Bridge: the houses within the Island haue no walls.

The Kings army approached, and gaue an assault to the barricades of the suburbs D without the bridge, and recovered their Trench, and in the end beat them from the bridge, and entred the Town with them, there remaining nothing vntaken but the Castle, who seeing themselves without hope of succours, and ill furnished with things necessary for a siege, they resolu'd to parley: whereupon the next day morning they entred into treaty with Monsieur de Crequy: which being concluded, the King sent the Prince of Conde to signe the Capitulation, which was to depart with their armes and baggage, their matches out, and their Ensignes remaining to the King, the which he sent to Paris to the Queene Regnant, reseruing those which had the Queene mothers colours and chifres, the which he sent backe vnto her with all the prisoners (which had beene taken vpon the bridge) that were of her household: shauing a speciall care of those that were wounded. He E commended such as had fought valiantly, and shewed their valour, hoping they would one day doe him good seruice, and blasse such as had fled basely.

Pont de Cé
yeilded to the
King.

The Duke of Belgard, and the Archbishop of Sens, being come from Angiers to the King, he sent them backe to the Queene mother, to tell her, That he respected the place too much where she did reside, to discharge his Cannon against it: but he coniu'd her in the name of God and all France, to cast her selfe into his armes, where she should find an assured rest; offering her for her particular, all that she could iustly desire of his Maiesty.

On Sunday the ninth of August, the Cardinal of Sourdis and the Bishop of Luson came vnto his Maiesty from the Queene Mother, with the Kings Deputies, to let F him vnderstand, That shee was resolu'd to retire her selfe for euer out of these combuitions, and that the onely doubt to bee oppress'd had drawne her to take armes. To whom answer was made, That the King had neuer giuen her occasion, his iustice and bounty being so apparant, as no man within his Realme had any cause to complaine of oppression. The Queene also desired, that for her sake he would pardon all those which had assisted her.

Deputies sent
from the
Queene to
treat a peace.

The King represented the interest of such as had assisted her, who aymed at other ends then the Queene his Mother: Notwithstanding, at her entreaty hee pardoned them:

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Upon that condition the King would grant a peace.

them: So as within eight dayes after signification of the Peace, they did disarme and A
yeld vnto his Maiesties obedience: also that the Kings intent was not to restore the Go-
vernments and charges of those which had left them, and wherof he had already disposed, as that
of Caen, the old Palace of Rouen, and the twelve Companies which had cast themselves into
Metz with their Colours, and had abandoned his army in Champagne. But in regard of the
Queene his Mother, he yielded to the delivery of all the prisoners (which were many, and of
quality) promising to pay their ransomes, for that hee would not deprive them of their due,
which had taken them with great hazard.

The next day the Articles being drawne and signed by the King, *Monsieur le Creguy* caried
them to the Queene mother, with his Maiesties Letter full of loue and respect. The Ar- B
ticles were:

Articles granted by the King.

I. That there should be a Declaration of the Queenes innocency, and a discharge (in
fauour of her) for those which had assisted her party.

II. That the Treatie of Angoulême should be executed in all points.

III. That all charges and governments should be restored, but such as hee had dispo-
sed of, and wherof he had made mention, yet notwithstanding it should be lawful for
the Queene to be a tutor in that regard.

IV. That all Fees and Entertainments should be paid to the Gouvernors and others
which were restored by vertue of this Treaty, like vnto those which had serued the
King.

V. That there should be a discharge for all the Kings Reuenues which had beene ta- C
ken or leauied.

VI. That it should be lawful for all persons of what quality soeuer, which had
followed the Queenes party, to exercise the function of their charges freely: to goe and
come to Court, or to stay in their houses and governments, with as much liberty as those
which had followed the King.

VII. That all Prisoners should be set free on either side without ranfome.

VIII. That the Cattle of Pont de Cé should be delivered to any one whom the
Queene should name.

IX. That Dreux should be deliuered to the Earle of Soissons, Vendôme to the Duke, D
who should ruine the fortifications which had beene made since his absence from Court,
together with the Towne of Verneuil, Sablé to the Marshall of Bois-Dauphin, and La
Ferté Bernard to the Duke of Mayen.

X. That all Officers on either side should be restored to their charges and functions, by
vertue of the Queenes Declaration.

XI. That all their Companies of Light Horfe which had followed the Queene Mo-
thers party, should be restored and entertained like vnto others which had serued the
King: and that all pursuits of condemnation should be discontinued, in regard of those
which had not defended themselves.

XII. That the Queene Mother should haue thirty thousand pound sterling E
presently, and as much more in the beginning of the next yeare, to helpe to pay
her debts.

XIII. That by vertue of this Accord, made by the Queene mother and the Princes
which assisted her, all places and officers should be restored to the same estate they were in
before the first of January last past.

XIV. That they which had followed the Queene mother should be paid their pen-
sions and entertainments like vnto those which had serued the King.

These Articles being brought backe vnto his Maiestie on the 11 of August, and signed
by the Queene, all prisoners were set at liberty.

It was supposed in the beginning of this warre, that the ieaousies which should grow F
betwene so many Princes and Generals of Armies, as were on the Queene mothers
party, would be the cause they should neuer performe any exploit of importance;
the effect hereof was seene at Pont de Cé, where the Dukes of Vendôme and Retz
were, and the Earle of Saint Aignan, by reason of their ieaousies who should haue
the point: so as the Duke of Retz retired with a thousand and five hundred men be-
fore the Combat, the Duke of Vendôme during the fight and the Earle of Saint
Aignan was taken fighting. They to whom their places and charges were not
restored

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A restored by this treaty of peace, were much deceived of their expectations. *Monsieur de*
Modene was sent vnto the Queene with a Letter of credit from the King, to let her vnder-
stand that his Miesty desired to see her, and would to that end attend her at Brissac. To
whom he made answer, Assure the King that I will see him to morrow, and that I am
very well satisfied with him, and desire nothing more then to please him, praying to God
for his person, and the prosperity of his Realme.

The King sent the Marshall of Praslin as farre as Pont Cé to meet the Queene, who
drew out the Kings garison, to deliuer it into her hands. *Monsieur de Breme*, brother to
the Duke of Luynes, and now Duke of Luxembourg (hauing married the only heyre of
B that House) had commandement to receiue her, betwene Pont Cé and Brissac: And the
King himselfe, impatient to see her, went forth to meet her about 3 quarters of a league,
with Monsieur his brother, the Prince of Conde, the Duke of Luynes, and 200 Gentles-
men. The Queene had in her company many Princesses and great Ladies, with about
300 horse. The King seeing the Queenes Litter, left his hoise, which the Queene hearing,
she likewise came forth, and aduanced to receiue him. At their first meeting the King said
vnto her, That hee neuer had more impatience to see her, nor more affection to honour
her. The Queene answered, That shee had made her daily vovues and prayers for
him, and that shee desired nothing more then his fauour. The King presented his
brother vnto her and the Prince: the first she embraced tenderly, and vied the other
C very kindly.

Their Maiesties stayed three dayes at Brissac, during the which the King made a De-
claration of the Queene mothers innocency, and of his pleasure concerning the Earle of
Soissons, the Countesse his mother, with the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the
Crowne, and all others which had assisted his said Lady and mother, during those last al-
terations, receiuing them into fauour, as his good and faithful subiects and seruants, and
suppressing the memory of all which had past in regard thereof. The chiefe points of the
peace, was the disarming according to the Declaration: And notwithstanding that all the
Princes and Noblemen which had taken armes, assured his Maiesty that they would dis-
miss their troops according to his pleasure; yet the King was aduised to keepe his army
D together, and to make a voyage to Bourdeaux, and to the banks of Garonne, to shew
himselfe vnto those people, and to settle an order in Guienne, where it seemed that some,
which held places of strength (as well of those which had continued in their obedience,
as of others who had taken armes in fauour of the Queene) caried themselves so insolently,
as his royall authority, and that of his Parliament at Bourdeaux was growne in contempt:
Finally, that he must assure the whole Province vnder his authority, and withall to force
them of Bearne to obey his Edict and Decree, for the restitution of the Lands of the
Clergy: That all things seemed to inuite him hereunto; first, the season of the yeare:
and secondly, his army was faire and desired employment.

The young Queene was carefull at Paris for the government of the City, and for the
E dispatch of all matters which concerned the warre; but the King freed her of that care,
sending her the Articles of peace: whereupon she parted the next day to goe to Tours,
according to the Kings desire, where she should meet with the Queene mother.

The King desiring to hasten his iourney to Guienne, left the Queene mother at Brissac,
and came on the twentieth to Poitiers, where staying but one day, hee went to Tours
to meet with the young Queene. On the thirtieth, hee returned to Poitiers with his
Queene, and the Queene Mother came thither. The King left her his owne lodging. The
young Queene went forth to meet her, and the King came to visit her vpon her arri-
uall: after some complements shee demanded newes of the Duke of Luynes, who was
then sicke, and went to visit him, assuring him of her loue in the Kings presence.

F The Duke de Mayen, arrived two daies after, and presented himselfe vnto his Maiesty,
who said vnto him, I will forget what is past if you serue me faithfully hereafter: after
which he led him to the Queene his Mother. The King still hastening his voyage, tooke
his leaue of the two Queenes, who likewise left Poitiers: The Queene Mother went to
Fournaine-bleau, and the young Queene returned to Paris. The King past by S. Iohn
D'Angely, where the Inhabitants came to intreat him vpon their knees, not to restore
the Duke of Rohans Lieutenant into their Towne: whereupon his Maiesty left an Ex-
empt of his Guard until he had otherwise provided. The Duke of Espernon came vnto
him

1620 him, whom the King receited graciously, willing him not to withdraw himselfe here-
A after from his obedience.

Assemblement
Gouverneur of
Fronsac becom-
ded at Bour-
deaux.

On the 16 of September, he arrived at Blay, whither the Cardinal of Sourdis, the Duke of Mayenne, the Marshall of Roquelaure, and many other Noblemen came unto his Maiestie: where embarking he came to Bourdeaux. The Count of Saint Paul, Duke of Fronfac, passing by Fronfac to goe to Bourdeaux to the King; the Seigneur of Arsillemont (whom he had placed Gouverneur in the Castles of Fronfac and Caumont) would needs accompany him to goe and salute the King: his friends dissuaded him, telling him that the Court of Parliament might embrace this occasion to doe iustice for the affront he had done to one of the Presidents of the Court at Caumont; and had caused one of the
B Viliers thereof to carie a basket at the fortifications of Fronfac, comming with a Decree to forbid him the continuing of the sayd workes: That there were but too many complaints of burnings, violences, and concussion, committed vpon Merchants, trafficking vpon the River of Dordone, to make him lose his head. Nothing could dissuade him, but he would needs goe doe his duty to his Maiesty. He was no sooner arrived, but the Court of Parliament complained of him to the King, who promised to cause him to be apprehended and deliuered into their hands, which was done accordingly. The Earle of Saint Paul and the Duke of Mayenne sued for his pardon, and the Merchants whom he had wronged demanded iustice. The King refused the first, and told the others, hee had giuen them good Iudges, who within two dayes condemned him to lose his head.
C Being vpon the scaffold readie to receiue the blow which should separate his soule from the body, he demanded pardon of God, the King, and all those he had wronged. It is written, that being perswaded by the Bishop of Aue, and a Iesuit, to suffer his eyes to be banded, he said vnto the Bishop, *Sir, put your selfe in my place, and then you may doe what you please.*

Hee was a resolute Gentleman, who saw death come without amazement, and offered his necke freely to the Executioner, to make an end of his life. It was reported that he had a hundred thousand Crownes in the Castle of Fronfac: but it is a wretched prosperity seeing it was followed with so fatall and tragical an end. This execution of iustice, contained many in their duties, and the people layd his Maiesty, that he was another *Her-
D cules*, which purged his Realme from Monsters.

During the Kings stay at Bourdeaux, he changed certaine particular Gouvernors, but to every mans content, for that such as were remoued were aduanced to offices of the Crowne; so as his Maiestie assured this Prouince from combustion which he had apprehended. As for L'Estoure, which they of the Reformed Religion said was a place of safetie, his Maiesty (hauing promised at the Assembly at Loudun, to take out *Fontrailles*, who was become a Catholicke, and to giue them a Gouvernor of the Religion) caused *Fontrailles* to be treated withall, who left the place, and *Blainville*, a Gentleman of the Religion, was made Gouvernor.

The King goes
towards Beane.

All the Kings enterprises having succeeded happily, there remained nothing for his
E last worke, but the affaires of Bearne. The long resistance which had beene made by them of the Country, against his will, and the Decrees of the Councell, for the restoring of the Bishops and other Clergy-men to their honors and temporall estates, had much wounded his patience. Being at Bourdeaux he was prest daily to verifie this restitution. *Monsieur de la Force* Gouvernor of Bearne, and the first President of the Councell at Pau, being come to Bourdeaux to that end, assured his Maiesty, that without doubt they would cause it to be verified: But the King was aduertised daily of contrary effects, and that some Gentlemen of the Country assembled in armes, and threatned those which should undertake the execution of his Maiesties will. The King in this expectation stayed
F tenne dayes at Pregnac, a Village beyond Bourdeaux, where he endured all the discomforts which might be in a bad lodging, yet he surmounted all these discomforts vntill the ninth of October, when as there came vnto him two Councillors of Pau, to aduertise him that they had not beene free in their consultations, but had beene forced by the Souldiers which the Baron of Benac had brought into the Towne. And for that they had opposed the power of *Monsieur de la Force*, whom it concerned in regard of his charge, and his promise to the King, to make all things easie, and to suppress the popular mutinies of factious men unknown: knowing also that he was strong and armed for the Kings service:
The

A The said two Councillors protested to his Maiestie that *Monsieur de la Force*, being solicited by their company to ioyne with them in Councell to giue his aduice, and to maintaine obedience by his example: he not onely refused to appeare, but excused himselfe vpon his weakenesse, saying, that he was not able to hinder multitudes of strangers from comming into the Prouince vpon the brute of the Verification; as they had done at other times.

Hereupon the King commanded them to retire, telling them that his presence should assure the Clergie men for euer, for the enioying of that which did belong vnto them: The King refused instantly, to part the next day towards Pau: And although there
B were a thousand discomforts of bad way, represented vnto him by the said Councillors, yet he neither apprehended scarcitie of victuals, or any thing else which might hinder him, in his resolution for this voyage, as iudging that enterprize vnworthy of his vnder-taking, if there were no difficulty and hazard in it. He parted the tenth of October, and crossing the desert Country, he came on the thirteenth to Grenade, where the Ad-uocate Generall of Pau, came and presented the King with a Decree of the said Councell, importing the restitution which had been so often refused, thinking thereby to stay the Kings journey. *Monsieur de la Force*, came thither also with the like designe, representing vnto him the trouble and commotion of the Voyage. But nothing could diuert the King, hauing a desire to make his power knowne, and to assure the Catholique religion
C for euer, in a Country, which seemed to neglect his royall authoritie.

The King
enters into Pau.

His Maiestie commanded them both to retire, assuring them that within two dayes he would be at Pau: *For it behooues you (said hee) I should goe to assure your weakenesse.* Comming to lodge within six Leagues of Pau, the chiefe inhabitants came vnto him, to know his Maiesties pleasure, touching the Ceremonie of his entry. To whom the King answered, That he would enter into Pau, as Soueraigne of Bearne, if there were a Church to goe vnto: But if there were none, hee would no Ceremonies; for that it would be visiting to receiue honors in a place where he had neuer bene, before hee had giuen thanks vnto God, from whom he held his inheritance. On the fifteenth he
D entered into Pau, without ceremonie. It was obserued that his Maiestie was not retriued with those acclamations, which subiects doe usually make at the sight of their Prince: and some write that they had drawne away the victuals to force him to dislodge speedily: and that they had giuen out, they would crosse the orders which should be setled.

The King to preuent all inconueniences was forced to change some Gouvernors: and hauing stayed two dayes at Pau, he went to Nauarreux a place of importance, seuen great Leagues from Pau.

Hauing visited the place, Cannon, Munition, and Armes, He commanded *Monsieur de Medene* to acquaint *de Salles* Gouverneur of the Towne with his pleasure: which was, That the King (vnderstanding what had past in the Prouince, and the many enterprises
E he had bene made to surprize that place) was resolved to free him of so painefull a guard in his old age, being now almost fourescore: yet his intent was not to deprive him of the reward of his seruices, but to recompence him worthily, and giue him rest. Whereunto *de Salles* opposed not; but seemed ready to obey his Maiesties will, who made him Marshall of the field in his Armies, and gaue him a good reward.

He changed
the Gouverneur
of Nauarreux

In Nauarreux, which is a little towne but very well fortified, there were found 48 Cannons all mounted; and forty Culierins and smaller pieces, with great store of bullets, powder and victuals: besides the filer plate, which belonged to the Houses of Nauarre and Albiert, and was kept there: the which in former times had bene very great, but it was wasted in the yeare 1587, and much taken away to supply the necessities of his
F Maiesties Father.

The King made the Seigneur of Poyenne Gouvernor of Nauarreux: Every man greatly commended this election, for the reputation hee had gotten both in *Gienne* and Bearne by his courage and fidelitie. And the King before his departure caused Masse to be sung in the Towne, which had been discontinued for the space of fifty yeares. The King returning to Pau, he resolved foure things in Councell: two, for the restoring of the Catholique Religion; and other two belonging to the State, and the preferuation of the publicke peace in base Nauarre, and the Soueraignie of Bearne.

The

1620

The King re-
solves four
things at Pau.

The first was to restore the Bishops and Abbots of Bearne to their places in the Council of Pau, as their Predecessors had formerly held them: and to cause the said Council to verify 47 Articles, containing an order for the free exercise of the Catholike Religion: the enioying of Clergy-lands, and in regard of their rights and prerogatives.

The second was, to restore the Catholikes to the possession of the great Church in Pau, where he would assist at diuine seruice and Proceffion.

The third, to make an Edict for the vniing of base Nauarre and the Souerignty of Bearne, to the Crowne of France, with an vnion of both Councils, and to make one Parliament.

The fourth was, for the suppressing of the Persans or Captaines of horse in Bearne.

The first, concerning the admission of the Bishops and Abbots to Council, with the 47 Articles, were verified by the said Council on the 19 of October. The next day the King put the Catholiques into possession of their great Church, whereof they had beene dispossessed almost 60 yeares: the King assisted at Masse, after which there was a sollemne proceffion. There was an Edict past, for the incorporating of these Prouinces to the Crowne, and the vniing of the Soueraine Courts of Pau in Bearne, and Saint Pallas in Nauarre into one body of a Parliament, which should be established at Pau, consisting of three Presidents, and 22 Councillors, to iudge souerainly, and with like power and authority to his other Courts of Parliament. Touching the suppression of the Persans, the Edict was verified by the Council, the Chambers being assembled on the 20 of October. Thus the King in few daies stay at Pau, hauing seded the Catholique Religion throughout all Bearne; taken away all meanes from the factious to mutine; seded an order, that none should leaue souldiers but by his commission; put good garisons into Nauarreux, Orthes, Saueterre, and Oleron; and vniited those Countries to the Crowne of France; he returned to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Xaintes, where taking poste, he came to Paris on the 7 of Nouember, where he was receiued by both the Queenes and all the world, with a thousand blessings and applauses. His army was lodged in diuers parts of Guienne and Poitou to winter in.

In the end of October, there was no speech in France, but of a generall Assembly, which they of the reformed Religion, should hold at Rochel on the fixe and twentieth of Nouember, by reason of the Kings voyage into Bearne. There were also many priuate Assemblies, where (as some write) they treated of meanes to leaue money, and to begin warre, but all was referred to the generall assembly at Rochel, where they should shew their grieuances touching the inexecution of that they said had beene promised them, at the dissolving of the Assembly at Loudun.

The King vpon his returne from Bearne, hauing beene aduertised of the propositions which were made in diuers parts of France, for the holding of a generall assembly at Rochel by them of the reformed Religion; he caused a Declaration to be made and verified in Parliament, by the which he declared, the assembly which his subiects of the Religion had called in his Towne of Rochel, to be vnlawfull, forbidden by his Edicts; and contrarie to his will and pleasure: enioying the Maior, Sherifes, Peeres, and Burgessees of Rochel, not to receiue them into their Towne; forbidding also all Gouernors, Lieutenants, Maiors, Consuls and Magistrats of other Townes, to receiue or admit the said Assembly, or any other which should bee called, contrary to the tenor of his Edicts, and without his expresse leaue: & to all his subiects of what quality soeuer to goe vnto it, vpon any pretext whatsoever, declaring them which should contradict this his will, breakers of his said Edicts, disobedient, troublers of the publike peace, and guilty of treason, &c. The subiect of this assembly will be the leauen of much misery, and shall fill France with ciuill combustions. We shall see townes forced and razed; Forts and Castles ruined; Houses and Families dispeopled and left desolate; the country wasted; and the poore people opprest by the insolent Souldier. We shall see intestine diuisions. Sonne against father, and brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman, and neighbour against neighbour, and the poore reformed Churches in danger of ruine, and at the brinke of despair. We shall see an angry King exclaiming against the disobedience of his subiects of the Religion; and we shall see those subiects complaining of the inexecution of his Edicts. We shall see an incensed Prince, who (zealous of his honour) vovves that hee will haue his owne, and force obedience. And we shall see those subiects, who (like a timorous

Garisons left
in Bearne.The King re-
turneth to Paris.The Kings De-
claration a-
gainst the as-
sembly at Ro-
chel.

1620

A merous man apprehending a Feuer, lets blood and takes Physicke, there being no alteration in his pulse, nor symptome nor signe of diffeimperature, zealous of their safeties, and fearing designs tending to their ruine; arme, fortifie themselves, and stand vpon their guard: when as voluntary obedience, and a dismissal of their Assembly at Rochel, had happily diuerted the storme, and they had not beene disarmed and lost their Townes of safety. The King should haue had no colour nor pretext to take armes against them who had obeyed his will: Foraine Princes, who had an interest in their preservation (seeing their dutifull obedience) should haue had iust cause to haue blamed the breach of his Edicts but newly confirmed. I will not presume to censure of the motives of these troubles; I leaue it to the iudicious Reader: onely giue me leaue to let downe what I haue receiued from a iudicious Gentleman of the same Nation and Religion: one that hath been much employed in those State-affaires: That the fiery zeale of some who had the guiding of their consciences, had thrust them into these desperate courses. But let vs now returne to our History.

The King hauing left many Garisons in Bearne and base Nauarre, there were foure strong Companies put into Nauarreux, the which is commonly called in France Nauarins; being the only place of importance within the Prouince, and considerable for many reasons. Some Bearnois of the reformed Religion, much discontented for the change of the Gouernor of this place, especially the *Benfins* (nephewes to *La Salle* the last Gouernour) beganne to make many practices to surprise it; not so much for any particular zeale to their Religion, but for hope to make themselves masters of the place whereof their vncl had beene so long time Gouernor. To this end, hauing a house within a league and a halfe of Nauarreux, whither they came often, they made great shewes of loue to the three Captaines which were there in garison, and commanded in the absence of the Seigneure of Poyenne; so as these Captaines would rather haue suspected their owne Souldiers then these *Benfins*, with whom they lived like brethren, eating and drinking daily together. During this familiaritie these Captaines had diuers aduertisements, that there would be an enterprize vpon Nauarreux: whereupon they doubted their guards, and searched diuers houses. Vpon the eight of December at night, one of the inhabitants

which was of the Conspiracy, discovered it to a Souldier which lay in his house, (whether moued with loue to him, or his fidelitie to the King, or vpon hope of recompence) and said vnto him, That for the execution thereof one of the *Benfins* was hidden within the Towne. This Souldier discovered it presently to the three Captaines, who put their men in armes, and searched the houses of such as were accused, but found no man: they seized vpon the chiefe inhabitants, who denyed all confidently: comming to the house of one *Merous*, whereas *Benfin* was, with many others, which hee had drawne into the Towne for the execution of the Enterprize; they slipped out at a backe-doore, hoping to saue themselves the next day. Notwithstanding in the search of this house, they found two in the hay, who being examined denyed all. In the end they found some in the streets: E they take one to whom they promise his life so he will confesse; the which he did, telling them that there should haue beene two troops made within the Towne, the one of Inhabitants, who about midnight should haue killed the three Captaines, and charged the *Corps de gard* in the market-place, whilst that *Benfin* and such as came with him, should haue fallen vpon the *Corps de gard* at the Port, and force it open to giue entry vnto five hundred men which should be there ready. Whereupon they made such diligent search, as they found diuers; yet *Benfin* and most of his company got away ouer the walls, by cords and other meanes. The next day there were ten of them condemned and hanged in the market-place.

This Execution, and the feare of the like for many others, which were imprisoned, caused them of the reformed Religion to make many enterprizes in Languedoc & the Countrey of Foix: and among others in the Towne of Montauban; whereas all the religious men were imprisoned; as you may conceiue by this Letter of aduice which was sent vnto the King.

Sir, I cannot but grieue to see my selfe still forced to importune your Maiesties patience by my Letters, vpon the continuall errors of your subiects of the reformed Religion; but the world I haue to enforce your Maiesty duly of the present estate of this Country, and the oppressions which your subiects receiue, and the contempt of your authority, binde

An enterprize
to surprize
Nauarreux.A Letter of
advice to the
King.

me

1621 "me thereunto. Notwithstanding your Declaration against the Assemblée of Rochel, their A
 "Deputations have bene made: and notwithstanding the Resolution of the Parliament of
 "Thoulouse, their Consultation about the same is held at Montauban; their Fortifications
 "are continued in an extraordinary fashion: for they goe voluntary thereunto, both men
 "and women, and of all qualities; and are taxed in particular to performe at their owne
 "charges, certaine fathomes, by a certaine time, and of such a depth. This they doe in all
 "their Townes, and at Castres more then the rest. At Montauban they have committed a
 "new excesse on the 17 of this month of December, vpon aduice that at Nauarreux they
 "had executed tenne of the traitors which had intelligence to surprize it: They presently
 "imprisoned all the Clergy-men, and all the Catholiques they found within their towne; B
 "and sent to aduertise all those of their Towne, which were at Thoulouse for their priuate
 "affaires, to retire. They searched for all the Clergy-men in their houses, and caried them
 "prisoners to the Bishops palace, guarded by two Companies of Souldiers, where they
 "continued till the next day at five a clocke in the euening, and then were dismissed, with
 "charge not to depart vpon paine of death: the which was done by a resolution of their
 "Towne-house, and the abridgment of the generall Assembly.

"The first President of Thoulouse blamed this fact much by his Letters; That to the
 "preiudice of the publique and priuate safety, they had treacherously abused the Catho-
 "liques, nothing apprehending the danger of them of their Religion, dispersed throughout
 "the Realme, who might runne the like fortune, if the faith of the Edicts were not religi- C
 "ously obserued by the Catholiques, who conform themselves to your Maiesties com-
 "mandments. At the same instant the first President foibad all reprisals, whereby hee assured
 "them which were of the Religion in Thoulouse. After this, the Clergy-men were freed
 "from the present danger, vntill that the factious of the said Religion finde some new oc-
 "casion. It is true, that some of the Magistrats, Consuls, and Burgeses, disliked of this
 "proceeding, but they are subiect to the law of the factious. Your Parliament hath here-
 "upon interposed their authoritie, and often forbidden them to continue their Assembly,
 "but they desist not. This disorder of Montauban hath been followed with the like insol-
 "encies in the Countie of Foix, where they shut the gates of Saierdun, Cazeres, and Pamiers,
 "taking the Catholiques, & seizing vpon some farms, into which they have put souldiers, D
 "who haue robbed passengers, and haue failed to surprize a strong place, belonging to the
 "Bishop of Pamiers, putting the whole countie into combustion. Wee hope your Maiesty
 "will prescribe them their duties; and prouide that your subiects may be freed from the in-
 "conueniences which may follow in their weake and turbulent resolutions. Their fury for
 "the fact of Nauarreux is great, proceeding from the resolutions of the Assembly of Milhau;
 "and it is doubted that they of Montauban will be drawne to the like enterprizes. In the
 "meane time it is a great toyle to your Catholique subiects, to be alwayes vpon the defen-
 "sue, fearing the attempts of men which are in perpetuall counsell and armes. Wee will
 "attend your commandments, and remaine, &c. From Thoulouse, Decemb 22. 1620.

About the end of this year, the King went to visit his frontiers of Picardy, as Abbe- E
 "ville, Montreuil, Bullen, Calais, and Ardres, putting two Companies of his Guards into
 "that Towne, wherewith some were not well satisfied. This voyage continued from the
 "14 of December to the 12 of Ianuary, in a very hard and vnseasonable time for his traine.
 "The Archduke Albert, hearing that he was vpon the frontiers, sent to visit him by an Earle
 "of the House of Granuelle. The King sent the Marshall of Cadener, brother to the Duke
 "of Luynes, in Embassie to his Maiesty of great Britaine: hee parted from Calais on the
 "first of Ianuary, being followed by a gallant troop of Noblemen, and had a very honour-
 "able reception from the King at his coming to Court. Within few dayes after his re-
 "turne to Paris, hee was receiued in Parliament Duke of Chaunc and Peere of France.

In the beginning of this year, the Deputies of the reformed Religion assembled at F
 "Rochel, came to Court, where they published their Remonstrances vnto the King, touch-
 "ing the causes of their assembly: the which although it be long, yet I am enforced to in-
 "sert it, being the subiect of all the following miseries, whereby the Reader may bee the
 "better satisfied.

Sir, wee do not thinke that the outrages of our ill-willers, who it may be will seeke to
 "stop your Maiesties cares to our most humble petitions, should also stop our mouths:
 "neither were it iust, that during the liberty of our enemies, to slander our actions, and
 "make

The King vi-
sits his Fron-
tiers of Picardy.

The Remon-
strance of the
Deputies of
the Assembly
at Rochel vnto
the King.

A make them odious, they should impose vs silence: or that hauing hindered the effects of
 "your sacred word and royall bounty, they should blame vs, if wee insist at your Maiesties
 "feet to demand the accomplishment of that which it hath pleased you to promise. Where-
 "fore Sir, in confidence of our iustice and your bounty, we present vnto your Maiesty our
 "most humble requests by writing, which is now all the meanes we haue, since our access
 "into your royall presence is forbidden vs, by a Declaration published against vs, for our
 "being here assembled vpon the onely subiect of our complaints. But for that this action
 "of ours is repured a crime, and our proceeding defamed ascending vnto some rebellion,
 "wee should iudge our selues vnworthy of the fruit of your gratiuous regard vnto our peti-
 "tions; or that we should make any, if our consciences accused vs to be culpable of any
 "crime; or if wee had not both before God and your Maiesty our iustifications ready to
 "exhibit.

We haue assembled Sir, heretofore vnder the permission and authoritie of your Ma-
 "iesty, in your Towne of Loudun, about the same subiect of our complaints, and to pro-
 "cure from you the reparation of so many grieuances, by which our liberty and assurance
 "are continually impaired, and the authority of your Edicts from day to day weakened.
 "The long suffering of our euils, the apprehension of their increase, the knowledge of our
 "enemies audacious pride, which swels with our disgrace, the expresse charge of those
 "which haue sent vs, and the generall consent of all men, that your Edicts (the fundamen-
 "tall Lawes of your Estate) cannot bee vndermined, but it will fall, caused vs to attend
 "sixe whole moneths, with perseverance proportionable to our necessity, to obtaine of
 "your Maiesty some effects of your good will towards vs. In the end, after this long in-
 "stance, your Maiesty was pleased to command vs to name our Deputies, and to separate
 "our selues, and that the Prince and the Duke of Luynes, should giue their words to the
 "Duke of Lesdiguiers and Monsieur de Chastillon, and by them to assure vs, that separating
 "our selues according to your commandment, your Maiesty would within six moneths,
 "cause some principall points of our demands to be faithfully executed, and fauourably
 "answer our grieuances: and that within seauen moneths the Deputies of Beame should
 "be heard, a month after the execution of the said points. And that if the said promises
 "D should not be fulfilled, the same persons might assemble againe, or others delegated,
 "whereof the Prince gaue his word, to procure vs this permission with effect; and Monsieur
 "de Luynes assured that his word should be as good as a Brieffe, and it might be better. They
 "added on your Maiesties behalfe, that this was the first word you had given to your sub-
 "iects of the Religion since that you held the helme of your Estate; and therefore wee
 "should giue credit vnto it, hauing bene neuer violated. This onely consideration stonget
 "then all the rest, found no resistance in our consent, and shewed our speedy obedience.

After the nomination of our Deputies, your Maiesty confirmed to those which brought
 "the names, that you would effect the promise which the Prince and Duke of Luynes had
 "giuen vs. Thus separating our selues, we drew an Act of our obedience, containing all the
 "E foresaid conditions and promises, according to the which, the Deputies of Provinces in
 "their particular Assemblies, according to the order allowed by your Maiesty, hauing giuen
 "an account of their employment, haue confirmed or subrogated all those which are here
 "at this present, after the six moneths, in case the points accorded were not executed. This
 "hath not bene done in secret, your Maiesty might easily know it, and the Lords of your
 "Councell were not ignorant of it.

All these things promised being vnexecuted after the six moneths, they haue notwith-
 "standing pressed your Maiesty to goe into Beame, before the seauenth, contrary to your
 "Letters written to the Parliament of Pau, the 21 of September. So as contrary to those
 "expresse promises, they haue anticipated the execution of the restitution of the Clergy-
 "F lands, which hath been followed with a great alteration in the Countie, and the totall re-
 "uoc of the safety and liberty of those which make profession of the same religion with vs.

For these causes Sir, according to the order taken amongst vs, vpon the assurances
 "giuen vs on your Maiesties behalfe, the case so hapning, wee haue bene called to this
 "place, whither we are come with charge from all your subiects of the religion, with an in-
 "tent to obtaine by our humble petitions vnto your Maiesty, the accomplishment of what
 "was promised; reparation for the important grieuances which haue since hapned, and an
 "effectuall assurance of your good inclination to our protection against the threats and
 "alarmes

1621 alarms, which are generally practised with a designe of our totall ruine. Wherefore Sir, A we say out of a good conscience, that we are in no sort culpable of the contempt of your authority: but contrariwise that the causes of our reunion in this place are lawful, and our proceeding without crime, being authorized and supported by your sacred word. If our enemies haue preuailed so much, as by a Declaration published against vs, they call in question the word which hath beene giuen vs in your Maiesties name, and make vs guilty: it is a new subiect of bitter griefe, and of iust complaint. We are not culpable, but in beleeuing the word of the first Prince of the blood, and of a Nobleman whom your Majesty doth cherish dearly. We are not guilty but for renewing the pursuit of our humble petitions, authorized by the first inuolable word which it hath pleased your Majesty to giue B vs, the which we haue taken for pledge and caution after so many delays, and by the iustice which the appearance of so many grievances hath made so publique. May it now please your Majesty to haue consideration of our innocency, and not to suffer our enemies thus to oppress vs before you. They take vs to haue violated your authority: but it is ealie to iudge whole actions tend most to the preservation of your authority, and the setting of your Crowne. When as we pursue, by the formes of respect and reuerence due to your Majesty, the execution of your Edicts; the reparation of so many breaches, and the means of our preferuation; they command vs to be silent, and then oppose the name of your authority to our preferuance, as if we fought to crosse it. But where your authority is truly and really engaged, as in the maintenance of your Edicts, and the assurance C of your word: what care haue they to persuee it? nay what doe they not to ruine it?

Is there any thing which doth more wound your Maiesties authority and reputation, then that after such solemne promises, we could not obtaine deliuerance of the estate of the places of safety in Dauphine, the deniaill whereof tends to make vs lose the chiefe Townes? In the meane time they haue giuen vs your word, the which they might free in halfe an houre. They haue promised vs faithfully vpon your word the reception of two Councillors in your Parliament of Paris, so long delayed contrary to your Edicts, the which is not yet accomplished but in part. But which is worse, this faith promised is frustrated in this point, in the most important, and which we vied most; by a Decree which the Court hath made, that the *Seigneur Le Cag* should not resigne but to a Romane Catholicke: whereby our liberty is oppressed, being granted to them of our Religion by your Edicts, leaue to enter indifferently into charges. They assured vs in your Maiesties name, that the restitution of the Clergy goods in Bearn should not be put in execution before seauen moneths; and that within one month after the execution of the points accorded, they should be heard in their Remonstrances: but contrariwise they haue anticipated the time, and drawne your Majesty into Bearn before that any of the promises tooke effect. And without hearing their grievances, the restitution hath not onely beene executed, but to say truly, hath serued as a pretext for the entire desolation of those of the Religion, and the liberty of the Country; although their obedience and chearfull reception of your Majesty did merit a more fauourable vsage. But what greater violence to your authority, E Sir, then after our last separation made vpon such solemne promises, with liberty to reunit our selues in case of failing, to present our petitions and grievances to your Majesty, being now in these termes, in stead of hearing vs, they cause vs to be declared guilty: they deny that we had cyther promise or permission to assemble, and the words which should be as good as Briefes, are made frustrate. They indite vs because wee haue beleueed: and which is worse, they threaten the towne wherein we are assembled with siege and ruine, that is to say, your whole Estate with a dangerous accident, whereof your Majesty, and your wife Councill may fore-see the consequence.

What shall we say touching so many points of your Edicts infringed, yea, since your Majesty sate at the helme of your Estate? with what instance haue we pursued the restoring of our Religion in Clermont of Lodeux, a place of surety, whereas our enemies (to the outrages they haue done vs) haue added a contempt of your authority, hindring by armes the execution of the Decrees of your Councill, and expelling the Commissaries which your Majesty had sent to that effect. They made shew to prevent our complaints with restitution. They called it your Maiesties business. They acknowledged that your respect and authority was sensibly wounded: yet they had rather haue it suppressed, then in raising it, they should repara the breaches which are done vnto our liberty. Thus by a violence

A violence unrestrained and not punished, the exercise of our Religion is banished from a place which hath beene assigned vnto vs for the maintenance thereof. They haue taken from vs the guards of Priuies in Viuairet, one of the places where nothing should be altered according to your Edicts and Briefes. And to the end all the rest should be made vnprofitable and without any safety, the monies appointed for the Garisons and Ministers, haue not beene paid these eightene moneths. Finally, Sir, contrary to your will and authority, and to the prejudice of the peace and publique tranquility, they preach sedition against vs: they publish bookes to the same end: whence comes it, that of late in diuers places they vnbury our dead; they burne our Temples; they chase away our Pastors, and they will not suffer those places which are giuen vnto vs neere vnto Townes for the exercise of our Religion, to be deliuered vnto vs. The which we haue and doe still suffer in diuers parts of your Realme, and namely, at Moulins, Bourges, Baux in Prouence, at Lyons, and at Dijon, and yet we can obtaine no iustice.

We will adde no other particular grievances, wherewith the Articles of our complaints are charged, some without answer, and some answered contrary to the intention of your Edicts: and for reparation whereof, they make no accompt after all our pursuit to send Commissaries into the Prouinces, notwithstanding any promise which hath been made; and such as haue beene sent, refuse to doe their charge when they are summoned. By these contrauentions, Sir, your sacred authority and the reputation of your iustice are highly intereased.

But all this is little in regard of the pernicious accidents which they endeavour to produce: for these men, Sir, whom all your good subiects Romane Catholics well affected to your Crowne, doe hold for enemies; and all those whom they haue corrupted in your Estate, to serue a foraine command, whose Ministers they are, strue now more then euer to raise vp that Engine in your Realme, by the which they haue ouerthrowne (as wee see) so many Estates in Christendome; and by the same practices seeke to draw yours into the like confusion. Euery man knows how by their seditious Sermons and the secrete drifts of their Congregations, they daily more and more stirre vp the peoples hatred against vs, with designe to ruine vs. They are so insolent as vaunt to D haue an absolute Empire ouer your conscience, to be able to possess your eares and mind with what they please, and to haue already induced your Majesty to hate vs: so as assuring themselves of our disgrace with your Majesty, they haue plotted (what wrongs fouer are done vs) to hinder still the reparation. Whereby in the end hauing made the vigour of your Edicts fruitlesse, they take occasion to make our complaints to be held a crime, as they doe at this present, and thereby to stirre vp a generall persecution. And would to God their designe were not so farre aduanced, they should not then proceed against vs as offenders: they should not heare throughout your Realme (as they doe) war pronounced against vs, saying that the *Dice are cast*, that preparations are made in all parts, and your countries of Poictou and Guienne full of troops, which already in hope diuide E the spoile of this Towne.

These alarms, Sir, these fatall accidents wherewith your Estate is threatened, are the chiefe motives which make vs humbly to beseech your Majesty to discern our iustice from the slander and hatred of our enemies. And that it would please your Majesty to cause the Declaration published against vs to be disannulled, and to giue vs free access vnto you to present our complaints and humble petitions: to the end that returning with an aduall testimony of your good inclination towards vs, wee may infuse into the hearts of all men, some seeds of better hope; that as your Majesty doth acknowledge vs for your faithful subiects, you will protect vs against all the designs and enterprises of such as hate vs: and that our liberty, goods, and liues, being thereby assured, wee may employ them F for your Maiesties seruice: Protesting religiously before God and men, for our selues and all those whom we represent, that we desire not the liberty of our consciences, and to serue God, with any other intent, then to remaine inseparably tied to your obedience, and to the good and aduancement of your Estate and Crowne, and your Maiesties long and happy reigne, whose prosperity recommending with all our vovs to God, we beseech him that he will make vs find fauour with your Majesty, and inspire your mind with the knowledge that we are your Maiesties most humble, most obedient, and most faithful subiects and seruants, The Deputies of the Assembly at Rochel. The 2 of January, 1621.

[y]

These

This complaint
is interpreted
against the
Jesuits.

These were the reasons whereby they pretended to iustifie the calling of their Assembly, the continuing whereof proued the subiect of all the ensuing miseries: for what can complaints and iustificacions preuaile with an incensed Prince, who is possessed with other counsels? They giue him to vnderstand, That the calling of this Assembly is an affront done to his authority: that it was a breach of his Edicts: that it was a president of dangerous consequence for his State: and that it was an act tending to rebellion. That if he suffered it, it would blemish his reputation, and make him contemptible both to his subiects and strangers. These were strong motives to thrust a young Prince into choller: but you shall heare an answer which was published in the name of the Duke of Ledsiguier touching the said complaints, and sent vnto the Assembly.

The Duke of Ledsiguier answers the Assembly at Rouen.

My Masters, the Letter you wrote vnto me on the 28 of the last Moneth, inuities mee to make this answer: I pray you take it in good part, comming from the heart and hand of one who alwayes will wish honour and prosperitie to your iust desires. You are assembled according to the resolution you tooke at your parting from Loudun: but you cannot shew that you haue leaue. It is true, you required a Brieve for it, but could not obtaine it. Wherefore our generall Deputies should first haue made instance to the King to allow of it, and their humble petition should haue bene grounded vpon the necessity there was to assemble. This hath not bene done, wherefore my opinion is, That hauing not obserued this forme, his Maiesty hath iust cause to be incensed against you, and against those which haue receiued you. As for the occasions of your Assembly, they are so small, as they scarce make any shew. The King had promised you, that within fixe Moneths he would cause L'Estoure to bee restored: that two Councillors of the Religion should be admitted into the Parliament at Paris: That a Brieve should bee giuen for the guard of places of safety, the which was deliuered soone after to our Deputies: And touching the affaires of Bearne, that within seven moneths the Deputies of the Countrie of Bearne should be heard by his Maiesty. There was a moneth more of time giuen, not so much in consideration of that businesse, as for that they imagined the action of L'Estoure would proue difficult, and that they would not meddle with Bearne before they had ended the other: and of this intention *Monseigneur de Blainville* is a true witness, being the inuenter of this delay granted by his Maiesty, to the end hee might haue time to make L'Estoure obey, before he required obedience from them of Bearne. You know that L'Estoure hath bene deliuered to a Gentleman of the Religion: that the Councillors haue bene receiued: and a Brieve for the places of safety deliuered. There remains nothing to giue you but an Estate of the places in Dauphine: This was not so hasty a businesse as you must needs assemble to demand them: for we hold them, and no man can tests them.

I know that the clamour of them of Bearne, hath bene a powerfull motive for your Assembly: but I thinke before you should haue done it in regard of these points about mentioned, you should haue made petition by our Deputies, or haue required *Monseigneur Chastillon* and me, to beseech the King to remember what we had promised you in his Maiesties name, confirmed by his royall mouth at Fontainebleau, that our Deputies of the Assembly at Loudun, when as they aduertised him of their separation.

I haue briefly touched these points, in answer to that you haue written vnto me; that I am not ignorant of the inexecution of most of the important things which had bene promised you: and I represent vnto you what I know, the which you should call to mind, to the end that you your selues might iudge that your Assembly hath bene somewhat too hasty: and I say with griefe, that it may be held vnlawfull: This is the reason his Maiesty hath so declared it: but his indignation may be mitigated and turned into grace. I know no meanes to attaine vnto it but by your separation: for although you pretended grievances were apparent and full of reason, yet could you not present them to the King to doe you iustice: but by the lawfull meanes which admit the Subiect to his Soueraigne Prince, otherwise it is a blemish to authority, a sharing of the Royalty, and the making of a good cause bad. Moreover, it doth incite by a bad example his Maiesties Subiects, to shake off the gracious yoke of his obedience. This fault must not proceed from vs; I say from vs, who haue alwayes obeyed our Kings in all things, and haue onely retained that which belongs to GOD, to yeeld it vnto him

A him by their Maiesties permission. He that reignes ouer vs at this day will not deny it: He will obserue his Edicts, and heare our Complaints and Remonstrances, when we shall addresse our selues vnto him with those submissions which are befitting vs, and due from vs to him. I beseech you and exhort you as much as I can and ought, to put your selues into this posture after your separation, and I will ioyne with our Deputies, humbly to beseech his Maiesty to grant vs that which we may lawfully demand, be it for our selues or our brethren of the Countrey of Bearne, who haue drawne their miserie vpon them by their owne fault. I had diuerted it, if they had giuen me credit when I was in Court. I presse your separation, for without it, I see my selfe (to my great griefe) deprived of all meanes to ayd and serue you with the King: But if you will beleue my aduice, and separate your selues, I dare promise that his Maiestie at my humble sute, will forget the fault which he conceiues you haue committed against his authority; will take regard of our complaints and humble petitions by your generall Deputies: will call his troops out of Poitou, Guienne, and other places which hold our Churches in continuall alarme: will remoue the crime of the Deputies of the Assembly, to the end they may returne with all safety: will make a new Declaration in your fauour, according to the graces which haue bene granted vs, to quench all iealousies: and finally, will giue all reasonable content, setting a firme and assured peace in his Estate, to maintaine his reputation with his neighbours and allies, and to make himselfe a necessary Arbitrator of all their differences: the which we should desire about all things, and not to hinder him as wee doe, by any ciuill combustion, whereof the cause might be imputed vnto vs. If I may be beleueed, there will be no need for me to send any body vnto you, nor may I doe it, because you are assembled without the Kings permission; not that I will leaue to be of your vnion, for I will remain firme in the seruice of the Churches of God, and of the profession of our Religion vnto the last gaspe; continuing still in the obedience due to his Maiestie, as a thing conuenient.

In this affection I will rest, by the helpe of God, whom I beseech to cause you to receive my aduice, and the assurance of my promises, grounded vpon the hope I haue of his Maiesties goodness, that we may continue in his fauour with all surety, and his Realme in peace. And so I will remaine your humble and affectionate seruant, *Ledsiguier*. Grenoble the first of February, 1621.

This yeare there fell out an accident at Priuas in Viuaetz, which disquieted the peace of the Countrey. After the death of the Seigneur of Chambault, Lord of Priuas, being of the Reformed Religion; his onely daughter and heyre, widow to a Gentleman also of the Religion, married with the Viscont of Cheylane, a Catholique, sonne to the Seigneur of *L'Estrange*, who hauing taken possession of the Castle of Priuas, and the Tower of the Lake, put Catholique Captaines and Souldiers into them; the which had the last yeare put all the inhabitants of the Religion in Priuas, Viuaetz, and Seuenues into alarme, which caused great combustions on either side: they of the Religion pretending that it was a Towne of guard, although none of the hostages of surety, and that the Castle and the Towne appertained vnto them. On the contrary, the Viscont of Cheylane maintained that being Lord thereof, and they his vassals, the guard belonged to him. This trouble was for a time appeased by an ordinary courie, That things should remaine in the estate that they were, vntill that by an Assembly vnder the Kings authority the businesse were agreed. Notwithstanding, the inhabitants of Priuas, impatient to see Catholique Souldiers put into the Castle and Tower of the Lake, made many instances and complaints, as well to the generall Synode of the Ministers which was held in October last at Alce, as to *Monseigneur de Chastillon* at Montpellier. The Duke of Vantadour, Lieutenant generall for the King in Languedoc, sent his Prouost to take information thereof.

F In January this yeare, they fell to armes, the Towne against the Castle. Whereupon the Duke of Vantadour sent two Gentlemen with his Letters for the pacifying of this combustion; offering them his succour and assistance, either by his authority as the Kings Lieutenant Generall, or by the mediation of the Chamber of the Edict of Castrres, and the Presidiall Court of Nismes their naturall Iudges, from whence hee would draw Commissaries to doe them iustice, and punish the delinquents: But this preuailed nothing: for the seditious continued their attempts. Whereupon the Duke of Vantadour was forced to goe to Araxes to maintaine the Kings authoritie, for

The alterations of Priuas in Viuaetz.

that the Castle of Priuas was besieged by the Seigneur of *Buſon* and them of the religion, A who had seized vpon diuers other Castles. Thus they take armes in Viuaretz on all sides: The Duke of Montmorency, Gouernor of the Country, hearing that *Buſon* with the Consuls and Inhabitants of Priuas, had besieged *Saint Pallais* in the Castle, seeing the Kings authority contemned by this action, and his honor engaged, hee resolved to goe to Priuas. Passing by Montpellier, the Earle of Chastillon with the Consuls of Montpellier, Nismes, and Vzes, and the Deputies of the Assembly of that Circle being then at Lunel, came vnto him, entreating him not to proceed to extremities: that they disauowed *Buſon* action, and would labour to draw him to obedience: That he should cary himselfe as prudently in this, as hee had done powerfully the yeare before. To whom hee answered, That he could neither stay nor retire, and that the affront was such, as hee must B maintain the Kings authority and his owne honour, in punishing *Buſon* and the inhabitants of Priuas in such sort, as they might serue for a president to posterity, hauing rebelled against their King, and broken their word with their Gouernor; but at the entreaty of *Monſieur de Chastillon*, he would goe thither with a spirit of peace, and should be glad that they themselves would reduce *Buſon* to his duty.

The Duke of Montmorency was sent to *Monſieur de Chastillon*.

La Baume sent to the King.

Vpon the way he was aduertised that the Castle of Priuas was deliuered vp by *Saint Pallais*, vpon an honorable composition to depart with their full armes: the which did much trouble the Duke, who sent presently *La Baume* to aduertise the King thereof, and to attend his pleasure; who presently returned him with Letters whereby he did much commend his fidelity and care, recommending vnto him especially the publique peace, but yet he desired to be obeyed.

The Duke, finding that he could not satisfie the Kings expectation without force, he employed all his meanes, credit, and friends, and in fiew dayes drew together eight thousand foot, and foure hundred horse. The Assembly at Lunel commaunded *Monſieur de Chastillon* to arme, who with the like speed leauied three or foure thousand horse and foot. *Buſon* fortifies himselfe, and is assisted with men from the Assembly. The Duke marching towards Priuas, the Duke of Lefdiguiers going towards the Court, desired to conferre with him about this businesse; whereupon he went to Valence with the Duke of Vantadour, but they could not find the meanes to settle the Kings authority in Priuas; D whereupon they retired, yet with this resolution, not to attempt any thing against Priuas vntill they had received his Maiesties intention.

Villeneuve de Berg taken by the Duke.

The Duke, in his Councell of warre, resolved to besiege Villeneuve de Berg, into the which the Assembly had put some Companies of Souldiers, being a very convenient place to receiue the succours which the Seuennes should send to Priuas, if it were besieged. This Towne was inuested on the fifth of March: *Buſon* seeing the Kings army had left him, and was turned thither, hee presently sent an hundred Musketers to relieue them, but they found the Towne so besieged as it was not possible to enter.

The next day the Duke summons the Consuls to open their gates: who seeing themselves too weak to maintain a siege, and without hope of succours, they caryed him E their keyes, beseeching him to let them enioy the liberty of the Edicts. It is the Kings will and intent, (said he) that his subjects should enioy the free exercise of the one and the other Religion; you shall not be troubled in yours, and I will keepe you from molesting the Catholiques. Hereupon hee sent certaine Companies to seize vpon the gates, and went himselfe to lodge in the Towne; where the next day hee caused Masse to be restored, whereof they had bene deprived 62 yeares. The same day the *Seigneur de Reaux* Lieutenant of the Guard, arrived at Viuaretz, sent by his Maiesty, to cause as well *Monſieur de Montmorency* as *Monſieur de Chastillon*, and the Assembly at Lunel to disarme; which they did in shew: yet afterwards *M. Montmorency* went and besieged Vualz; and the reason was, for that they had refused to lodge *Montmajor* brother to Collonel *D'Ornano*, F who led the Regiment of his brother *Mazarques*, to whom the towne belonged, with an intent to vse his subjects more kindly then another would: vpon this repulse (thinking his honor to be interessed) hee intreated the Duke to make good the quarter which he had giuen him. Vualz is strong by situation, being among the mountaines, and hath a Castle of aduantage: the inhabitants are all of the reformed Religion, and there were likewise 400 Souldiers sent them from the Seuennes, so as they resolved to defend the town, and not to lodge any Catholique troops. They fortified a Mill with an hundred of their best Souldiers,

A Souldiers, whereby they might hinder the passage of the river of Ardeche. The Marquis of Portes charged them, and in the end forced them to retire to the Towne, which was presently inuested; so as after some volleys of Cannon, they desired to parley with *De Reaux*, to whom they said, they desired to obey his Maiesties commandments, and to be maintained according to the Edicts, beseeching him to bee mediator for them vnto the Duke: who considering the strong situation of the Castle, was content to receiue them to grace, vpon condition that they should haue three hundred men of *Mazarques* regiment in garison: that the Castle should be deliuered into the hands of an Exempt of the Guard: that the Souldiers should be conducted to a place of safety: and that the Consuls should B vpon their knees for the inhabitants, demand pardon of the King in the person of the Duke, who should maintaine them in the liberty of their religion.

Vualz yielded to the Duke, of Montmorency.

The Seigneur of Autiege had bene sent by the Assembly of that Circle, with twelve hundred men, to defend Vualz; but hearing vpon the way that it was lost, he put himselfe into Valons, and expelled the Exempt of the Guard whom *De Reaux* had placed there. This action caused the Councell of warre to resolve to besiege it, to repaire this affront done to the Kings authority. The Duke caused the army to march, and the town was inuested and battered: a reasonable breach was made, & the Marquis de Portes lodged with his men vpon the walls. Whereupon *Autiege* finding that hee should be forced the same day, he demanded a safe conduct to parley with the Marquis, who conducted him to the Duke; by whom this Composition was made: That within one hour after, hee and all his Souldiers should depart out of Valons, with their armes onely, without Drumme or March light, like vanquished men: That they should not cary armes for six moneths in the Prouince: and that if there were any Inhabitants of Valons amongst them, the Captain in whose troope they were found, should be slayed and punished. The Souldiers retired presently through the Army to *Monſieur de Chastillon*, and the town was abandoned for one whole day to the spoyle of the Souldiers.

Valons yielded to the Duke.

In Ianuary there was a Letter presented vnto the King touching the Assembly at Rochel, in the name of the Marshall of Bouillon, as followeth.

The Marshall of Bouillon presents to the King.

Sir, I was resolved to remaine in silence, seeking to ease my ordinary indisposition in the quiet rest of my family: but now I thought that I ought not to concele from your Maiesty, That of late the Deputies of high Languedoc and high Guienne assembled at Millaut, haue sent a Gentleman vnto mee, to aduertise mee of the feares and distrusts wherein your subjects of the Religion are in those parts, as well as in other Prouinces, by reason of the threats they vse daily in all the parts of your Kingdom: That they will breake the Edicts; take from them the liberty of their consciences, the safety of their liues, and the quiet enioying of their dignities: moued hereunto (they say) by that which hath passed in Bearne, for that they had anticipated the execution, contrary to the order, whereof they had giuen assurance in your Maiesties name, at the last assembly of your subjects at Loudun; they hauing committed no act contrary to their duties. Whereunto they E adde the execution of those things which had bene promised: the ialousie which the Garisons giue them which haue bene left in diuers places without necessity: the rigorous Iniunctions made against the Assembly at Rochel, which they hold to be grounded vpon the word, which (they beleue) had been giuen in your Maiesties name to the said Assembly at Loudun, as the Deputies thereof haue reported to their Prouinces: and diuers other occasions arising daily, which makes them doubt there is a generall designe to ruine the Religion, and all those which make profession thereof within your Realme. And hereupon, Sir, protesting that they will neuer depart from the duty and obedience whereunto their subiection and conscience doth binde them to your Maiesty: I cannot but suffer in their miseries, being bound thereunto by the profession of that Religion which I haue F common with them. They inuite mee to giue my aduice, and to send some one to the Assembly at Rochel, to ioine in their humble complaints they desire to make vnto your Maiesty: I thought it my duty first to aduertise you before I made any answer, and to beseech you to giue me your commandments thereupon. Sir, I will presume to tell you with that humble respect which I owe, and the liberty which my age and former experience hath giuen mee, That Remonstrances being the onely and lawfull meanes by the which your Subjects of the Religion should adresse themselves vnto your Maiesty, who by your equity may iudge of the iustice or iniustice thereof, and haue

have more contentment and profit for your service by receiving them, than in rejecting, especially now when they are so full of distrust, as they thinke their ruine is resolved, and that they will thrust them into despair to vndoe them. The remedy cannot bee applied but by your Maiestie, who alone after God may diuert this mischief, and prevent it by your wisdom and authority, in continuing your royall protection to your subjects of the Religion, and not suffer that to aduance the ruine of so many innocent persons, who breathe nothing but the prosperity of your reigne, and their faithfull obedience to your service, they should offer violence to the Edicts of Kings your Predecessors, the which your Maiestie hath oft confirmed. I cannot beleue, Sir, they give you such hurtfull counsels, and so prejudiciall to your Estate; and much lesse, that your Maiestie will put them in practice, to kindle a fire of ciuill warre in the midst of your kingdom, which the deceased King your father quenched with so much pains and wisdom; knowing well that the conscience cannot be forced by the power of sword or fire, nor the spirit constrained to beleue that which it beleueth not: It might be rather feared that by a doubtfull and vncertain hope (which the passion of some ill-willers vnto your subjects beleeue your authority would bee engaged in most dangerous inconueniences. And I pray God to remove from about your sacred Maiestie all those which would enduce you to this violence, and together with them the dreadfull presages which may come of such counsels. That if in these present occurrents, which haue given mee occasion to write vnto you, touched with a liuely feeling which I haue of the mischief these distrusts may breed, and wherein I attend the honor of your commandements, I may be so happy to be able to contribute any thing to helpe to maintain the publiqu peace, and tranquillity, all which your Maiesty may expect of me, and of my deuotion and fidelity to your service, I most humbly beseech you to excuse me, if by reason of my infirmities of the gout, I haue bene enforced to borrow my sonnes hand to signe, rather then to faile of my duty, beseeching God to poure all his blessings vpon your Maiestie, and to give you a long and happy life. From Sedan the second of January, 1621.

The D. of Lesdiguiers second Letter to the Assembly at Rochel.

The Answer of the Assembly.

Monseur de la Force Gouverneur of Bearne, wrote a Letter about the same time to his Maiestie, and to the same effect. The Duke of Lesdiguiers wrote a second Letter vnto the Assembly at Rochel on the 22 of February, giuing them to vnderstand, that he went to Court according to the Kings commandement, where hee would serue the Churches with all his power, to the end they might be maintained in peace according to the Edicts; but hee could not comprehend the subject of their Conuocation, nor of their stay at Rochel, seeing that what had bene granted at their separation from Loudun, had bene fully executed.

To these two Letters of *Monseur Lesdiguiers* the Assembly at Rochel published an Answer in Print, whereby they did insin that their Assembly was lawfull, and with the Kings permission; they being promised at the time of their separation from Loudun, that if the Articles granted, were not accomplished within the time prefixed, they might meet againe: whereof he himselfe (they say) had giuen them assurance in his Maiesties name, and that the King himselfe had confirmed the same at Fontaine-bleau, to the Deputies of the Assembly, when they did aduertise him of their separation: so as they thought they had no need to craue a permission of more force, or a more firme assurance then his Maiesties most sacred word: and to confirme the reasons of their Assembly, they said that nothing had bene executed within the terme of six moneths prefixed, but only the deliery of the Briefe for the places of safety; and in the mean time the King had gone into Bearne, during the delay granted for their Remonstrances, which had not bene heard; where the restitution was not only executed, but their Churches had lost their safety and liberty which for many yeares they had enjoyed in those parts, and in an instant had followed the euent of all those dangerous consequents which they had doubted from the beginning.

Hereunto they added many other Griouances, humbly beseeching him to assist them with his fauour to his Maiesty, that he would be pleased to heare their complaints so necessary for their preseruatiue and peace.

Monseur de la Force continued in his Gouvernement of Bearne, and Nauarreux was committed to the fidelity of *Monseur de Poyanne*, betwene whom there grew ieaiousities: They

Captaine Bessacienzeuy on Monsieur de Montgiscard.

A They of the Religion held an Assembly at Pau: from whence *Captaine Benfins* with some others, went and put himselfe into the Towers of Montgiscard, neere vnto the bridge of Berence, about the end of February, hauing before secretly sent thither store of munition and victuals. The Gouverneur of Nauarreux found presently that *Benfins* had not put himselfe into Montgiscard, but by the commandement of *Monseur de la Force*, and of the said Assembly, to the end that this place might ouer-look the store of munition and victuals, being seated vpon an high steepe Mountain, whereunto there is no passage but for one man going bias wile. On the top there are two Towers in the midst of a round platforme, being sixscore paces in diameter, enuironed with great ditches; which *Benfins* had suddenly fortified within the platforme, with a high Pallisade filled with earth. To haue a pretext of a quarrell, *Benfins* caused the Abbot of Caignore and one of *Poyannes* horsemen to be stayd vpon the bridge of Berence, whereupon he presently sent *Lataulade* his Lieutenant to *Monseur de la Force*, to acquaint him with *Benfins* actions in Montgiscard, and to tell him plainly, that if hee would not contribute, for his part hee was resolved, to doe his dutie for the Kings service. *Lataulade* returned without any other answer, but that *Monseur de la Force* knew not what it meant, but would refer himselfe to that which *Monseur Poyanne* should doe.

Hereupon he drawes what Forces hee can about Ortes, where he found a Gentleman belonging to *Monseur de la Force*, who told him, that if he went to Montgiscard, it would alter the Kings service in Bearne; to whom *Monseur Poyanne* answered, that hee went not to Montgiscard but to serue the King, to whom hee must giue an account of his actions, assuring himselfe that he would rest satisfied therewith as of his fidelity: and seeing that *Monseur de la Force* had referred the action to his discretion, he was resolved to see the end, and oppose himselfe to the rebellion of factious *Benfins*.

Before his coming thither, he sent to summon him to leaue the place; whose answer was, That he had bene put into the Towers of Montgiscard by the Assembly of Pau, and that he would not abandon it but by their commandement: whereupon they were instructed, and notwithstanding the difficulty of the hill, they made their approaches neere vnto the Towers. During this siege, *Monseur de la Force* takes occasion to draw together what forces he could, and the Marquis his sonne was coming out of Perigord with some troops of horse, and Regiments of foot. *Monseur de la Force* told a Gentleman, sent vnto him from *Monseur de Poyanne*, that he would be Master in his Gouvernement, and that he would come to Montgiscard to play his part, seeing that *Monseur de Poyanne* took vpon him his place. Thus the Nobility and Gentry of the Country were diuided into two factions, according to their affections in Religion. *Monseur de Poyanne* had drawe together 2000 foot, 500 Masters, and as many Harquebusers on horsebacke. In the meane time they presse the siege, and winne the first ditch, so as *Benfins* (seeing the danger that it could not be long before he were forced) desired a Parley, at the which he made no difficulty to offer the place, so as he might depart with a little honour. This being reported

Montgiscard yielded.

E To *Monseur de Poyanne*, he made answer, That he had neuer fought for vanity nor spoile. The composition was made, that yielding vp Montgiscard, he and his Souldiers should depart with their liues and baggage, and be conducted to a place of safety; so as on the 11 of March he went forth of the place with about threescore Souldiers, which *Monseur de Poyanne* caused to be presently ruined.

The King being aduertised of these alterations in Bearne, he sent the Seigneur of Salady to *Monseur de la Force*, with commandement to disarme: and if hee found him not well inclined thereto, he should deliuer a Commission vnto the Duke of Epseron, to goe into Bearne with 2000 foot and 500 horse, to make them all disarm which had nor speciall warrant. His Maiesty also sent Letters of commandement to the Seigneurs of Montespau, Gondrin, Vignolles, Miossens, and Grammont, to assist him with their troops and felends. *Saladie* deliuered his charge to *Monseur de la Force*, commanding him to dismis his troops; to whom he answered, That he must first accommodate the enterprife which *Monseur de Poyanne* had made, in taking armes in his Gouvernement without his leaue. *Saladie* replied; The King hath aduowed him, considering the importance of the action. Now the question is, said he, that you tell me whether you will obey his Maiesties commandement or no: whereupon *Monseur de la Force* said vnto him, The Kings meaning is, that no man shall attempt vpon my Gouvernement: I desire to know his Maiesties pleasure: returne

The D. of Epseron sent into Bearne with an army.

returne vnto him, and hauing brought me word, you shall finde that I haue alwayes bene and will be most obedient to his commandements. This delay makes *Saladie* deliuer his Commission to the Duke of Espernon and the rest, so as in an instant *Guienne* was in armes, and on the 21 day of April entred into *Bearne*, with whom *Monseur de Payanne* ioynd with 300 horse and good troopes of foot. This storme approaching, *Monseur de la Force* and all those of his partie retired speedily out of the Countrie, some hiding themselves in the mountaines, and hee himselfe with others retired into *Guienne* towards *Nerac*.

A peace offered
in *Bearne*.

Monseur de la Force and his
Souldiers dis-
missed from
their places.

The D. of Espernon comming to *Pau*, he acquainted the Parliament that his commission was onely to haue the King obeyed: He assured himselfe of diuers Castles in the countrie, and caused such to be purloined as were fled into the mountaines, where many were slain in diuers encounters, and others taken prisoners: so as in fifteene dayes hee sealed a peace vnder the obedience of the Kings Edicts, causing euery man to enioy the libertie of his religion. As for *Monseur de la Force*, he lost the government of *Bearne*, which was conferred vpon the Marshall of *Themes*: His eldest sonne the Marquis, who was captain of the Guard, was dismissed from his place, and it was given to the Marquis of *Munay*. He had a younger sonne, whose name was *Montpoullan*, whom the King had alwayes affected, but now he was commanded to retire from Court.

The continuance of the assemblie at *Rochel*, had much incensed the King against them of the religion: the late Combustions in *Viareux* and *Bearne*, had increased his dislike. He thinks his authoritie blemished and troden vnder foot: He therefore resolues to arme, and to force them to obedience; but there wanted the sinewes of warre: An Army cannot subsist long without money: it supplies the wants both of backe and belly, which are of more force then any command. It must be found out, before he goes to this warre: but by what meanes? To draw it from the people, were to adde affliction to affliction: They haue smarted too much in the late ciuill combustions: so as in the end hee resolues to make vse of his owne, and to alienate some of his Reuenues: and to that end his Maiestie went on the third of April to the Parliament, to verifie an Edict, by the which hee declared that for the entertainment of his armies, and the reliefe of his poore subiects, (much oppressed by the calamities of former wars) he was resolved to alienate part of his imposts by way of a rent-charge to the value of 40000 pound sterling yearly, the which should be sold to the Prouost of Merchants and the Sheriffes of *Paris*, for the summe of 600000 pound sterling, which rent should be taken out of the Imposts of Salt, which should be bound and pawned for the payment and continuance of the said Rents. And his pleasure was, that sales and priuate assignations should bee made by the said Prouost and Sheriffes, to the particular inhabitants of *Paris*, and other his subiects, which were willing to buy, paying three parts in ready money, and the other fourth part, in discharge of those debts which were lawfully due by him, the which they should freely and peaceably enioy without any restraint vntill they were actually satisfied at one entire payment of the whole summe, for the which they had made their purchases, notwithstanding that a fourth part had bene paid in debts. There were also other Edicts verified for the making of money, the which was thought would bring in a Million of pounds sterling euery year for the maintenance of the warre against them of the Reformed Religion, and against the towne of *Rochel*, which contrary to his Maiesties will had suffered a general Assembly to be held there.

The Office of
Constable offered
to *Lesdiguiers*.

The King fore-seeing in the beginning of this year, that hee was to enter into agreat warre, resolved to settle the place of Constable, and according to his first intention, he had sent a Briefe to the Duke of *Lesdiguiers*, who was at *Grenoble* for the same, vpon condition that he should become a Catholicke: This was one of the two reasons which drew him to Court: the first was to thanke the King for the honour he had done him in offering him the first office of the Crowne: and the second was, to employ himselfe to accommodate the disobedience of the assembly which was held at *Rochel* without his Maiesties leave. The Dukes Catholicke friends exhorted him both by word and writing to accept it, saying that this charge was due vnto him, as to the greatest Captain of our age, to the most faithfull of the Kings subiects, most happy in his successe in all his enterprises, and the man who had most obliged his Countrey: and as he was without companion for those qualities, so he needed not feare any coruall in his pretension; but to these qualities he must make

A make profession of the Romish religion: which they said was so necessary, as the King would rather forebare to make a Constable, then to doe it without this condition. That they of the reformed Religion had by the Graunts and Edicts of their former Kings become made capable of all Offices: but this (which makes him that enioyes it, the second person in the State, and gives a power in a manner equall to the royall authoritie,) must be excepted. They of the religion said, that it was sufficient to haue deferred this honour, although he did not enioy it, with that condition; which if he did, he would lose all his ancient seruants and friends, and his credit with them of his religion. The Duke being come to *Paris*, he thanked the king for the Briefe he had sent him for the office of Constable, and excused himselfe vpon many great and important considerations, propounding vnto him the Duke of *Luyne*, who was in speciall grace with his Maiestie; whereupon with the approbation of the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *Guise*, and many other great personages, the Duke of *Luyne* was made Constable of France, and took his oath: his letters being verified by the Court of Parliament: After which, the Duke of *Lesdiguiers* was made Marshall generall of the Royall Armies.

Duke of *Luyne*
made
Constable of
France

The King desirous to aduertise all the chiefe of his realme of the estate of his affaires, through the disobedience of the assemblie at *Rochel*, and that hee had made the Duke of *Luyne* Constable of France, he wrote this following letter to the Marshall of *Bouillon*.

Cousin, seeing the Assembly of *Rochel* yeelds mee not the obedience which they ought, and that I haue as you know, attended it hitherto: That in *Bearne* they haue made publike enterprises, and drawne souldiers together against my authoritie and expresse commandement; And that it seemes that some of my subiects endeavour to trouble the publike peace; to ouerthrow the order I haue taken with so much paine and traualle to assure and establish the same in my kingdom: I am resolved presently after Easter to goe to *Tours*, where I will aduise of what I haue to doe, and to provide for the maintenance of my authoritie and Edicts, which is the end of my journey and my intentions: Hauing the like will to preserve and fauour those which shall continue in their duties, as to reduce such as shall forget their obedience; not regarding herein religion, but onely the faction; whereof I will hereafter aduertise you more particularly when I come to *Tours*. In the meane time I thought good to acquaint you herewith, being assured that you will allow of my designe, blaming these disobediences and disorders; and continue in this occasion and all others to shew your good will, for the maintenance of your authoritie, and the publike good of this businesse. I will adde herunto, that I haue advanced my Cousin the Duke of *Luyne* to the charge of Constable of France, judging that the re-establishment of that place will be greatly profitable and behouefull to my affaires and Kingdom, putting the same into the hands of a Personage endowed with so many good parts. Whereby I assure my selfe the successe will be answerable to my hopes, and to the contentment of such as loue my person, and the good of my seruice, and particularly of you, Cousin, whom I pray God to preserve. *Paris* the 4 of April.

E Vnto this Letter the Marshall of *Bouillon* made this answer. Sir, I receiued the Letter which it pleased your Maiestie to send me of the fourth of this present moneth, by which I vnderstand to my great griefe, the discontent which your Maiestie continues to receiue from your subiects of the Religion assembled at *Rochel*, and your resolution to goe to *Tours*, there to aduise of the meanes how you may maintaine your authoritie and Edicts. Whereupon Sir, I most humbly beseech your Maiestie to pardon me, if I make bold to say vnto you, that you might receiue more contentment in this troublesome businesse, vntill your bounty and clemency, rather then the rigour and force of armes, in causing (without any other consideration) that immediately of your selfe, by your iustice and goodnesse, the fore-passed inexecution of your Edicts may be executed; & that for the time to come, they may be maintained and observed: for by these means you will take away the feare which almost all your subiects of the Religion in all the Prouinces haue: that contrary to your Maiesties intention, they will breake the Edicts; and that they make but their pretext of this disobedience of those of *Rochel*. That herunto tend all the oaths which haue been lately taken in diuers places, yea, in the presence of your Maiestie. And this apprehension which is almost generally, making them beleue, that their ruine is intended, cannot but produce dangerous incontinencies, which might be avoided, by causing them to see the contrary in effect. For this feare being taken away, a notable disobedience would appaere,

The D. of *Bouillon*
answers

1621 " appeare, which no body would approue. Concerning which, Sir, I pray God to giue vnto A
 " your Maieftie good and wholsome Counsels, who hauing done me the honour to aduer-
 " tise me, that you haue dignified *Monf: de Luyues* with the charge of Conftable, I can doe
 " no leffe then praife your Maieftie therein, and in all other things which you doe, who hath
 " efteemed that place fit to be fupplied by fuch a perfonage as is worthy for the fame. I be-
 " fcech your Maieftie alfo (as I haue already done by my laft) to comānd that I may be furni-
 " shed with thofe neceffaries which concerne the protection of this place. I haue lately fent
 " vnto you the reasons which binde me in this feafon to defire the effects of your fauor, the
 " which I humbly befech you to impart vnto me; and to beleeeue that I will remain alwaies
 " Your moft humble and moft faithfull fubiect and feruant, *Henry de la Tour. From Sedan, B*
 " April 19, 1621.

The Duke Lef-
 dignis looks to
 reduce the Af-
 fembly at Ro-
 chel to obedi-
 ence.

The Afflictions
 answer.

The King going from Paris on the fifth of April, hee stayed at Fontaine-bleau
 vntill the nine and twentieth, to giue the Duke *Lefdiguiers* time (as hee had intreated his
 Maieftie) to imploy his credit (if it were poffible) to reduce the afsemble of Rochel to
 obedience. The Duke had fent two feuerall Gentlemen with Letters to Rochel, reproach-
 ing their difobedience, which deferted a fharpe punifhment; and exhorting them to
 confider of the afflictions which might fall vpon their Churches in diuers parts of France.
 To his letters they published this answer. Wee know Sir how much wee should attri-
 bute to the aduice which comes from fo great an experience; but withall, remember if
 you please, what hath followed againft your expectation and ours, after your mediation C
 at Loudun, and to what dangerous inconueniences our facilitie hath brought vs, being in
 danger to fall into the like, if we follow the fame courfes; to the end you may beare with
 vs, if that wound which it hath giuen vs in our prefervation, makes vs incapable of the
 feparation which you require with fuch instance, adding to your aduice reproaches of dif-
 obedience, and the threats of a fharpe punifhment; which we should not finde strange in the ene-
 mies of our profefion; who diuerting his Maiefties good inclination, take delight in flau-
 ders and violence, and whose fplene we know, will not bee refrained with the ruine of
 the Churches of Bearne: but when as they (which are fo much bound to the peace of
 Gods houfe, in the which they haue taken their being and muft leaue an Honorable me-
 morie to pofteritie) lift vp their armes againft vs, this is an affliction which wee cannot D
 exprefle, &c.

Articles pro-
 pounded vnto
 the Deputies
 of the refo-
 rmed Churches.

Notwithstanding the sharpneffe of thefe Letters, the Seigneurs of Faus and Chalas
 deputies of the reformed Churches, being commaunded to perfue their complaints in the
 name of the Churches (becaufe that in Court they would in no cafe heare mention of the
 faid Affembly) aduertifed the faid Duke *Lefdiguiers* of all their former grieuances, and
 pray him once for all to giue peace vnto the Churches. The Duke hauing treated hereof
 with the Kings Council, hee gaue them this answer, firft that the King was refolued to
 maintain his Authoritie, and not to fuffer any afsembly within his Realme without his
 permission. Secondly, to caufe his Edicts of pacification to bee obferued; Thirdly, As
 for the afsemble at Rochel his Maiefties pleasure was, that the Deputies should craue E
 pardon, and then they should proceed to their feparation. Fourthly, that in regard there-
 of, his Maieftie would caufe his Souldiers to retire from thofe places which might giue
 any caufe of diftruff. Fifthly, that for the places of furetie in Dauphine, his Maieftie would
 ordaine that within fixe Moneths, they should haue what they could iuffly and reafona-
 bly demand in that regard. Sixtly, touching Bearne, that there should bee an order effectua-
 lly performed, if it were not already done, for the payment of the money which his Ma-
 ieftie had graunted in ftead of that which had beene receiued out of the reuenues of the
 Clergie. Seuenthly, That *Monfieur de la Force*, should enioy his Government of Bearne
 and his Children their places, with all Honors belonging vnto them: or elfe his Maieftie
 should giue them recompence, or fuffer them to receiue it from fuch as should bee plea-
 fing vnto him. Eightly, And touching the Government of Oitez, it should not bee ta-
 ken out of his hands who commaunded therein; his Maieftie being aduertifed that hee
 had not fwared from his obedience: And to witnesse his Maiefties will to make vfe of
 his feruice, he would fend him a particular Letter.

The Deputies at the reading of thefe Articles, fhewed that the afsembly at Rochel would
 neuer accept of thefe Conditions, yet they intreated the Duke that nothing might bee at-
 tempted againft the Churches vntill the returne of *Monfieur de Faus* from Rochel, the
 which

A which he promifed, defiring his fpeede: but all this wrought no effect, but they fent Ler-
 ters to the Duke reiterating their former complaints with that which had paff in Bearne;
 and Viuetz.

1621

The King hearing of their proceedings and intention, halted his journey to Tours, from
 thence to go into Poitou. And to the end they offered the reformed Religion should nor grow
 icalous of his journey, on the fecond of April he published a Declaration in fauor of thofe
 which should containe themfelves in their dutie and obedience, taking them into his
 protection. During this Declaration which was made at Fontaine-bleau, there hapned
 a great combustion in Tours againft them of the Religion, about the burying of one *Martin*

The Kings De-
 claration in fa-
 uor of thefe
 of the
 Religion.

B *le Noir* an Inn-keeper. They going to intetre him on Sunday the 13 of April, the people
 and children flocked together, finging of fonges againft the party deceafed, who they faid
 was a man of a lewd life. The bafe multitude increafed ftill, and animated the childrer,
 who followed them with ftones and railings, fo as they were forced to retire themfelves
 into an houfe neere vnto the Church-yard, where as this rafcal rable held them in a man-
 ner befieged. Some got into the towne and complained vnto the Maior, who came pre-
 fently to the place, and freed them which were in the houfe. Hee being retired, the muti-
 ny grew greater; for that many rafcals were ioined with the boies, and came into the
 Church-yard, where they drew the bodie out of the graue, with an intent to burne it, if
 the Maior and other Officers had not come and caufed the bodie to be re-interred. Not-
 withftanding all their endeavors, this infolencie continued the next day, and they spoiled
 & burnt the houfes of them of the Religion about the Church-yard, & their Temple. The
 King being aduertifed of this fedition from the Maior of Tours, he prefently gaue Com-
 miffion to *Melleuille le Doux* Mafter of Requests, to goe thither and informe of the fact,
 being accompanied by an Exempt of the Guard and two Archers. Hee alfo commaunded
 the Secretaries of State to write into all parts, that this diforder should be punifhed ex-
 emplarily. In the meane time the Lieutenant criminall and the Kings Proctor had com-
 mitted fife of thofe feditious rafcals to prifon, which had affited the boies and holpen to
 burne the Temple. *Melleuille* comes to Tours, and beganne to proceed againft them.

A multitude
 of Tours.

The people hearing that they would hang the prifoners, a multitude of the bafe fort
 came before the Palace, and with a fudden violence entred, brake the doores and win-
 dows of the criminall Chamber, freed the fife prifoners, and forced the Iudges to fawe
 themfelves as they could. After this they spoiled fife houfes belonging to them of the
 Religion. Vpon this great diforder the inhabitants began to fhut vp their fhopps, to goe to
 armes, and to make barricadoes, threatening to fhoot at the feditious, who were nothing
 amazed, but defired to fpeake with the Maior: who being acquainted with their demand,
 he gaue them to vnderftand, that if three or foure would fpeake with him, they should be
 conducted with all fafetie: the multitude allowed of it, and three great Rogues offering
 themfelves, paff three barricadoes without armes. At their firft approach they infolently
 demanded three prifoners which were yet detained. My friends faid the Lieutenant crimi-
 nall, you haue them all. Wee haue but two faid they, and there remaine three: but being
 affured of the contrary; This is not all faid they, we require, that you and the Maior fhall
 figne it vnder your hands, that if there be any of ours found in your prifons, you fhall fet
 them at libertie; and that hereafter (vpon your foules and bodies) there fhall neuer any in-
 quirie bee made for that which is paff, the which was granted and prefently figned. At
 night *Melleuille* and others came out of thofe places where they had hidden themfelves to
 auoide the furie of the multitude, taking poffe to goe and aduertife the King, who was
 come to Blois with an intent to make fome ftay there, but hearing of this mutiny, hee de-
 parted the next day, and came to Tours on the fixt of May. The Grand Prouoft com-
 mitted 25 or 30 of this feditious multitude, and a day was appointed for the execution of
 F fife of them which were moft culpable, and the reft were pardoned.

The violence
 of the feditious
 multitude.

The day before this execution the King parted from Tours towards Saumur, vpon a cer-
 taine intelligence which hee receiued from Rochel, that in their afsembly it had beene refo-
 lued to put 6000 fouldiers into that Town, and to furprife *Mon: de Plessis*, and the Siegneur
 of Armagnac gouernor of Loudun, to the end that if the king marched into Poitou with
 an army, they might cut off the intercourfe betweene Paris and it. Moreover, that they of
 the Religion of Mayen, Perche, and Beaufe should ioyne together and execute their de-
 fignes, vpon Chartres, Vendome and Plumiers.

Why the King
 affured him-
 felfe of Saumur

They

Advertisements
given to the
King touching
the Assembly.

They write that the King showed this advertisement to the Duke of Lefdiguiers, who was of opinion that he should prevent the danger, and speedily assure this Towne and passage of Loire to his obedience. Hereupon his harbingers come on the 10 of May, where they began to make out the King and Queens lodgings. In the evening some companies of the Guard arrive; and the next morning the Suisses, who marched directly to the castle, *Monf: de Pleffus* seeing them at the gate, and the harbingers ready to make out the Kings lodgings, hee intreated them to have patience untill hee knew his Majesties pleasure, unto whom he had sent: but hearing in the afternoon that his pleasure was to lye in the castle, he presently delivered the keys to the Captaine of the Guard: drew his garison out into the field, and himselfe went into the town. The King arriving towards the evening at the Chappell, *Monf: de Pleffus* saluted him, and offered whatsoever hee had or might have: the Officers of Iustice did the like, with the Magistrates and Clergy. The King stayed five daies at Saumur untill the 16 of May, where he received a confirmation both of the former advertisement for the putting of 6000 men into Saumur, and that they had made a division of the Prouinces of France into 7 Synods or Circles, making Bearne the eighth. That they had chosen a head for their generall Army which they should raise, and Generals in every Circle, with the orders which should be observed; the said Assembly referring the foreigne authority to dispose and depose the said Generals and of all affaires. That the duke of Rohan (having accepted to be Generall in chiefe of high Languedoc and high Guienne) had delivered the government of Saint Iohn D'Angely unto *Monf: de Soubise* his brother, who was also chosen Generall of Britany, Poictou, and L'Isle-Bouchard. That on the 13 of May, the Duke of Rohan and his brother *Soubise*, had made a Proclamation in Saint Iohn D'Angely; that whosoever would not carry armes for the defence of the Towne, should depart within three daies, the which most of the Catholikes did, and some of the reformed Religion. That the Assembly had sent to the Noblemen, Townes, and Churches of their party, in the Country of Orleans, Berry, Sologne, Gassinois and Loris, to take Armes and to assure Gergeau, Sancerre, Sully & Chasteau-Renard, and to surprize all the passages they could upon the river of Loire about Orleans. That they had sent to all those of their religion in Normandy, Britany and Champagne, to take armes and seize upon all the strong places they could within their Prouinces. Finally, they write, that they had resolved to make war in all the Prouinces of France.

These advertisements whether true or false, were the subiect which made the King send to the Earle of Saint Paul from Saumur, and to the Prince of Conde, to give order for Sancerre: To *Monf: de Longueville* to disarme them of the religion in the Townes of Rouen, Caen, Diepe, and New-hauen, and to treat with the Earle of Montgomery for Pontorion: To the Duke of Vendosme, to assure himselfe of Vitry and Chastillon in Vandolais: and unto *Monf: de Nevers*, to disarme them of the religion in Champagne. How these commandements were executed in their Gouvernements, you shall hereafter.

The Assembly (as they said) being forced to take armes for their iust and naturall defence, and for the liberties of their consciences, and safety of their liues, diuided their Prouinces into eight circles (as hath been said) and made choice of generals who should command therein. To the Duke of Bouillon first Marshall of France was given Normandy, the Isle of France, Berry, Anjou, Mayen, Perche and Touraine, except L'Isle-Bouchard. To *Monf: de Soubise*, Britany, L'Isle-Bouchard, Poictou, and that which depends thereon. To the Duke of Tremouille, Angoulmois, Xaintonge, and the adjacent Islands. To *Monf: de la Force*, base Guienne. To the Marquis of La Force, Bearne. To the Duke of Rohan, high Languedoc, and high Guienne. To the Earle of Chastillon, base Languedoc, the Seuennes, Gevodan, and Vivarez. And to the Duke D'Esdiguiers, Dauphine, Prouence and Bourgondy. They made many orders in this Assembly for military service, whereof the Assembly referred to themselves a foreigne power: That no treaties of peace nor truce might be made, but by the resolution of the generall Assembly. Touching the orders souldiers should observe: Forbidding of traffike: For the payment of souldiers: For the liberty of husbandmen: For the stay of the Kings reuenuues and of the Clergy: with diuers others, the full power whereof was referred to the generall Assembly.

The Prouinces of France being thus diuided into 7 Circles, and choice made by the Assembly of severall persons to be commanders in those Circles: the Duke of Bouillon who was the first (and should have been general of their army, whosoever he had come) would

The Prouinces
diuided into 8
Circles.

Orders made
by the assembly,
as touching the
military.

The number of
the Townes of
Safety to them
of the Religion.

The King makes
the Earle of
Sault, gouernour
of Sault, and
nour of Sault.

S. Iohn D'Angely
intended
with the Kings
Forces.

The Duke of
Rohan writes
to the Earle of
Aurac.

The Earle of
Aurac Answers

A would not accept of their Commission. The Duke of Tremouille also refused it, protesting all fidelity and obedience to the King. And as for the seventh Circle which they had giuen to the Duke D'Esdiguiers, seeing him so constant in the Kings service, and that he was now made Great Marshall of the Kings Armies; and besides, that he had by his letters termed their Assembly unlawfull, they resolved to make Lieutenants generall in that seventh Circle, whereof *Monf: de Montbrun* had letters for Prouence. They of the reformed Religion had 59 Townes of safety within these seven Circles, and 601 Churches. These Townes were giuen them by former Kings for their safety after the Ciuill Warres, in the which they had Gouvernours of their owne Religion, and in many of them the King paid the Garisons. Montauban and Rochel were not of the number, but Gouverned themselves, apart by their Consuls and Maior. Besides, they enjoyed many Townes and Castles which were no Towns of safety: But you shall see this summers war will deprive them of most of them, taken by force, or yielded by voluntary obedience.

The King before his departure from Saumur, made the Earle of Sault (of the reformed Religion, sonne to *Monf: de Crequi*, and grand-child to the Duke D'Esdiguiers) Gouvernour of the Towne with a good Garison; and as they write, contented *Monf: de Lestis*, letting him know that it was necessary for the publique safety, the Towne and Castle should remaine during his voyage, in the order he left it, and likewise for his entertainments he gave him allowance. On the 17, the King came to Tours, a Towne of safety, belonging to the Duke of Tremouille, where the Lady his mother remayned. The place imports for the passage, yet the King tooke the Ladies word for the Towne and Castle. He came from thence to Partenay, where he stayed 4 daies, to let his Cannon & munition aduance. In the meane time, he writes to all places both within and without the Realme, touching the innocencie of his Armes. The Secretaries of State write into all the Prouinces, not to suffer any leauies of Souldiers, and that the Edicts in fauour of them of the religion (who had no society nor correspondence with the factions of Rochel) should be strictly observed. There the Constable de *Luyne*, examined the state of the Army, and saw the accompt of the Munition of Warre, and enquired of the Earle of Chomberg, what Treasure hee had to support the charges of the Warre; giuing order for all things which was held necessary for the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

During the Kings stay at Partenay, the Earle of Aurac advanced towards Saint Iohn with five regiments of Foot, and two Companies of Horse. On May 16, in the night, hee camped within a quarter of a league of the Towne, taking the bridges which crosse the River of Buttone, and there made three barricadoes. Here they within the Towne committed a great error, not knowing the importance of the passage untill it was too late: for if they had broken these bridges, it would have beene difficult to haue passed their cannon. They of the Towne drew in what prouision they could, seeing the enemy so neere them: for they had still two Ports open, by which there entered in seuen daies about 2000 Foot and many Gentlemen. The Earle forced the barricadoes, which they of the Towne had made in the suburbs of Maitha, and drew neere to the Port. The town-men burnt three of their suburbs; and the Duke of Rohan seeing himselfe thus pressed, complains by his Letters unto the Earle of Aurac, for that hee vied such acts of hostilitie against him, considering their great familiaritie & friendship. He protested he would not attempt any thing against the Kings authority, but was still ready to obey his commandements, desiring him to suffer a Gentleman to passe whom hee had sent with Letters to the Constable. The Earle made him this Answer.

Sir, You must not misconstrue my proceeding, seeing it is by the Kings command. I should haue beene glad this charge had been giuen to some other, in regard of the friendship which is betwixt vs, but seeing it hath pleased his Majestic to command mee to it, I use the Towne. I could not contradict his will: wherefore I pray you hold it not strange, and beleeue (although to my great griefe) that I will doe what possibly I can, to shew how faithfull and obedient I am to his commandement. I assure you that the Seigneur of L'E. stand may passe with all safety to the Constable: but in the meane time I will not forbear that which hath been giuen me in charge, and dispose of the Forces as shalbe thought fit: And will remaine your humble and obedient Seruant, &c.

The Gentleman coming to Partenay delivered this letter following to the Constable: Sir, Reposing myselfe on the credit of your fauor, I write unto you to beseech you

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St. de Rohans
Letter to the
Constitute.

to mitigate the sharp and violent pursuits, and strait pressing of S. Iohn. You know I neuer refused to giue the King entry into this towne: but some mutiners and feditious, which were in armes about the rampiers, caused me for sometime to keep the Ports shut, that I might pacifie to people greatly animated, and draw them to the obedience which they owe vnto the King: this haue I by all meanes endeouored to doe, and therein employed the fueritie and power of that command which it hath pleased his Maiestie to giue me in this Towne; and haue so much preuailed, as I can assure you they will receiue whomsoever he shall appoint: and for my owne part, I am resolved to quie the place. But as you know, my enemies who haue brought me into bad termes with his Maiestie, giue me occasion enough of distrust. I pray you to moue the King to permit me to leaue him the Town without seeing his Maiefty, for the Icalousie I haue that my enemies seek rather my ruine then the publike good. I referre this businesse to your discretion, and intreat you to beleeue that I am your most humble and obedient seruant, *Henry de Rohan. From Saint-Iohn May 13, 1621.*

Some said, that the Duke of Rohans intention was contrary to his writing: his acceptance of the Assemblies Commission: his preparations to take possession of the Circle of Languedoc and Guienne: the burning of the suburbs of S. Iohn, and the souldiers which he had drawne into the towne, were sufficient proofes: And whereas he said hee would quit the towne, it was not to deliuer it into the Kings hands, but commit it in guard to his brother *Soubise*. To whom the Constitute made this answer.

The Dukes answer.

"Sir: If my fauor were such as it could stay the Kings designe, and preuent his enterprises, I would boldly promise that which you require with such instance: but you know the King is so absolute in his resolutions, as it is hard to diuert him from his will: yet I promise to employ all my credit for your content, and to draw him to that which you demand; not that I will constantly assure you, but I will doe my best endeavour, being your most obedient seruant, *De Luynes.*

Dukes Gouverneurs bring their
keyes vnto the
King.

The Gouvernors of S. Maixant and Fountenay, came and brought their keyes vnto the King being at Partenay: and they of Châtelierault and L'Isle-Bouchard had done the like at Saumur. Comming to Fountenay on the 23, the Minister & Consistory cast themselves at his feet. The Minister craued pardon, beseeching the King to leaue them the libertie of their Religion, and to assure himselfe of their obedience. His Maiestie answered, that he had neuer infringed the Edicts, and that he had not taken armes but to punish those which had violated them, and to maintaine the rest in peace, and that he pardoned what was past, hoping they would doe better hereafter. He spake principally to the Minister, who had bene one of the most turbulent of the Assembly. *Mons. de la Boulay* Gouverneur of Fountenay made knowne vnto his Maiestie, that the place might be in danger of revolt by reason of the neighborhood of Rochel, whereupon the King left an Exempt of his Guard in the Caste. Maillezay situated in an Iland, and hauing but one passage to enter, yielded at the same time to the King. The Gouverneur of Maran, brother to *Monsieur de la Boulay* brought also his keyes to Fountenay: to whom the King deliuered them againe commanding him to continue faithfull in his seruice, and to leaue souldiers for the preservation of the place, for that it would cut off all commerce betwene Rochel and Poictou.

The King came to Niort a towne of surety, whereas *M. Parabel* receiued him with all freedome. He blamed the disobedience of Rochel, and grieved at their designs, protesting that he would neuer separate himselfe from the Kings commandement. Thus all the Gouvernors of the townes of safetie in Poictou and Touraine hauing brought their keyes vnto the King, his Maiestie vpon their free submission, returned them to their Gouvernements, with command to see the Edicts of Pacification obserued, and to maintaine peace among his subiects.

Petition of
them to the Re-
gion at Tours

During his Maiesties stay at Niort, the Deputies of the Religion at Turos, presented a petition vnto his Maiestie, wherein after a solemne protestation of their seruice and obedience, they gaue him to vnderstand, that by reason of the late sedition in Tours, they had bene deprived of all meanes to bury their dead, their Churchyard being made a highway, their Temple burnt, and some priuate men spoiled of their goods, so as they could not remaine safely in their houses. They humbly besought his Maiestie, that their Church-yard might be restored, their Temple built againe, and in the meane time they might haue some place appointed them by prouision where they might assemble. That their

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A Decreee
changing their
Petition.

A their goods might be restored, and that hereafter they might liue in Peace amongst their fellow Citizens: And that his Maiestie would commaund the Magistrate to protect them, and that the like intion should bee made vnto the Chiefe inhabitants of the Suburbs. Whereupon his Maiestie resolved in Councell, that a Commisarie should bee sent to Tours, who with the aduice of the Gouvernors, the Officers of Iustice, and the Mayor and Sheriffs thereof, should giue them a place in the Suburbs or neere vnto the Towne for the exercise of their Religion, according to his Maiesties Edicts, and that with the consent of the Inhabitants of both Religions, whom he tooke into his protection, Commanding the Gouverneur and Mayor to haue a care of their preferation. And to giue them a place whereon to build a Temple for the exercise of their Religion, hee granted eightene hundred pound sterling to be taken in two yeares, out of the money which was appointed for the fortification and reparation of the said Towne. As touching the loles which had bene sustained by particular men, who had bene spoiled during that sedition, his Maiesties pleasure was, the Commisarie should informe himselfe of the truth to make report vnto him, after which hee would take such course as should be fit.

At the same time, the King made a Declaration, by the which, all that were remaining or retired into Saint Iohn D'Angely and Rochel, and all others which fauoured them directly or indirectly, or should haue any access, intelligence, or association with them: or that should in any sort acknowledge the said Assembly of Rochel, or the other Assemblies, Circles, Prouinciall Councels, or other Congregacions, which had correspondence with that of Rochel, and which assembled themselves without his expresse Commission, were declared disobedient, and guilty of high Treason, and to haue lost all Graunts, Priuileges, Freedomes, and immunities: Commanding all His subiects making profession of the reformed Religion, and all Townes and Communalities of the said qualitie, to make declaration in the Presidiall Courts and Bayliwicks of their Iurisdiccions, of their good intentions to his Maiesties seruice: And that they should renounce, disauow, and protest, in no sort to adhere to the assembly of Rochel, nor to any other that should be held without expresse leaue; and that they would oppose themselves against all the resolutions which should be taken there: forbidding all Gentlemen and others, to suffer their Children or any other depending on them, to goe into the said Townes or to giue them any comfort or assistance, or to lodge them in their houses, vpon paine to be held guilty of the said crime.

The King being at Niort, with a resolution to besiege Saint Iohn D'Angely, from whence the Duke of Rohan was retired, assuring his brother that hee would see him with succours: The Duke of Luynes Constitute, considering that *Mons. de Soubise* would ruine himselfe in defending of this siege, he desired in fauour of the alliance which hee had with the house of Rohan, to draw this Nobleman out of danger, sending vnto him the Seig. *Eplend* to exhort him to obedience, and to yeeld the place: but being fortified with the counsells of *Hault-Fontaine*, and the succours the Duke his brother had promised him, he refused to attend the Cannon and to keepe the Towne.

The Kings de-
claration a-
gainst them of
Rochel and
Saint Iohn.

Vpon this willfull resolution of *Mons. de Soubise*, his Maiestie finding that the Seigneur of Loudriere by a prooffe of his fidelity had procured the yeelding of *Fontaine le Comte*, contrary to the liking of the Lady of *La Boulay*, and that hee might helpe much in the siege of Saint Iohn, and reduce *Mons. de Soubise* to his dutie: Hee suffered him to put himselfe into the Towne, vpon coulor to hold his ranck vnder *Soubises* command: during the which he might inspire him with obedience, and make the meanes easie to receiue the Kings mercy. In the meane time the Towne is inuested as you haue heard. On the 19 the Dukes of Desdiguiers and Brissac arrived, hauing the conduct of the whole Armie. The Duke of Rohan was gone into Guienne, where he raised some men, and ioyned with certaine troopes which the Marquise of Malause brought vnto him, with the which hee assured Nerae, and degraded the Catholike Councillors of the Chamber, and commanded the Towne with a garison of 600 men.

At Saint Iohn D'Angely they spent foure dayes attending the Souldiers which came from all parts to this siege: The approaches being made, they framed their Campe, pitched their Tents, lodged their Munition, assigned out the Quarters, marked the Trenches, viewed the place and all the approaches whereby they might hope for any succours. The King arrived on the last of May, and tooke view of the Towne: and on the second of Iune,

The King
comes to Saint
Iohn D'Angely.

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Summons the
Gouernor by
a Herald.

His Maieftie ſent an Herald to *Monſ: de Soubiſe*, commanding him to deliuer the A Towne vnto him, vpon paine to be declared guiltie of Treafon. The Herald deliuered his charge in theſe words. *To thee Benjamin of Roban, I command thee in the name of the King thy Soueraigne and mine, that thou open the Gates of the Towne of Saint Iohn D'Angely, to the King to enter therein with all His Armie. In default of ſo doing, I declare thee from the King thy Soueraigne Lord and mine, guiltie of high Treason; thy Houſes and Caſtles to be razed, thy goods conſiſcate to the King, and thou and all thy poſteritie baſe and ignoble. To whom the Seig. of Soubiſe answered. That he was the Kings moſt humble ſeruant, that he was but a Soldier, and could make no anſwere, before hee had communicated this commandment vnto the aſſembly of Rochell, and to his brother the Duke of Roban. And becauſe hee ſpake with his B hat on, the Herald replied; Know that thou oughteſt not neither as Capitaine or Soldier to anſwer with thy head covered, but that when I ſpeake in the Kings behalfemy Soueraigne Lord and thine, thou oughteſt to haue thy hat in thy hand. Hereupon the Seig. of Hault Fontaine ſaid vnto the Herald, The King may excuſe *Monſ: de Soubiſe* if he pleaſe, for he was neuer ſummoned. Thus the Herald returning without any reſolution, hee met the Seigne-
neur of La Salle Capitaine of the Guard, vnto whom he ſaid, that hee found no obedience, and that it was fit the Cannon ſhould ſpeake.*

At the ſame time his Maieſty hearing that at Rochell they peruerſed all order of iuſtice, and that his Officers could not with libertie exerciſe their places to doe right vnto each partie: He reſolved to tranſfere the Preſidiall Court from Rochell vnto the Towne of C Marans, and ſent forth his letters patents to that end.

The Towne is
ſiſſed.

The Herald hauing made report vnto his Maieſty, of the anſwer which *Monſieur de Soubiſe* made vnto his charge, hee gaue preſently order that the place ſhould bee furioſly aſſaulted: ordered all his troopes towards Aunis, and other places from whence any fauours might come, and brought his Trenches vnto their Ditches. There were many braue exploits of Armes, Aſſaults, Batteries, and Mines performed during this ſiege, at one of the which *Hault Fontaine* (the ſoule of their affaires within the Towne) was ſlaine, whoſe death did ſomewhat daunt their ſpirits. About the 23 of Iune, the Seigneure of Soubiſe, beginning to doubt his being long able to preſerue the place, hee cauſed a trumpet to craue to ſpeake with *Monſieur Zamet*, his meſſage was to demand a ſafe conſult for a Gentleman named *Montmartin*, ſent by the ſaid Seigneure of Soubiſe to the Conſtable: he was conſulted by the ſaid Seigneure *Zamet* Maſhall of the Campe vnto the Kings quarter. He beſought his Maieſty to giue him time to ſend to the Duke his Brother, and if he had not an anſwer within foure dayes, he would yeeld the place: whereunto his Maieſty would not yeeld, but willed him to tell *Monſieur de Soubiſe*, that all he could hope for was, to yeeld the place and to preſerue his life; and that if he would accept of this grace, he ſhould reſolue by the next day, for afterwards there was no more mercie. *Loudriere* (who had put himſelfe into the Towne as you haue heard) ſeeing him penſiue in this extremitie, aduiled him to reſolue to yeeld the place, offering to engage his Honor and life, that he would obtaine his pardon in caſe of ſpeedie obedience. *Monſ: de Soubiſe* who could not B truſt vnto it, conſidering the great loſſe of ſo many braue Men ſlaine at this ſiege, deſired to be aſſured: *Loudriere* offers to remaine in hoſtage, and to go and get the pardon ſigned if he would proſt to yeeld the place.

Loudriere per-
ſuaſion vnto
*Monſ: de Sou-
biſe*.

In the meane time the batteries are redoubled with ſuch furie by the Duke of Eſpernon, as ſeeing the Kings men lodged on either ſide in their Rampiers, their walls beaten downe and the Mines ready to play, they reſolued by the perſuaſion of *Loudriere*, and the preſent feare which preſſed them, to accept of the Kings grace, beyond the expectation of all men, who did not beleue that 2000 men which yet remained, ſhould yeeld vpon thoſe termes of aduantage for the King. Whereupon *Loudriere*, *Bigaudiere* and *Montmartin* came vnto the Campe with authoritie from *Monſ: de Soubiſe* and the other Commanders, who F accepted and ſigned the Kings Pardon and tooke an oath contained in theſe words. *Wee vnder written, by vertue of the power giuen vs by Monſ: de Soubiſe, commanding in the Towne of Saint Iohn, accept the grace contained in this preſent writing which is pleaſeth the King to doe vs, promiſing to ſee it eſſied.* Signed the 25 of Iune.

Articles of the
Kings pardon
to the beſieged.

His Maieſty ſeeing his Enemies implore his fauour, Hee graunted them theſe Articles following. Firſt, That the King pretends not to make any Treatie, but at the moſt humble ſupplication often reiterated, of thoſe which are in Saint Iohn D'Angely, His Maieſty doth

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A doth pardon them all indifferently, whatſoeuer hath beene done or committed during this ſiege: vpon condition, that they ſhall craue pardon and ſwear to remaine eternallie vnder his obedience, and that they ſhall neuer carrie Armes againſt His ſeruiſe vnder any colour or pretext whatſoeuer. Secondly, That His Maieſty did graunt them free libertie of their Conſciences according to His Edicts. Vpon theſe Conditions His Maieſty offered them his bounty, did graunt them the libertie of their perſons, and the enioying of their goods, as they had formerly done; and ſuch as would retire themſelves, ſhould haue ſafe conſult giuen them, for their Perſons, Armes and Horſes. And as for any other demands made by them, they ſhould be left to His Maieſties pleaſure. The next day the Grand-Prouoſt of France, entered early into S. Iohn D'Angely, who preſented a great diſorder, for that the Souldiers which were to depart, had abandoned the Gates and Breaches, and prepared themſelves to begone, the which they ſhould not haue done, before the companies of the Kings Guard had entered and ſeized vpon the Portes and Breaches. But he gaue commandment vnto his Lieutenants, Exempts and Archers to guard thoſe places, himſelf walking vp and downe the Towne, and cauſing all the Soldiers and voluntaries of the Armie to depart, for that they began to grow inſolent; And in the meane time the Duke of Deſdignieres and Duke of Eſpernon entered, to take order for their departure. Attending the coming of theſe Noblemen, the Grand Prouoſt entertained *Monſieur de Soubiſe*, and the chiefe Gentlemen which were with him touching their taking C of Armes; To whom they answered, that the contrauention of the Edicts, and the feare to be oppreſſed in their conſciences, had drawne them to thoſe extremities: But the Grand Prouoſt let them vnderſtand, that the eſtabliſhment of Circles, and Prouinciall Councils were manifeſt contrauentions of the Edicts. He preſented vnto them the inſolence of the Aſſembly of Rochell in the diuiſion they had made of the Prouinces; in their Commiſſion, and their new ſcale to leaue Souldiers; to ſeize vpon the Kings money; and to forſite their places.

Diſcourſe be-
tweene *Monſ: de Soubiſe* and
the Grand
Prouoſt.

On the fixe and twentieth of Iune, the Garriſon, the Gouernor, and all the Voluntaries went out of Saint Iohn: They paſſed through the Kings Arme without Drum or ſhow of Armes paſſing before the King. *Monſieur de Soubiſe* came laſt with his Houſe and D voluntaries, which had aſſiſted him during the Siege, and they were conduced into a place of ſafety. They were held to be about 1500 foot, and about 200 Gentlemen. *Monſieur de Soubiſe* preſented himſelf vpon his knees vnto the King and demanded pardon, aſſuring his Maieſty that he would eſſect, whatſoeuer he had promiſed by the Seigneurs of *Lodriere* and *Montmartin*. His Maieſty being on horſeback layd his hand vpon his ſhoulder, and ſaid vnto him: I ſhall be glad that hereafter you giue me more occaſion to be ſatiſfied with you; riſe, and ſerue me better. This ſiege continued little about a Moneth, but it was very furious. There were many Noblemen and Gentlemen of quality ſlaine and hurt on the Kings partie, but not about 200 Souldiers loſt of the whole Armie. During this ſhort ſiege, there was about 10000 Cannon ſhot againſt the Towne, the which did F annoy it, as there was ſcarce any houſe free from ſpoyle, ſo as the inhabitants were faine to lye in cellers and neere the ground, ſtaring to bee cruſht vnder the ruines of houſes, and with the bullets which fell in the ſtreets, and on their houſes like haile; They were reduced to ſuch extremitie, as the Souldiers had but two ounces of bread a day, and they were ſo tyred from the beginning of the Siege, as they had no meanes to take one houres reſt. The Kings Troops being in poſſeſſion of the Towne, there was a brute in the Campe, that the Souldiers had ruined the Temple and ſpoyled the Miniſters houſe with ſome others, whereof many of the reformed Religion, which ſerued the King faithfully, hauing made report to the Grand Prouoſt, he returned ſpeedily to Saint Iohn and aſſembled the Councell of the Towne, the Miniſter, and the Conſiſtorie; letting them vnderſtand, that F without doubt this inſolence would be caried throughout the Prouinces, with a great ſhew by ſome ill affected Frenchmen, and made an hundred times greater, and more prejudiciall then it was; perſwading weak ſpirits, that the faith was violated, and that it was impoſſible to ground any aſſurance vpon the Kings promiſes; wherefore to make the truth more apparent, he deſired them to declare in publique, what loſſes they had recieued in particular. To which ſummons they all agreed freely, giuing him letters of Atteſtation, by which they declared that the ſouldiers of his Maieſties army, which had entred into the towne to demand bread and wine of houſe-keepers, had not taken any thing but victu-

*Monſ: de Sou-
biſe* craues pa-
don of the
King.A Declaration
touching the
ſpoils com-
mitted at Saint
Iohn D'Angely

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S. Iohn D'Angely razed.

The siege of Gergeau.

Gergeau yeelded to the Earle of S. Paul.

all, without any excess, force or violence, and had about all preserved the chastitie of women. The Minister and Consistorie likewise declared, that their pulpit, seats, and glasse windowes of the Temple had bene brent to the value of ten pounds sterling; and that the Minister had lost certaine goods to the value of fiftene pounds, taken by unknowne laches. But he that writes the generall History of the Rebellion of France, saith that notwithstanding any order they could take, the souldiers for an houres space fell to spoile, contrary to his Maiesties expresse Defence. The King gave commandment by his Letters patents, that the wals and fortifications should be razed, and the ditches filled vp; and withall he deprived the towne of all their priuiledges, and made the Inhabitants subiect to taxe, like vnto the Labourer of the champion country.

Whilest the King prepared for the siege of S. Iohn, the Prince of Conde and the Earle of S. Paul imploied themselves for the reduction of Sancerre, Gergeau, and Chasteau-Renard, places of surty. Being at Saumur, he had written to the Earle of S. Paul to assure himselfe of Gergeau, which is a small towne foure leagues about Orleans, hauing a goodly bridge vpon the riuer of Loire. *Henry* the fourth had made it a Towne of surty, and had affected the government to the Duke of Sully, after the death of *du Faur*. It had bene greatly fortified during the League, and since in the late alterations. The Earle of S. Paul hauing had conference with the Seigneur of Monde Bailiffe of Gergeau (who was an enemy to the fortifications thereof, and had caused the fort in the suburbs of S. Denis to be razed) they found that the onely difficultie was, That *Bourbiers* who commanded, and the two Captaines that were in garison therein, had not long since, not onely made Companies compleat, but much augmented them, and kept a very wary guard: That almost halfe of the Inhabitants were of the Religion: That the Catholiques had ben disarmed: besides, that they were all in a ialousie, for that some officers of the Artillery had but three daies before, drawn powder and some warlike instruments out of their magazin, to send vnto the King army. Vpon these difficulties the Earle of S. Paul (loth to hazard any thing) came from Orleans to the suburbs of S. Denis at Gergeau, sending for *Bourbiers* and the other Captaines, to whom hee deliuered the Kings Letters, commanding them to doe whatsoeuer the Earle of S. Paul should ordaine in his name. The Earle telling them that his Maiesties intention was, to be assured of the towne of Gergeau. They excused themselves, and said, that the King by his Letters did not command them to come forth: On the contrary, that his Maiestie passing by Orleans, had charged them to guard well the Towne and Passage for his seruice. Moreouer, that the Duke of Sully Gouvernor of the Towne had placed them there; and that it was fit they should aduertise him, who was then in Languedoc. The Earle seeing he could preuaile nothing with *Bourbiers*, resolved to besiege Gergeau, drawing together what forces he could. The Marshall of Vitry, and the Baron of Purlan his brother in law, with the Marquis of Rothelin, passing by Orleans, and hearing of this siege, came to assist the Earle in this occasion. The Marquis entered into the Towne to perswade *Bourbiers* and the Garison to obedience, but hee preuailed nothing: whereupon the Earle resolved to batter it, sending for Cannon and munition to Orleans. The besieged seeing themselves inuelted, sent to craue aid of the reformed Churches neere about them, who with all speed made choice of *Vateville Monchistien* to command the succors they would put into Gergeau the day that *Bourbiers* had limited. But the besieged being doubtfull thereof, and withall, fearing they should not be able to enter, they sent to present Articles vnto the Earle for the yeelding of the Towne, which were granted vpon condition they should depart the next day being May 23. The Articles were, For the free exercise of the Religion, and the payment of what was due vnto the Garison. The same night *Vateville* came downe the Riuer with 200 men, and the guards being retired, in the morning they put themselves into the Towne, and became masters thereof, by the help of the inhabitants of the Religion.

The Earle of S. Paul hauing summoned *Bourbiers* to effect the Composition which he & the rest had signed, hee was much troubled, for on the one side *Vateville* shewed his Letters, and told him he was come at the houre appointed; and on the other, hee had signed the treatie, and given his word to depart. Notwithstanding, hauing called a Councell, and considered that they had not things necessarie to maintaine a Siege; nor men sufficient to defend their fortifications, being withall engaged in a Composition, they resolved to obferue it, and to deliuer the place vnto the Earle, the which was performed accordingly.

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A defeat of them to the high win Vandemois.

The inhabitants of Chasteau Renard seize vpon the Fort.

A discourse of true which passed about the taking of Sancerre.

The Prince of Conde assisting the troops.

A The Earle of Saint Paul hauing put a new Garison into Gergeau, returned the next day to Orleans, where hee received an aduertisement, that many Gentlemen and others of Vandemois and Danois of the Reformed Religion, were assembled together neere vnto the Forest of Marchenoir, either with an intent to succour Gergeau, or for some other enterprise. Whereupon he drew his Forces together, and caused them to marche instantly towards the Forest where they were retired, who seeing themselves pursued and charged, some fled through the woods, and the rest fell into the Earles power; among the which there were many Gentlemen, whom hee caused to be set at liberty, and their horses restored, vpon promise they should not cary arms against the Kings seruice.

B Chasteau-Renard, which is two leagues from Gergeau vpon the Riuer of Loin, appertained vnto the deceased Princeesse of Orange, daughter of *Jaspar de Colligny* Admirall of France, and Earle of Chastillon vpon Loin: It had bene numbered amongst the Townes of surty, with a Garison of fiftene men in the Fort called the Chastellet, which is a Rocke fortified with faulconets, powder, bullets, and other necessaries of defence. *Congis* and *Vaudelin* were as dead paies therein, who vpon rumor of the war, had brought certaine of the Religion into the place, furnished it with vituals, and kept it more strictly shut vp then before time. Whereof the inhabitants of Chasteau-Renard entring into distrust, and hauing enforced the King thereof, they were commanded to seize and to assure themselves thereof. Hereupon, the execution being resolved, all the inhabitants goe to arms, and being conducted by the *Seigneur de L'Isle*, Lieutenant of the Baillywicke of Chasteau-Renard, on the fourteenth of May, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon, they goe vp to the Fort, and summon *Congis* and *Vaudelin* to put the place into their hands, according to the Kings Letters: which they refusing to doe, they presently scale and enter the place, force such as make resistance, and thrust out *Congis*, *Vaudelin*, and the residue: and in their rooms place some of the inhabitants to guard the Fortresse. This done, they aduertised *Monsieur de Saint Paul* thereof, who sent word to the King of what had passed, assuring his Maiefty that he would take such order in his government, as there should be no alteration on this side Loire.

The King, during his abode at Saumur, had written to the Prince of Conde, to goe to Sancerre and assure himselfe thereof, and to them of Sancerre to receiue him. Now therefore the Prince about the end of April, comming into his Government of Berry, knowing the importance of this place, and that vndoubtedly it would bee the cause of trouble and disorder, if by industry and without open force (according to his Maiesties directions) he did not seize thereon: he practised his intelligences both within and without the Towne, with such as were affectioned vnto the Kings seruice: During which, he was aduertised that the Townsmen had a designe to worke in some of their Fortifications, and that the younger *Briguemant* had perswaded the youth and some inhabitants to receiue a Garison. Wherefore he sent word vnto the Sheriffs and inhabitants of Sancerre, that they should depute some among them to come vnto him; that hee had something to say vnto them which concerned the Kings seruice, and their owne preservation.

Three of them being come to Bourges, after he had very gently entertained them, and conferred with them about the practice of the younger *Briguemant*, he sayd vnto them, That their duty bound them to continue in the Kings obedience: That necessity constrained them therunto, being in the midst of France, without succours or hope of any to uphold them, but their modesty and obedience: That remaining in the state they were, fortifying nothing, nor receiuing any garison, hee promised to preserve them, and to change nothing in their Towne, goods, and liberty of conscience. They thanked him for the care he had of them; assuring him that they had no designe to fortifie, promised not to doe it, nor to take in any Garison.

F Notwithstanding, the Prince being assured by them with whom he had intelligence, that the inhabitants of Sancerre would not suffer him to enter the stronger into the town, he resolved to arme with all diligence, and not to send them the Kings Letters until hee had forces ready to surprize and make them to obey, in case they refused him entry. Hee signified therefore vnto some Gentlemen as well of Berry as of Bourbonnois, his Maiesties commandement, and prayed them to raise all the troops, and with all the speed they could, and appointed his Rendezvous at Saint Satur, on the 29 of May. He gaue order also for 12 peeces of Artillery to be brought the same day before Sancerre.

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During these leavies, the Prince assured himselfe of such places and persons as hee thought might wauer or hinder his designs, and caused all the inhabitants of the Religion in the townes of Issoudun, Argenton, Chastauroux, La Castre, Aubigny, Chastillon, and other places where there were any numbers of them, to bee disarmed. Whilest the Prince was occupied herein, and ready to march with his troops towards Sancerre, he receiued newes that the towne had receiued a Garison on this manner: Gergeau being put into the Kings obedience, *Vatenille* (before mentioned) had left the Towne with about 400 men well armed, with the which he entred by night into Sancerre, by the fauour or conniuenue of the chiefe inhabitants: The younger *Briquemant* was in Bourgundy to leaue troops. *Vatenille* being entred, fought to make himselfe Master of the Towne by the meanes of them of the Reformed Religion, onely the Earle of Marans crossed his designe, being then in the Towne, whom hee vsed so audaciously and with such insolent threats as hee refused to retire.

Hee goes to besiege Sancerre.

The Prince of Conde had long before wonne vnto him one Capitaine *Bronchard*, an old Souldier, and of great credit in Sancerre, who by his commandement seized vpon the Castle, with some of the Earles seruants, and some inhabitants, the which hee defended valiantly against the Towne: whereof the Prince being aduertised, hee aduanced his troops with all speed to relieue them. Approaching neere the towne, the Earle of Marans Lord thereof, met him, and the two Gentlemen whom hee had sent with the Kings Letters and his owne, bringing answer that they of the Towne were humble seruants to the King and Prince, ready vnto all obedience, but they were not at liberty, nor Masters of their Town, to dispose as they desired, nor strong enough to obey, for that *Vatenille* was Master: wherefore they intreated the Prince to haue pity on them, and to free them from this seruitude, promising to contribute what they could to serue him. The Prince hauing not forces sufficient to inuest the Towne, hee sought to winne them by policy, trying them by goodly reasons and perswasions, and sowing jealousies betweene the inhabitants and the Garison, so as distrustful one another, they might yeeld to his will; and in the meane time hee might put succours into the Castle. His practises prevailed so well, as *Vatenille* grew fearfulfull of some bad designe, and banded a part with his Garison: They of the towne were likewise in feare, lest that *Vatenille* should commit some folly; whereupon they beganne to ioine themselves together, and to arme, so as they were all in mutinie, distrust, and feare one of another. In the meane time, the Prince put an hundred men into the Castle, where with they grew much amazed. *Vatenille* goes to the Prince, who feeds him with such good words, and a gratuitie of six hundred pound sterling, as hee resolues to depart with his souldiers, armes and baggage. The Townsmen in like manner (fearing lest *Vatenille* should abandon them and deliuer the Towne into the Princes hands) came also vnto him, and after great contestation receiued this Capitulation: Not to be molested in the exercise of their Religion: That they should be free in their liues, goods, and honors: That whereas they desired not to be disarmed, nor to receiue any Garison, it should bee according to his Maiesties pleasure: That all which had borne armes, might retire and be conducted to a place of safety. After this, *Vatenille* with his Garison, came forth, and the Prince entred, and put in a sufficient guard for the place.

A Capitulation made with the inhabitants of Sancerre.

It is written, that *Vatenille* going forth, casting his eyes backe, wept for anger, saying, *What a fortune lose I by the wickednesse of Traytors which haue sold me? Whereunto hee added: That the Prince had taken Sancerre with a dreame, and that hee wondered how it should come into the imagination of man to thinke to take the strange place of France, for situation, with words.*

The same night the towne was yielded, they tooke a spy, whom they brought vnto the Prince, who confessed that hee had bene sent by the Duchesse of Sully, to assure them of the Towne, that within three daies they should haue succours: wherefore hee disarmed all the inhabitants of Sancerre, leauing them nothing but their swordes; their armes were caried into the Castle, to be restored when the towne should bee demantled. The same day the Prince mustred his troops of Berry and Bourbonnois to the number of 7000 foot, and 800 horse, all which arised the night before: But to the end the Prouince should not be ruined, hee presently sent them away, except 500 men which hee put in Garison into the Towne and Castle, whilest they laboured about the razing of the Fortifications. This Towne was of great strength, and had in former times bene long defended by them of

The Fortifications of the Towne and Castle of Sancerre razed.

A the Religion against a Royall Army. In this month of May, all they of the Reformed Religion were disarmed in the Townes vpon the Riuer of Loire, Picardy, and Champagne. Vpon this apprehension, many sought to shrowd themselves from the storme of persecution which they feared, and retired themselves into England, Sedan, and other places.

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They of the Religion disarmed in diuers places.

In Normandy, the Duke of Longueville, disarmed them of Diepe, Rouen, and Newhauen. They proceeded more mildly at Caen, where many of the Religion during the League, had obtained the places of Captaines, and other charges. The Marquis of Montny, acquainted the Magistrates with his Maiesties command, desiring their ayd and counsell in this disarming, to the end it might not alter the Kings seruice, nor the peace of the Towne. They refused to send for the Minister, one of the Captaines, and some of the chiefe of the Religion, whom the Marquis acquainted with his Maiesties pleasure, and his purpose to execute his commandements: That he had no will to surprize them, assuring himselfe of their voluntary obedience in that which concerned the Kings pleasure, they hauing bene already disarmed at Diepe, Rouen, and Newhauen. They required time to confer with the body of their Church, fearing they should find some difficulty to perswade the people to obey this commandement; for that in the greatest troubles for the same cause they had not bene distrustful: yet they would doe their best endeavors to dispose them to obedience. They had two houres giuen them to conferre: and at their returne were content to deliuer their armes to their Captaines: the which was performed the next day, and on the six and twentieth they were caried into the Castle, and laid vp in one of the Magazines, whereof an Inuentury was taken and signed by the Marquis, and then left with the Register of the Towne. The Duke of Vendosme in like manner assuured vnto the Kings obedience, Vitry, Chastillon in Vandelaix, and other townes and Castles in Britany.

The Assembly at Rochel had solicited the Earle of Montgomery, Gouernor of Pont-Orson, and of the Religion, to be of their faction, with an intent if hee would not yeeld therunto, to surprize this place: It is a frontier Towne of great importance, lying vpon the Sea betwene Normandy and Britany. The King being aduertised that the Earle D would by no meanes yeeld to the Assembly: He sent him word, that his desire was, he should receiue a recompence for his Gouernment, to the end hee might preferre that place so much importing those two great Prouinces. The Earle hauing taken aduice of his friends, and receiued content, deliuered the towne vnto a Catholique Gentleman to whom his Maiesty had giuen the Gouernment.

Pont-Orson yeilded to the King by the Earle of Montgomery.

On the twentieth of May, sixteen Ministers, fifteen of the Assembly, and twelue of them which they call free Burgeses, assembled together in Councell in the towne of Rochel, to consult whether they should expell the Priests of Saint Margaret of the Congregation of the Oratory, and in what manner they should doe it: some which were barbarous and inhumane, would haue them massacred or burnt in their Church; and some would haue them cast over the wals: but in the end the Magistrate letting them vnderstand that the like might be done vnto their brethren which were in Catholique townes, this miserable designe was not executed: onely it was resolved they should leaue the towne, and the Maior had charge to acquaint them therewith; vpon whose command two of them came vnto him, to whom hee made this short discourse: *My Masters, hitherto I haue done what I could for your preservation, but now I acquaint you with my weaknesse: consider what I may doe for you: I haue retired my selfe from a Company, to come and giue you this aduice, Of necessity you must depart the towne speedily, there being no meanes to containe the people, being incensed against you: Consider speedily how I may further your departure.*

The Fathers of the Oratory driven out of Rochel.

The Fathers of Saint Margaret seeing the Maiors honesty, gaue him thanks, and entreated him to assist them with his counsell: who aduised them to make shew of going to walke two and two together, and so depart. To who they answered, That they could not doe it without danger of their liues, for that they should undoubtedly fall into the hands of many souldiers which were without the Ports. Whereupon they retired. About noone, the Maior seeing the towne in quiet, euery man being gone to dinner, hee sent speedily for these Fathers, telling them that hee had prepared a boat, and would send them away: whereof they were very glad, resolving vpon their departure, the Maior came vnto them with thirty or forty men armed; who causing them to shut the doores of their Church

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Church and house, tooke the keyes and conducted them to the new Port, where a Barke attended them to cary them to Brouage. The Mayor did full accompany them, and going out of the Port, shut it after him, to prevent the fury of the multitude, and to see them safely embarked.

Death of the
Cardinal of
Guise.

During the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely, the Cardinall of Guise dyed at Xaintes of a Fever, having over-heat his blood with much toile at the siege. Hee was onely a Cardinall Deacon, and had neuer fung Masse: He was a Prince altogether martiall, and more enclined to armes then to his booke, whereof he made good prooffe, going vnarmed in the company of his brother the Prince of Ioinville, and forced the barricadoes of the suburbs of Saint Iohn, without any apprehension of all their shot: His death was generally lamented in Court: His Maiestie gaue good testimonies of his griefe, and the Prince his brother was wonderfully afflicted for his losse.

Pons yielded
to the King.

After the reduction of Saint Iohn, the King refreshed his army some few dayes, and in the meane time sent the Marshall of *Chauue* to inuest Pons, into the which the Marquis of Chasteau-neuf of Lymolin, nephew to *Monsieur de la Force*, had put himselfe, with diuers Gentlemen, and fifteene hundred Harquebusers, purposing by their resistance to giue leisure vnto the Rochellers and the Townes of Guienne and Languedoc to continue their fortifications, and mitigate their fears.

This Towne of Pons is of very great importance vnto the Prouince of Xaintonge, and within foure leagues of Xaintes: It hath a very faire and strong Castle, with strong walls and deepe ditches. The Towne standeth on the steepe decline of a hill, at the foot whereof runneth the Riuer of Seine. In briefe, it is a very good and strong Towne, and might well haue long disputed their approaches, and kept the Royalists from their Counterscarpes; but the Commanders seeing the Kings army so neere, and most of them being re-puted the authors which had caused the Assembly at Rochel to sweare their continuance, fearing the Kings iust indignation, they bethought themselves, giuing notice to the Constable by the Marshalls *D'Esdaigniers*, that they would accept of an honourable composition: whose answer was, That they should yeeld the place at the Kings discretion without conditions, and that he would be a meanes for their liues and liberty; the which they accepted: whereupon some of the chiefe brought the keyes presently to the King, the same day he came to Coignac, which was the last of Iune. The Marshall *D'Esdaigniers* and *Chauue* entred the towne to prevent disorders, and to draw forth the Garison, into the which the Regiment of *Esflissac* entred, vntill the fortifications and walls were demolished; for if this towne had fallen againe into rebellion, it had kept the passage from Poitou to Bourdeaux; and had much supported them of Rochel by their intelligences with the Townes of their party reuoluted in base Guienne.

The Fortifica-
tions and walls
of Pons de-
molished.

The Assembly at Rochel imagining that the King should not bee able to force Saint Iohn D'Angely in so short a time, the which they could by no meanes succour, resolved to send those soldiery that had within Rochel to make a descent into base Poitou, towards Luffon, Olone, Tallemont and Saint Benoist, hoping by this meanes to draw together all them of the Religion in Poitou and other Prouinces; and withall to bring into Rochel all the victuals and other commodities they should find in that Country, foreseeing, that they would not suffer them to gather their haruest nor vintage. *Fauas, La Noue, and Bessay*, landed with twelve hundred men, and spoiled some places. The King being aduertised hereof, he presently sent the Marshall of Praslin, the Duke of Elbeuf, and the Earle of Rochefoucault, with their troops. They of the Religion had already embarked at the Port of Larrerie two thousand bushells of meale, and the best mouables they could find in Luffon and thereabouts, but the Marshall seized on these Burkes, and caried the meale to Luffon. The Rochellers comming to Saint Benoist began to build a Fort at the mouth of the Riuer of Lay, and in the meane time the three Commanders make an enterprize vpon Sables D'Olonne. The Marshall giues a furious assault vnto their new Fort, takes it, and kills a hundred and fifty of their men, and puts the rest to flight, whereof some were taken, and others drowned in the Owze. The three Commanders hearing hereof, saved themselves in their Burkes, and so retired: The *Granges* brethren to *Bessay* vnderstanding this defeat, abandoned Tallemont: so as all this Country which seemed lost, was in an instant freed from the Rochellers.

The Castle of
Sully reuoluted.

The King being at Coignac was aduertised of the reuolt of the Castle of Sully vpon the

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A the Riuer of Loire, betweene Gian and Orleans. The Earle of Saint Paul hearing that the Duchesse of Sully had admitted many of the Reformed Religion into her Castle, with the consent of *Buziou* who was Capitaine, and that the number encreased daily, hee sent a Gentleman vnto the Duchesse, to know the reason of this alteration: She excused her selfe, saying, that they were poore men, exiled from their houses, and that being of her Religion, she had in charity giuen them entry into the parke of her house. The younger brother of *Briquemaunt* one of the Deputies of the Assembly in Rochel, with the Baron of Trinne, and many Gentlemen and Souldiers, had retired thither, so as in lesse then eight dayes they were foure hundred foot and horse, which did much annoy the adiacent Prouinces. They seized vpon the Church of Saint Pere on the other side of the Loire, right against the Castle, the which they fortified with good trenches, in the which the Baron of Trinne commanded with threecore men: they interrupted the comerce of the Riuer: and made the neighbour Parishes to pay taxes, and to labour in their fortifications. The inhabitants of Sully seeing this alteration, resolved to maintaine themselves in the Kings seruice against the Castle: and to keepe them in this duty, the Earle of Saint Paul sent the Baron of Courtenay to command ouer them: and seeing the harme this place did, not onely in his Government, but in the other neighbour Prouinces, and what might happen in time, he resolved to prevent it: but for that he wanted sufficient forces, hee wrote to the Duke of Montbazon Governour of the Ile of France, to the Marshall of Vitry, and especially to the Prince of Conde, Governour of Berry, who had the greatest interest, for that he was neereest: but there was some difficulty; for sayd some, If the Prince comes in person to the siege of Sully, the Earle of Saint Paul could not be Generall of the Army, although it were in his Government: whereunto the Earle answered, I desire to prefer the Kings seruice and the quiet of the Prouince, before the honour which I should get. He sent to the Prince, and they met at Aubigny, whither the Marquis of Rhosioy, sonne to the Duke of Sully, came (being sent by the King in Poste, to reduce *Buziou* to his duty, which he could not effect) where they resolved of this siege, preparing their troops and Cannons to batter it.

Fifth of all, they forced their new fortifications at Saint Pere, where they were most of them slaine and drowned. After this they went into Sully, and planted two Batteries, forcing them to abandon the Parke, and retire into the Castle, which was but little, and greatly annoyed by the Cannon. The Duchesse of Sully was retired into the Towne, being much grieved to see this house ruined by her owne fault, and that to be assured of her person, they spake of sending her to Bourges. The besieged were incommodated both with the want of meanes to cure their wounded (being many, who died for want of reliefe) and with the stench of the garbage of Cattell they fed on: so as on the 19 of Iuly they sent to the Prince to demand a Composition, the which was granted. The conditions were. To returne in safety to their houses, and to enioy their goods. A pardon for all that had beene done at Sully and thereabouts. A promise to obtaine a pardon from the King for *Buziou*. That they should haue free liberty of conscience according to the Edicts. That they should depart with their armes and baggage, booties and horses. That they should be conducted to a place of safety, and within three dayes to separate themselves, and returne vnto their houses. That they might leaue two within the Castle to retire their baggage. That all prisoners should be deliuered: vpon condition that they should yeeld the Castle of Sully into their hands, and take the oath which *Monsieur Soubise* had done to serue the King in all places, and against all men. These Articles were signed by the Prince of Conde and the Earle of Saint Paul.

The Castle of
Sully yielded
by composition

A little before, the Duke of Tremouille came to the Kings quarter at Saint Iohn, to protest his fidelity and the obedience he ought vnto his Maiesty, who said vnto him, *That he was glad to see him neere him, to the end he might see that hee had not taken armes but to suppress the new Common-wealth of Rochel, and such as did acknowledge their command: and that he would make it knowne that he was both a good King and a good Master to such as should serue and loue him: That he would not force any mans conscience no further then by the truth of doctrine, and the good examples of the Clergy, if God lent him any time to liue. At the same time Monsieur de Malherbe, a Gentleman of the Religion, came out of base Guienne, with an expresse commission from many Townes and Communalties, and especially from Monsieur de Boisse Pardailhan, to reuocall the Kings commandments, and to reuoke and disauow*

The Duke of
Tremouille
comes to the
King.

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The townes of
bale Guenne
send to offer
their obedience
to the King.

Some townes
remain aginst.

The King comes
to Cognac
wher he slayeth
Basse pretious
highly.

The King comes
order to blocke
vp Rochel.

A description
of Rochel.

disauow the Deputies of this Prouince, which were at the Assembly at Rochel, which A
gaue the King great content, being wrought by this meanes. *Monseur de la Force* being
maide Generall Prouinciall of the Circle of bale Guienne by the Assembly; *Monseur de*
Basse Pardaillan could not like of this diuision, nor to be commanded by him, who by the
practices of his sonne *Cassehan*, and his nephew *Chasteauneuf* of Lymosin, Deputies in
the said Assembly, had procured him this Commission after his retreat from Bearne. This
Seigneur of Basse hauing refused a Commission to be his Lieutenant Generall, he preui-
led to by his credit, as he procured a Prouinciall Councell of bale Guienne to bee called
at Saint Foy, in May, to aduise of the meanes how they might obtaine a quiet condition
for the rownes of the Religion in that Prouince vnder his Maiesties obedience: where it B
was refused to send *du Malleret* vnto the King to offer obedience in the behalfe of their
Prouinciall Assembly, and particularly of *Monf: de Basse Pardaillan*, and of all the townes
of bale Guienne except Montauban and Bergerac. He deliuered his charge accordingly:
To whom the King made this answer: *That they for whom he had brought assurance of their*
fidelity, should be entreated like vnto the Catholiques: neither would he euer suffer them to be
forced in their consciences, nor oppress in their publique or priuate fortunes. But notwithstand-
ing any care or foresight in his deputation, hauing exacted an oath from them that sent
him, and caused all them which represented the Communalities, to signe his instructions:
yet the corruption of the time prevailed, and by meanes of the Duke of Rohans voyage C
into high Languedoc, and the intelligences of *Monseur de la Force*, all the Townes of bale
Guienne, (except Saint Foy, and Monur, Mont de Marfan, Cassau, and Castillon) con-
trary to their duties and promise, revolted, tooke armes, receiued souldiers, placed and
displaced Governours at their pleasure, and the Chamber of the Edict established at Nerac,
and the Kings Iudges and Officers were shamefully expelled.

On the eighth of Iuly, the King came to Cognac, a goodly house belonging to the Coun-
tess of Saint Paul, and a famous place for the battell which the deceased King did winne,
and by the death of the Admirall of Joyeuse: His Maiesty discoursed iudiciously of this
battell: That good Captaines should be without ostentation, and that the Admirals sea-
lousie against the Marshall of Matignon (who was coming vnto him) for that he would
not share the honor with him, was the cause of his ruine. During this discourse, *Monseur D*
de Basse arriued, with many Gentlemen of the Religion, who came to offer their liues and
Governments vnto his Maiestie, who receiued them fauourably, and entertained them in
particular touching the innocency of his armes, and the bad designs of the Assembly
at Rochel.

The Consuls of Castillon and Saint Foy came thither, and brought the keyes of their
Townes, so as there remained not any but Bergerac, which held the Kings mind and his
Councell in some suspence. But before his departure, the Constable (who had laboured
powerfully with such as might sow diuision in the towne, and strike a terror into those
fiftene hundred men) receiued certaine newes that *Monseur de la Force* prepared for his
departure, and that the Garrison disbanded, the which many held incredible, for that the
place being very well fortified and furnished with men, artillery, and munition, it seemed E
that *Monseur de la Force* should haue kept it, either to cast himselfe at the Kings feet in open-
ing him the Gates, or to haue buried himselfe in the ruines of a breach: but the Con-
stables care had ruined his authority and his childrens, by lawfull and necessary meanes in
this age of infidelity.

Before the Kings departure from Coignac, he gaue order for the blocking vp of Ro-
chel both by Sea and Land. He sent to the Ports of Normandy and Britany, to prepare a
fleet to stop the Pyrates courses, which came from all parts to Rochel, for that all their
Thefts were held good prize there in paying their duties: Hee also sent to the Duke of
Guise to Marcellus, to cause the General of the Gallies to bring them towards Rochel. F
By Land he commanded the Duke of Elspem to goe with foure thousand foot, and six
hundred horse to lodge about the Towne, and to keepe them from all communication
and commerce with Poitou, Xaintonge, and Aunis, the which troubled them of Rochel
and the Deputies of the Assembly much. This Towne being now blocked vp, it shall not
be impertinent to relate what I find written of the situation, government, and strength of
this towne.

Rochel, they say, is the Queene and Midris of all others, and is the very Sanctuary of
all

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A all Malecontents. It is the strongest within the Realme, and may be speedily relieved by
land and water, from Poitou, Xaintonge, and Aunis, and by sea from the neighbour
Ilands, and from England, Holland, and other Countreies. The Seigneur of Loudriere,
vnder the title and quality of Seneschall of Aunis, teames himselfe Gouvernor, but all his
authority consists in chusing of a Maior yearly, out of three which they present vnto him,
which is not much.

The body of the towne is composed of a Maior, forty eight Peeres, and one and fifty
Burgeises. This company of 100 men of the most sufficient amongst them, gouerne the
people absolutely. But within these six yeares some subtil spirits which had and yet haue
B good entry into their Councils, that they might become the more necessary, haue sowed
such distrusts among the people, and of such consequence, as they haue now formed ano-
ther party, to counterpoise the body of the town, which being compounded of the Com-
mons, and some of the rich inhabitants are called Franck Burgeises, and are at this day so
strong, that they make the Ministers preach as they please, and haue brought the body of
the towne to admit into all their Assemblies and Resolutions of importance, six of these
Franck Burgeises, which are called Sindics or Tribunes, and to this effect are chosen euery
yeare by the people, and changed as they see occasion. This nouelty causeth hatred and
diuisions in the managing of affaires, wrong and confusion. The Towne is free from all
Subsidies and Impositions, and for this cause much frequented with traffique, so as it is
C thought there may bee found a hundred or sixscore Merchants worth 100000 Crownes
apiece the worth of them. It is very well furnished with powder, and 150 Cannon for
battery, besides Culuerins and smaller Pieces, with victuals, and other necessary proui-
sions: The inhabitants are so well armed, as they made shew of seven or eight thousand
foot to the Duke of Sully, when he tooke possession of the Gouernment of Poitou; the
fortifications of the towne are almost finished: it consists of twelue great Royall Bastions
of free stone, with double ditches, deepe and broad at the bottome, with spacious
Ramiers.

The hauen is small, but very safe, made like a horse-shoe, and within the compass of
the wals, the road is in a manner round; the chain which shuts vp the hauen, is drawne
D vp nightly, between two round Towers, betwix which there is no more place then for
the passage of a good ship. The Lanthorne Tower which is higher then the rest, looks
into the sea, and stands vpon the point of the wall on the right hand going out of the
Port.

The town is of a flat situation, and the ditches may be easily filled with water when they
please: there is a great Marish of two or three thousand paces broad, which diuides the
approaches into two parts, at the least a French league from the Towne, so as to besiege
it they must haue two Armies by land, which cannot releue one another, and a third by
Sea to hinder their succours.

But let vs returne to the Kings voyage into Guienne. The Duke of Rohan and *Monseur* Description of
E *de la Force* hauing assured Toncins, Clerac, and other places, to their partie, on this side
the Garonne, they goe to Nerac, where they were receiued with great shewes of affec-
tion, and *Monseur de la Force* acknowledged for Generall of the Prouince. This towne
was much fauoured by *Henry* the great, wherein he kept his Court long, being but King
of Nauarre, in regard of the pleasantnesse thereof. It is able to endure a Royall siege. The
Chamber of Iustice is held in the Castle. President *Pichon*, a Catholique, was lodged
there, and *La Force* was Gouvernor. The President seeing the arriuall of these two Noble-
men, and the reception they gaue vnto *Monseur de la Force*, he demanded assistance from
the Gouvernor of the Castle, who swore that he would neuer open the gates but to the
King: whereupon he sent presently to the Duke of Mayen, beseeching him to come to
F Nerac, and to relieue him in this extremity, seeing that the Gouvernor had assured him ne-
uer to yeeld the Castle.

The Duke was then sicke of an ague at Bourdeaux, hauing no troops leauied in his
Government, but he presently posted away with his followers, giuing commandement to
Barrault and *Ornano Sainte croix*, to come to him with their Regiments.

He aduanceth without troops, hoping to make them acknowledge their fault, and re-
turne to their obedience: but he found the young Viscount of Casters, and a son of *Monf:*

[a a]

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de la Force, within the towne, who shut the gates against him, and answered him with a Musket shot.

In the meane time, the Kings army (by the care of the Marshals of Roquelaure, and Aubeterre, and of *Monsieur de Vignolles*) grew to bee three or foure thousand foot, and about eight hundred horse: but this was not sufficient to iueſt both Neracs and the Castle; they also wanted Officers, Cannon and Munition, and order for money to pay the army, which made some stay of the Dukes proceedings.

Caumont surprised by the Marquis of La Force.

On the 23 of Iune, the Duke being aduertised that the Marquis of La Force had drawn together about two thousand men, and given it out that he would raise the siege of Nerac, he suddenly went to horsebacke, leaving *Monsieur de Vignolles* with the foot and some horse before the towne: but upon the way he understood that they had surprised Caumont at noone day, by the treason of a Conſull and a Sentinell of the reformed Religion, whereof the other inhabitants of the same Religion were so innocent, as seeking to defend themselves; there were twelve or fifteene slaine, and three Catholiques: so as they had like to haue surprised the Castle, there being not about tenne souldiers within it.

This was the Marquis his chiefe designe, seeking to draw the Gouvernor *Esparville* into the Towne by an interposed person, upon colour of a Christning, the which he promised to doe, but did not, being forced to keepe within the Castle, by reason of the alarme which was giuen, and the flight of the Catholiques which came flying towards the same.

The Duke of Mayen being ariued, and seeing the Castle hold out, he resolved to relieue it, and charge the enemy; hauing drawne together about three thousand men, with the helpe of the neighbour townes, and the Regiments of *Barrault* and *Ornano*, which were come vnto him, with the which he charged the Protestants in their trenches and barricados, and they defended themselves resolutely for the space of foure houres, where the fight was very furious, but in the end they were forced to abandon them, and to retire to their other workes within the Towne, so as Colonell *Barrault* had good meanes to enter into the Castle with his Regiment. In the night the Protestants (seeing the Castle so well fortified, and the Duke of Mayen ready to charge them in the morning with the whole army) retired towards Castell-Jaloux, after the losse of foure hundred men, whereof one hundred were burnt and slaine with the ruines of a Church which they had made a Magazin for their powder, which was set on fire by negligence.

Caumont recovered from the Protestants.

Nerac yielded to the Duke of Mayenne.

Thus they lost Caumont againe, which is held the strongest place in Guienne, whereof they made themselves assured, hoping by this diuersion to raise the siege of Nerac.

The Duke of Mayen hauing reduced Caumont to the Kings obedience, he returned to Nerac, where notwithstanding that *La Force* Captaine of the Castle had broken his word and deliuered it vp, that succours were entred, and that they had made many resolute sallies, yet they were forced to yeeld vnto the Duke the ninth of Iuly, and to receiue a Catholique Gouvernor with a Garison of eight hundred men, and to feed the Kings army, being eight thousand men, for the space of foure dayes.

Thus Nerac, which had been honored by the Kings father with the Chamber of the Edict in Guenne, is for her reuolt thus punished, and it transferred to Agen. A goodly example for others, which giue eare to the passionate speeches of malecontents, who alwayes couer their owne interests, passions, ambition, and couetousnesse vnder the cloake of Religion, or that of the common-weale.

Castell-Jaloux.

The Duke of Mayen seeing himselfe fortified with a faire army both of horse and foot, and supplied with money from the King to defray the charges of the warre, he turned head towards Castell-Jaloux, a towne of surety in the Duchy of Albret, whereof the Viscount of Fauas was Gouvernor: It is a place of good repute for warre, and well seated, hauing meanes to interrupt the commerce of them of Bourdeaux, with Armagnac, Condomois, Ax, Bayonne, and Spaine: it is in a Country full of them of the Religion, and where the Catholique Religion was scarce knowne: but it is not able to maintaine a long siege. Wherefore seeing the Duke of Mayen turne head with his army and Cannon towards them, they sent their Deputies vnto him, promising to receiue what law it should please the King to prescribe.

Monhur

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Monhur.

A Monhur, a little towne of surety, vpon the bankes of Garonne, well fortified, was reduced to the Kings obedience by *Monsieur de Boisse* their Gouvernor (as we haue said) but it reuolted during the siege of Montauban, the sonne of *Monsieur de Boisse* falsifying his word which he had giuen his father, and his fidelity to the King: which was the cause of a parricide, and the ruine of Monhur.

Mont de Mar-
tan and Tartas.

As for Mont de Marſan and Tartas, townes of surety also, in the Duchy of Albret, vpon the Riuer of Ladour, which falls into the Sea at Bayonne; the Gouvernors and inhabitants sent to make protestation of their fidelity vnto the King, or vnto the Duke of Mayenne in the name of his Maiestie. And so did Millau and other small places. In some they charged the Gouvernors, or tooke them quite away, hauing razed the fortifications. This is all which passed in base Guienne, beyond the Riuer of Garonne, where the townes were reduced to the Kings obedience, by the Duke of Mayenne.

The King
came to Ca-
stillon.

The King came to Castillon on the 21 of Iuly, where *La Forest* the Gouvernor receiued him with all kinds of submission. This towne belongs to the Duke of Bouillon, and all the inhabitants are of the Religion. In all the townes belonging to the said Duke, the King was receiued by the Gouvernors, Captaines, and Inhabitants, with all shewes of duty and demonstration of faithfull Subjects.

It is a towne of surety vpon the Riuer of Dordone: it purchased reputation, being assaulted by the Duke of Mayenne, who commanded an army in Guienne vnder *Henry* the third, for that it had made resistance foure moneths, and defended a trench five weekes, where there was nothing but a barricado of Hogsheds which made the separation, yet there was neuer place better assaulted, nor better defended. His Maiesty hearing that some indiscreet perſons would haue committed a disorder in their Temple, he commanded *Monsieur de Madene* to make enquiry, who set certaine Archers to guard it, to the end the souldiers which past, might not commit any insolency, whereof they gaue him a certificate, and desired his Maiesty to pardon what was past.

And to Saint
Foy.

The King came to Saint Foy, where the Seigneurs of Theobon, who had married the daughter of *Monsieur de Boisse*, was Gouvernor. The Court lodged there, but the King in the Castle of Mezieres. This towne is in the Seneschalſhey of Agenois, three leagues from

D Bergerac, mounting vp the Riuer of Dordone, and of no lesse esteeme then Bergerac. It is well fortified, manned, and munitioned. The Magistrats and Conſuls gaue the Grand Prouost a Declaration that they had receiued no bad vſage, either in their persons or goods, but all honour and fauour from his Maiesty: yet afterwards both they and *Theobon* their Gouvernor, whom the King left in the place, reuolted during the siege of Montauban. The Seigneurs *Panissant* came thither vnto the King, he was powerfull in Bergerac, and had laboured faithfully to reduce them to their obedience by the Constables care. His Maiesty receiued him fauourably, and was well pleased with his seruice, promising to acknowledge his fidelitie to him and his posterity. The King came to Bergerac, where he entred without any solemnity; he stayed there foure dayes, and viewed the fortifications.

Bergerac.

E This towne is held of great importance in base Guienne, for their wealth, traffique, and great fortifications: It stands vpon the Riuer of Dordone, in a large plaine not commanded.

During his Maiesties stay there, many neighbour places of Agenois and Quercy (who fought nothing but a president of some reuolt within the Realme) were deliuered into the Kings hands by their Gouvernors, who gaue them recompence, and commanded their wals and fortifications should be demantled, speaking these words worthy of his piety and iustice, *That he wished there were no places fortified, but vpon the Frontiers of his Realme, to the end the hearts and fidelities of his subjects, might serue as Citadels for the guard of his person.* The chiefe places thus reduced, were Puymerol, Thonneins, and Montflanquin on

The Rhig
speech.

F this side the Riuer of Garonne. Finally, Montsegur, Parado, Saint Serre, Castellnou, Cardailac, Cadenac, Casters, and Mucidan, places of surety, with others which the Protestants held, betweene the Riuers of L'Isle, Dordone, Garonne, and Lot, (except Clerac, whither the most zealous of these townes retired themselves to defend it against the king) came and brought their keyes to his Maiesty. The Duke of Sully being at Figeac, sent to assure the King of his fidelity, the like did they of Turene, Lymeuil, and all other places belonging to the Marshall of Bouillon.

1621

The Kings vi-
gilan y in the
council of his
Army.

The King passed his Cannon over the River of Dordone, and left Rembures with his Regiment in Bergerac, to see the fortifications thereof demolished: In his marche hee was very carefull (seeing the bad wayes) for his Cannon, which hee caused to be sheltered by his troops, to prevent all surpris by them of Clerac, so as hee was forced to stay a day at Saint Bartholmewes for it, which hee desired to see in the head of his army, for neuer Prince was more ieaalous nor more carefull for the lodging of his troops, as well for their safeties, as for the commodities of water, wood, and forage. When the army is quartered, he desired to know the situation of their lodgings, the approaches and the distance of the enemies Garisons: saying, that it is a great impiety in a Generall, not to take an exact care of lodgings, for that the whole armie relies vpon his foresight and vigilancy. He would not suffer his horse and foot to be diuided by any sudden Torrent, or by any charge of the Enemy falling betwene them, so as they might not succour one another, saying, that they must accustom them to lodge after this manner, were it but for the reputation of the Generall which commands the Army.

The King sends
to view Clerac.

The King having refused to march, it was propounded by the Constable to send the Marshall of Saint Geran, and the Seigneurs of Termes and Zamet, to view the situation of Clerac, which was but three Gallie leagues from Saint Bartholmew, to bring him word at his comming to Toneins, what they had discovered: which his Maiefty finding very necessary, commanded that Monsieur Company of horse, and Arnauds Carabins should accompany them.

It is faile to
lodge and slip
without his
Officers.
The vigilancy
of the Con-
stable.

On Monday the nineteenth, the King removed from Saint Bartholmewes, with intention to goe lodge at Toneins, but there fell such a storme of raine, as all the grounds were drowned, and the brookes which were betweene Hautlevigne and Toneins, so ouerflowed, that most part of the army was in great danger. The King seeing this deluge with which his poore souldiers were drenched, would neuer enter vnder any rooffe, or into his Coach, to giue them an example of constant suffering, and besides, comforted them with good words. This rayne lasted six or seven houres without intermission, and forced the King to lodge at Hautlevigne vpon the brinke of the flood, without any of his Officers, because they were already past these waters, and by this meanes was faile to slip with such prouisions as was found amongst some stragling souldiers of the army.

The Constable slept not all the night, and foreseeing that those of Clerac (who had foure thousand souldiers in their towne) would wax audacious with this accident of the weather, & that they should haue small seruice of the footmen or Cannon for foure daies after, he sent many messages vnto the Grand Prouost, as well to repaire the bridge which the Torrent had broken, as to cause lights to be set vpon all eminent places, and in the high-ways, to guide those which were yet in the waters, or other wayes strayed, that they might ioyne themselves vnto the army.

The Lord Keeper, and many other of the Councell, were passed a little before, vpon a little bridge, before the throng of people came, or that the River was risen, and went to Toneins. The Secretaries of State and Treasurers came while after, but too late, for they found the passage stoppt vp by the Foot. At the same instant arriued the Grand Prouost, who leaving the King, to enter into the meadows all couered with water, in many places to the skirts of the Saddle, and fearing lest the little bridge should be broken, which was the only refuge for the King if he had come into the water, advanced himselfe to seize vpon the same, but stepping vp to get thereon, the thrust was so great, that hee was borne downe into the River, with his cloake buttoned about him, where, had not the souldiers of the Guard pulled him suddenly out, he had perished, as some others did in the same place. Being gotten into a Mill hard by, hee sent presently for Carpenters to strengthen the bridge that the King might passe; but he would not abandon his Cannon, nor his foot, which made the Grand Prouost goe to Toneins, where he found the Keeper of the Seales, and the Earle of Schomberg, where they refused to assure themselves of Toneins, in the which there were but two Companies which should enter in guard before the Kings lodging.

This accident might well tempt the inhabitants in regard of the persons which were come into the Towne; but they prouided carefully for the keeping of the Ports, and for their hosts and armes.

The

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Opinions touch-
ing the siege
of Clerac.

A The waters being somewhat fallen, his Maiefty came on the twentieth of Iuly to Toneins, where it was propounded in Councell, that the army could not bee drawne together to attempt any exploit in three dayes, nor recouer their Cannon and Baggage in foure, wherefore in the meane time they should consider what might be fit for the siege of Clerac, if they persisted in their rebellion. There were diuersities of opinion; Some held that Clerac was without fame or reputation, and that it was not to bee found in the Mappe; yet the situation, the fortification, and foure thousand men (which were held to be the most warlike of the Prouince) defended it: That the soile was so fat and slippery, as three dayes of raine would ruine the Kings trenches: That it was easie to imagine that they of Montauban encouraged them to endure a siege, to preserve themselves, and to draw the Kings army into a rainy season, which was their only hope: That it was better to prevent them before they had finished the parapet of their new workes, or resolved what troops they would receiue to maintaine the siege: That they knew well they were very ieaalous to recieve any troops from any great man of their party, and therefore they could not recouer any but from their neighbours, which would not be sufficient, for that they must haue about two thousand men, only to keepe the halfe-moones and new fortifications of Villebourbon: That Clerac might be kept from all acts of hostility by the neighbour garisons: That the full obedience of the townes of Languedoc, depended on the taking of Montauban, and in like manner Clerac would yield, the siege whereof would consume much time, and make them lose the fruits which they expected before winter: wherefore they were of opinion, That if they of Clerac would yield to the raising of their new fortifications, and giue hostages to perform it, they should accept them, whereby they should gaine time, and spare much blood which would be spilt.

Opinions for
the besieging
of Clerac first.

The contrary opinion maintained, That it touched the Kings reputation, to leaue a place in Guienne, which might be a shelter and refuge to the mutins (who commonly liue quietly in their houses, hauing no retreat) and that there was no other place which would maintaine a revolt: That they must not consider the number of men within it, but the quality of such as had authority, and remember, that if the Marquis of La Force, who was Gouernor, could haue found any safety, he would not haue left it so shamefully: That S. Torse (who was the most eminent in birth and reputation) had good parts for a Souldier, but he had not sufficient for a Commander, nor to defend a place which should be battered with 25 Cannons, and that they knew well there were not ten men of command within the towne: That the inhabitants (who had goods to lose) would maintaine their authority, and not suffer S. Torse nor his souldiers to suppress their power, and that when as they should see themselves assaulted, and ready to be made a prey to the armie, they would embrace a partie: That the souldiers (seeing themselves in ieaalousie with the inhabitants, and they alone exposed to all dangers) would thinke of their safety, especially, when they should haue lost their Counterscarpe and ditches: That they must spend a moneth in taking of the townes which were in the way to Montauban: the which the Duke of Mayen (who would arriue the next day, from the taking of Caumont and Nerac) might performe with his armie, and so no time should be lost.

The Constable said, That there were many reasons on either side, but he was of opinion to attempt Clerac, relying vpon the intelligences which hee had practised with the enemy, whereby he hoped that Clerac would bee reduced to obedience within three weekes. Whereupon the King resolved for this siege, commanding the Cannon should be brought on. On the 21 of Iuly, D'Esplan, a Captaine of Carabins, brought foure of the chiefe inhabitants of Clerac to the Constable, who demanded, That his Maiefty should suffer them to enioy their libertie, and leaue their fortifications as they were, for the satisfaction of their liues, and so they would declare themselves his subjects. To whom the Constable made answer, You should be wisser or more powerfull to use this speech: you remember, yet that the King is at your gates, and hath behind him thirty Cannons to open them: Can you expect at his feet, any pardon of your criminall designes, and referre your selues to his clemency, when he hath the honor to be allied vnto him, and you who are rebellious people, and cannot submit but by his only bounty, presume to dispute his authority and reputation. Hereupon these Deputies retired, saying, It was true, but they could not doe otherwise, hauing no further power.

The next day, the King being in Councell, said, That the day following they must giue

[a a 3]

The Kings
souldiers to be
the siege of
Clerac.

Demands of
the inhabitants
of Clerac.

The Constable
answereth them.

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a Rendezvous to all the foot, to inuest the towne : To whom the Constable answered : A That the Marshall *D'Esdaigniers* and *Monsieur de Beille* were gone, to see if they could make them become honest men : who arising at that instant, made report, That they had saluted them with the Cannon, and fiore of Musquet shot, and that they must not expect any reason from them by mildnesse : Moreouer, they said, that the approach vnto the towne was troublefome, and barricadoed in many places, which they must force, and give the command to the wisest and most resolute and couragious. Some write that they feared themselves, *Souldiers without feare, defending a Towne without a King.*

They layd also, That the iustice the King should doe in Clerac, would strike a terror into all the factions of France: That his subiects complained by the officers of Soueraigne Courts, That his Maiefty had left the title of *Lewis* the Lust, which his admirable iudgement had purchased, to take (by his too great mildnesse) that of *Lewis* the Gentle : That it was a kind of cruelty to vse indulgence to such as fought to peruert the Lawes of the Monarchy, and that he must doe like vnto a pitifull father, who to saue his sonnes body, cauleth the Chirurgion to cut off an arme or a leg : By these reasons they concluded, That they must not speake of any treatie, but of an absolute submission at the Kings discretion.

The Constable gaue three Rendezvous to the army, for that Clerac is enuironed with many hills full of Vines, of very hard access; the approaches were narrow passages, difficult for the horse, where the besieged were entrenched and barricadoed. The army being armed, and the Commanders hauing viewed the places fittest to be assailed, they gaue order for the charge, the which was giuen in three severall places with great resolution, and maintained by them of the towne very obstinately. The Regiment of the Kings Guard (being led by *Monsieur de Termes*, Marshall of the Camp) hauing forced their third barricado, and pursued the besieged to the very ditch, he was unfortunately shot into the body, being on horsebacke and without armes. Hee was presently caried to Tonneins (which was the Kings quarter) lying till the next day. He was generally lamented. The Kings Confessor came to visit him, who saluted him in the Kings name : Father, said hee, speake no more vnto me of the Kings of the earth, to whom I am now vnprofitable, but speake onely of the King of heauen. He committed his last sighs vnto the Grand Prouost, and entreated him to assure the King, That the onely griefe hee had to dye, was for that he could no longer serue him : That he left a brother afflicted, a young iue in despair, and two children without means and in miserie: That he recommended them to the Kings charity, protesting that he had not any thing but what it pleased him to giue him. The King hearing of this disaster, went to visite him, and hauing embraced him, he comforted him, promising him to haue a care of his children, who returning from him, the teares fell from his eyes.

The siege continued, and the Kings troops advanced with their trenches which were ready to breake into their ditches. These sharpe assaults, with their Batteries and Mines, terrified the besieged, there being also some jealousie and distrust betweene the souldiers and the inhabitants, by the Constables industry, praised from the beginning of the siege. All these encounters drew the first Confull and the chiefe inhabitants to thinke of their safety; and for that he had the honour to be well knowne vnto the Duke of Angoulême, he desired to speake with him, whom hee made acquainted with the desire they had to submit themselves, whereof he aduertised the Constable. Many held this report incredible, that a place of that situation, fortified, in perfection, and full of men and munition, hauing performed an action of vnexpected resistance, should on the twelfth day of the siege beginne to yeeld. Yet for that the Counterscarpe was now ready to be opened on the fourth of August, hoping for no reliefe but from the Kings clemency; they deputed the first Confull, and some of the inhabitants, with a Minister, to cast themselves at his Maiesties feet, and to craue pardon. They were presented at Tonneins by the Constable: Being before the King vpon their knees, the Minister spake after this manner : *Sir, the rebels of a Towne full of rebellion, who haue suffered themselves to be caried away with a furious torrent of renolt, vpon pretext of Religion and oppression of consciences, cast our selues at your Maiesties feet, to offer our liues, liberty, and goods, to the discretion of your Maiesties iustice or mercie : We haue begunne to make triall of some parts of the first, yet much lesse then our crime deserved : neither can we hope any thing of the other, except your Maiesty will as warily pardon the title of mercifull, as you doe hold that of iust : If we may be so happy, we will say con-*

Clerac inuested.

The first charge.

The Marquis of Termes slain.

Distrust and jealousie betweene the souldiers and the inhabitants in Clerac.

Deputies sent from Clerac to the Kings.

The Minister of Clerac speech to the King.

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A rary to the Children of Israel, who said, We haue seene God, and we shall dye : But we will leane in eternall memory to our posterity, That wee haue seene the King, from whose bounty wee haue receiued life. If your Maiesty grant it, we shall acknowledge you for the Tulerary god of the world : We shall not open our mouthes, but to blesse your name and reigne : our hearts shall desire nothing more then the greatnesse of your Scepter. And as we haue bene the most rebellious, and least worthy of mercy, we will be hereafter the most faithfull and obedient of all your subiects.

The King made them this Answer : *You haue done well to submit your selues wholly to my mercy, shew your duties to morrow, and I will make you taste of my bounty. My Constable shall acquaint you with my further pleasure.* Whereupon they retired to Clerac, to giue order for the dislodging of their Souldiers.

The Kings pleasure was, that they should yeeld at discretion, vpon assurance of his mercy, and that they to whom his Maiestie gaue life, should depart with white wands and some baggage, the inhabitants paying 50000 crownes to redeeme themselves from spoile : moreouer, 10000 which were giuen to the Master of the artillery, for the rights due to his charge ; and 10000 more vnto him that had caused the Capitulation to be signed ; and the Towne to remaine at the Kings pleasure. The Capitulation being concluded & diuulged, the battery ceased, and the souldiers prepared presently to scale the bulwarke, desiring nothing but pillage. The Marshall *D'Esdaigniers* entered early on the fifth of August to draw forth the Souldiers, and to bring in some of the Kings Guards. The Constable came soon after, to whom the Confuls presented the keys of the Towne : and *S. Torse* who commanded the souldiers, deliuered vp his sword ; and all together besought him to acquaint them with the Kings pleasure. He assured *S. Torse* of his life, and to the rest he said, *The King hath giuen me charge, to command you to lye hereafter in the obedience to the which you are naturally bound, and neuer to engage your selues in the resolutions of these vnlawfull Assemblies, to the which you haue indiscreetly tyed your selues. If you fall into a relapse, assure your selues, he will make you generally feele the effects of his indignation. He is now satisfied with the punishment of some few which are most culpable, to be a terror to many, and an example to all such as shall rune headlong vnto the disloyalty of these seditious reuolts : and as for the rest of the inhabitants, he gaue them their liberties, liues and goods.*

At the departure of the Souldiers, there happened a great disaster : the foore companies of the Kings Armie, had promised vnto themselves to force Clerac, and to reuenge the death of the Marquis of Termes, and of many other braue men slain at the approaches. The Constable had provided for all disorders within the Towne ; They had resolved to passe then ouer the riuer of Lot, to auoyd the fury of the Kings Armie : They which embarked first, entered confusedly and in great numbers, the Souldiers of the guards, seeing some with their Muskets and Swords contrary to the accord, fell vpon them to take them away : This first violence amazed such as were disarmed, who fearing their liues caused the Boate to leane on the one side, so as many fell into the Riuer, and were drowned. Others being ready to embarke, and not knowing the cause of this combustion,

E thinking themselves to be in danger of death, cast themselves into the riuer which is swift and deepe in that place. The third Boate being ouer-laden, was ouerturned and most of them drowned : others seeking to saue their liues by the current of the streame vpon a causey of stone which ranne crosse the Riuer, were soone swallowed vp in those gulphes. Moreouer, there was a rope fashioned to either banke for the passage of the Boates, at the which there were some 30 Souldiers hung, but the Kings men cutting the rope they were caried away with the violence of the streame. The King was much displeased at this infolency and commanded iustice should be done.

Clerac being reduced to the Kings obedience, they made choice of foure or five of the most mutinious to suffer for the rest, which were one of the Confuls, a Proctor, and his some who was a Minister a Physitian and a Shoemaker a very turbulent man. They were condemned by the Grand Prouost to be hanged, and were executed ; but the Physitian being ready to die, had his pardon brought him, by the intercession of the Kings Physitian.

Hauing giuen order for the razing of the fortifications of Clerac, the king went towards Agen, but before his departure the Duke of Mayenne was come vnto him, who had charge to free all those little Townes reuolted beyond the Riuer of Garonne, and then to passe at Thouloze and ioyne with his Maiesty at Montauban : Being at Agen, the Townes of Leirac, Leyroure, and Tournon, brought their keys vnto the King : the like did the Townes of

The Kings Answer.

The Constable enters Clerac.

A disaster at the going forth of the Souldiers from Clerac.

Execution of : some in Clerac.

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Towns of surety yielded to the King and Duc Mayen.

Albiac taken & spoiled by the Duke.

Ducers towns submitted themselves.

A Hollander ship taken at Cet in Languedoc.

What armes were taken in the ship.

M. de la Noue taken and carried to the D. of Elpernon.

of Surety in Armaignac vnto the Duke of Mayenne, namely Mauefin, L'Isle in Jordan, A Manfieux and Mas of Verdun. The Duke having past the Garonne, went to assault the Tower of Barira, into the which they of Montauban had put 200 men, who yielded vpon composition: The Duke deliuered it vnto the owner vpon condition that he should maintaine 50 Souldiers for the defence thereof, but they of Montauban recovered it sooner after, and slew all which made resistance. The Duke went and besieged Albiac, where they refused to lodge him, and put themselves in Armes: so as in three dayes siege the Duke lost about 200 men: but in the end having forced them with the Cannon, to yeeld to his mercy, he caused the Captaine, the Consuls, and 20 of the chiefe Burgeesses to be hanged: the rest were put to ranfome, and those which could not pay, were bound, B and sent afterwards to serue as Pioners at the siege of Montauban: They write that the cause wherefore the Duke vsed so much rigor at Albiac, was for that (besides the violent vsage of the Kings Souldiers by them of Montauban, when they fell into their hands) *Monfi: de Vignolles* Marshall of the Campe had been fore hurt at this siege. Those of the Religion of Realleuill with in one League of Albiac, which had likewise prepared to endure a siege, seeing this hard vsage, abandoned their Towne. The Inhabitants of Caussade vpon their suite, were received to obedience. The like did Bourniquet, Negrepellisse, and Bitule. Saint Anthoine a little strong Towne in Rouergne, sent their keyes by one of their Consuls, with protestation to maintaine themselves in the Kings obedience, C but marching thither, and being within one Gascoigne league, hee receiued intelligence that they were revolted, they sending him word that their Consull had betrayed them in his Commission. The Duke preparing to besiege it, hee had commandment from the King to come with his troopes of Montauban.

On the fourth of August, there was a Hollanders ship taken at Cet in Languedoc on this manner. About midnight, this Shippe came to an Ancre, within musket shot of the shore, the Captaine, with three souldiers, and an Interpreter landed. They found a fisherman of whom they demanded in what country they were: yea before he would answer, asked them if they were of the Religion: and they answering yea, he said also he was one. The Captaine hearing this, discovered his voyage vnto him: he presently conducted him into the Citadell of Cet, making him beleue the Gouvernor was cousin to *Monfi: de Chastillon*, who receiued him very courteously. Having enquired the Captaines name, he sent *Grassy* the Fisherman to the Souldiers aboard, to come to land by commandement from their Captaine. The Gouvernor having entertained them, he presently sent twelue of his souldiers to seize vpon the ship, who being Masters thereof, they discharged all the Ordnance of the ship and Citadell for ioy. The next day morning the Duke of Montmorency came from Pezenas, and visited the ship: where they write, he found six double Cannons, and eight Field-peeces, besides eight other which belonged to the ship; 4000 Muskets, 4000 Carabins, 2500 Pistols, 2500 Pikes, 500 Curasses, 500 Souldiers coates, 200 Quintals of powder, a great number of bullets for Ordnance, and great store of Lead for small-shot, with a number of planks for the seruice of the warre, which wood was valued at 4000 Crownes. This ship was giuen to *Espinault* Gouvernor of Cet, and the Fisherman had 200 Pistols: the armes were carryed to Pezenas and Agde. They write that the whole freight of this ship was valued at 200000 Crownes, and that it did belong to the Churches of the Circle of base Languedoc.

The King had made the Duke of Elpernon General of his Army in Xaintonge and Aulnis, who approached neere vnto Rochel, with 4000 Foot, and eight Corners of Horse, where there were many skirmishes, encounters, and exploits of armes, which were too tedious to relate in particular. In one of them the Seigneur of *La Noue*, being of the Rochellers party was taken: He had obtained a pass-port from the Duke of Elpernon to see a sister of his who lay sicke, vpon condition that he should come vnto him: he came, F and the Duke coniuied him to retorne vnto the Kings seruice, laying before him the honor which his Father and Grandfather had purchased by seruing their Kings well: but he prevailed nothing: having seene his sister, he returned to Rochel, where hee resolved to lay an ambuscado in a wood, to surprize some of the Kings men which went daily to the gates of Rochel. But he continued so long in his ambuscado, with 20 curasses without any discovery, as they were forced to send to the next village for meat: the post which brought it, observed the place and the number, and acquainted the Duke of Elpernon therewith,

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A therewith, who presently sent 60 men of Armes, who seized vpon all the approaches of the Ambuscado. *La Noue* was on the top of a Tree with a periscope-glasse, to see if he could discouer any one in field; but he was so suddenly surprized, as he had no leysure to get to Horse-backe, but was forced to yeeld to the Baron of Nicuil, hauing 7 of his men slaine, and 8 taken prisoners. Being brought to the Duke of Elpernon, hee receiued him courteously, telling him he was to blame he had not beleued him, when hee entreated him to leaue Rochel and acknowledge the King, yet he was glad to see him in good estate and not hurt, and that hee would aduertise his Maiesty. The Duke, did only blocke vpon Rochel by land, so as they could haue no commerce with their Neighbours; He gathers B vp their rents from their Farmers, neither could they receiue, either Corne, wine, or any other commodities by land, so as their only helpe was by Sea.

There was diuision among the Protestants in the Circle of base Languedoc, *Genaudan*, *Viuarce*, and the *Sauennes*, of the which *Monfi: de Chastillon*, had been made Prouinciall General by the assembly of Rochel: some of the milder spirits, desired to yeeld obedience to the King, and to enjoy the liberty of their consciences according to his Edicts: but such as were zealous for the assembly of Rochel prevailed, which bred much alteration in those parts. They grew ialous of *Monfi: de Chastillon*. They call an assembly at Nismes, where they frame many complaints against him: That hee contemned the Generall assembly, and would not appeare the Vnion: That hee had intelligence with the enemies of their partie: That hee discountenanced all such as were affected to the Churches: That hee had hindered the succors of Saint Iohn D'Angely, whereby had followed the losse of Guienne: That he would not doe anything against the Kings will and pleasure: That hee had sought to diuide the Prouinces from the generall Assembly, and had giuen support to all such as would forsake it, with many such like. Whereupon the Assembly, as well by the consent of the generall Assembly, as that of these Prouinces, and the generall desire of the Churches, being forced by the necessity of affaires, wherein all delays (they said) would be prejudiciall: They declared *Monfi: de Chastillon*, fallen from all Charges and Dignities which hee had held in the name of the Church, and particularly from the place of General of the Prouinces of base Languedoc, the *Sauennes*, *Genaudan* D and *Viuarce*, as also of the Governments of Montpellier and *Aiguemortes*; forbidding him expressly to exercise any faction of General or Gouvernor, in the same Generality or Governments, vpon paine to be declared an open enemy: And also, forbidding all men which made profession of the Religion, to acknowledge him for General, nor to receiue any order from him, or any other in his name, touching the warre or Treasure, without the expresse resolution of the Assembly.

There were many enterprises and surprises on either partie in base Languedoc and *Viuarce*, during the moneths of Iuly and August. *Monfi: de Montmorency* Gouvernor for the King in Languedoc, had receiued commandment to spoile the Haruest & Vintage about Nismes and Montpellier. *M. de Chastillon* had lodged his troopes neere to Montpellier to E prevent it. And they of Nismes entertained some troops to that end about their Towne. The Duke of Montmorency vnderstanding that they of Nismes had lodged 400 men in Marguerite, a great village entrenched, a league from their Towne; hee resolves to defeat them, and lodge in that place, to annoy them of Nismes during the haruest. Hee had drawne together 300 horse and 3500 foot, with which hee marched by night toward Marguerite, and in the morning gaue a furious charge, and forced them to retire notwithstanding all their resistance: in which retreat very many were slaine, so as in the end such as were fled into a Tower and the Church, demanded composition for their liues and armes, the which was granted, they being in all not about fourecore men. There came out of Nismes 1500 foot and 500 horse; but they found it difficult to relieue them with any F safety, seeing the Dukes army in front of them with two peeces of Ordnance, which made them retire.

In April this yeare, the Pope had granted a generall Indulge, to pray vnto God to protect and defend his Church, and to roote out all heresies. Hee gloried to see his eldest sonne of the Church triumph over his enemies, sending him a Letter, which was presented vnto him at the siege of Clerac: whereby hee encouraged the King to continue his victorious armes against heretikes, as he termed them.

The Assembly at Rochel, seeing the successe of the Kings armes in Guienne and those parts,

Diuision among the Protestants in base Languedoc

Monfi: de Chastillon dismissed from his places in Languedoc by the assembly. f Nismes.

A defeat of 400 men in Marguerite by M. de Montmorency.

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The assembly
at Rochel leave
to disaffect the
Kings armes.

The substance
of the assen-
blyes C. mailt,
from

Vatville deli-
uers out his
Commissions.

parts, fought meanes to diuert them, by stirring vp some combustions in Normandie, which is in the other extremity of the Realme; presuming that there were many of the reformed Religion in the chiefe Townes of that Prouince, which would be ready to take Armes vpon any good occasion, if they might haue a leader. The Assembly made choice of *Vatville* called Mont-Christien (who had been in Gergeau and Sancerre when they were taken) knowing him to be a man of action, fit for troubles, mutinous and factious, whom they appointed to go and leaue men in Normandie, and to draw them of the Religion vnto Armes. He came to Rochel in Iuly, where he stayed 15 dayes to confer with the Assembly; And as he was a good speaker, so he promised them Mountaines: They deliuered vnto him many commissions with mony & bills of exchange, to leaue regiments of foot and some Companies of horse in Mayen, and the neighbour Prouinces: which Commissions were of this Tenour. That the Churches being persecuted by the enemies of their Religion which abused the Kings affection and conscience, (vnder whose humble subiection and obedience, they protested before God and men to continue inuolubly, acknowledging that he was giuen them of God, to be their Soueraigne Lord.) It was necessary to vie a iust defence, and to oppose lawfull and naturall meanes to violence and oppression, to maintaine his Maiesties authoritie, and Edicts, the liberty of Conscience, and safety of their liues. To which end they gaue out their commissions to whom they pleased, by vertue of the authoritie giuen them by all the Churches of France, and Soueraginitie of Bearne.

Vatville being come from Rochel, before he deliuered his Commissions he visits many Gentlemen of Mayen and Normandie, aswell of the reformed Religion as others of their faction: Hee imparts his designe to none but such as hee knew well affected to the partie; and in the end being assured of diuers Capitaines, he deliueres them Commissions and Money, to leaue men speedily, and to be ready to goe to field vpon the first command they shall receiue from the Assembly at Rochel, which hee thought would be in the beginning of October. In the meane time *Vatville* being assisted by 10 or 12 of his most confident Capitaines, did often visit them of the partie in base Normandie, and giues them a Rendezuous on the 11 of October, neere the Forest of Andaine by Alençon, where hee had already some numbers assembled, who began to spoyle the neighbouring Townes and Villages, and had already attempted to surpris the strong houses and the Castle of Carrouge. The Duke of Longueuille Governor of the Prouince, and *Monsieur de Matignon* Lieutenant general, aduertised of *Vatvilles* designs, came to Alençon & Donfront, in the beginning of October. *Vatville* continues his practices, and assures them of the partie, that there would be 5 or 6000 men at the Rendezuous. On the 7 of October, hee came to a Borrough called Touraills 5 leagues from Falaize, and as much from Donfront, accompanied onely with 6 of his Capitaines, and the groom of his chamber: They came into an Inne and called speedily for their Supper, seeming by their talke that they meant not to stay long. The Host had an opinion that this was *Vatville* of whom there was so much spoken, and held it fit to giue notice to this was *Vatville* of whom there was so much spoken, and held it fit to giue notice to the Seigneur of Touraills, a Gentleman whom he knew to be well affected to the Kings seruice.

He ranne vp to the Castle (a quarter of a league from the Borrough) and told his Lord what guests were at his house, and that he supposed them to be *Vatville* and his Capitaines. The Gentleman resolved instantly to serue the King in this occasion, or to lose his life. He sent presently to two Gentlemen his neighbours, intreats them to come vnto him on an occasion whereon the Kings seruice depended and the safety of the Countrey; but whilst they prepared their Armes to goe, a Souldier by mischance shot off a peece in the court of the Castle, which made them feare that this noise would make *Vatville* dislodge, wherefore hee advanced speedily with such men as he had, to inuest the Inne: but coming forth hee met with two Gentlemen, and 3 or 4 Souldiers which came to assist him, being in all 20 persons: Coming to the Inne, they saw by the Candle in *Vatvilles* lodging that they were about to dislodge: And for that no man knew them well, he sent to command them in the Kings name to tell their names, and lay downe their armes. *Vatville* called himself *Champeaux*: but hearing a noise about the Houle and in the hall, they came downe well armed, and at the staires foot slew 2 Gentlemen and one Souldier, and hurt some others. *Touraills* and his company charged *Vatville*, who was slaine vpon the place, his groom was wounded and taken, the other 7 being fore hurt, escaped by the darknesse of the Night, passing on foot

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A foot through the riuier neere vnto the Inne. The next day morning they were met by the Countrey-people, much troubled with their wounds, whereof some dyed; and the rest retired to some places of strength. *Touraills* took their horses and baggage, and causing the dead body, with the prisoner, to be caryed to his Castle, giues the armes, horses and baggage to the Gentlemen and Souldiers which had assisted him: examines the Groom, who confessed that it was *Vatville* his master whom they had slaine, and discouers many things importing the King seruice. Early in the morning, *Touraills* aduertised *M. de Matignon*, the D. of Longueuille, and the Parliamēt of Rouen of this accident; sending also a Gentleman poste to the King lying before Montauban. They proceeded criminally against his body at Donfront, whither it was sent, where they condemned it to be broken, burnt, and the ashes cast into the winde. His seruant confessed, that some of his masters Commissions which were not yet distributed, remained with one *Ventez* a cousin of *Vatvilles*, where they found 48 Commissions hidden in a chest. This seruice done by *Touraills* was much commended, and the death of the two Gentlemen which were slaine greatly lamented. These newes were very pleasing to the King, who wrote vnto *Touraills*, thanking him for the good seruice he had done him, and assured him hee should finde the effects of his loue and bounty when occasion should be offered.

The King comes to Agen the tenth of August: He meditates on nothing but the siege of Montauban, which was the chiefe bulwarke and refuge for the Protestants in high Guienne and Languedoc. This was an enterprise of great importance: for if hee takes this Towne, all the rest will easily yeeld themselves vnder the yoke of obedience; if hee faile, the honor of his former victories will be blemished. He propounds it to his Councell of warre; in the which there were diuersities of opinions. They which were against the present siege objected foure Reasons. First, the neernes of Autumne, the father of diseases, which would be the death of the souldiers, who eating new fruits and grapes, would be instantly afflicted with contagious diseases, burning agues, purples, and bloody fluxes. The second was the ordinary ouer-flowing of the riuier of Tarn, in September, by reason of the raine which the Southerly windes engender at that time in those Countreys; and in March by the melting of the snow from the mountaines: which raine ceasing, and the riuier being retired within its channell, leaues the Countrey about Montauban (being a fat rich ground) so bad, myrie, and slippery, that they should not be able to retire for the space of three weekes. Thirdly, the fortifications of the place, being the refuge of all the reuolted and resolute men of their party, with the obstinacie of the inhabitants. And fourthly, the Duke of Rohan who was at Millaud, where hee assembled the succors of the neighbour-Prouinces, being most of the Religion: being more necessary to goe and defeat him, and to cleanse the Countreys of Albigeois and Rouergue. Finally, that it was convenient to delay the siege of Montauban vntill April following: and in the meane time to leaue strong garisons in the neighbour-Townes, to hinder their trafficke, and cut off their victuals.

E They which held the contrary opinion, said, That the ouer-flowing of Tarn hapned but in the end of October: and that in two monthes and a halfe they might easily take Montauban, if it were not releued with men and victuals. That the insolent humor of the inhabitants of Montauban would neuer agree with the Souldiers. That against the pretended succors of the Duke of Rohan, his Maiestie might send his Light-horse into Albigeois, to fight with them vpon all occasions, being well aduertised that his chiefe Forces consisted onely in Foot, and that his Cheualery was doing worth. That it would blemish the reputation of his Maiesties armes, to passe towards Albigeois and Rouergue, and leaue such a Towne as Montauban at his backe, the which would presently reuiue a rebellion in all the Townes reduced vpon the riuier of Garonne, in Quercy, and Perigord. F whilst the Kings army should be fighting for the passages of the mountaines, where 100 men may oppose themselves to an army; and where it is not good to bee but when the weather is dusty and dry, and not during the stormes of snow which reigne there. That the discommoditie of Autumne and of new fruits, might be found as well in Albigeois & Rouergue as in Quercy. That the suit of the Thoulouzains to his Maiestie, to take this thorne out of their feet, and what they offered towards the charges of the siege, should be preferred before the proposition of eight monthes time, for the delaying of the siege, during which there was no doubt but they of Montauban would recouer meanes to make

new

Opinions touching
the siege
of Montauban.

Against the
Siege.

For the Siege.

1621 new broyles. Moreouer, the preparation of so many cannons and munition ready; the courage of so many souldiers, and the iustice of his Maiesties armes, were powerfull reasons to conclude the siege of Montauban as speedily as might be, to free the reult in so many prouinces without hope of reuiling.

The King comes to Montauban.

A description of Montauban.

The Kings army quartered.

The Duke of Sully enters into Montauban.

His speech to the Councell.

The answer of them of Montauban to the D. of Sully.

The powder in the Kings quarter set on fire.

These opinions being weighed and considered, the Siege of Montauban was resolved, and it was concluded that the Duke of Angoulême should goe with the Light-horse into Albigeois and Rouergue, to crosse the Duke of Rohans designs. The King came to Moissac, and from thence to his quarter in the Castle of Picquecot, a little league from Montauban, on the 17 of August. The Duke of Mayen, and the Marshall of Thémies came vnto him with their Forces, and were commanded to inuest Montauban, towards Villebourbon. This towne is situated vpon the declining of a hill, which discouers the Country round about. At the foot of this hill there is a long bridge, but narrow, which passeth ouer the riuer of Tarn, the which commeth not vnto the walls, but when it ouerfloweth so as they may goe on dry-foot round about the Towne, the which is well fortified with bastions, raucins, bulwarkes, halfe-moones, and all other fortifications, being also well furnished with artillery, men, and munition; so as they did hope to make a long defence. It was inuested on the 13 of August on three sides: vpon the East was the Constables quarter; where commanded the Prince Joinville, the Earle of Bossompierre, and the Marshalls of Prallin and Chaunc, with the regiments of Elstiac, Champagne, and Normandy. On the South was the Duke of Mayenne, with the Marshall of Thémies. On the West lay the Duke of Desdiguier, with the Marshall of S. Geran, with the Regiment of the Guards, and three others: And the Kings quarter was at Picquecot, as you haue heard.

In the beginning of the Siege the Duke of Sully who had some yeares before retired himselfe into Quercy and Languedoc, came vnto the King, beseeching him to giue peace vnto his people, hoping hee should preuaile so much with them of Montauban, as they should craue pardon. The King promised to pardon their offence, if they would submit themselves vnder his obedience: being content that the Duke should enter into Montauban, seeing he said he had no other desire but to perswade them to obedience. Being entered, he found that the Earle of Bolfrand a Biemois (otherwise called Captain *Mazetis*) commanded the souldiers: The reputation which he had gotten in the warres of Sauoy, where his Highnes had giuen him for his notable seruice, the little Earldome of Bolfrand, had made the people to chuse him for their Commander: yet some say *Monf. de la Force*, had the charge. For the government of affaires, there was a Councell chosen, consisting of the Minister *Chamier*, the Consuls, and sixe others of the most zealous of the party.

The Duke of Sully finding that *Monf. de la Force* and the other Gentlemen of the party, which had put themselves into Montauban, had no authoritie, and that all was gouerned by this Councell of the Towne: He laid before them the importance of their resistance, and told them freely, that they would make themselves odious vnto all the world by their proceeding. He propounded the meanes vnto them to obtaine their pardon in particular, and the reason they had to procure it. Hee shewed them that for the combustions which were in all Europe, there was no meanes for them to hope for any succours from strangers: And that Kings and Princes embraced not their protection, in whose ruine they had no interest. To whom the first Consull (hauing taken aduice of the Councell) made this answer, That they had resolved to liue and die in the vnion of the Churches, according to their oath, and therefore they neither could nor would doe any thing in particular, but treat for the general of the cause, and the approbation of the Duke of Rohan, Generall of the Prouince. The Duke of Sully returning with this answer, his Maiesty and Councell saw they would treat as companions in authority, and not as subiects: so as this negociation proued fruitlesse.

On the first of September, they beganne to play against the Towne with 45 peeces of Ordnance: There were three batteries against the old Towne, two against the new, and two others against Villebourbon. Yet they had Saint Anthonies gate fill open: where-by the besieged might goe in and out at their pleasure, and send their spies out daily to see what was done in the Kings Camp, by whom the powder (as they suppose) was set on fire, the second of the month, in two of the quarters: The first was about ten of the clocke in the morning in the Kings quarter at the chiefe battery neere vnto the Kings guards,

A guards, the which was so violent, as it ouerthrew the Gabions which couered the Cannon; burnt most of the Gunners and Officers of the Artillerie: amongst the which was *La Vallée* a famous Canoniere.

Another fire in the Duke of Mayens quarter.

The like accident hapned the same day in the afternoone at one of the Duke of Mayennes batteries, which not onely burnt the Officers of the Ordnance; but also the Marquis of Villars, brother by the mothers side to the Duke of Mayenne, and Marshall of the Campe, and the eldest sonne of the Earle of Ruberac, with two Capuchins which preached in the armie. The next day the Duke resolved to assault the halfe Moone at Ville-Bourbon, where many Noblemen and Gentlemen voluntaries went courageously to assault the place, but they were repulled with such resolution, as they lost two and thirtie men of note, and forty souldiers.

This was the first disgrace receiued before Montauban, the which was the same night somewhat moderated by the newes which the King receiued, that the Duke of Angoulême had defeated the Marquis of Maloze, hauing three thousand foot and foure hundred and fifty horse at Fauch, where they had foure hundred men slaine vpon the place, and two hundred wounded, amongst the which were about forty Gentlemen, or Captaines, with about an hundred prisoners.

The Marquis of Maloze defeated.

On the Dukes side were slaine three Commanders, with twenty light-horsemen, and fiftene, or sixtene hurt: about thirtie or forty footmen slaine. After which defeat, there was an accord made by the Duke with the Marquis of Maloze, That he, the Seigneur of Cauffe, the Baron of Senegas, with the Colonels, Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, should promise vpon oath, not to carry Armes, during the space of sixe moneths vpon any pretext whatsoever, but for the Kings seruice. In regard whereof, they should vnder the Kings good pleasure, haue a general pardon to enioy the benefit of the Edicts, as well for the libertie of their consciences, as for their liues and goods. That they should depart out of the Fort of Fauch, with their liues, armes and baggage, and retire whither they pleased, with a safe conduct if they desired it.

But let vs returne to the siege of Montauban. The batteries at Ville-Bourbon, continued the third and fourth of September, vntill foure of the clocke in the afternoone.

D The Duke of Mayenne, being desirous to lodge in the halfe Moone, gaue a second assault in this order. The Marquis of Thémies conducted thirty Muskettiers, and a dozen Souldiers with Ladders, in the head of forty men at armes, hauing on either hand certaine voluntaries supported by the Regiment of Faucon, and seconded by that of Soze: passing out of their trenches, the Marquis had a Musket shot in the head, and was slaine, the which so amazed the Muskettiers which followed as they stood still.

The second assault of the halfe Moone.

The Marquis of Thémies slaine.

E Then the men at Armes, led by the Seigneurs of Sajanne, Monban, and Angy, passed on to the point, hauing the voluntaries on either side, and were the first which cast themselves into the ditch, which was sixe foot deepe. The besieged had a casemate which did much annoy them, yet they forced them to abandon it.

E The Ladders which they should haue planted to the bastion, right against the halfe Moone, were foure foot too short, which was the losse of many. The voluntaries & men at armes which assaulted the halfe Moone, finding the earth much beaten downe with the Cannon, and easie to mount vpon, tooke the halfe Moone, notwithstanding all their shot, and without doubt had caried *Ville-Bourbon*, if the footmen had charged. But they grew so amazed seeing many retorne wounded, and beleeving that all had bene lost, as they stood still, leauing those Gentlemen to the slaughter; neither was it possible for their Campe-masters to make them aduance.

The halfe Moone taken.

During this little stay, the besieged resumed new courage, and the voluntaries and men at Armes seeing no man to second them, and a cloud of a thousand men comming, and passing the bridge to cry kill, kill, they were forced to retire, and leaue the place, which they had so happily gotten and defended for the space of two houres. The slaughter increased by this disorder and retreat, where there were slaine forty Gentlemen vpon the Halfe Moone and in the Ditches, so hurt, with a great number of souldiers, whereof many died since. In this assault, the Earle of Boulfrand Commander within Montauban, with many others were slaine.

Retoured againe by the besieged.

Some write that the Duke of Mayen grew so melancholy for the losse of his brother the Marquis of Villars, and so many of the Nobilitie slaine at two assaults, as hee wished himselfe

Losse of Noblemen and Gentlemen at the assault.

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himselfe dayly dead. Being blamed by his familiar friends, he answered, it was not fit for him to liue any longer after the losse of so many friends. That hee was ioy he had not followed the aduice which had been giuen him, to approach by trenches without the hazard of so many braue men.

The batteries continued furiously, to open a greater passage, and to renew the assault. At the Kings quarter, they advanced their trenches vnto the Ditch, and the Duke *D'Espaignes* did the like to come to the Sap and Mine. The Duke de Mayenne, had caused Gabions to be brought to the Counterscarpe of the halfe Moone, which being discouered by their Centinels, the besieged sallied forth, and with hookes pulled them downe, with three fouldiers which were surpris'd amongst them.

The Duke of Mayen, hauing with infinit toyle aduanced his trenches vnto the edge of the Ditch, and planted his Gabions, on the seventeenth of September: the D. of Guise (newly come from Prouence to the Armie,) and the Earle of Schomberg comming to see him in his Tent, he told them that he would shew them his vvalkes, bringing them to the end of his trenches and Gabions, where he meant to plant a new battery within Musket shot of the besieged; where being discouered by the enemy, they made certaine Musket shot at them without any harme, onely the Earle of Schombergs hat was shot off. The Duke of Mayenne looking backe to see whence it came, was shot into the left eye with a musket bullet and flaine vpon the place, which presently put all the quarter into armes. At the brute hereof the fouldiers had no courage to take their Armes; the Commanders and Captaines wept: But the sorrow was farre greater in the Kings quarter. His Maiesty who had a great interest in the losse of this generous Prince, wept bitterly, and could hardly resolute for the space of eight dayes; nor be diuerted from his melancholy. All France shewed great feelings of griefe for his death: but especially the Citie of Paris, which vpon the newes of fo great an accident, went about to thrust a sword into her owne bosome, and consume her selfe in a cruell sedition, if by the wisdom of her Governours, and Magistrates, this fire had not beene quenched in the beginning. The Duke of Guise after his cousins death, returned into Prouence, to prepare a Fleet against Rochel. His Maiesty tooke time to dispose of his Governments. The Prince of Ioinville was made great Chamberlaine of France in recompence of his vertue, and to binde him more strictly to serue the King faithfully, making promise to all the Dukes officers and household seruants, to recompence them for their wages and services. The generall sorrow for his death, throughout the Campe, did somewhat coole the heate of their assaults, and batteries, for the space of ten or twelue dayes.

The newes of the Dukes death, being brought to Paris on the one and twentieth of September, his friends lamented it, but the raskall multitude spake boldly, saying, that they endured too much, and that they must kill all the Huguenots who had slaine their Catholique Princes and Noblemen; and that if they presumed on Sunday next to goe to Charenton to the exercise of their Religion, they should not returne home. The wiser sort of the Burgeses hearing these bold speeches, chid these raskals and scumme of the people, as seditious and greedy of alteration; there being also in Paris at this present a great number of murdering theues, and other needy Rogues, ready to take what was not their owne. This speech continued vntill Saturday following. Those of the Religion in the Towne, were not a little astonish'd. And this murmure spread abroad, so amazed them, that the most part of them left their houses, and abandoned Paris.

The Duke of Montbazon Governour of the Towne, foreseeing this sedition, desiring to assure them of the Religion, against these popular threats, and to prevent the mischief, sent for the ancients of the Church, to know their resolution, and whether they would goe on the morrow the sixe and twentieth of September vnto Charenton: but they being affrighted with these former rumors, said that they were determined not to goe.

Hereupon the councill was held at the Chancelors house, where it was at first concluded they should not goe; but because it was a matter of importance, and where in the King and his Edicts were interested, it was at length resolved, that notwithstanding all these rumours, they should continue their exercise, and in case they would, they should be assisted as well as possibly they might. The Duke of Montbazon gaue aduertisement hereof to the Ciuill and Criminall Lieutenants, and the two Prouosts, to attend vpon the way to Charenton; who sent their Commiffaries, and Sergeants, and

Death of the
D. of Mayen.

A sedition at
Paris against
them of the
Religion.

The Dukes of
Montbazons
providence.

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A and a good number of the Officers of Iustice armed vnto the gates and streets of Paris, to drue away the people which flocked together; some to see what would be done, others, to put themselves into action. All along the way to Charenton, the Prouosts with their Archers, continued all day vntill the euening. And the Duke himselfe assisted with a great number of Gentlemen besides his guards, went early in the morning that way, attending the hour of their returne, desiring it might be without any combustion, which could not be. For presently after noone, an infinit number of the base multitude ranne to S. Anthons gate to attend their returne, and a great number went out as farre of the valley of Fescamp vpon the way to Charenton. The guards seeing such

B a number of people inclined to doe mischief, were much troubled to prevent the disorder. The Duke sends his guards to ioyne with them: The Knight of the Watch did what he could with his Archers, and closed the wayes, making those Rascals to runne through the Vines. In the meane time the Prouosts with their people, and the Dukes Carabins conduct them of the Religion, being all together in one body in the midst of them.

Being thus disposed, they began to march towards Paris: but notwithstanding all this good order, this insolent scumme, beganne to assault them of the Religion: first with inuiolous words, and then with blowes, who defended themselves, hauing swords and daggers; so as they flew three, and four of theirs were beaten downe with stones. The slaughter had beene greater, if the guards had not stayed the peoples fury, which continued

C even in the Citie, notwithstanding the Gouernours presence and his guard. The sedition was great at Saint Anthons gate: and comming into the great street, a poore Gentlewoman with some others which had not put themselves with troope amongst the guards, was stayed at the gates by a troope of rascals, who would force her to salute our Ladies Image ouer the Port, who speaking some words against the worshipping of that Image, was presently murdered. A poore Priest passing through the street, was runne after by a number of these people, who would haue slaine him, taking him for a Minister, if by the care of the Gouernours folke, he had not beene speedily shut into the Arsenall.

D This tumult increased still, so as the Prouost of Merchants was forced to cause the Burgeses to arme, to draw the chaines, and to keepe good watch. They which dwelt most remote from Saint Anthons street, hearing a cry that they did massacre the Huguenots at Saint Anthons gate, lest the Churches being euensong time, and ranne to their houses to take their Armes, thinking there was some great sedition in the Citie.

This popular fury steyed not thus, but extended it selfe vnto Charenton. For as soone as the guards were parted to conduct them of the Religion to the Citie, a troope of idle vagabonds fall vpon their Temple, breake open the Court, spoile the Stationers shops, and burne the Temple, and so passe the river to enter into Paris by the Vniuersity, being in number about foure hundred, hauing made them an ensigne of a sheete. A furious

E sedition which troubled all the Magistrates, and put the whole Citie in alarme. The night following, they of the Religion were so terrified, as no man durst assure himselfe in his owne house, but went and lodged with their Catholike friends. And they which during the tumult stayed abroad, durst not returne into the Citie, but very late, and by other gates.

The next day the Duke of Montbazon with all the Magistrates, went vnto the Parliament, where a Decree was made, by the which the Court tooke them of the Religion into the Kings protection: Forbidding all men vpon paine of death to wrong them. The Magistrates were also enioyned to make enquire of the authors of this said sedition, and burning at Charenton.

F Whilst the Court laboured to suppress this disorder, the sedition renued againe in the suburbs of S. Marceau, where one of the Religion hauing slaine his owne sonne, and some others, was presently murdered by the people, and his house spoiled: but the Duke and the Prouost of Merchants comming, dispersed this multitude: yet after their departure they returned againe, and beganne to spoile two houses belonging to some of the Religion: but the Prouost and Lieutenant comming with their Archers, seized vpon foure laden with goods, which they would haue caried away. These they commit, and the next day they were punished by a Decree of the Court; that is to say, two were

A tumult at
S. Anthons
gate.

The temple of
Charenton
burnt.

Some of the
seditious
executed.

[bbz]

hanged

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hanged with Papers on their breasts, whereon was written *Seditious and Incendiaries*: A the other two were whipped with halters about their necks, and banished for nine years. The King was much offended at this action, commanding that there should be severe justice done.

The passage
of Hicks into
Montauban.

But now to returne to our siege of Montauban. Presently after the D. of Mayens death, there was a piece of service performed at that siege by a young man of our Nation, whose name deserves to be registred in this History, and left to posterity: which was, for the carrying of Letters into the towne besieged, from them of Rochell, and to assure them of their estate. I finde it not written in any of our yetters, being either ignorant of the fact, or careless to doe a stranger that honour: yet I will deliver it faithfully vnto the Reader, as I receiued it from his owne mouth. For the better vnderstanding whereof I must acquaint you with his life there. His name is *Ellis Hicks*, his father was a Scribeur dwelling within Ludgate, not long since deceased. He followed *Monf: de Mont Pouillon*, second sonne to *Monfieur de la Force* in France, during these last warres, being then not above twenty years old.

The Marquis of *La Force* his elder brother and his Lord being forced to leave Caumont by the Duke of Mayenne, they came to Clerac before the siege; where finding the inhabitants divided, the better sort desirous to obey the King, and the multitude resolute in their revolt, they left the towne, thinking to goe to Bergerac, but they had submitted themselves vnto the King: So as leaving Guienne, they came down towards Rochel with fifteen horse. Comming to the gates, they were shut against them, they calling the Marquis Traitor, and telling him that having betrayed Guienne, hee came now to betray them; yet by the means of *Monfieur de Fauas*, who commanded all the strangers which were in Rochel, they were let in, yet without any good liking of them of the towne, or with any assurance of their safeties. Montauban had beene besieged above a moneth, the assembly at Rochel was in suspense, having no communication with them being shut vp by land. They had sent many with Letters to informe them of their estate, but none returned, and were daily made beleue that Montauban was yielded vnto the King.

They were desirous to make a new tryall. Master Hicks (for his service well deserves that Title) offers his service to the Marquis. The Assembly hearing of it embrace it, although his young yeares could give them no great assurance of resolution. They furnish him with horse and money, and ship him to Mornac, after which, in eight dayes, travelling most by night with guides, he came to Moissac foure leagues from Montauban, where the Earle of Carleil, then extraordinary Ambassadour for his Maiestie was lodged, being the same night that *Monfieur de Mayenne* was slain.

There hee findes attending vpon my Lord Ambassadour, a familiar friend of his called *Fairefax*, who brings him to the armie, where they meet with one *Webbe* a follower of the Marshall of Saint Geran, who shewes him the campe, the trenches and the Mine by the Marshalls commandement, and lodgeth that night in his quarter.

The next day he resolves to put his designe in execution, hee had acquainted *Fairefax* therewith, who perswades him by all means to desist; but he told him that seeing hee had promised to doe it, he would die in the enterprife, or performe it. Hereupon hee dismissed *Fairefax*, and having made choice of a void place betwene the Kings quarter, and the Constables, where there was neither trench nor guard, but some straggling Centinels. He set spurs to his horse, and made towards the towne, there were some horsemen pursued him, and the Centinels shot at him, and the towne did the like: but comming neere to one of the bulwarkes, hee waied with his hat vnto them, which caused them to forbear, and to come downe to a Posterne to let him in.

Fairefax having beene seene in his company, was presently laid hold on, and carried to the Kings quarter; where being examined, hee confessed that hee had knowne Hicks long, but was not acquainted with his intent; and that for his owne part he was a Gentleman belonging to the Lord Ambassadour, and was come onely in curiositie to see the Campe, which being verified, he was sent home with good vñage.

Hicks being come into the towne, was conducted by the Consuls to *Monfieur de la Force*, who knew him well. He delivers his Letters, and acquaints them with the estate of Rochel, which gaue them great content. He informes them with the estate of the Kings

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A Kings Army: that the Duke de Mayen was lately slain; that the Souldiers dyed daily of the purples and flux; and that if there should fall any store of raine they would not be able to lye there. He likewise told them there was a Myne ready to be blowne vp that night, and shewed them the place for the which they prepared. Having made a breach, they came to the assault, and were repulsed with the losse of six hundred men. He staid three weekes in the Towne, during the which there were diuers enterprises. His desire was to returne to Rochel, telling them that his worke was yet but halfe done. Hee would take no letters with him but onely a note from *Monfieur de la Force*, to witness that hee had bene there: onely they willed him to assure the Assembly, that they would neuer treat but for the general of all the Churches, and if hee would haue any letters, they would signe them with their bloods. Hee takes the opportunity of a dark night (after diuers former attempts) and gets out on foot with a guide, creeping vpon their knees, vntill they had past the Kings Centinels, and came that night to Negropelisse, where he lay hidden in an old ruinous house all the next day. The next night hee came to Saint Antonia, being seven good leagues from Montauban; where they began to wauer, and were ready to submit themselves: but hee having assured them of the estate of Montauban, they persisted. There they furnished him with a horse, from whence hee went to Castellana, and visited *Monfieur de la Force* Ladie: which done, after some daies trauell he got to Marans; and from thence by sea, being seven leagues, to Rochel, where he gaue an account of his employment, to their great contents.

On the foure and twentieth of October in the night, there happened a great fire vpon the Merchants Bridge at Paris, the which in three houres consumed both that and the Changers Bridge, so as the houses which were built vpon them fell into the riuer, to the vndoing of many men. They spake diuersly of the cause, some of the ignorant multitude would needs ascribe it to them of the religion; but it was more truly verified to be by the negligence of a maide in a Scribeurs house. The priuate losses vpon these two Bridges were very great, and many men vndone thereby: whereupon the Court of Parliament made a decree, whereby all Rogues and Vagabonds were banished the Citie. A general gathering was made throughout all the Parishes, for the reliefe of such as had beene ruined by the fire. The Prouost and Sheriffs were enioyned to free the course of the Riuer, and draw out the materials. Men were appointed to looke for the goods in the bottome thereof, and to cary them to the Towne-house, there to be inventoried. That the poore Merchants who had lost their estates, should not bee sued for their debts for the space of one whole yeare.

The Duke of Rohan having no means to relieue Montauban by force, the Marquis of Maloze being defeated by the Duke of Angoulesme, he sent *Beaufort* with twelve hundred men to succour the Towne; who got to Saint Antonin, where hee was pressed to hasten his succours, else Montauban would be lost: whereupon he resolved to march by the plaine, comming about midnight neere vnto the towne, where there was a strong Barricado, guarded by three hundred men. They write of these twelve hundred, a third part entred into the Towne, and that the rest were slain and taken prisoners, amongst the which were *Beaufort* that led them, and the Governor of Saint Antonin. But Master Hicks, who was then within the towne, reports confidently, that there entred seven hundred men well armed. The day after this exploit, the Kings army was fortified with 6 or 7000 men, brought by the D. of Memorency, the Marquis of Villeroy, and others.

On the eighth of October there was an interview betwix the Constable *Luznes*, and the Duke of Rohan, to aduise by what means they might conclude a peace, but there was great contrariety in their propositions. The Constable offered to treat particularly for the Duke of Rohan, and high Languedoc, and that Montauban should render to the Kings mercy. The D. of Rohan, as General of the Churches, desired to make a general treaty forall the Townes of their party; the repairing of the demolished Townes, and 100000 crownes to pay his troops; which was thought an vnreasonable demand: And so they departed, but ill satisfied one with another.

On the ninth day of October, the Prince of Toiuille gaue an assault vnto the great Bastion of the old Towne, that he might lodge therein; but hee was repulsed with some losse. And the next day, the Marshall of Themines, having blowne vp a myne in the halfe moone of the Bastion at Villeboubour, and lodged some souldiers thereupon: the

[b b 3]

night

A great fire vpon
the Merchants
bridge at Paris.

Succours sent
to Montauban.

An interview
betwix the
Constable and
the D. of
Rohan.

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night following, the besieged issued out, cut the throats of them all; put to flight the first, second and third guards of the Trenches, and came vnto the Marshalls Tent, filled a great part of their Trenches, burnt their Galleries, and the carriages of their Cannon; set fire on their powder, and carried away a Falcon.

Having held the trenches six houres, in the end they were driven out by Saint Croix, Barail, and Faucon, Camp-masters; whereof the last had his arme shot off, and died soone after. They write that in this fallie, there were twenty eight men of note or Officers slaine, with two hundred souldiers: and of the besieged but foure slaine, and two prisoners. This repulse did nothing daunt the Kings army, for on the fteenth of October they gaue a generall assault at the three Batteries; where they were repulsed, but with equall losses. There were two things afflicted the Kings Armie, sicknesse, and jealousyes: and there followed a third, which was the onely hope of the besieged, which was ruine, whereby the Riuier swelled.

At this time the King received an aduertisement that M. de Montbrun (who had bene made Lieutenant generall of Prouence, by the Assembly at Rochelly) had revolted in Mure in Dauphiné, and that his troops being three or foure thousand strong spoiled the champion Countrie: That he had great enterprises vpon Grenoble, and that the Earle of Suze was taken and brought thither. This Earle had his chiefe abode in Champagne; But seeing how the affaires of them of the Religion declined in many Provinces, he resolved to gaue make warre in Dauphiné, being followed by some Gentlemen. Passing by Griere, within a league of Grenoble, on the sixteenth of October to goe to Mure, the Countrey people growing jealous, demanded whither they went; the Earle answered they had nothing to doe; so as from words they fell to blowes, in which conflict there were three Pefants slaine, and six hurt, whereby the Earle had a free passage; after which they made what speed they could, yet knew not whither they went: in the end they came to a Village called S. Mary, where they intreated a Pefant to direct them their way, promising him foure pistols: the Pefant offered his seruice willingly; but hee willed his Boy to goe and aduertise the Commons, whilst he led them through the rocks of Marinette, where they were no sooner entred, but they were encountered by three or foure hundred Pefants, armed after their manner, who cried vnto them, S and deliuer your armes, else you are dead men. The Earle and his followers, seeing themselves in a place of such disadvantage, seeked to saue themselves; but the Earle of Suze, and some gentlemen to the number of twenty fife were taken and caried to Grenoble. The Pefants pursued the rest, and tooke foureene more, among the which there were found diuers letters to M. de Montbrun, with a plot of the Towne, and on which side they should assault it. The Pefants were rewarded with some money, and the horses and armes of them which were taken.

A second enterprise to seize vpon Grenoble

This first enterprise against Grenoble being discovered, they within the towne which had intelligence with Montbrun plotted a second, but the meanes to aduertise him was very difficult: they must of necessity passe by Port de Clay, two leagues from Grenoble, which was well guarded; Bouffier, an Advocate in Parliament tooke the charge vpon him, and drew the instructions of the enterprise, who hauing giuen them to his Clerk, to carie to Montbrun, and for the more safety he put him into a Wine-pipe, and laid it in a Cart, which passeth Clay without any discouery; hauing gone a quarter of a league further, the Carter beat out the head of the vessell, and the Clarke went his way towards Montbrun: he presently encounters with another Clarke his great companion and friend, who enquired of his journey, and he like a silly fellow discouered vnto him the enterprise, promising him mountaines if hee would make one. The other seemed to be glad, giues him great thanks, and promiseth to goe with him; entreating him to stay but halfe an houre vntill he had done some necessary businesse. In the meane time he runs speedily to Clay F to aduertise them which were in Guard, who post after and seize vpon the Clarke; they search him and finde his letters and instructions, and conduct him to Grenoble, where Bouffier his Master, and others were committed to prison: And thus the second enterprise was also discovered.

The enterprise of Grenoble discovered.

In the meane time Montbrun spoiled many Castles in the countrie of Diois, and the Mountaines of Dauphiné, threatening to come neere vnto Grenoble, which made the Parliament to giue order for the leauing of 6000 men for their defence. The Duke

d'Esclignieres

A d'Esclignieres being aduertised of these alterations, wrote this following letter; "M. de Montbrun, I haue bene aduertised that you haue armed in Dauphiné, and haue had some reproach, as if I were your Consort, the which hath much troubled me, both for that I desire there should not be any combustion in Dauphiné, or that they should feele the discomforts of warre; as also for the consequence of the fact. You know the King doth not take armes against the reformed religion, but doth onely pursue them which are revolted; else I would not assit nor giue my consent, being against my Conscience which I preferre aboue all things. It is most iust his Majesty should be master of his Townes, and that those which will not yeeld obedience willingly, he should force by his armes; otherwise he should be neither Master nor King, but euery one should make a party by himselfe: the which would proue to bee of a very dangerous consequence, by the which any soeigne enemy (how weake soeuer) surprising vs in the heat of our diuisions, would make him selfe Master of the whole Realme. You know that strangers haue alwaies sought to diuide vs; and when they haue seene vs banded one against another, they haue then fallen vpon France and troubled vs, whereas they could neuer annoy vs being at vnity. There is nothing which makes a kingdom more powerful then peace and concord: but when as discord begins to creepe in, and euery one drawes his owne way, and will not heare the voice of the master Pilot, it is an euident signe of Shipwrecke. I am not yet so ignorant in affaires of State, but I know how wee should carry our selues; and I cannot but tax our Ministers of great rashnesse in this conclusion which they haue taken in the assembly at Rochel, neither would I nor any good man giue his consent, being a meane to ruine the State. I haue bene aduertised of the disaster which is befallen the Earle of Suze, and am sorry for it, although I am ignorant of his intention, or whereunto it tended. I pray you consider what you doe, and that you attempt nothing by armes which may be prejudiciall to the Kings seruice. But contrariwise, if you discouer any mutines, employ your armes to suppress their infolency; or rather lay them quite downe to free the world from iealousie. I desire not that Dauphiné should bee oppressed, and you cannot entertaine your troops without discomfort to the people. For this cause I entreat you againe to disarme and to dismisse your forces: but, aboue all haue an especiall care not to attempt any thing against Grenoble, where they say you haue intelligences. I haue bene aduertised that there are certaine busie-headed people, who haue bene desirous to deliuer it vnto you, to the prejudice of the Kings seruice, and in fauour of Rebells, the which I abhorre. You know with what paines I haue preferred this Prouince, during the troubles; and now I desire it should not fall into the miseries wherunto others are subiect. Rebellion is a crime which cannot be exprest: and which drawes after it all kindes of calamities; the which I should bee loath to see in Dauphiné; and you cannot make your selfe Master of Grenoble but by apparant rebellion. And therefore I entreat you to leaue the affaires in the same estate they now are in, and that I may haue the contentment to heare you haue laid downe your armes, &c. From the Campe before Montauban the 13 of November 1621.

The Seigneur of Boisse Pardailan, being in the Kings armie before Montauban, an aduertisement came vnto his Maiesty, that there were two thousand of the Religion in armes which spoiled the Countrey lying vpon the Riuers of Garonne and Dardonne, hauing their retreats into Monheur and Saint Foy; and that his Sonne and Sonne-in-law were the Leaders, wherupon the King said vnto de Boisse; These are yours, goe speedily and take such order as shall bee fit. Vpon this commandment hee leaues Montauban and enters Monheur before they had any intelligence of his coming, which made such as were in armes to leape ouer the walls to auoid his indignation. Thinking to haue assured Monheur, he passeth the riuier of Garonne, and goes towards S. Foy, where hee had left F Theobon his Sonne-in-law, who was revolted. He passed by Genlac, where hee assembled the Consuls, and let them know the necessity of their obedience.

At night Monsieur de Boisse, being retired into an Advocates house called Nanze, after Supper Saignac of Eineffe, being followed by fortie Muskettiers, entered the lodging, finding Monsieur de Boisse in a Gallery, who without any amazement leapt to his armes and cried out, Ah Traitors, will you murder me thus wretchedly? These assassines cried vnto the Iudge of Genlac, and vnto Nanze to stand aside, and presently discharged fife and twenty Musket shot, and slew him with a Priest which was alwaies

about

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The Duke of
Esclignieres
to M. de
Montbrun.

Monheur and
Saint Foy re-
uolt.

M. de Boisse
murdered:
and Genlac
revolted.

A generall
assault.

The Earle of
Suze taken by
the Pefants of
Grenoble.

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about him. After this detestable murder, they threatened the Inhabitants of Genfai to burne all about the towne if they opened not their gates: but it is easie to force them, which are willing to be forced: so as seeing *M. de Boisse* dead, they opened their gates, and they became Masters of that place, the which did much fortifie Saint Foy. The Marquis of Mirebeau, sonne to the deceased, commanding in Monheur, declared himselfe presently for the reuoluted: they which had slaine his Father were kindly entertained into Saint Foy, and Monheur, which towne did much hinder the commerce betwene Bourdeaux and Thoulouse, and was likely to bee a bridle to the Kings Armie.

Disorder in the Kings Camp.

At Montauban they continued their batteries, and the besieged were still resolute: knowing the difcommodities of the Kings campe, and assuring themselves, that the abundance of raine which fell, would force them to rise; for intruth, the Campe was full of sicknesse, as fevers, bloody fluxes, purples, and other contagious diseases, whereof many men of quality died daily, besides an infinite number of souldiers. The Duke of Memory (who had brought goodly troopes to the Kings army) fell dangerously sicke, so as the Physicians despaired of his health: His troopes being lodged in the Duke d'Esquigniers quarter, holding their Commander to be dead, three thousand went away in one night, whereby the quarter was left very bare, and those which remained were forced to be daily in guard, which caused great sicknesse in the regiment of the guards, and other troopes being ouer toyled. Many went away without leaue and could not be staied. The mortality was great throughout the whole Campe, and the infection of the ayre dangerous for such as continued at the siege. They within the towne were not freed from the said miseries; many souldiers and inhabitants died of the plague, and pouerty. These miseries which had wasted about a third part of the Kings army, greatly distasted the Commanders and Souldiers, with the tediousnesse of the siege, during the which they had gotten little ground on the enemy. In the meane time the bad season of the yeare pressed them, and the continuall raine so annoyed their troopes, as they knew Montauban would not be taken that yeare, and that they should be forced to yeeld vnto the time. At the quarter of *Ville Bourbon*, where the Marshall de Themines commanded, the Regiment of *Thoulouse* went almost all away: and the other Regiments for the losses and sicknesse they had had, were not able to winter there, and stood in great neede of some ease of their continuall travell in the trenches; whereupon those of the towne grew insolent, making many brauadoes against the besiegers, inciting them to yeelde to *Monsieur de Rohan*, or *Monsieur de la Force*, and they would hold good quarter with them.

The newes therefore of the continuance of the warre in Daulphiné by *Monsieur de Montbrun*, where the presence of *Monsieur d'Esquigniers* was very requisite for the peace of that Prouince; together with the important necessity of the regaining Monheur, which troubled the country vpon the Riuer of Garonne, and all Guienne; and the continuall raine and ouerflowing of the Riuer of Tarne, were the principall causes which moued his Maiesty. First, to goe and besiege Monheur. Secondly, to leaue fix thousand men in the Townes, Castles, and Forts about Montauban; with five hundred horse to keepe the field, vnder the charge of *M. de Saint Geran*. And thirdly, to send backe *Monsieur d'Esquigniers* into Daulphiné; and to make his grand Child the Earle of Saulx Lieutenant General in Daulphiné, which for very important considerations was effected. And to establish certaine Imposts for three yeares at Valance, vpon all things which should be transported up or downe the Riuer of Rofne, to furnish towards the charges of the siege of Pouffin and of Biy, which since this war had hindered the trafficke both by water and land all along the said riuer.

The Constables letter to D. of Mont.

About this time the Constable wrote a letter vnto the Duke of Montbazón, wherein he obserues the defects of the siege of Montauban in these termes; "Sir, I did assure you I would be the last at the siege of Montauban, which I haue not failed to performe, because this morning I made our retreat, and by the same means the review of our miserable troopes, which sicknesse and length of the siege had so wasted. Wee haue raised the siege, but not withdrawne our intent, and the affliction we haue at one time or other to ruine them, hauing reduced them to such estate as they cannot come out of their towne, but they must either be taken or slaine by our troopes which inuiron them, to the number of six thousand foot, and five hundred horse, composed of those new troopes which

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A which arriued here within these two dayes, and of some old Regiments which wee leaue to refresh and strengthen themselves. This is our misery, which although it touch all our army, yet hath it not taken downe our courage, as we will shortly shew them, if it please God. We were resolute to goe into Languedoc, but an accident hath happened, which hath diuerted our designe, the death of *Monsieur de Boisse*, who was murdered by his owne sonne, and his sonne in law; for he who slue him, is retired vnto them, and they are reuoluted, with two places which the King had by agreement entrusted them withall before the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely. Vpon this accident the King had sent to inuest them, and after his Maiesties entry into Thoulouse, hee will goe and assaile Monheur, to chastise the elder sonne, who is in that towne, and hath declared himselfe against the King: of which I will aduertise you. This, Sir, is our misery, the which would much more afflict vs, if the deceased King (the greatest Captaine of elder times) had not many times assailed places of lesse strength, and yet bene forced to leaue them, and raise his sieges. And for vs, it is certaine he was neuer in the like extremity as we, who for the great sicknesse amongst vs, haue bene constrained to raise the siege of a towne which could not hold out twelve dayes longer, if we had had men; but the length of the siege had so wearied our Captains, that in stead of encouraging the souldiers, they disheartned them. Four things haue ruined vs: the first was, The Duke of Mayen by his rashnesse made diuers assaults to no effect, and lost thereby a great number of Noblemen, Gentlemen, with many Captaines and souldiers, so as the rest of his troopes were vterly discouraged, & went almost all away, what order foucer could be giuen: The amazement of his quarter gaue the enemy such heart, as they verily beleueed they could not be forced, and hindered them from treating, which else without doubt they would haue done. The second was the fault which the D. of Angoulesmes troopes committed in suffering the succors to passe into the towne, which else had bene taken within foure dayes. The third was, the sicknesse of *Monsieur de Montmorency*, which caused three thousand men which he had brought with him to depart in one night, by which means the Duke d'Esquigniers quarter was ruined. The last and the greatest, was the great & intolerable sicknesse which spread it selfe vniuersally through all the campe, from which none hath bene free, the King excepted and my selfe, whom D our good God hath preferred. You haue seene my Letter to *Monsieur*: which shewed our miseries, the repetition whereof would be now too long; I dreame on the siege no longer, but thinke on what is to be done hereafter. You know the King hath so bridled these people, as they cannot escape; they shall haue no more libertie, no more commerce or trafficke, no labour or tillage, no means to victual their towne, seeing that round about them we haue placed strong Garisons (as you know) to cut them off if they issue forth. This is all I can say vnto you, the rest the bearer shall report. Assure you that I am with all the forces of my soule, Your most humble sonne, and obedient seruant, *Luyne*.

There were diuers things published notwithstanding, which made the Constable author of all the miseries of this siege, vnderaken out of season, and contrary to the opinion E of all the world. They taxed him, That he had not besieged it on all sides, as hee should haue done: That he had leauied much money vpon Edicts, loanes, and impositions, and had brought much from Paris with conuoyes, with pretext to pay the souldiers, where hunger slew more then the enemy or sicknesse: That he caused fix hundred men to labor daily at Lefseny, as many at Quille-beuf, eight hundred at Amiens, five hundred at Calais, two hundred at *Luyne* house, which they built at Paris, all after the rate of two shillings sterling *per diem*. Besides 1500 in garison at Amiens, for the guard of part of his treasure, and all vpon the Kings costs; whilst the poore souldiers before Montauban died of hunger, and had bene forced to abandon the army for want of pay. They taxed him with many things; First, with his absolute power in the government of the State, commanding F the armies and Seales. Secondly, for the new Edicts which he would passe. Thirdly, for his cariage in military actions. Fourthly, with his riches: and fifthly, his Governments. So as not onely the common people of Thoulouse cursed him, but also men of qualitie complained: whereof a kinsman of his being at Thoulouse to aduance the Kings entry, aduertised him by Letter, to whom he made this answer.

Cousin, if I were a new Courtier, and that I were not accustomed to the continuall assaults of flaunder, I would not so easily oppose my constancy to diuert it, and should not resolute to that patience which the knowledge of such actions giues me; but being inured

Blames laid vpon the Constable Luyne.

"The Constable Luyne, who was a Frenchman, and a great soldier."

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 "spoken of: I wonder not that you are touched with these detractions, seeing you have not
 "wherewithall to repell them as I haue, by that innocency wherein I haue liued. I heare
 "them with indifferency; this contagion infects me not, because I am armed with a coun-
 "terpoison, which is my sinceritie and my incomparable fidelitie, which marcheth in the
 "front of all my actions. You who heare but the thunder of the people, lye in apprehen-
 "sion, although you can iudge better then any other, that my good intentions may wor-
 "thily shelter me from such stormes. Let vs giue the vulgar leaue to talke, and those whose
 "idleness giues them leasure, to glosse vpon other mens actions. Hee that brought heretofore
 "into the Realme, hath he not attempted against heauen? Wherefore those which haue no B
 "better foules, haue they not the like libertie to controule my actions, and that falsely? They
 "are men full of malice, and without fame, seeing they speake ill of the present euents, and
 "so easily forget what is past, which hath bene publickly applauded and held for miracles.
 "What haue we done to be so condemned? What ingratitude is it, that this towne should
 "forget the good hath bene done them, to haue taken many townes, which like Harpies
 "had their tailons ready to teare them in peeces? What more pretious thing could they
 "haue for, then the person of our King, and that of his Constable, and of all the Princes,
 "Officers of the Crowne, and many other men of quality, who haue caried some markes
 "of this siege, either by the hand of heauen, or by them of the towne. And although those
 "masters which glosse vpon our actions (who are continually in danger, and they secure in C
 "their seats) shall it be lawfull for them to iudge vniuersally of our carnage, and may we not
 "appeale from their passions, but must see our selues condemned? I am of opinion, that the
 "King should attend iustice from heauen, seeing wee fight for him who can discerne the
 "good from the bad.

"I will not stand to iustifie that which concerns the siege; our foresight for the vnder-
 "taking of it; our care and resolution in ordering all things necessary; our diligence in pre-
 "ferring a continuall toile before rest, which they which speake so much would willingly
 "haue spared; and our resolution to expose our liues without consideration, but only for
 "the Kings seruice, and the good of his Estate. To whom am I bound to giue any account
 "but vnto God, and the King? seeing I fight for none but for Religion and the State; all D
 "other considerations are indifferent. Whatsoeuer happens, I will neuer confesse any de-
 "fect, seeing I am innocent before God, and know how to make those controuersers silent,
 "not with the Constables sword, but in letting them see that they haue beleued too lightly
 "or inuented too maliciously.

"Touching the euent of this siege, God will dispose at his pleasure, and I will doe my
 "dutie; assuring you that whatsoeuer happens, we will leaue such forces in this Prouince,
 "as they shall haue no cause to feare. We will leaue such forces about Montauban, as they
 "shall be more miserable in their imaginarij liberty, then if they were in the Kings prote-
 "ction. Let them of Thoulouse consider, that they are no proprietaries of their towne:
 "that the King is their soueraine Lord, and hath the greatest interest in their preferuation: E
 "His reputation is engaged; it is for the good of Languedoc: Let them giue vs leaue, for
 "in taxing men they daunt their courages, and in accusing them falsely they take from them
 "all courage to doe them good: And if it were not in respect of the King, seeing them so ill
 "affected, I could make them know that they must hope for much from my care, and not
 "breake with me, who am able to assist them powerfully, &c.

The King
comes to
Thoulouse.

The King having raised his siege from before Montauban, hee went to make his entry
 into Thoulouse, where he was receiued with great shewes and state: the particularities I
 will leaue to the Originall. Coming thither, the Constable entertained the Court of
 Parliament and the Capitouls of the towne with a goodly discourse touching the raising
 of the Siege, and spake so plausibly vnto them, who had contributed their men, money, F
 and cannon, to assist his Maiestie in this Siege, as he made them to allow of the Kings re-
 solution in retiring of his armie. He told them that it was for the best, assuring them, that
 in the Spring the King would shew great effects of his power against his rebellious
 enemies.

The Baron of
Leran and some
of the Religion
advised.

During the Kings abode at Thoulouse, he was aduertised of a defeat of three thousand
 of the Religion in the Countie of Foix, who vnder the conduct of the Baron of Leran,
 had attempted the towne of Vareilles, into the which the Seigneur of Urban had put
 himselfe

A himselfe with his friends to defend it: but being fearfull of the Kings approach, and the
 Duke of Angoulesmes, with the light-horse, they raised their siege, and retired their
 Cannon.

They write, that in their retreat they were charged by the Barons of Aunoux and S.
 Chamant, and by Urban, who fallied out of the towne, and were wholly defeated, so as
 six hundred were slaine vpon the place, and many taken prisoners, amongst which was
 the Baron of Leran their Commander.

The King vpon the first aduertisement of the revolt of Monheur, sent the Marshall of
 Roquelaure to inuest it; and presently after the raising of the siege of Montauban, he dis-
 B patched Monsieur de Bassompierre with foure Regiments. The winter season made them
 apprehend a long siege, yet the souldiers laboured willingly, and vpon the Kings coming
 to the Campe, they recovered their counterscarpe. They of Saint Foy fought to relieue
 them. The King hearing that they of Saint Foy kept the field, he sent the Duke of Lux-
 emburg with twelue hundred foot, foure hundred horse, and two Cannons, to charge
 them; but they retired and abandoned those petty places which they had taken. The King
 commanded the Marshall of Roquelaure to giue an assault to Monheur, but hee entreated
 his Maiestie to haue patience, assuring him that hee would soone bring them to submit
 themselves to his mercy.

There were diuers batteries, mynes, and assaults; in the one of them the tenth of De-
 cember, the Marquis of Themines, Marshall of the Campys shot through the left ankle,
 whereof he died within few dayes. He was much lamented for his valour, both by the
 King and the whole armie. The same day the Kings troops going to renew an assault, the
 Marquis of Mirambeau, eldest sonne to the Seigneur of Boisse, who had bene hurt in the
 cheeke in the beginning of the siege, shewed himselfe vpon the rampier with the Viscount
 of Casters, holding out their armes as if they meant to parle, and anon after came downe
 into the ditch, and spake with Monsieur de Montispan, whom the King had sent into that
 quarter: They offered to yeeld vp the towne and agree to any reasonable conditions;
 which being reported to his Maiestie, he sent them word they should render themselves
 to his mercy, and that he would not grant them any articles: yet towards evening the
 D King made a promise of life to the Gentlemen, yeelding at his discretion, and to the sould-
 iers to march away with white stickes in their hands; as for the inhabitants, he would ad-
 uise what order should be taken with them.

On the next day, his Maiestie having sent them a commandement what order they
 should obserue, they came forth of the towne; first the women and maids in boats, but
 some were obstinate and would needs stay behind, which afterwards perished, for the re-
 giments got in disorderly at the breaches, spoiled the towne, & burnt it to the ground.
 The Marquis of Mirambeau was vnhorfed, his cloake taken from him, and so ill entreat-
 ed, as but for the Marshall of Roquelaure he had not escaped: the Viscount of Casters
 was also detained. There came out of this towne 260 souldiers.

E The fourteenth of December, and three dayes after the taking of Monheur, towards
 night, died the Constable Luynes of a pestilent feuer: he lay sicke some eight dayes, and
 drawing towards his end, was troubled with frequent convulsions, which left him not till
 his death, which bred great amazement in many, and gaue occasion vnto diuers to iudge
 thereof according to their passions. His body was presently opened, embalmed, and sent
 by water to Bourdeaux, and from thence to Tours.

On his death-bed he besought the King to take his wife and children into his prote-
 ction, which his Maiestie promised, and gaue assurance thereof vnto the Lady, by a comfort-
 able Letter which he wrote vnto her at Paris. Thus this great man, who had as it were
 a soueraigne power over warre and peace, is wrapped vp in the bundell of the dead with
 F the common souldiers; all his honors could not adde one houre to his life, nor the Kings
 fauours purchase him any fauour with death.

During the siege of Monheur, there were some insolencies committed by them of the
 Religion at Montpellier and other townes in Languedoc. They write, that they forbad
 the Churches and Couents in Montpellier, in the name of that Circle, to say Masse, or
 doe any act of the Romish Religion; whereof notice being giuen to the Capuchins, they
 would rather dye then desist willingly; so as they continued their exercise, but the doores
 being shut, and without the ringing of any bell, apprehending some tumult of the com-
 mon

Monheur
besieged.

Death of the
Marquis of
Themines
Lopere.

Monheur
yeeldeth.

Death of the
Constable.

Insolencies
committed in
Languedoc.

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mon people; yet afterwards they were forced to abandon their Church, so as in these combustions in Languedoc there were threescore and six Churches spoiled and beaten downe.

The same day that Monsieur was taken, his Maiefty was aduertised that Royan had been deliuered to *Monsieur de Soubise*, by means of the inhabitants; the castle was deliuered vnto him with this shamefull composition, That the Capitaines brother, who was Lieutenant in the place, should remaine Governour. Who comming soone after vnto the King, was deliuered into the Grand Prouosts hands.

Ships built by
the Duke of
Neuers.

Rochel, as you haue heard, was blocked vp by land, by the Duke of Espernon and his troops. His Maiesties intent was to doe the like by sea; for the effecting whereof, he had given order to the Duke of Neuers to cause five goodly ships to be made, the which begun rigged and made ready at Diepe, about the midst of October, and furnished with cannon and all things necessary, they set sail, but being vpon the coast of Britanie, they were diuided by a tempest; two of them were cast vpon the coast of England, and the other three anchored vnder Bel-Ile. In Nouember, sayling towards the Isle of Re, they were encountered by tenne Rochellers, who suncke one, rooke another, and the third fled to Brouage.

The Kings ar-
my put into
garison.

His Maiefty hauing resolved to returne to Paris, and to put his army during the winter into garison, in the townes of Guienne, to keepe Saint Foy in awe; hee gaue the charge thereof to the Duke of Elbeuf. The long siege of Montauban had caused *Monsieur de Montbrun* to reuiue his designs in Dauphiné, and to make vse of his Commission which hee had from the Assembly at Rochel, hoping to make himselfe as great a man as his father had formerly beene. The pretext of their taking armes, was the burning of the Temple at Charenton; and for that it was giuen out, they had murdered diuers of them of the Religion at Paris. The Estate of Dauphiné was very confused, where the souldiers on either side committed a thousand insolencies: the people cried out; the passages were not safe; Grenoble fearing surpris, fortified it selfe; the inhabitants were burthened with great guards; the gates were barricadoed: both within and without; and no man durst speake his mind freely, nor tell of which party he was.

The Duke
of Esclignieres
returnes into
Dauphiné.

The Duke of Esclignieres arriued in the beginning of December: his returne freed the inhabitants of Grenoble from their feare, and terrified *Montbruns* troops; hauing dismist most of the companies which had beene leauied by commission, he freed the country from the oppression of souldiers. *Montbrun* and those of his party assembled soone after at Die, and sent the Seigneur of Champoleon to the Duke, who would not heare him, sending them word that he would not receiue any one of their partie before they had sent him a Declaration and promise to disarme, and to submit themselves to the Kings seruice vnder the benefit of the Edicts: which hauing done, he caused this following order to be published, for the settling of a peace in Dauphiné.

A Declaration
made by the D.
of Esclignieres
concerning
them o the
Religion.

Hauing carefully laboured since our returne into this Prouince to maintain the Kings Authority, restraints all disorders, and giue peace vnto his Maiesties subjects; hauing heard the Deputies of them of the Religion assembled at Die, and receiued their protestations of fidelity and obedience to the Kings seruice, and not to adhere to any designs or intelligences, to the preiudice of his Maiefty, and the good of his Estate: knowing that his Maiesties intention is, to suffer all them to enioy the benefit of his Edicts, which make themselves worthy of his fauour: We charge and command all Capitaines and Commanders of horse and foot, to dismisst their troops within eight dayes after the date hereof, and to retire vnto their houses, and not to commit any act of hostility or exaction, vpon paine of death.

He also ordained, that all prisoners taken by them should bee presently set at liberty without ransom, neither should they be stayed for their charges, which hee would taxe after their enlargement: That all places and Castles taken by their party, shall bee restored to the proprietaries, and the new fortifications demolished. In yeelding this obedience, they shall not be molested nor disquieted for any thing that hath happened during the said alterations: the which shall be supposed as if they had neuer beene, taking all the Commanders, Capitaines, and Souldiers, with their goods and families into the Kings protection and his. Forbidding all men of what estate soeuer, to attempt any thing against their

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A their persons and goods, vnder pretext of iustice or otherwise, notwithstanding any decree made to the contrary, the which shall be without effect: and to suffer them to liue quietly in their houses and in the possession of their goods, charges, and honors, with free libertie to goe, come, and stay, in all places whither their affaires shall call them, &c.

Within three dayes after, the Earle of Saulx, grand-child to the Duke of Esclignieres made his entrie into Grenoble as the Kings Lieutenant Generall in Dauphiné. The Seigneur de *Montbrun* also disarmed and retired vnto his house. About this time the Duke caused his armie to march towards Valentinois to goe to besiege Pouzin and Bay, to cleare the Riuier of Rofne, and free the commerce which these two places had hindred since the moneth of May last. The next yeare will shew vs the successe of these enterprises.

Preparations
to besiege Pou-
zin and Bay.

The newes of this peace in Dauphine was very pleasing vnto the King: all the world did greatly extoll the Duke of Esclignieres, giuing him the title of the Kings most faithfull seruant.

The King hauing disposed of his army in Guienne, he returned to Paris about the end of Ianuarie, where the inhabitants receiued him with great content (being twelue thousand of them richly appointed in their armes) a league without the towne. The Deputies of Rouen came to Court, to be suters vnto his Maiefty for the razing of the Fort of Quillebeuf; he preuented them with a royall bounty: I know well (said hee) what you would demand; you desire to haue Quillebeuf razed, I tell you I haue resolved not onely to ruine the fortifications of Quillebeuf, but of all those petty places within my Realme which are not on the frontiers; so in stead of Petition, the Deputies beganne their speech with thanks for this bounty; and ended it with vovues and prayers for his prosperity.

The King re-
turnes to Pa-
ris.

The ordinary Assembly for the accompts of the Clergy had beene held at Paris in Iune, from whence it was transferred to Bourdeaux. The King deputed the Seigneurs of Vie and Houfay Councillors of State, vnto them, to acquaint them with the estate of his affaires, which had need to be speedily relieued with money from the Clergy. Vpon their proposition the Assembly resolved to assit his Maiefty with a million of crownes, to be onely employed in the siege of Rochel.

An assembly of
the Clergy.

The Assembly hauing deputed certaine of them to make this offer vnto the King, the Bishop of Rennes made this speech, being assisted by the Cardinals of Retz and La Valette, and the chiefe Prelates of the said Assembly.

Remonstrance of the Clergy vnto the King.

SIR, as the present miseries cause vnspokeable griefe, being accompanied with the remembrance of former felicities: so the ioy of prosperitie and happy successe, hath not any more liuely feeling then that of calamities endured when all object of sorrow is taken away.

The griefe and heauinesse of the French Church was great, seeing the ancient and true Religion oppressed, her lustre blemished and defaced, and her libertie captiuated in many places of this kingdom.

But now, that heauen (fauourable to her vovues) hath restored the greatest part of that which force and violence had wrested from her, and our miserie beginning to change into happinesse, we also change our feares into hopes, our sighes into songs, and our complaints into praises; yeelding infinit thanks vnto his diuine bounty, for the particular care he hath had of this Monarchy, giuing vs a powerfull King, to maintain the beauty and dignity of the Church.

It is you, Sir, that changeth our mournfull accents into acclamations of ioy, by the great aduantage and good, wee beginne to reape by your piety and the effect of your armes: So next vnto GOD, wee wholly consecrate our praises to your vertue.

You daily raise vp the Altars which Heretic had trodden vnder foot, vpon the which they now renew the ancient and true sacrifices of reconciliation and peace. You disperse all the feares and apprehensions which did enuiron vs. Feare hath

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" no more abiding in our foules, and expecting the full enjoying of peace and safetie which
 " your labours promise vs, we will bleſſe your name, and praife your generous actions which
 " cannot be enough worthily praized.

" Let the ancient Historiſes of the Hebrewes extoll their King who beganne to raigne
 " at eight yeares, and in the twelfth of his reigne vnderooke to chaſe away Idolatry, which
 " his predeceſſors had ſuffered; the which he performed in foure yeares: but we will ex-
 " ale our *Auguſtus* about him. It is true, Sir, that you had one yeare more then this young
 " King, when you tooke in hand the nobleſt Scepter of the earth. But you haue exceeded
 " him in zeale towards God, hauing not attended vntill the twelfth yeare of your reigne
 " to ſuppreſſe irreligion and reuolt which are ſifters, and go hand in hand; ſo we expect this
 " grace from heauen, that in leſſe then foure yeares wee ſhall ſee the time, when as God
 " ſhall be ſerued and honoured by all your ſubiects without diuiſion, as he is indiuiſible and
 " alwayes like vnto himſelfe: That hee ſhall bee called vpon with one heart and beliefe
 " throughout your Realme, whoſe bounds hee will vndoubtedly enlarge, ſeeing the paine
 " and care you take daily to encreaſe his ſeruite.

" Hauing dilated much vpon the Kings zeale and piety, hee complains of many outrages
 " (as they pretend) done vnto the Clergy by them of the Reformed Religion, and
 " animates the King to continue his deſigne of proſecuting armes againſt them, ſeeing it
 " tends onely, (ſaith he) to repell the iniuries done to God and your Maieſtie, the which be-
 " ing ſuffered, will entertaine a Chaos and conſuſion in your Realme: for where order, re-
 " ſpect, and the lawes are violated, it is impoſſible the Eſtate ſhould be quiet and happy: and
 " ſeeing that matters are reduced to that paſſe, as their obſtinate error cannot endure the
 " King and the authority of the Church; nor their felony the yoke of obedience which is
 " due vnto you; what can you doe better, Sir, then to take the rod of Iron to puniſh theſe
 " traitors, who deſire rather to lye in toyle, then to be governed in peace; who conuert all
 " your fauour into poiſon, and grow more bitter by the effects of your bounty. Sir, wee
 " deſire not warre, but peace: the God whom we preach daily, is a God of peace and not
 " of diſſention; we muſt imitate him in the ſame ſpirit, and demand it of him inceſſantly, as
 " the chiefe point of felicity.

" But to enioy a good peace, you muſt ſometimes cement it with warre, the which be-
 " ing juſtly vnderaken, although it draw after it ruines, ſpoiles, and loſſes, yet is it much
 " better then a bad peace; for God who is a juſt Iudge, doth alwayes giue a happy end to
 " a war well grounded. But there was neuer any more iuſt then yours, ſeeing it tends onely
 " to haue that reſtored vnto God and your Maieſtie, which is due vnto you within your
 " Realme. It were therefore a crime to ſuſpect, that any rebellious deſigne ſhall bee able
 " to trouble or change your proſperitie and victories. The meanes to make them perfect
 " and abſolute, is continually to beat and trample vpon this vngratefull, which preſumes to
 " riſe vp againſt you.

" And for the greater aſſurance, as the Prophet *Eliſeus* did ſet his hand vnto the Kings
 " to giue ſtrength vnto his bow, elſe the arrow hee ſhot had bene of ſmall force; ſo, Sir, E
 " the Church muſt ſet her hands to yours, and aſſiſt you to get an abſolute victory ouer
 " your enemies; ſhe muſt accompanie your armes with her continual prayers: and as it
 " fortifies your deſigne by a common aide, ſo the honor of the Church, muſt be a faithfull
 " director to your forces.

" And for as much as in an occaſion ſo much importing the honor of God, the health of
 " ſoules committed vnto vs, and the tranquillitie of this Eſtate, whereof wee hold the firſt
 " rancke; it ſhould be very vnſeemly to ſee your Maieſtie expoſed daily vnto danger, and all
 " the orders of France, to contribute their liues, counſels, and meanes, to the hazard and
 " extraordinarie charges of this warre, and wee to remaine ſecure in our houſes, and to
 " hoord vp thoſe goods which ſhould be employed for the ſeruite of God whereunto they F
 " were firſt conſecrated.

" To this end, Sir, the Deputies of the Clergie of France, conſidering the eſtate of your
 " preſent affaires, haue giuen vs in charge to preſent vnto your Maieſty a Million of Crowns
 " which wee offer vnto the perfecting of this maſter-piece, ſo gloriously begonne by you:
 " and particularly for the ſiege of Rochel, to the end, that as it hath bene the head of re-
 " bellion, ſo allo let it be the end.

And

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A And as the diuine bountie doth often heare the vowes and prayers which are made
 vnto him when his Altars are couered with offerings; ſo we humbly beſeech your Ma-
 ieſtie to take in good part two humble Petitions wee offer vnto you: Firſt, Sir, That it
 would pleaſe you to maintaine vs in our ancient rights, priuiledges, and immunities, and
 aſſiſt vs with your authority and conſent, for the enioying of that which belongs vnto vs;
 be it fees, or Caſtles, or ſtrong places, for the which wee haue taken the oath of fidelity
 vnto you: And withall not to ſuffer any exerciſe of the Reformed Religion in our lands
 and Iuriſdictions, remembering that if we hold them of your Maieſty, you alſo hold them
 from God, who ought to be more particularly honoured and ſerued in thoſe places then

B in any other, ſeeing they haue bene giuen vnto the Church, for expiation of offences
 committed. The other Petition, Sir, is; That you would not calme this ſtorme by the
 ſame meanes they haue done in former times; when they ſhare the rights of heauen with
 thoſe of the earth: when they balance feare, humane conſiderations and reaſons, with
 the power and aſſiſtance of heauen: when they meaſure the honour of God with priuate
 intereſt, whatſoeuer they build thereupon, is as variable and inconstant as the foundation,
 which is the world: and euery Edict which diuides the faith, diuides alſo Kingdomes.
 This peace is no peace, but trauailes onely the name: It is a miſchiefe painted ouer with a
 ſhew of good. We ſeeke not to deſtroy the effects of your clemency towards priuate

C men, who touched with a true repentance, haue reſcorted vnto your bounty as to an af-
 ſured Sanctuary, knowing that ſo great a Monarch is better pleaſed to ſaue and pardon his
 ſubiects, then to ruine them: but all theſe advantages which haue bene giuen them, by
 the generall Edicts of pacification, haue made them more obſtinate to maintain their
 errors againſt God, and their rebellion againſt you: They haue often ſubmitted themſelues
 vnto the yoke, and often ſhaken it off againe, which be marks of their infidelity and our
 weakneſſe. Neither doe we pretend to root out their error by force and violence, ac-
 knowledging the liberty which is engrauen naturally in the ſoule of man: That what is
 brought in by force is of no continuance; much leſſe of merit for faith, which ſhould be
 free and inſinuated mildly by diuine inſpiration, by patience, remonſtrance, and all forts
 of good example; which bee the armes wee pretend to vſe, to bring them vnto the true
 D Religion.

" But for your part, Sir, as the cauſes and root of a miſchiefe being knowne, they muſt
 be cut off and the courſe ſtayed: ſo your Maieſtie hauing ſcene by effect, that the places of
 ſurety, which they held not by Edict, but by a ſimple Brieffe, whereof the terme is expired,
 haue ſerued to no other end but to entertaine an open faction of diſobedience, and to pra-
 tiſe all kind of rigours againſt the Clergy and Catholiques. Wherefore we humbly be-
 ſeech your Maieſty to cauſe them to bee demoliſhed, when God ſhall deliuer them into
 your hands, as you haue begonne; and if any be preferred, that the Catholiques may be
 the ſtronger, from whom they may expect all fauourable vſage.

" In the end he concludes in theſe words: God grant, Sir, that the Rebels of your Realme
 E ſeeing themſelues deſtroyed of Forts and Rampiers, and of meanes to doe euill, may bee
 conuerted to the Catholique Faith, and to the obedience which they owe you. God
 grant, that ſuch as continue obſtinate, may ſlee ſpeedily to your mercie; or continuing in
 their malice, may be a prey to your Maieſties armies, and their memorie perpetually ac-
 curſed, &c. This was the ſubſtance of the Biſhops long ſpeech.

" The Aſſembly at Niſmes for the Circle of baſe Languedoc, had (as you haue heard)
 made an act for the diſmiſſion of *Monſieur de Chaſſillon* from his charge; and called the
 Duke of Rohan to be Generall of their Churches, and of the Prouince, in his place,
 who likewiſe cauſed an Apologie to be publiſhed in his defence againſt their crimi-
 nations.

F The D. *D'Eſquieres* (who after the ſiege of Montauban was retired into Daulphiné
 to pacifie thoſe troubles) was aduiſed to ſend ſome man of authority and of the reformed
 Religion to the Duke of Rohan at Montpellier, to repreſent vnto him the miſeries which
 the continuation of theſe warres, would bring to the generall of their Religion, and
 that a peace would be more expedient for them, and would quench the exceſſe of
 the peoples fury in the three townes of Montpellier, Niſmes, and Vzez.

Monſieur du Cruſ, a Preſident in the Parliament of Daulphiné (who during the reigne
 of King *Henry* of the fourth, had bene general agent for the Churches; and had purchaſed

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The Duke of
Rohans an-
swer to his Crosse.

chafed great credit and reputation amongst them of his Religion) was entreated by the A Duke *D'Esquigues* to performe this good office, and to goe vnto the Duke of Rohan to acquaint him with the meanes to attaine to some treaty of an assured peace. This President comes to Montpellier, and is well received by the Duke of Rohan, who heard him willingly, and made him this answer, That he had with griefe seene the insolencies which had bene committed in base Languedoc: but those people touched with a feeling of that which their brethren throughout all Europe suffered, were growne thus bitter: That hee would labour by all meanes to restraints their excesse: And as for himselfe, whensoever any occasion were offered to make knowne his fidelitie and obedience to his Maistie, to whom he had the honor to be allied, the seruice of God excepted, he would shew all dutie and due respect.

The Deputies of the Circle and their Partisans, grew wonderfully ialous of the Presidents coming, and of his conference with *Monsieur de Rohan*: They presently brute it abroad, that he was come to Montpellier, to perswade the Duke of Rohan to abandon them, and to deprive them of their Commanders and Leaders; That they must free themselves of him, and make him an example for all others to attempt the like.

They which had conspired this Presidents death, fearing their designe might be discovered, and so diuerted by the Duke, resolved to execute it instantly, sending one to salute him on the behalfe of the towne, to let him vnderstand that the chiefe Burgesse desired to doe their duties.

The President hauing receiued him with all courtesie, said, That if they did him the honor to come they should be welcome. This spy being returned to them which sent him, about forty of them entred suddenly into the Presidents lodging, where one of them like a mad man, for the beginning of his salutation, sayd vnto him; Traytor, commitst thou to withdraw the Duke from vs? who at this day is the onely protector of the faithfull, seeking our ruine with that goodly *D'Esquigues* who hath sought the overthrow of our Religion in France: if we had him here, we would make him feele the reward of his deserts as well as your selfe. The President making offer to answer, one presently stopped his discourse, thrusting him into the bodie, wherewith hee fell downe, yet not dead, but they presently dispatched him, giuing him fiftene or twenty wounds, which done they D shut his seruants into the house, and retired themselves.

The Duke of Rohan (who had entered ioyfully into the Towne) was so much displeased at this action, committed during his abode there, as he was forced to take his bed being sicke with very griefe for so barbarous an act, committed vpon the person of a Deputy of so high a qualitie, and sent from a Nobleman to whom they were infinitely bound.

This popular fury being somewhat cooled, and those which had been least enraged, and were most capable of reason, and counsaile, to pacifie the Duke of Rohan, who demanded iustice for this act, and to giue some forme of satisfaction to the King, and the Duke *D'Esquigues*, seized vpon foure of these murderers, who were presently executed; E yet some write that the chiefe authors and most culpable escaped.

The King was much incensed at this murder, committed contrarie to the Law of Nations, vowing to doe exemplarie iustice. The Duke *D'Esquigues* knowing the danger of a great Kings indignation, whose grace and clemencie is neglected, writes vnto the reuolted of Languedoc, Montauban, Guienne, and Rochel, conjuring them by the loue and zeale which he hath vnto their safety, to expiate their crimes and reuolt, by their prompt resolution vnto obedience; in these tearmes.

My masters, my name it may be will be suspected, as not hauing bene necessarie vnto the same reuolts, vnto which your rebellion hath plunged you within these eightene months; yet the affection which I haue euer borne you, and the care I haue had of you these fifty years, may chance to adde some force to my remonstrances, which ayme at nothing but the good of you and your affaires.

You know how much I haue bene offended with the murder of *Monsieur du Cros*, who was so traitorously vsed at Montpellier. You cannot be ignorant how much his death hath grieved me, seeing a man whom I much honoured and held in great esteeme to be so cruelly slaine. Yet hath not all this so much enflamed me, but the affection on which I beare you hath left some tendernes of heart in me, to giue you such counsell

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25

A as one friend may giue vnto another whom he loueth. It is not at this present that you haue made proofe of my friendship, the happy raigne of *Henry* the Great doth carie the admirable makes thereof. I made the same remonstrances vnto you the last yeare, hoping to put a bit into the mouth of the headstrong horse of reuolt; which hath gotten loose amongst you.

You haue scene with what griefe and compassion, I haue beheld your Townes ruined by this error; & how much more expedient it were for you, to open your gates vnto this great King, whose iustice giues life vnto his courage, then to attend the furie of his choller, which will nor be pacified but with the ruine of such as ioyne in faction with you. I haue employed my selfe many times to procure you a peace; but the iustice of his Maiesties armes, the authoritie which he hath ouer those townes, the power of his arme, and in briefe, his iust demands haue as often shut my mouth, as my tongue hath been ready to speake thereof vnto him: Every man knowes, that the King will in no wife trouble the peace of our Churches, or meddle with our consciences: but his iustice would be satisfied for many indignities, and mutinies which haue bene committed amongst you. For as hee is a most iust King, so will he haue equitie in equal regard throughout his dominion, and his glorious name admits him not to make any composition with inferiours; nor is there any Nation so barbarous in all the world, which approue your leauing of armes against your most lawfull Prince.

For my part, if the memory of mee be of any esteeme amongst you: and if the good offices which I haue performed on your behalfe, be not altogether buried in obliuion, I doe againe conjure and beseech you to depart from your partialities, and to follow the aduice of him who is and euer hath been most affectionate vnto you. A subiect can neuer humble himselfe so much vnto his Prince, both diuine and humane lawes require it: your Natures should inuite you, better late then neuer. The King is so milde, as your least submission will make him pardon your offences. He is a Lyon in courage, who seeing his enemy at his feet ready to submit himselfe, he toucheth him not; but if he growes obstinate he knows how to breake all his practices, to the preiudice of his enemies. You should be well aduised, and not attend him before your townes to offer an entry. The honour you shall haue in submitting your selues, shall be the greater, the more speedy it is. The reputation a subiect may get, when he mutines against his Prince, is greater when he humbles himselfe generously, and subdues his owne pride, then to contest against his King. If the Kings clemencie and bounty be not capable to bring you into the right way, and that this naturall piety be not sufficient to reduce his obstinate subjects to his seruice: yet let his powerfull armes (which are already false vpon you) moue you. Let his great authoritie; his generous troopes, and his glorious scepter, be as an adamant to draw your iron hearts to his seruice.

Consider, I pray you, & remember, what this inuincible King hath done this last yeare against you: what townes and places he hath taken from you, and apprehend the furie of his armes. The clouds of discord will in the end dissolve to your preiudice, and these mists of rebellion will be dispersed by the heate of a Sunne, I meane of *Leuis* the iust, who hath alwayes bene our Protector, when we haue humbled our selues at his feete.

You cannot deny but you are his subjects: you and I and all Frenchmen owe him tribute and obedience. It is one of Gods commandments, and we must honour his Prince, and not contest against his will. If hitherto you haue made shew of rebellion, now make it known that you are his Maiesties good seruants, and wipe out this blemish of your infamy by a voluntarie submission, you shall get more by mildnesse then by force. You haue no occasion of discontent: for since the Kings coming to the crowne, what priuiledges or immunities hath he denied or abolished? Nay, hath he not increased and augmented them by new Edicts in our fauour. You haue vnderaken this warre, vpon a false Title, and there is no man that hath any zeale to his Maiesties seruice, but disaduowes your rebellion: and they which conuerse daily with you, condemne your reuolts, as capitall crimes, contrarie to all diuine, naturall and humane lawes.

Many seditious persons, who haue no other desire but to breed confusion, and to trouble the state, are crept in amongst you, whose absence should be as much desired, as their presence seemes to promise you fauour, and seeke to animate you against the King, to the

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"end they may fish more freely in a troubled water, and make vse of you to countenance A
 "their designs. You should banish them out of your townes: you shall not see the ruine
 "which will fall vpon you, if you take this aduice; the Kings royall authoritie is most inter-
 "ressed. For my part I giue you this counsell out of the sincere good will I haue to your
 "good. I should be fory this rebellion should be the cause of your ruine; I aduertise you,
 "according to the small iudgement which breathes yet in my soule. If a happy peace
 "should make vs againe enioy the fruits of his fauours, and that you would present your
 "selues vnto the King with the keyes of your townes and hearts, it were not the worst aff-
 "you could doe: but contrariwise you should giue more peace vnto your affaires and con-
 "sciences; seeing the King desires not to breake the Edicts which hee hath made in fauour B
 "of vs. Thinke of it, and I pray vnto God that he will open your vnderstandings, and that
 "you may end the controuersie by a long and happy peace. Adieu.

What passed at
 Sea before
 Rochel.

The D. of Espernon, as you haue heard, had held Rochel blocked vp by land; but winter approaching, he was forced to leaue his lodgings. The Kings Fleet which should haue stopped their entry by Sea, had many misfortunes, so as the Rochellers were Masters of the Sea of Guienne, with an armie of thirty Ships, and one Gally.

Monsieur de Saint Luc, Gouvernor of Brouage was made Commander of the Kings Fleet, the which should lye betwene Chetebois, and the point of Coreille, and so block vp Rochel. But he was aduertised about the sixth of October 1621, by two Flemish ships that the Chevallier de Razilly (who commanded those vessels which had bene rigged in C
 the Ports of Bretagne) was towards the North of the Ile of Re, with fourteen ships, and had beaten the Fort of Saint Martin, with his Cannon, and taken thirtie ships thereabouts of diuers countries, and laden with diuers merchandize, which hee had sent with one of his men of warre into the riuer of Maran. The Rochellers being aduertified by one of their party, of Razillys his exploit, and that he battered their Fort of Re together with the estate of those vessels taken by him, and brought into that Riuer, rigged out in all haste thirtie ships, and one Gally to assaile Razilly, and to bring backe those hee had taken.

This newes being brought to *Monsieur de Saint Luc*, caused him presently to imbarke in his owne ship of a hundred Tunnages onely, appointing three others which by chance D
 were at Brouage to follow him and goe and ioine with Razilly, with whom after some hazard and danger of the Rochellers hee met; and boarding him, vnderstood of him that hee had had a combat with the Rochellers but two dayes before, and that they had recovered their thirtie Ships which were in the Riuer of Maran and his owne man of Warre.

This mischance made *Monsieur de Saint Luc* resolute to goe in good order, and fight with the Rochellers, although they were in greater number then the Kings ships; who finding them to the North of the Ile of Re, hard aboard the shore, in a place where the Kings Fleet could not approach them, drawing too much water, except onely the Pinaces, whereof one running aground vpon the Shelle of Cornau, it was E
 presently inuaded by the Rochellers and taken. *Monsieur de Saint Luc* hauing no meanes to draw the Rochellers to fight; and being pressed with want of victuals, munition and men, resolute to retire to Brouage: where hauing furnished their Fleet with what was necessarie: the Rochellers came with five and twenty saile, to charge the Kings Fleet, who prepared themselves to defend two of the Duke of Neuers ships which were runne on ground, which they battered with such violence, as in the end they boarded them, and caried them to Rochel, *Monsieur de Saint Luc* hauing no meanes to relieue them, by reason of the winde and tyde.

After this, the Rochellers hauing no meanes to annoy the Kings Fleet, they resolute to make a pallisado of ships in the Channell at the entrie of Brouage to keepe the Kings Fleet from coming out: But *Monsieur de Saint Luc* foreseeing this designe, F
 made in lesse then fixe dayes a Fort of earth, enuironed with planks and pyles, without the entrie of the Hauen of Brouage, and placed thereon three Cannons.

When the Rocheller came to make their pallisado, and sinke their Vessels laden with stores; *Monsieur de Saint Luc* being in the Fort, so plyed them with shot from thence, the Towne, and some ships vnder saile, that the Rochellers did but what they could, and not what they had proiected; who as soone as they were gone, had their ves-

sels

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A sels to make their pallisado which they had sunke, weighed vp againe, and by this meanes the entrie of Brouage, remained as free as before.

This done, *Monsieur de Saint Luc*, to winne time, rigged vp the rest of the shipping in the Hauen of Brouage, with the which hauing two or three times attempted to goe to Sea, and finding still the winde contrarie, hee was in the end constrained by the importunitie of his Captaines, to resolute to stay still there vntill the King had giuen order for the men which serued his Maiestie in his ships, whose time was now expired, and for other supplies which they wanted.

Thus the Rochellers being Masters of the Sea of Guienne, did daily inuent B
 new meanes how they might ruine this Fleet in the Hauen of Brouage, and in the end concluded to burne it: to which effect they sent three burning vessels with winde and tyde to breake in vpon them. But *Monsieur de Saint Luc* had also prevented this by sending out certaine long Boats with hookes and chaines of iron to draw them out the current vpon the owle, where they consumed without any hurt doing. Afterwards the Rochellers attempted to make a second Pallisado of Ships in the entrance of the Hauen of Brouage, but it tooke no effect.

The King being come to Paris, hee conferred the Government of the Cittadell of Amiens, vpon the Constables sonne, and made the Marshall of Cadneten his Vncle Lieutenant. He put another Gouverneur into Amboise, and changed the Gouver- C
 neurs and Garisons of Calais and Bullen. Into Calais he put the Seigneur of Pallis-
 seur, an ancient seruant of the Crowne of France. *Monsieur D'Amont* had the command of Bullen, and *La Fere* was committed to Beaumont, who had bene in Kil-
 beuf. Thus after the Constables death, there were great changes in the places which he held.

In the beginning of the yeare, some of the Religion, had thrust themselves into Bourniquet, a little Towne in Quercy, weake and not able to resist. The Inhabi- B
 tants being most of the Religion were willing to be surprized. The Castle made some
 resistance but soone yielded.

Bourniquet in
 Quercy has pre-
 sented and reco-
 uered.

The Duke of Angoulême and the Marshall of Themines, hearing of the taking and D
 reuolt of this place, which was like to bring great discommoditie vnto the countrie,
 resolute to besiege it with some part of their troopes, plant their Cannon, batter it, and
 so blocke it vp, as no succours could come thereunto: which they within seeing (who
 had now held it some three weekes) craue composition, and haue it granted them by the
 Duke of Angoulême vpon honorable tearmes.

The Rochellers of whom wee haue formerly made mention, had made them-
 selues Masters of the Sea of Guienne, and kept the Kings Fleet shut vp in the Port
 of Brouage, fixe of which Ships vnder the command of the Chevallier Razilly had
 staine out in a darke night, and retired themselves to the Ports of Britanie.

This misfortune of the Kings Naue, the raising of the siege of Montauban, and E
 the discommodities of a long and tedious winter, which would stay the King at Pa-
 ris vntill May, made the Assembly at Rochel to provide so much worke for the
 King during this Winter, as they hoped hee would be constrained to treat of a
 peace with them to their aduantage. They therefore resolute to make two de-
 scents or landings, at the entrance of the Riuers of Loire and Garonne, neither of
 them being above five and twenty leagues from Rochel. The one vnder the com-
 mand of *Monsieur de Souillac*, who should land at Sables d'Olone, attempt vpon
 Talmond, and enter into basle Poitou, and so recouer the Bankes of Loire towards Nan-
 tes, with five thousand foot, and as many horse as he could draw together of their parti-
 sans, whereof their were great numbers in that Prouince: That they should build Forts
 F wherefoever they got any footing, and thereby make all Poitou subiect to contribution,
 and drew Imposts from all that should be transported by water or land, as they had done
 in Oleron, and at Saint Martin de Re.

The other descent which should bee vnder the conduct of *Monsieur de Fa-
 uas*, should bee executed in two seuerall places, at the mouth of the Riuer of Ge-
 ronne; the one in the Iland of Argenton, a league from Blay towards the Sea,
 where he should build a Fort, and furnish it with Cannon and Munition. First,
 to leaue more exactly, their great Imposts, imposed at Royan vpon merchan-

dize

The King dis-
 posed at the
 Constables
 Government.

Enterpriest
 made by the
 Assembly at
 Rochel.

The cities of
them of the
Religion.

Descent of the
Rochellers in
the Island of
Argenton.

An order made
by the Parlia-
ment of Bour-
deaux to assist
them of the
Religion.

Descent of
Monsieur de Fauas
at Soulauc.

dize going and coming vpon the Riuer of Garonne, which they could neuer yet easily. A
doc, for the largeness of the riuer being three leagues, which caused many vessels to e-
scape often. Secondly, to augment the said Imposts, and to gather there the *part promised*
to the *Seigneur of Soubise* distinguished from that of the *Assembly*, which they called of the
cause and of the towne of Rochel. Thirdly, to keepe them from carrying of any graine to
Bourdeaux; and fourthly, to hinder the commerce of Medoc, and Xaintonge with
Bourdeaux.

The second descent should be at Soulauc, situated at the point on Medoc side, opposite
to Royan, the which had also diuers ends. First, they should build a Fort, and land good
numbers of foot and horse, to runne vnto the gates of Bourdeaux, and annoy them by B
all acts of hostility, it being but fiftene leagues from Soulauc, the country being plaine
and of easie access. Secondly, to entertaine their intelligences with them of their party,
as well in the champion countrie of Gascoigne, as in Bearne, there being no Riuer
nor Towne vpon the way to hinder their succours. Thirdly, to furnish Royan, Ro-
chel, and their Navy at Sea with fresh meat, the countrie about Soulauc being full of
cattell. And fourthly, to haue commoditie for their ships which lay before Royan, to
Anchor by Soulauc, when contrarie windes should driue them from Royan.

The party of the Religion did also hold Boy vpon Bay, and Poufin vpon the riuer of
Rofne, where no merchandise could passe without paying the imposts according to the
taxes which they had set. So as they made an account, that of the imposts which they C
should raise vpon all merchandise coming and going vpon the Loire & Garonne, or the
Rofne; of the contributions of the open Country; of the prizes taken at Sea; of the re-
uenues of the Church; and of the sale of the goods of those of their party which were
retired into the Kingstownes, to be able to defray more then 25000 souldiers which they
entertaind in their fleet, in the field, and in their garisons in diuers Prouinces; and with-
all, to find the King so much businesse, as they should be constrained to make peace with
them at their pleasure.

This was the estate of them of the Reformed party, in the beginning of this yeare.
Let vs now see the successe of so many enterprises one after another, and the order which
the King, his officers, and Lieutenants tooke to hinder the execution of their designs. D

On the 22 of January 1622, the Rochellers made their descent in the Isle of Argenton,
which was onely for pasture and uninhabited, where they beganne to build a Fort with
fourre bastions, and furnished it with Ordnance, which they might easily doe, being mas-
ters of the Riuer and of the Sea, the King hauing no ships armed, but such as were kept
in at Brouage.

Monsieur de Gourgues first President at Bourdeaux, being aduertised of this descent and
building of a Fort, and of the spoiles which Monsieur de La Forces troops committed vpon
the riuers of L'Isle and Dordone, seeing Guienne without a Gouvernor since the decess
of the Duke of Mayenne; and without a Lieutenant Generall, the Marshall de Roquelaure
hauing deliuered vp his charge vnto the King; and the Marshall Themines being not yet E
settled: he propounded in Parliament to arme the people of the Champion country as
well in Medoc, as throughout all Bourdelois for their defence; and to send two
Councillors to Libourne to leauy two thousand men, with the which they should
assist the Duke of Elbeuf at the siege of Moutrauel. And likewise to raise foure or
fue hundred foot or more, to hinder the enterprise of the Rochellers within the Ri-
uer, and to rigge out some ships. For the performing of which charge, they should
gather certaine Loanes, and establish a Councill vpon all occurrences: That they should
disarme them of the Religion within the Towne, thereby to free the people from all
iealousie of them: That they should prouide Munition, and Graine, and assure their Ports
and Walls.

Monsieur de Fauas landed with his foot, horse, and Artillerie, at Soulauc, on the
fifth of February. Hee tooke the Borough suddenly, and besieged the Church, the
which yielded within foure and twenty houres, hauing promised the inhabitants to
preferre their liues and goods. Hee hoped to be reuenged vpon Bourdelois, but es-
pecially vpon the countrie Houses of them of the Parliament, who by a Decree the
yeare before, had condemned him to lose his head; declared him ignoble, and his goods
confiscate.

The

A The very day of this descent, the first President sent Capitaine La Salle with his com-
pany of foot to the Island of Calaus, whereof if the Rochellers had seized, as they might
easily haue done, they had cut off all commerce betweene the towne of Bourdeaux and
Medoc, Xaintonge, Blay, Bourg, and the riuer of Dordone; and had reduced it to great
extremity. La Salle had commission to leauy threecore men for the guard of the Island,
and the building of a Fort: and to march with threecore of the ablest to Soulauc, to re-
lieue them which were in the Church; or if it were yielded, to ioine with the people of
the country. La Salle leauies the building of the Fort to two of his brethren, and comes
to Lefpare the onely Towne of Medoc, where he heares of the yeelding of Soulauc, and
B finds the inhabitants of Lefpare and thereabouts so amazed, as they began to carry away
their goods, thinking they should neuer be able to defend their towne nor Castle; but he
reassures them, and breakes some Bridges, ouer which their enemies in this season
were to passe to come towards Lefpare and Bourdeaux, making Ports and placing guards
vpon certaine passages.

Soone after, the Seigneur Dornano Saint Croix (chosen by the Parliament to command
the troops) attending the leauying of more forces, came to Lefpare, and within a while
were to the number of five hundred foot, which staid the course of Monsieur de Fauas, and
in diuers encounters slue and tooke many of their enemies. Fauas for his part caused all
the people neare to Soulauc, to worke about the building of a Fort neare vnto the Church.

C Hee pillaged and burnt the houses betweene Soulauc and Lefpare; put garison into the
Church of Grayan, vnto the aduantage of his horse in the plaine Country vpon the
foot Companies of Bourdelois; which being reported vnto the Parliament, they giue
order for the leauying of a Company of forty light horse, with the which the Seigneur
Dornano arrives at L'Espare on the two and twentieth of March; and on the three and twen-
tieth (before Fauas knew he had any company of horse) he parted in the evening, and by
break of day came within a mile of Soulauc, where he fortheth the Bourrough, slue about
thirtie souldiers, and tooke sixteene; after which they retired with their booty to Lef-
pare, being five leagues off. Fauas much incensed at this affront, resolu'd to be reuenged;
and entreates the Baron of Saint Seuerin, commanding in Royan, to come and assist him;
D who brought a hundred good men to Soulauc on the last of March; hauing also drawne
some of their best souldiers out of their Ships, he came with forty horse, seuen hundred
foot, and one peece of Ordnance to Saint Viuien, where two companies of their enemies
were carelessly lodged, with weak barricadoes. As soone as they perceiued the Rochel-
lers, La Salle issued with thirty Muskettiers and begins the skirmish: the Rochellers so
follow the charge, as they get into the towne, and discharge their artillery, so as the en-
emy is much endamaged, and La Salle hurt. But the north wind caused them of Lefpare
three leagues off, to heare this Combate, so as Dornano gets speedily to horse, and with
twelue voluntaries, and his light horse comes to Saint Viuien, chargeth threecore Mus-
kettiers at ten paces distance, who slue diuers of his horse, but were themselves all slaine;
E and the fight continuing, Fauas and S. Seuerin in the end retired with the losse of 125
of theirs, and but few of their enemies.

After this rout at Saint Viuien, Dornano returned to Bourdeaux, where letting them
vnderstand that he could not besiege the Church of Soulauc with lesse then a thousand
or twelue hundred foot, fifty light horse, a company of Harguebusers on horsebacke, and
two Peeces of artillery, as well to inuelt and force the besieged as to prevent all succours
from Rochell and Royan. Afterwards Fauas, seeing no great successe of his enterpri-
ses as the assembly of Rochel hoped; and that Monsieur de Soubise had but bad fortune in the
Isle of Ric, as shall be said hereafter, he brake his Port of Soulauc, to guard the Church
onely; made a truce with the first President and Dornano, and after retired himself
F to Rochel.

One of the principall designs of the Assembly of Rochel in procuring this descent
at Soulauc was, as you haue heard, for other respects. And the enterprise of Nerac (into
which by their intelligence they were entred, and had slain five men vpon the little bridge
betweene both townes) succeeded not. In Bearne they which affected M. de La Force,
seeing the siege of Montauban raised, had a designe vpon the Castle of Berloc, situate in
the way betweene Acqs, and Nauarrex: the King had ordained it should be raised, but
as such demolitions are commonly at his charge; M. de Piles, who commanded in the Ca-
file

Dornano dis-
cuss the Ro-
chellers in
Soulauc.

Fauas routed
Saint Viuien.

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file, being of the Religion, begged the ruines of the Kings, vpon condition to doe it at his owne charge, the which was granted; but as they write, he meant it not: which policy being discovered by *Monsieur de Poyanne*, Gouernor of Nauarreux, being also aduertised that the Captaine of Betloc was present in assemblies, where they spake of nothing but taking armes, and that he had no intent to raze Betloc, although he had begged the ruines, onely to keepe any other from that commission; he presently surpris'd *Piles* in the said Castele, causing all the Country thereabouts to labour in the demolishing thereof, so as within fifteene daies it was laid euen with the ground.

Ancienterprise
vpon Caulfade.

In the beginning of the yeare they of Saint Antonin and Montauban made diuers enterprises, to free the passages from one towne to another, as well vpon the townes of Caulfade and Bourriquet, as vpon Negrepelisse, which three townes are two leagues distant one from another, and iust in the mid-way between Saint Antonin and Montauban. They had an enterprize to force Caulfade by Pettard, but before they would undertake it, there was a letter sent to the Consuls, in the name of the Duke of Rohan, in the which he blamed them for the fault they had committed, in abandoning the party of their religion, before the siege of Montauban, and contrary to their oath of the Union with the Churches: but there being now a fit opportunity offered to repaire this error, they might free themselves of their garison, being aduertised that most of the best souldiers were gone away, which made him to perswade them to recover their liberty with courage; and that for his part he would giue order, the Gouernour of Saint Antonin should so fauour them in this enterprize, as it should succcede to the great content of all their Churches. *La Gafnerie*, who caried these letters, finding the Consuls deafe, returned to Saint Antonin, where *Ballagure*, who was Gouernor, with others, refused vpon this enterprize, having drawne together about fifteen hundred men from all the neighbour Garisons of the religion; whereof the Baron of Vaillac who lay in *Queilus* of Bonnetre, a league from Saint Antonin, aduertised *Pagnet* Gouernor of Caulfade, who presently sent word thereof vnto the Marshall of Themines, being in Cahors, who gave order to the Commanders and Gouernors thereabout, to send succours to Caulfade. *Pagnet* having drawne together seuentene or eightene hundred horse and foot, lodged them (as he thought fit) attending their coming. On the ninth of January betwene two and three in the morning, the Gouernour of Saint Antonin approached with his troops, and planted his ladders nere vnto the Temple gate, and entered the Temple with three hundred men, besides two hundred which were vpon the walls attending the playing of the Pettard. The evening before, all the streets were barricadoed, and field peeces planted, which vpon the alarme giuen were discharged, & the Garison fell vpon them so as there were two hundred slaine within the towne, and the rest fled ouer the wall. The Kings succours which lay without the towne, hearing the noise, aduanced, and meeting the enemy without, there was a great conflict; but in the end the troops of Saint Antonin were put to rout, where many Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers were slaine, and others taken prisoners, among the which was the Gouernor of Saint Antonin.

The Garison
of Montauban
defeated.

They of Montauban being fauoured by the commodities of the winter, and by the Forest of Montefich, where they made their retreat, went often towards Thoulouse to take prisoners and cattell; but the Kings Garisons in Montefich and Eignan annoyed them much, and cut off the victuals which was brought vnto them; and on the fifteenth of January came vnto the gates of Montauban, and caried away thirty Kine with some horse, which the souldiers within the towne would not offer to rescue, being pressed therunto by the inhabitants, but told them, if they would giue them their pay they would goe to field, and not be shut vp in a place afflicted with plague and hunger. The Consuls seeing they could draw no seruice from such men, dismissed three hundred, to whom they gave part of their pay. They marched away by night, and recovered a wood nere the Towne, fearing that if they kept the champion, they should bee discovered by the Kings forces which lay thereabouts: the extremity of the cold caused them to make fires to heat them, the which being discovered by the Countreimen, they presently gave aduertisement to the Marquis of Ambre, and the Consuls of Lauour, who armed what forces they could, and set vpon them, so as of the three hundred, there were not about forty left aliue, which were taken prisoners.

The King being come to Paris, many grew weary with the toyles of warre, who seeing

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The Duke
D'Esquiers
mediates a
Peace.

The reasons
of such a pro-
pounded a
peace.

As the Kings Treasure exhausted, and many of the Nobility slaine, they propounded diuers meanes vnto the King to resolute to a Peace. The Duke d'Esquiers beseecheth his Maestie to giue it vnto his people, promising to draw his reuolted subiects to obedience. The King who desired nothing more then his subiects hearts, with the preservation of his authority, lets the Duke vnderstand, that if they would resolute to obey, they should finde him ready to pardon. It was propounded whether they should continue the warre, or grant them peace: which bred a contrariety of opinions. They which perswaded to peace, said, it might be made after this sort; First, that continuing in full subiection and obedience, they should leave them their townes, euery one enjoying their ancient priuiledges; for the which towns they should be answerable vnto the King, vpon paine of confiscation of all their goods, whereunto they should submit themselves willingly, and by treaty. Secondly, that within their townes they should obey the King in all things, to which the rest of the Prouince and their neighbors were subiect. Thirdly, that they should pay the like tributes and impositions, obserue the same lawes, and other rites, if they had no ancient exemptions. Fourthly, that they should obey the Edicts; and should not keepe any Garisons in their Townes or ancient fortresses but their Morriages onely. Fifthly, that they should demolish the new fortifications of Castles and small places which they possessed, and onely continue the strength of their greater townes and other fortifications, made before the death of the deceased King: and the King for his part shall keepe them in the protection of his Edicts, so long as they should continue obedient. Sixthly, that strict commandment should be giuen to doe iustice without distinction of religion, and to prevent all scandals and acts which might breed complaints and sedition. Seuenthly, that they should haue permission to assemble from time to time, but no where but in Paris, to the end it might be knowne to the King and all France that they treated nothing but according to the duty of subiects. Eighthly, the particular assemblies to make deputies, should bee held in their severall places, with the permission of Gouernours of Parliaments.

Reasons
gainst the peace.

The reasons of such as maintained the continuance of the warre, were; First, that the King should not seeme to desire a peace; Secondly, that if he gaue care vnto it, it would make the rebels more proud and obdinate, and withall, he should wrong his authority; Thirdly, that he should not heare any speech of treating with his subiects, but all hee should doe, was to receiue them without any other capitulation then a simple pardon and naked obedience: the which, if they did not offer freely, hee ought not to heare them; Fourthly, that he should not treat with them, as with a body, seeing there is a distinction betwene Huguenots which obey, liuing vnder the Kings protection & disauow the rest, and those which are reuolted; Fifthly, that there is a difference betweene the Huguenots which are reuolted, for some may pretend particular priuiledges, as Rochell; others iust feare, as weake townes, and others interest of accords and graunts: and therefore it was fit euery towne should treat in particular; Sixthly, that no Commander was capable to E treat for another, but for himselfe, for that he cannot haue power of all the rest, and therefore it would be in vaine to treat; Seuenthly, that by colour of a treaty, they would discover the kings intentions and forces, and fortifie themselves accordingly: and therefore in stead of treating, they should let vpon them; Eighthly, that a treaty would giue them time to furnish their townes with men, victuals, armes and munition; Ninthly, that they had solicited strangers to ioyne with them and assist them in their cause, and therefore should not be admitted to treat with their King; Tenthly, that they had not kept their promises, so as they which maintained the iustnesse of this warre, said, that it was honorable, profitable, iust and necessary.

All these goodly propositions of peace were changed into a resolution of warre, by reason of the disorders which they said were committed in Languedec, bafe Guienne, and at Rochell.

The Duke of Elbeuf, being made Generall of the kings army in Guienne, as you haue heard, to restrain the course of *Monf. de la Force* and those of that parrie, hauing vnder his command fixe regiments of Foote, consisting of one thousand eight hundred men, and fixe companies of light-horse, most of which were with *Monf. du Hallier*, Captaine of the kings guard, at the siege of Genfac, where he found greater resistance then hee expected. The Duke, hauing caused the towne to be well viewed, and finding there was small store

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The Castle of La Force besieged.

of munition in the army, and that they had too few men to attempt such a place which expected succours speedily, it was resolved not to engage themselves at this siege: whereupon he put his army into garison, and assured Duras for the King. The Duke lying at Bergerac, was advertised that certain troops which retired themselves into the Castle of La Force, did much annoy the Countrey, whereupon he resolved to besiege it with three thousand foot, five hundred horse, and four Cannon. *M. de la Force* hearing that the Duke meant to force his chiefe house, parts from Saint Foy with all his troops both of horse and foot, being one thousand and five hundred men, which made the Duke to come downe into the plaine. *M. de la Force* advanced all he could to relieve them, coming within halfe a league on the thirtieth of January in the evening; by two a clock in the morning came resolutely into the plaine, where hee gave two furious charges to the right wing of the Dukes army, and continued the fight for the space of six houres, during the darkenesse of the night; but being much gauled by their Ordnance, they were forced to retire behind a hill, where they stood in battell eight houres more, according to the relation of *M. Hiekes*, who was present at this encounter. Some authors write that *M. de la Force* lost three hundred men, and the Duke but twenty five, who retired his army without taking the Castle; and the reason was (as they say) for that *M. de la Force* had sent to intreat him to suffer him to deliver it into the hands of the Seigneur of Bourdeilles, Gouverneur of the Countrey, who should answer for it. wherewith the Duke refused satisfied; and the rather because he was solicited thereunto by many Gentlemen of the Countrey, the Kings servants, who feared the ruine of their houses if this Castle should be razed, according to a decree of the Parliament of Bourdeaux.

Montflanquin surpris'd and fortified by *M. de la Force*.

Whilest that the Duke takes muster of his army at Elmet, with a designe to besiege Montrauel, the Marquis of La Force was sent by his Father to seize vpon Montflanquin, a towne situated vpon a hill, and strong by nature, the which the year before had beene reduced vnto the Kings obedience, their fortifications ruined, and their Cannon taken away: but as soone as the Marquis was entred, the inhabitants repaired their breaches speedily, so as in fiftene daies they were able to defend it against an army of foure thousand men. This surpris'd did much fauor the Marquis of Lusignan designe vpon Clerac. The year before he had beene Gouverneur of Pignerol, and had left it without any recompence, it being demolished with the rest: for the which he grew so discontented as hee sought by all meanes to enter againe into the partie of the reformed, but would not doe it but by the surprize of some place to purchase him the more credit. At that time *Bachelier* Senechal of Esquillon was Gouverneur of Clerac with a Garison of five hundred men. The Marquis well informed of the State of the garison, began to practise with some Burgesses, wishing them to get a Mason to make a hole in the wall within for one man to enter, and to relye vpon him for the rest of the execution; the which they promise, but all his care was to recover men and not be discouered. The result of Montflanquin, being but six leagues off, was a great helpe to him, hauing meanes to draw what men he pleased from thence.

Clerac surpris'd by the M. of Lusignan.

The Gouverneur had beene advertised of an enterprife vpon Clerac, but hee could not discouer how it could be done. *Monsieur Duc*, a Councillor of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, and Commissary for his Maiesty for the razing of the fortifications of Monheur, Clerac, and Tonneins, hauing discouered that the Marquis of Lusignan had an enterprife vpon Clerac, advertised the Duke of Elbeuf, sending him word it was good hee should come vnto the banks of the river of Lot, where all the people seemed to breathe nothing but a reuolt; but his answer was, that he was otherwise employed. This Councillor hearing that it should be put in execution vpon the one and twentieth of Februarie at night, he resolved to put himselfe into the towne the day before with fiftene horse and fifty Muskettiers: but the Gouverneur would not suffer his footmen to enter, so as they were forced to lodge in a Village, halfe a league from Clerac: They visited the walls that night, yet could not finde the hole; they were advertised of an enterprife, but could not discouer the particulars, or how it should be executed. The Marquis was in no lesse feare that it was discouered, hauing receiued some intelligences from the towne. *Ferrant*, who had most conference with the Mason, and should haue come vnto him to acquaint him with the place, came not, but only wrote vnto him, that the Mason had sene him that day, and was full of trouble and feare, by reason of their alarmes in the Towne; yet hee had

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A had promised to doe what he could; if he made the hole, hee would not then send vnto him, but if he could not, he would then come vnto the Marquis. Another sent him word, the inhabitant who should lend his house for to make the hole, was resolved to discouer it to the Gouverneur. All this could not diuert the Marquis, who coming to the rendezvous, they refused to go vnto the wall to see if the hole were made. At their approach to the walls they were discouered and shot at by the Centinells. At the last they found the hole with much difficultie, the which was so little and vnease as one man could hardly enter in on all foure, but notwithstanding the alarme they entered & forced their barricadoes and all their places of strength. The Gouverneur, *Duc* the Councillor, the Abbot of Clerac, and many others were taken prisoners, and as they write, about two hundred slaine, amongst the which was *Eroy* *Mauet* a Lesiue.

During this surprize of Clerac, the Duke of Elbeuf was at the siege of Montrauel, in the which was *Motte* *Ganchon*, with three hundred choice men, and diuers good Captaines. The towne was soone taken, and the besieged retired to their Fort and bastions. The Gouverneur demands composition, and Duke refused to receive them but at discretion. They planted a new battery, and gaue an assault, the which was valiantly defended for the space of two houres, where the Gouverneur was slaine vpon the breach, with many others: They retired into a Tower, but being readie to be forced, on the third of March they yielded to the Dukes mercy. All the Commanders were prisoners, whereof some of them were sent to Bourdeaux, to be exchanged for *Duc* the Councillor taken at Clerac: The women and maidens were conducted away in safety, to auoide the insolency of the Souldiers; and some fiftene souldiers and inhabitants hanged, and the rest prisoners.

Montrauel besieged by the Duke of Elbeuf.

During this siege, *M. de la Force* surpris'd Tonneins, where there are three townes, the vpper, the lower, and the Bourrough of Cuges. The inhabitants received them willingly, being much affected to the religion. There remained nothing opposite vnto them but the Castle of great Tonneins, belonging to the Earle of La Vauguion, which after some daies siege hee yielded. The D. of Elbeuf, hauing taken Montrauel, resolved to besiege it, being defended by *M. de Monpouillan*, second sonne to *M. de la Force*, the Viscount of Castets, *Theoben*, and diuers other Commanders with fiftene hundred foot. Vpon D his march, the Marshall of Themines met him with his forces at Marmande, being about three thousand men. At their first approach they took the lower towne, and as they write, slew about three hundred of the besieged. *M. de la Force* came from Clerac to relieve them, but was repulsed. They gaue an assault to the vpper Towne, but they were furiously driuen backe by the besieged. They gaue another assault to a house which the besieged held, the which was obstinately defended; but *Monpouillan* the Gouverneur had a Musket shot in the head, and many of his men hurt and slaine. The Dukes men hauing taken a bastion of importance, they were forced to demand a parle, and *Monpouillan* intreated him by his letters to grant a Passport to foure or five Gentlemen he would send vnto him and the Marshall, the which hauing obtained, they came and propounded conditions to their owne advantage, the which the D. would not accept but vpon these terms: That the Commanders should be prisoners, and put to what ransom it should please the King, and the souldiers at discretion; yet to haue their liues saued, and to remaine prisoners during these troubles. The Deputies returned without conclusion. *M. de la Force* the father, sent two other gentlemen to treat, but itooke no effect: after which hee made other attempts to relieve his sonne and the besieged within Tonneins, which he failed of, nor without losse to both parties: for during the combate, the besieged made a sallie out, where they ouerthrew some, and forced the rest to abandon their Commanders, who were slaine fighting, so as they became masters of the bastion and trenches, burnt the carriages of their Ordnance, and cast two into the ditch, and one into the river: but soone after they recovered F their trenches and bastion againe: what succeeded at this siege, you shall heare about the end of May.

Besieged again and taken by the D. of Elbeuf.

The Marq. of Lusignan, seeing himselfe, freed from the Marshall of Themines, who was gone to the siege of Tonneins, hauing raised a regiment, and being well fortified with good souldiers from diuers places, and hauing also recovered two pieces of iron Ordnance, he resolved to attempt the Abbey & Castle of Granges, a league from Clerac, where he vnderstood there was store of corne, wine, lard, and other necessaries to victuall a place. Hauing besieged the Castle, there came five hundred horse and foot of the Commons, led

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by the Seigneur of Catus with some horse sent by the Marshall of Themines to relieve A it: The Marquis leaves his trenches, and chargeth them so suddenly as few returned. That night the castle yielded, and the Marquis caused great store of provisions to be carried by boat to Clerac with armes for 700 men.

Monsieur du Pleis Letter to the King concerning a peace.

The proposition of peace formerly mentioned continued in Court the two first Months of the year, during the which *Monsieur du Pleis Mornay* wrote thus vnto the King. Sir, Heretofore your Maiesty hath bene pleased, yea and hath commanded me to speake of your subiects of the Religion. I am so little, and the businesse so great, as I feare lest your Maiestic should terme it presumption. Wherefore, *Not daring to sayne my selfe with those which demand peace for themselves*, I hold it my duty to craue it in all humility for your selfe, and by your owne bounty of whom, next vnto God, they are to acknowledge both to haue their being and well being. I hope to see your Maiestic moued, like a good father, to giue it them: can they bee ignorant what need they haue to sue for it with all kinds of submissions which may expiate what is past, and protect their future obedience. If hitherto, Sir, they haue not done it in such good manner as was to be desired, your Maiesty may be pleased to consider, *the feare was giuen them, that their ruine was absolutely resolved*; which made them thinke all meanes iust and lawfull to preferre themselves; hath made them shut their eyes to all respect and dutie, and to fix them onely vpon their necessity; yet being already, as *soone as it shall please your Maiestic to shew them a good countenance, to cast themselves at your feet, and to poure out their liues for your service*. I haue said, Sir, that I presumed most humbly to entreat you for your selfe: for it is your house which is on fire, they are your men which are lost, your blood which is spilt, your treasure which is wasted, your triumphs which are turned into funerals, and when these designs shall succed beyond imagination, you shall haue nothing remaining but desarts and ruines. Suffer an ancient Seruant, Sir, to put you in mind, *in what perils they haue sometimes assisted that great King Henry your father, and for how many yeares*; and let these their seruices past, hold some place in their account, in deduction of the discontents your Maiestic hath receiued. The chief negotiation consists in you, who can iudge vprightly what assurance is necessary to warrant them from the malice of their ill-willers which hath been but too apparant in these latter yeares. And although they should neither haue counsell nor courage to demand them of your Maiesty, yet it is incident to your naturall bounty and fatherly affection to grant them of your selfe; that is to say, to capitulate properly with your iustice, wherein your authority shall shine absolutely, and it may be, occasion may be soon offered, wherein your Maiesty may employ men of all qualities, and make trial of their courage and fidelitie together. I bend my knees before your Maiestic, and craue pardon for my presumption; beseeching the Creator, that I may see your Maiestic peaceable within, and glorious abroad, to die in this inuincible qualitie, your most humble, &c.

And in the same moneth there was a discourse directed vnto the Queen Mother, whom they knew to be much inclined to a peace, to entreat her to procure it for France, and to be an intercessor to the King her sonne.

Monsieur de Soubise comes into base Poitou.

According to the designe of their Assembly at Rochel, formerly mentioned, *Monsieur de Soubise* landed the foureteenth of February in base Poitou, neere to Saint Benoit in the mouth of the River of Iard, with three thousand foot, and about three hundred horse, hoping within few dayes to double his troops, the which succeeded: for many of the religion in base Poitou, came vnto him at Marci upon the said River. This descent gaue an alarme to all the countrie, and caused the Earle of Rochefoucault Gouvernor of Poitou to come straight waies to Saint Ermine on the said river of Iard, sending to some Noblemen and for some companies of foot to come vnto him to oppose the enterprises of them of the Religion. But *Monsieur de Soubise* according to the intelligence which he had with some Catholique Gentlemen, went & surpris'd Sables, D'Olonne, and the castle of Chaume: Those of Sables compounded with him; to be free from spoile; to giue him twenty thousand crownes, a certaine number of iron peeces, and three vessels, all which he receiued: but being entred with some troops, hee forbore not to pillage them for two houres space, whereof the inhabitants complaining vnto him, I had (said he) promised them the spoile before your composition was made. The Earle of Rochefoucault hearing that *M. de Soubise* his troops increased hourly, and that he had a designe to attempt Talmond: hee sent to entreat the Seigneur of Roche Baritault (who had drawne his friends together)

An encounter betweene Roche Baritault and *Cressaniere*.

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A to put himselfe into the place. Whereupon he parted on the eight and twentieth of February with fourescore horse, and thirtie Muskettiers to goe to Talmond. *Cressaniere*, whom *M. de Soubise* had left in Marceil, hearing thereof, resolved to lay in ambuscado for him; but finding that he was past, and not faire, hee pursued him, hoping to finde meanes to fight with him at some passage. Being aduertised of their coming, and seeing no meanes to retire but by flight, hee resolved to fight. *Cressaniere* seeing him in this resolution founded a charge, where there was a long and obstinate conflict, which continued aboue an houre and a halfe. *Roche Baritault* fighting long on foot, was wounded, taken, carried away, and afterwards released; there were some other of note slaine, some of the common souldiers, and fiftene taken prisoners. The Earle of Grassay, sonne to *Roche Baritault*, with his Lieutenant, and thirty of their troope retired safely, with foure prisoners. They of the religion (as they write) lost fiftie persons in the fight, amongst the which were *Cressaniere* their Leader, and foureene Gentlemen of quality. In the meantime *M. de Soubise* fortifies the Castle of Chaume: hee meant to besiege Talmond; but hearing that great numbers of men were within it, hee retired his troops. Being aduanced along the Sea shore, towards Saint Giles, and the Ile of Ré, the inhabitants would not suffer him to enter. It is written that he laid; If the Earle of Roche-Foucault came to field, he would vndoubtedly beat him: that if the Earle ioyned his forces with the Duke of Espérons, they should fight; but if the King came, hee would flye away, the which afterwards proued too true.

The estate of the affaires in base Poitou required the Kings presence: They which were inclined and spake for a peace, wished he had not parted from Paris till after Easter, being aduertised from *M. d'Esperances*, that all the reformed Churches should send their Deputies, with their demands for a peace, and should bee there presently after Easter. But such as could not relish this peace, said; It must needs bee dishonourable, being made with enemies who keep the field, and proclaimed themselves victors both by Sea and land. Hereupon they speedily set downe the estate of their armies, and gaue order to hasten the preparations; and to aduance the munition and carriages to the riuier of Loire. But warre cannot be made without money, and it cannot be recovered but from the people: They that direct the treasure, seeke to draw it with the least oppression that may be. The creation of Offices, and increase of Officers fees being the mildest courses, and the most assured to finde money speedily; which being propounded in Councell, there were twelve Edicts sealed for new Creations, the which were verified in Parliament, the King sitting in his seat of iustice.

Twelve Edicts for the raising of money.

The King after his coming to Paris, had granted the demolition of the Fortifications at Quillebeuf, which would no lesse annoy Paris then Rouen: They had bene much aduanced when the deceased D. of Montpensier was Gouverneur of that Province: the Marshall *D'Amers* continued them, & they were almost finished by the Constable *Luyne*, notwithstanding all the complaints of the Parliament of Rouen: a worke which had cost about six hundred thousand crownes. The King had resolved in Councell that they should be demolished and the ditches filled vp, giuing Commission to the Deputies of Rouen for the effecting thereof. The Inhabitants of Quillebeuf, who thought to grow rich by this fortification opposed themselves, threatening to kill and drown all the Labourers which should be sent thither. In the end, the Duke of Longueville, Gouvernor of the Province, and the first President of Rouen, were forced to goe thither with foure companies of Foot to see the demolishment performed, the which was begun and ended with force and armes, to the great grieve of the Inhabitants, the content of the Country, and the ease of them at Rouen.

The fortifications at Quillebeuf razed.

The King, before his departure for Poitou, meant to reconcile the Duke of Nevers with the Prince of Ioyville, incited one against another for a quarrell which happened the yeare before between the said Duke, and the Cardinal of Guise deceased, in the house of *Monsieur Guines*, a Councillor in the great Councell, where the Prince Ioyville accompanying his brother the Cardinal, had stricken the Seigneur of *Marsetot*, Master of Requests of the Kings house, who managed the Dukes affaires. The Cardinal of Guise at his death had craued pardon of the Duke of Nevers, who remained satisfied, so as the Duke had no spleene but against the Prince of Ioyville, whom his Maiestic would himselfe reconcile, causing this Act following to be drawne the 19 of March, 1622.

The Duke of Nevers and Prince Ioyville reconciled.

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Monsieur

Monsieur de Nevers, I am duly informed and satisfied of your obedience to my commandments, in that soliciting a suite between you and the deceased Cardinall of Guise, you were not accompanied in your Carrosse, but with such a number of Gentlemen as I had limited, vpon that which had past in the house of the reporter, where the Cardinall and Prince *Joanville* his brother went to seeke you: the Cardinall thinking that in some writings you had done him wrong, was transported with choller, and gaue you a blow with his hand vpon the head; and you returned it with thrusting him backe with the like stroke: which wrong the Cardinall hauing acknowledged at his death, demanded pardon of you, and you haue rested satisfied; yet, for that your spleene continues still against the Prince *Joanville*, who did accompany him; he doth assure you, that if he had knowne his brothers intention, he would haue sought to dissuade him, or at least not accompanied him, acknowledging that this action was done by surprize and aduantage: that you had not your Sword when you were stricke, and that as soone as the Gentleman of your horse had giuen it you, you did endeavor to witness the feeling a generous Prince ought to haue vpon such an affront: And the P. *Joanville* assures you, that when he drew his sword putting himselfe between you and the said Cardinall, his purpose was not but to prevent some greater mischief which might for euer make both your Families irreconcilable: confessing likewise that diuers times since you haue endeauoured by all honourable means to be righted by him; and that my foresight and authority onely haue hindered the deciding hereof by armes. And as for that which concerns the Seigneur of Marefcot, the said Prince *Joanville* declares, That the opinion he had that the said *Marefcot* did nourish this strife between you, prouoked him, being in choler to see him present, to strike him with his sword: and for that he hath the honour to be of my Councill, and a Master of requests of my household, and that you shew a discontent for that with my leaue hee deales in your affaires, the said Prince *Joanville* saith, That he is very fory, and would not haue done it but for the former cause; and being loath to omit any thing that may content you, he will giue him when you please, or euen now, such contentment as you and he shall rest satisfied. In all which your generous carriage being well knowne to all men, and to him in particular, the suspition you had of his intention being wholly taken away by his declaration, the offer to content *Marefcot* for your sake, and the desire he shewes to haue to embrace that good correspondency which should bee cherished between Cousins-germans, I conceiue that all this should giue you content and satisfaction; And therefore in reason, and by my authority I desire and command you to forget what is past, to embrace one another, and to continue friends. I will also that vpon your reconciliation, such as accompanied you, forget whatsoever hath past in their particular. Which done, the Prince *Joanville*, directing himselfe to the Seigneur of Marefcot, said; *Monsieur Marefcot*, I am very fory, for the loue of *Monsieur de Nevers*, to haue stricken you, I pray you forget it, and I will be one of your friends. To whom he answered; Sir, seeing that *M. de Nevers* is content, I am also satisfied.

The Kings second voyage into Poictou.

The next day being Palme Sunday, the King parted in the afternoon for his voyage into Poictou, going without any late to Blois: His Guards both French and Suisse were sent with all speede downe the riuer of Loire towards Saumur. Being at Orleans, he receiued aduertisement from the Duke d'Esclignieres of the reduction of Poussin, which towne, with that of Bay, hindered the free commerce vpon the Riuer of Rofne, betweene Lions and Marfeilles.

Reduction of Poussin and Bay

The Duke hauing sent to perswade *Blacons*, who commanded in these two townes, to conforme himselfe to the order which he had set downe for the peace of Dauphiné, seeing that these two places depended on the country of Valentinois. Whereunto hee answered, That they depended not of the government of Dauphiné, but of Viueretz, and therefore belonged to Lanquedoc: that he was not resolved to yeild them but by the consent of the Assembly of base Languedoc and Viueretz. This answer drew the Duke from Grenoble in the end of February, meaning to besiege Poussin, which *Blacons* had greatly fortified. Hee inuested the towne, and planted his battery speedily vpon a little hil which did much annoy them. In the end he made a breach, which the Seigneur of Grange vndertook to assault with his Regiment, but they entertained them with such resistance, as he was glad to make his retreat, lost many of his men, & himselfe hurt. He was seconded by the E. of Tallard, who, in the beginning forced the besieged to retire. Hee

A He recovered their walls thrice, but yet they defended the breach with such furie; as in the end they left it being not held reasonable. The Cannon being readie to play againe, and the Duke hauing built a fort, *Blacons* offered to yeild the place vpon certaine conditions: After much contestation, the towne being important and strong, the Duke yeilded to these Articles, all with the Kings good liking, and not otherwise. 1. That the Seigneur of *Blacons* should come forth of the towne, with armes and baggage, and should haue the towne of Bay vpon Bay in government. 2. That the Gouernors of the towne and castle of Poussin which were to be changed by the Duke d'Esclignieres, should not withstanding be of the Religion. 3. That the garison also which was to be established there should be of the Religion. 4. And as for Bay vpon Bay, that the like conditions should be observed in the reduction thereof. 5. Finally, that there should no hurt or damage be done vnto the inhabitants of the said places in their persons or goods. According to this agreement the Duke made Gouernor of the Castle of Poussin d'Allons Gouernor of Serres in Dauphiné, a Gentleman of the Religion; and of the towne of La Roche de Grange, one of the Religion also, and the garisons of the same Bay vpon Bay was rendred vpon the same conditions, and *Blacons* made Gouernor thereof.

Prince Ioanville enables the Constables widow.

The King being at Blois, the Prince of Ioanville went thither, to craue his leaue and permission to marrie with the Constable of Luynes widow, to whom hee was already made sure, conditionally, that as soone as the Nuptials were performed, he should repaire vnto his Maiestie againe with all speed. Being come backe to Paris, hee espoused the said Ladie in the Castle of Lusigny, where the wedding was kept with great magnificence. The Prince of Conde, all the House of Lorraine, the Duke of Nevers, the Duke of Montbazon, the Duke of Chaulne, and many great Personages were invited therunto.

A resolution to demolish the fortifications at Saumur.

The King (hauing made some stay at Blois and Tours) came to Saumur to take order with his Councill for some matters concerning that place: Hee had bene aduertised, that they of the Religion in that towne had beene very factious, and that they had practised with *Monsieur de Souffie* to surpriue the place, by the means of some souldiers of the Garison whom they had corrupted. The King went to Councill with the Princes and Noblemen, where they were made acquainted with the great charges of the towne of Saumur, for the maintenance of such a garison, whereupon the King resolved, the fortifications should be demolished in the suburbs, and ordely a garison of three hundred men left in the towne and castle, with a company of light horse.

The King comes to Nantes.

The King continuing his voyage, and causing his troops to aduance both by water and land, he came to Nantes on the tenth of April, where hearing what troopes the Earle of Rochefoucault had in base Poictou, being three thousand foot, and four hundred horse, he sent vnto him to be ready when he should call for him. He enformed himselfe of *Souffie* his designs; what way they could take to come into Britany; what forces he had, and what shipping he had brought from Rochel, and what meanes there were to charge him and defeat him by land. He resolved to aduance with his armie, vpon an aduice giuen by the Earle of Rochefoucault, who found the enemies army easie to be defeated, if his Maiestie tooke a fit time and aduanced his army with speed.

The King sends to attend the Ile of Rie.

The King had sent the Seigneur of Boisfargrois who was well acquainted with those Countries of base Poictou, to put himselfe into the Ile of Rie, and to defend it with the inhabitants, whom he found ready to capitulate with *Monsieur de Souffie*, assuring them that the King would come to succor them within two dayes; whereupon they planted two small peeces of iron, with the which they kept them from entering that day into the Island. The next day, *Monsieur de Souffie* found another passage whereby he entred, but this resistance gaue the King time to approach and was the cause of his ruine.

Boisfargrois returns to the King, and assures him that if he would charge *Souffie* in the Ile of Rie, he doubted not but to find him a passage both for horse and foot. This Ile of Rie is enuironed with an arme of the sea, and is five leagues in length, and two leagues broad, in which there are great marshes: vpon the firme land are the Burroughes of Rie, Saint Giles point, Saint Hillary, La Barre du Pont, our Lady of Pont, and Saint Iohn de Mons. Some were of opinion they should not attempt the Island, being of hard access, and that the enemy had six thousand foot, and about five hundred horse, three peeces of brasse Ordnance, and foure of iron: the King indeed had more men, but no ordnance. Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he resolved to see if *Souffie* had any courage to at-

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tend him. Vpon this resolution, the Earle of Rochefoucault was sent for to come the next day with his troops to ioyne with the Kings armie between Aispremont and Cominques, where the whole armie met, and the King tooke vp his quarter at Châlans, within a league of Rie.

On the next day by two a'clocke in the morning, the King was on horsebacke, and according to his former deliberation of assaulting the Ile in two places, the Prince of Conde had charge to march along the Dike of Perie with the Regiments of the guards of Normandy, and the Earle of Rochefoucault to set vpon Saint Giles Point with his troops of horse, and the Regiments of Estillac, Rainville, and Saint Vincent. The King with the body of the army according to their successe was to succour them. *Monsieur de Soubise* made shew to defend the entry of the Iland, and to charge the Regiments of the guards with his horse and foot, but he retired to Rie without fight. His Maiesty hauing bene 15 houres on horsebacke, camped at Saint Iohn de Mons, and there fed his troops, staying for the ebb to passe the Channell of Saint Giles called Bessé, the which he did about midnight, being fife hundred paces broad, the foot-men wading vp to the middle.

The Kings army is put in battell, but as they write, *Monsieur de Soubise's* troops were partly embarked, the rest cried for mercy, casting away their armes: but the Persants to be reuenged slew many. *Monsieur de Soubise* fled with his horse, and abandoned his Cannon.

On the 16 of April, the King marched with his forces to the Crosse of Rie, diuided from Saint Giles by an arme of the Sea, where he defeated all the foot, and part of their horse. Many cast themselves into Barkes to flye to Rochel, but being aground they were most of them slaine. There were fix or seuen hundred prisoners taken. At the same time the King sent to the Earle of Rochefoucault being at Saint Giles, to inuest the Castle of Chaume with three thousand men, which vpon the first summons yielded, vpon condition to haue their liues saved. *Monsieur de Soubise* fled to Rochel, where he was receiued with little fauour.

After this, there was some contestation about the prisoners of quality, namely, for the Earle of Marenier, and *La Motte Saint Seuerin*. The Duke of Vendosme, *Monsieur Schomberg* and *Humieres*, sued for their pardons, or at the least that they might be ransomed. The Prince opposed himselfe, saying that they were vnworthy of any grace. It was referred to Councell, and afterwards all men of quality were entreated as prisoners of warre, but of the souldiers about six hundred were caried to Nantes, where of some sixteen were hanged, and the rest condemned to the gallies for euil.

The Duke of *Eslinguieres*, seeing the King resolved to force them of the Religion, sent *Monsieur de Buillon* to his Maiesty being at Nyort, to make their submissions, and to disauow all the reuolts which had bene made against him since the last troubles: He saluted his Maiesty on the Dukes behalfe, with all the protestations of a good subject. The King receiued *Buillon* graciously, and made it knowne, hee did no lesse affect him, then the Duke whose businesse hee did manage. Hee let the King vnderstand, that many townes which had sent him, besought his Maiesty to receiue them into his protection, and to accept of their seruice, promising neuer to embrace any other party but his. Hee had diuers audiences, where the King made it knowne, with what affection he embraced those which with a generous mind came willingly to submit themselves vnto his lawes, and how much he desired rather to reduce his subjects by mildnesse and clemency, then by force and the rigor of armes, whereupon the Deputies of euery towne in particular were sent backe with all assurances of his good intentions.

Monsieur de Soubise being returned to Rochel after this great defeat, fell into a generall hatred of the multitude; reproaching him with his poore carriage, and for so great a losse of the body of Religion, so as soone after he resolved to make a voyage into England, to procure some succors, but it had no great successe.

The King came into Xaintonge, and past by Saint Iohn D'Angely, to see the end of the demolishing. He was put in ialousie of the Castle of Taillebourg, which belonged vnto the Duke of Tremouille, who had contained himselfe within the bounds of Neutrality, and would not embarrake himselfe with the Rochellers, foreseeing the storme which threatened them, neither yet ioyne himselfe to the Kings party, for that hee would

The Duke
D'Eslinguieres
sends vnto the
King for a
passe.

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A giue no ialousie to the other, giuing alwayes vnto his Maiesty an entry into his Townes when he pleased. The King resolved to see if any of the townes which the yeare before had vowed all obedience, would mutine against his army. The Gouernor of Taillebourg seeing the King neere, resolved to offer his seruice like a faithfull subject, as hee had done the yeare before, imagining his Maiesty would haue bene contented with his offer. The King receiued him with all courtesie, but withall hee commanded *Monsieur du Halier* to take some troops of horse and foot to visit the place, and see if the effects were answerable to the Gouernors promises. Vpon his approach, the Inhabitants grew into a mutiny, some would open the gates, and some refused to let *Monsieur du Halier* enter, who presently sent word thereof vnto his Maiesty, and in the mean time he sent to aduertise the Townsmen, that if they did not render, they would presently cut off their Gouernors head before the gates, which at first moued them not, but when they saw a scaffold preparing, to saue their Gouernor they receiued the Kings troops into the Castle, into which *du Halier* put a strong garison. There was found great quantity of munition and armes for fixe thousand men, with 25 peeces of Cannon. This newes was brought vnto the King at Xaintes, who sent backe the Gouernor into his place, with commandement to draw nothing into the Castle.

The King being at Nyort, resolved to besiege Royan, who had suffered themselves to be surprisid, and was fortified by *Monsieur de Soubise*, and the Seigneur of Fauas, seruing as a backe-doore to them of Rochel, to come forth and roue vp and downe all the plaines of Xaintonge; and now his Maiesty being come to Xaintes, he sent the Duke of *Espernon* with foure thousand men to inuest it, who soone became Master of the suburbs, lodging therein two Regiments: And vpon the newes of the Kings approach in person, and the Cannons coming to batter it, he which commanded therein vnder *Monsieur de Fauas*, had already sent vnto *Monsieur D'Espernon* to yeeld the towne vpon an honorable composition, which being almost agreed vpon, *Monsieur de Fauas* ariues with succors, breaks off the treaty, and wrakes his anger vpon the said Capitaine. Thus Royan resolves for a siege.

The Kings army approached, planted their Cannon, forced their out-works, and downe a bastion called Soubise: the besieged blew vp a Myne, where many Noblemen and Gentlemen were slaine, and amongst others, the Seigneur of Humieres much lamented, with 80 souldiers.

In the end, seeing they could keepe the place no longer after the taking of these two bastions, they demanded a composition, with pardon, which his Maiesty granted vpon these Articles. 1. He gaue life and liberty to his subjects of what qualitie soeuer being in Royan. 2. He suffered them to retire by sea or land whither soeuer they would in all safety, except into the Ile of Argenton and Medoc, and to carie away their armes and baggage, except their cannon, munition, and victuals. 3. That they should restore to the Seigneur of Saint Surin, what soeuer did belong to him and those that went out with him, with their ships, or the value thereof. 4. That they should set at liberty *Monsieur de Poussie*, and other prisoners taken in Royan, where soeuer they were, for the which they should giue hostages. 5. That his subjects of Royan should liue in libertie of conscience according to his Edicts. 6. That all men might retire to their houses, and liue vnder the benefit of his Edicts, hauing made declaration, for the which they should haue passports, and they which would not make vse of this grace, should promise not to carry arms against his Maiesty. 7. That they should deliuer vp the place within fixe houres.

According to this capitulation, the besieged left their Cannon in Royan, and retired to Rochel by Sea, with their armes and baggage. The King made *Drouet* Capitaine of the Regiment of the guards Gouernour of this place, with three hundred men in garison.

The King being at this siege, hee had two seuerall aduertisements, the one pleasing, the other distastfull: The first was the yeelding of Toncins, and the other the reuolt of Mont de Marfan, with the Marquis of Castelnau their Gouernour. Toncins had endured all the discommodities which might bee, as well by the want of victuals and munition of warre, as in regard of the infection, the towne being finall, and the multitude of sicke and wounded men. *Monsieur de la Force* had twice attempted to relieue it, being forced to retire with losse. The Duke *D'Alen* would

The castle of
Taillebourg
seized on iur
the King.

Royan besieged

The capitulation
of Royan.

Necessity of
the besieged
at Toncins.

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would haue them yeeld at discretion, and they resolved to dye rather then to doe it.

The length of this siege did much import the Kings desire to passe into Languedoc. Whereupon the Duke vpon the fourth of May granted these Articles following to *Monseigneur de Montpauillon* and the besieged.

Articles of composition.

- 1 That they should demand a generall pardon for all that had bene attempted against the Kings seruice.
- 2 That they should sweare and protest not to carie armes for six moneths against his Maiestie.
- 3 That in consideration thereof, they should depart out of Tonneins with their armes and baggage, their matches dead.
- 4 That they should leaue all the Cannon and Munition.
- 5 That they should haue boats or carts to carie away their sicke in safety, or to remain there to be cured.
- 6 That they should haue passports to retire whither they pleased.

This Capitulation being faithfully performed, *Monseigneur de Montpauillon* and the Viscount of Casters died within three dayes after of their wounds: and on the Kings side there died at this siege, the Marquis *D'Ambre*, and *Cornuillon* great Seneschall of Thoulouse. After which the three townes of Tonneins were set on fire, for a punishment of their revolt.

The result of Mont de Marfan, and the reduction.

The Marquis of Castelnaud Governor of Mont de Marfan, and Seneschall of the Country, had during these last troubles continued firme in the Kings seruice; in regard whereof, he had given him an hundred men more in garison: but growing discontented for that he had not employment according to his desire, and pressed by some who perswaded him, that if he were master of the place, it would aduance a treaty of peace, which would be profitable for them of the Religion: he draws souldiers secretly into the castle, and on the first of May he sends a prisoner to be kept in the old Castle with twelve Muskettiers, the next day he draws two hundred horse and foure hundred foot into the town and dismaies the inhabitants. The first President of Bourdeaux who had alwaies strict correspondency with the Marquis for the Kings seruice, hearing this unexpected newes, sent presently vnto him to let him vnderstand, that whatsoever he had done might be excused by his friends, and that he might retire himselfe with aduantage. Presently the Lieutenant Criminal arrived at Bourdeaux, letting the President vnderstand, that he was come with aduice of the Marquis and his confident friends, by his meanes to retire him from the danger (whereinto some factious spirits and the discontent he had against some inhabitants, had ingaged him) and the towne and country from the ruine which threatened them, who if he might be protected and those which assisted him, and that in recompence of his charges and the government of the towne and castle (the onely recompence of 50 yeares seruice done by his father and brother lately slaine, the one before Montauban, the other before Tonneins) he would deliuer the place vnto whom it pleased the King.

The importance of the result of Mont de Marfan.

The first President considering how much this siege of this place would crosse the Kings designs, and hinder the progresse of his armes, hauing a resolution after the taking of Royan to reduce Saint Foy, Montlanguin, and Clerac, and so to passe into Languedoc, hauing nothing so pretious as time: That the place might well be fortified and defended, hauing many men within it, and that the country round about could hardly feed the Kings army eight dayes: that the entertainment of the Governor and Garison cost the King yearly eight thousand Crownes, and that for these 50 yeares it had bene held among the townes of furetie, for that the Gouvernors were of the Religion, and that the malecontents had no other retreat in Beane and Gasconie: he returns the Lieutenant Criminal with all speed to the Marquis and his friends, with a promise to procure for his Maiestie the greatest recompence hee could, and an assurance to deliuer twenty thousand Crownes presently, to any one he should make choice of in the Prouince, and his Maiesties approbation for all which had past in Mont de Marfan, for the which hee engaged his word and faith. Hee entreats him to appoint one to receiue the money, and to set downe a day when he would deliuer the place: hee conuerts him to doe it speedily, and in the meane time to make vse of the Governor of Royans misfortune, whom his owne men shut out of the gates, and that hee would haue a cart to himselfe and the place.

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A The first President aduertised the King what he had concluded, as if he had had an ample commission, considering the benefit would redound to his seruice, and the danger delay would bring, either by the change of the Marquis minde, or by some enterprize, which such as he had drawne into the towne might make vpon his place or person. His Maiestie allowed of this Treatie, commanded the Earl of Schonberg to furnish the money presently, and doth aduertise the Prince of Conde thereof (being gone the day before to Bourdeaux) to whom he recommended the execution. In the meane time the first President receiued two generall messengers from the Marquis with certaine conditions: That hee held it not fit to deliuer the place, before he had disposed such as did assist him, to retire to their houses, and to that end to let them see the Kings Pardon verified, and a Passport, fearing that returning to their houses, they might be taken by the Troopes of *La Motte Gondrin* and *Poyanne*. The President acquaints the Prince of Conde herewith, and intreats him to write in such sort to the Marquis, as his Letters may bee a new assurance of the Kings approbation, and a Pardon and Passport for his friends: The Prince to hasten the execution of this Treatie, deliuered 30000 crownes (appointed for the payment of such troopes as he had brought from Royan, and binds himselfe with the first President for the rest, giuing charge to the Seigneur of Poyanne, to receiue the place, and to keepe it till his Maiestie had otherwise disposed thereof.

Vpon the receipt of these Letters the Marquis dismissed his friends, and deliuers the place accordingly; the which a month after, by order from his Maiestie, *Poyanne* resigned to the Mayor and Jurats, who by vertue of a Commission from his Maiestie razed the Castle, and bound all the inhabitants of the reformed religion to depart the Towne, to free them from suspicion, and popular sedition, during these combustions.

About this time *John Paul de L'Escur*, sometime a Councillor in the Councill of Pau, and Deputy in Court for the Churches of Beane, was taken at Cozes in Xaintonge, with many Commissions for the leauing of souldiers. He was sent to Bourdeaux, where the Court of Parliament made a quick dispatch of him: for vpon the examination of some Witneses, and the verification of his own hand-writing, he was condemned to be drawn through all the streets vpon a Hurdle, with a writing vpon his head, containing *GUILTY OF*

D *High Treason, and President in the assembly at Rochel*: and so brought before the Palace there to doe penance in his shirt vpon his knees with a halter about his necke, barcheaded and barefoot, holding in his hand a burning Torch of two pound weight: After which, to haue his head cut off, and his body quartered, for that, said the sentence, he had wickedly and maliciously assisted and presided in the said assembly at Rochel; and in qualitie of President signed commissions, to leauy souldiers against the Kings seruice and authoritie, and had assisted in the Councill of iustice, established in Rochel, by authoritie of the Assembly, to iudge soveraignly of the life and goods of the Kings subiects: and withall, that he had made a booke, entituled, The Persecution of the Reformed Churches of Beane, which Booke and Commissions were condemned to be burnt: His posterity was declared base and ignoble, and all his goods confiscate to the King.

In the end of the last yeare, the King had by his Letters Patents declared the Duke of Rohan guilty of High Treason; but they had not bene sent to the Parliament to be verified, in regard of the conference which was then made for a Peace: which being broken off, and there being no more hope, they were now sent to Paris and verified. By the which he was deprived of all honour, Dignities, Offices, Governements, Pensions, Priviledges and Prerogatives, and commandement given to all men to seize vpon his person. Whereupon the Earle of Rochefortcaule, was made Gouverneur and Lieutenant General in Poictou in the Dukes place.

After the reduction of Royan, the King stayed some dayes in his Campe, to resolve vpon three points. First, for the preservation of Poictou, Xaintonge, Aulnix, & against the enterprizes of the Rochellers. Secondly, to free the Riuer of Garonne, Bourdelois, and Medoc, from the Ports of Soulaç, and the Ile of Argenton, held by *Fauas* and *Boisse*, for them of Rochel. Thirdly, Touching his voyage into Languedoc by the Riuer of Dordogne, and in passing, to reduce Saint Foy, and Clerac, which had revolted; the Gouvernors of which places had sent vnto his Maiestie for pardon.

For the first, the King appointed the Earle of Soissons, assisted by the Marshal of Vetry, to command the army which he resolved to leaue in Poictou, Xaintonge, and Aulnix; as well

The Duke of Marfan yielded into the Kings hands.

Paul de L'Escur a Councillor at Pau, executed at Bourdeaux.

The Duke of Rohan declared guilty of Treason.

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well to retaine each one in his duty; as also to inuest and blocke vp Rochel both by Sea **A** and Land.

For the second, it was resolved, to send the Earle of Auria Marshall of the Campe, into Medoc, with 1000 men, and two Culierins: whereof hauing aduertised the first President of Bourdeaux, he presently sent the Seigneur of Aspalais vnto his Maiestie to let him vnderstand, that this expedition would cause a great combustion in all Medoc, which since the encounter at Saint Viuban, had not bene troubled by the reuolted: That he had hope that if *Fauas* did not shortly yeeld vp his place by treatie, vnto his Maiesties obedience, he should either surprize or force it. He represented the same vnto the Prince of Conde being at Bourdeaux.

At the same time the President hearing that *Fauas* was gone to Rochel, vpon diuers occasions; and that there were few men left in Soulac, they caused some of the principall to be dealt withall, to take a recompence for the place; and withall caused it to bee inuested by two Companies, making preparation to force it: whereupon they parleyed, and on the nine and twentieth of May yeelded the place into the hands of *Aspalais*, to haue their lues and goods saued, vpon condition they should not cary away any ornaments of the Church nor graine, and in recompence, the first President gaue one hundred and fifty Pistols, and a Barque, as they had demanded: but being embarqued with their armes and goods, they saw certaine long boats armed, which attended to take them, finding too late, that they had not demanded a safe conduct in their Capitulation; so as they were presently taken prisoners. As for the Fort in Argenton, held by *Baiffe*, it was not yeelded till Iune.

Touchnig the Kings voyage into Languedoc, by the Riuer of Dordone; they said hee was bound vnto it, and that he should make vse of the losses his enemies had receiued, during the siege of Tonneins, there being slaine in diuers combats; about two thousand of their best souldiers, and about fifty men of command, most of the which had bene in Montrauban, during the siege: That *Monsieur de la Force*, who was in Saint Foy, and the Marquis of Lufignan in Clerac, had promised to submit themselves to the Kings obedience, if his Maiestie came with his armie.

Hereupon he sent the Prince of Conde with part of his troopes towards Saint Foy, **D** and gaue commandement to the Duke of Elbeuf (who was yet with his forces about Tonneins) to come thither.

Vpon the way, the Prince assured himselfe of the Townes of Genfac, Monsecuq, and Esmet. *Monsi: de la Force*, seeing Saint Foy inuested, desired a conference with *Monsieur de Lomenie*, Secretarie of State; where making shew of great repentance for his former errors, with a desire to submit himselfe wholly to the Kings clemency, hee presented Articles for his reduction, his childrens, and the Nobilitie which had followed him: and for the townes of Saint Foy, and Montflanquin, beseeching his Maiestie to giue them a fauourable answer.

These Articles being brought to the King, he made these following Answers; where- **E** by he found that his Maiestie remembered not what was past, but gratified him for his gouernments and charges, wherof he had disposed.

1, Your Maiesties most humble and obedient subjects, making profession of the Religion in Saint Foy, humbly beseech you to beleecue, that next to their duties to God, they haue nothing in greater esteeme, then to yeeld you the humble seruice, and perfect obedience they owe you, in submitting themselves to your clemencie and bounty: and to liue the more happily vnder the benefit of your Edicts. They humbly beseech you to giue them a generall abolition and pardon for all things which haue past since the first of February 1620.

Anf. *Granted.*

2, His Maiestie is also humbly intreated to allow of their new fortifications, and of all iudgements and condemnations, giuen and executed by the authoritie of the Consuls, and other officers of Iustice to that effect; and generally of all things done and committed since the first of February 1620.

Anf. *Granted.*

3, That the exercise of their Religion should be free as at this present, according to the Edicts of Pacification; and that all men, of what qualitie soeuer should en- **Ioy**

A ioy the same priuiledges, touching their persons, goods and dignities, which they held by his Maiesties fauour before the troubles.

Anf. *Granted.*

4, All iudgements and Decrees of death and confiscation of goods, giuen against the inhabitants of Saint Foy, without lawfull defence since the first of Februarie, should be void and of no force; and the parties to be restored to their former estate.

Anf. *Granted.*

5, And to witnesse vnto his royall Maiestie the great desire the inhabitants had to make knowne their obedience and fidelitie, they submitted themselves, to execute in all **B** points, whatsoever his Maiestie should please to ordaine for the demolishing of their fortifications: yet they humbly besought him, to grant them their walls and old ditches, with their Draw-bridge, Ruelins, and other things profitable for their preservation, wishing they might be so happy as that his Maiestie would wholly rely vpon them for the demolishings, yet referring it to his pleasure, and beseeching him to vse the mildest and lightest means that might be; and that if any souldiers should be left there to that end, they might be discharged when the worke was finished.

Anf. *The King granted them an old wall, and the rest was referred to his comming to Saint Foy, wherof hee would dispose with the least discommoditie which might be for the inhabitants.*

C 6, And in regard of the great Expences, the Consuls and inhabitants haue been forced to vndergoe since the said first day of February; it may please his Maiestie to grant them Letters freely, to impose vpon the towne and iurisdiction thereof, the summe of sixe hundred pound sterling, to be leauied in two yeares.

Anf. *Granted.*

7, That nothing might be altered in their Artillerie and Munitions, but to be left in their possession as before.

Anf. *That his Maiestie would dispose of it as his pleasure.*

8, Likewise they beseech his Maiestie most humbly, to free them of the passage of his Armie, considering the extreme necessitie of the Country.

Anf. *Granted.*

D 9, All Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines and Souldiers, of what qualitie and condition soeuer, shall promise and sweare, well and faithfully to serue the King, vnder the benefit of his Edicts, and to enioy peaceably their goods.

Anf. *All such as are in Saint Foy, or elsewhere, whose names Monsi: de la Force shall presently present, shall enioy the benefit of this present Article, if so be within fixe dayes they accept thereof, and doe moreover take an oath of fidelitie.*

10, His Maiestie is most humbly intreated to restore *Monsi: de la Force* and his children vnto their Charges, Dignities, and Pensions, or to giue them recompence, and to haue consideration of the great losses which he hath suffered; and in like manner **E** that his Maiestie would be pleased to restore the Seigneur of Contenant, to his gouernment of Bergerac.

Anf. *His Maiestie grants the place of a Marshall of France vnto Monsieur de la Force, and the summe of 200000 crownes in recompence of his and his childrens places: the one mortie to be paid at Paris, vpon sight of the Letter; and the other in the end of the yeare, and all Pensions granted to his children to be continued.*

11, That it may be lawfull for all Noblemen, Gentlemen, Captaines, Souldiers, and others, of what qualitie soeuer, which haue assisted *Monsieur de la Force*, and his children, since the first of February 1620, to retire with all safety whither they please with their armes, horses, and baggage.

Anf. *Granted.*

F 12, His Maiestie is humbly intreated to grant them a generall Pardon, for all things done and past, since the first of February 1620.

Anf. *Granted.*

13, That they may enioy the free exercise of their Religion, in all places, as they had done before these combustions.

Anf. *The King will cause his Edicts to be executed.*

14, All iudgements and Decrees, giuen against the said men of warre, or others which haue assisted these Noblemen, and haue not bene heard and lawfully defended, shall be void

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The Fort of
Soulac yeelded

Saint Foy
inuested.

Articles granted to Monsi: de la Force, & them of Saint Foy, and Montflanquin.

void and of no effect, and the condemned restored to their goods, and estates, as they were before; and all confiscation, leavies, and condemnations for matter of warre to be of no effect.

Answ. *Granted.*

15, That the Seigneurs of Boniollé, Theobon, Baignac, Saint Legier, Brecquepignor, La Motte, Bacalon, and Beauville, may be restored to their Estates, Offices, Dignities, Pensions, and Grants; or be recompensed accordingly. And that hereafter they may enjoy them with the arrerages of their Garisons.

Answ. *Granted: and to Bacalon the place of a Captain entertained.*

16, That the Towne of Mont-flanquin might enjoy the like pardon; and that the Curtaines wherewith they have begun to fortifie their Towne might be continued vpon the old foundations.

Answ. *They of Mont-flanquin shall have a Pardon for all things done vnto this present day.*

17, That all which were fled into Saint Foy might retire themselves with their goods and commodities, and transport them where he pleased.

Answ. *Granted; so as they retire into Townes vnder his Maiesties obedience, or to their houses.*

18, That it would please his Maiestie to haue consideration of such as had been named to *Monseur de Villeaux Clercs*, for the gratifications which had been promised.

Answ. *Granted.*

19, The Earle of Vauguion, and all other Souldiers which are in Saint Foy shall be set at libertie, and in like manner his Maiestie shall cause all such as are prisoners in the Armie, commanded by the Duke of Elbeuf, and taken since the first of February 1620, in base Guienne to be deliuered, be they Catholiques, or of the reformed Religion. These Articles being signed, the Prince and Duke D'Elbeuf entred into Saint Foy, on the foure and twentieth of May, to draw out the Garison. The keeper of the Seales hauing taken the oath of allegiance from the Magistrates, and the regiments of the guards hauing seized vpon the Poits, his Maiestie entred the next day, where he carefully visited the place and fortifications.

The reduction
of Clerac.

He left the towne on the eight and twentieth of May, with some troopes therein, vntill they had razed the fortifications, and sent part of his armie with the Duke of Vendosme, for the reduction of Clerac, which had been mediated by one *Duc* a Councillor of Bourdeaux who was a prisoner. Vpon the surprize of the towne, the first President of Bourdeaux had caused two of the Marquis his daughters to be stayed there, with five cheifs of his greatest wealth; whereof being aduertised, hee told the Councillor that hee would not put him to ransom, but desired his liberty, and withall intreated him to be a means to free his two daughters, and to haue restitution of his goods. Hee also sent presently to the first President, letting him vnderstand that no man was better acquainted with his continuall zeale to the Kings seruice, yea, in these last alterations; that for his requittall he had been deprived of his government without recompence; driven for a long time from his house of Lusignan, ransacked and spoiled with a Garison, and threatened to haue it demolished; which had caused him to seek some refuge and assurance by an enterprize vpon Clerac. That although by the practice of his enemies hee were thrust out of the Kings fauour, yet he desired nothing more then to returne to his obedience, and that restoring vnto him his daughters, his moueables, & the townemen of Clerac, whom they detained prisoners, he was content to set at libertie *Duc* the Councillor, and all the Church-men and seculars which were taken in Clerac.

Five thousand
pound sterling.

The first President in the answer which he made vnto him, exhorted him to haue recourse vnto the Kings clemencie, assured him the fiftie thousand Franks which he demanded; and besides that the inhabitants of Clerac should be discharged of 50000 crownes which they had promised: That he would beseech his Maiestie to honour him with the Government of Clerac, and to grant him a most ample abolition for all which was past in the surprize of the towne, which was all that hee or the inhabitants could desire.

Prisoners set
at liberty
at Clerac.

In the same time after some passages to & fro, the Marquis his daughters & his goods were sent backe; and the Councillor with the Abbot of Clerac, and some other Prisoners set at libertie. *Duc* the Councillor comming to the King, he sent him backe to Clerac, to treat

A treat with the Marquis vpon these conditions, that yielding the towne to his Maiesties obedience, he did grant them a general pardon, for all faults committed against his authoritie. That they should haue free exercise of the reformed Religion in the towne of Clerac, according to the Edict of Nantes: That his Maiestie also did discharge the inhabitants of the payment of fifty thousand crownes due vnto him: That he granted vnto the Marquis of Lusignan, (as a testimonie of the trust he reposed in his fidelitie) the gouernment of the said towne of Clerac, and the summe of five thousand pound sterling, in recompence of the government of Puenteil, which he was possessed of; as also to see him paid his Pensions hereafter, and to bestow his fauour and benefits on him, as he should endeavour to deserve. Wherevpon the Marquis and inhabitants submitted themselves, and receiued the Duke of Vendosme, two leagues without Clerac, farre thither with some part of the Kings Armie, to receive their submission.

The next day *Duc* the Councillor presented the Marquis, the Consuls, and chiefe inhabitants of Clerac, vnto the King at Agen with these words:

The submission
of the Consuls
of Clerac by
Monseur du Vau.

Sir, behold the Consuls and inhabitants of your Towne of Clerac, who come to offer their obedience, by my mouth, with all respect and submission. They had intreated mee to represent their humbled hearts, and sorrow for their errors: but Sir, I dare not do it. Methinks I heare you say: I will none of these hearts hardened in their rebellion: these hearts of flint, whom my mildnesse could not tame: the examples of their neighbours instruct; nor my chastilements amend. These refractarie hearts for whom I haue now the third time come from the furthest parts of my Realme, endured the injuries of the weather, runne the hazard of my life, so deare and necessarie to my subiects, and yet could not be assured of their conquest. You haue reason, Sir, if you take counsell of your iustice, she will not onely make you reject the offer, as insolent and fruitlesse to your Maiestie, but also to punish the presumption. But if you giue leave to your Clemencie to giue her aduice, seeing she hath been hitherto so witty and politique for your enemies, as it seemes she hath had intelligence with them to advance their designs, and to keepe backe yours; beleeue, she will make this offer very pleasing vnto you. She will tell you, Sir, that the dislike of Kings should be without Armes, and their choller without sting, that they must pardon some, being as it were ashamed to be reuenged on others, and draw backe their hands, as if it were from those creatures which pollute them, when they are crucified: she will tell you that the lustre of your armes, will be more pleasing entring into Clerac, when as they shall serue but as ornaments and shew, then when as the last yeare they were instruments of your reuenge: she will let you see their breasts; and I thinke, Sir, that you shall see their repentance, with heauy hammers breaking and bruising their hearts, which haue so often giuen consent to their crimes.

Is it not true you ill aduised spirits, that you would die presently at the Kings feet, to witness your sorrow and repentance, if the desire which you haue to amend, did not make you desire life? The foulness of your offences makes you so hideous vnto your selues, as you should not dare to present your selues before his Maiesticall presence, if you were not fully resolved by some notable seruice, to deface those blemishes which make you so foule and vnpleasing. If they euer faile, Sir, to yeeld the obedience which they owe you: If they euer breathe any thing against your seruice: If their cares be euer open to those whisperers which haue so often enchanted them: If they euer bow their knees against vnto Rochel, that Idol of Rebellion: If they take for a guide that supposd opinion, that your Maiestie would deprive them of the libertie of their consciences: Finally, if they be euer what they haue beene, and become not truly what they should be; let them feeble the rigour of your iustice, as you now make them taste of your Clemencie. For my part, as I am an Intercessor in fauour of their repentance, I will become their aduersie party in hatred of their obduracy if they fall into a relapse: and as I haue beene a mediator for their gracious reconciliation, I will be the solicitor to pursue their rigorous punishment.

In the beginning of Iune the King came to Agen, where hee receiued the submissions of the Duke of Sully, who offered all the places hee held in that countrie; namely, Pigeac, Tardillac, Cadinae and Cariac. From thence he came to Moulillac, where he diuided his troopes. He sent some towards Montauban, vnder the command of the Duke of Vendosme to keepe them in: *Monseur Zamet* had charge to goe with five hundred Masters

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into

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into base Languedoc, to ioyne with the Duke of Memorencie, and *Montf. de Chaffillon*, A and to spoile the Countrie about Nismes, and *Montpellier*, thereby to annoy the inhabitants and drive them to wint.

Before the King past from Blay, to enter into base Guennie, certaine stranger Ships, whereof some were English, but most Hollanders, lying in the river before Bourdeaux, to take in their ladings of Wine, Corne, and other commodities, the Prince of Conde being then within the towne, and seeing the ships fraught with Wine and Corne, (thinking perchance that this provision went for the reliefe of Rochel: but others have written that he meant to make these ships to serve as men of warre against the Rochellers) he commanded them to bring them aground, the which they refused to doe: whereupon the B Prince commanded the Castle to shoor at them, and they spared not their Ordnance against the towne, so as one of the ships was sunk with the towne Cannon, and the Merchants much damnaifed, whereof they made great complaints in Holland. The King hearing what had past, assured the States Ambassador, that it was not done with any bad designe of the Prince, and that he was ready to make reparation for the losse, disavowing the action which was done contrary to his priuity and commandement.

The King passing from Saint Foy to Agen, by Montrauel, a towne which the Duke of Elbeuf had lately forced, considering that he had onely demantied it, and that it was still a retreat for Theeues, he commanded all the houses should be set on fire, and consumed to Ashes. And the Prince of Conde leaving Saint Foy, and passing by Tonneins, he caused the C three townes to be set on fire, and all the buildings to be consumed; for that it had twice revolted, and did trouble the passage of Garonne, and much annoy the Country; wherefore the King was well pleased with what the Prince had done.

The Arnie still advanced towards Montauban: but first of all the King meant to become Master of *Negrepelisse*, which had beene the yeare before reduced to obedience by the Duke of Angouleme, and the Marshall de Themines, who left three hundred men there in Garison to assure the place. The inhabitants could not long continue in the protestations which they had made to maintain themselves in the Kings obedience: but being inspired by some bad counsel of their revolted neighbours, they studied by all means once againe to free themselves, and to shake off his Majesties yoke, and in the end resolved to murder the Kings Garison, which were sufficient at the first to master the people, who were not many in that paltry place; but a third part being consumed with diseases growne by infection of the ayre, especially after the siege of Montauban, and for scarcitie of victuals, the inhabitants might the more easily prevail over them: So as (having resolved on their designe) in one night they slew their Corps de garde, & massacred the rest of the souldiers which were in their lodgings. They write the women shewed great crueltie in this execution.

The King was much offended at this treacherous act, and vowed to make them an example to the world: wherefore hee marched with part of his troopes to *Negrepelisse*, where the Prince of Conde commanded as Lieutenant generall. They were summoned to open their gates for the Arnie to enter; but they knowing themselves unworthy of any favour, refused it, saying, they would die with their swords in their hands, for the defence of their Towne, but the next day they were battered and forced, where the souldiers committed the cruellst butchery which had beene heard of; for they slew a man, woman, and child, but such as were saved through the charitie of good men; namely, by *Monsieur de Vicq*, keeper of the Seales, who presently after the taking of the Towne, commanded one of his followers to redeem the women and the maidens hee should finde amongst the souldiers, thereby to preserve their honour and lives: he brought fiftene to his Lord, who were conducted into his lodging, as into a place of safety: and so preserved. Other women fled unto certaine religious men following the armie, but they could not save them, for they were wretched from them by the rage of the souldiers, who flew one another to enioy them, and in despite murdered the poore women.

This Charitie of *Monsieur de Vicq* was imitated by the Cardinall of Retz, and others of the Council, who had compassion of these poore women and Virgins, which were falling into the souldiers hands, to satisfie their furious lust; many could not avoid them; and which was worse, after they had forced them, they stabbed them barbarously: some were worse entreated, and perished by the violence of fire; the cruell souldiers putting

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A Gunpowder into their priuy parts. For the which, his Majestic and the Commanders in the armie were much offended. They excused this excesse, for that these miserable women had a little before murdered the Kings garisons, and had shewed themselves most cruell at the breach. The Castle yielded the day after at discretion, where the men were all hanged, but the women were preferred without any touch to their honour.

After the sacke and ruine of this towne, the armie advanced to Saint Antonin, a place which the Duke of Rohan had caused to be fortified; as the hope of Montauban, the terror of the Country, and the most commodious to send succours to them of his party in that Province. He had put into it twelve hundred souldiers with Armes, Cannon, and B Muniton for their defence. Norwithstanding the King sent to assault it, and came himselfe in person to the siege, being resolved to force it. The approaches to this place are very difficult, being full of Rocks and bushes, and therefore very troublesome for the horse. It was long before they could bring and mount their Cannon, but in the end they made a reasonable breach, and an assault was given, the which was resolutely defended by the besieged, where there were many slain on either side. The Duke of Retz was hurt in the knee, with a Faulcon shot neere unto the Kings Person; and they write there had not bin scene a more bloody siege for so short a continuance in a long time.

In the end, the Garison and Gentry which were within the towne, (desiring rather to fly to the Kings mercy, then to lose themselves with the miserable inhabitants, who would have perished within their towne) being masters of a Port, yielded the place to his Majestic on the three and twentieth of June. Hee suffered them to retire, upon condition never to carry Armes against his service; to take entertainment in his armie, or to goe to their houses. The Inhabitants redeemed the towne from the spoile of the souldier for 100000 crowns which they delivered unto the presently. There were 10 or 12 of the most malicious hanged. The King left the Regiment of Nauarre for defence of the place, under the command of *M. de Chappes*. Others write that *Perodil* was made governor thereof.

During the siege of Saint Antonin, the King received newes, that the Earle of Toiny Generall of the Gallies, who had been forced to lye all the winter at Lisbon, coming from Marceilles, was arrived at the mouth of the River of Garonne with ten Gallies, and that in passing before the Ile of Argenton, he had caused *Boisse* (who commanded in the Fort for the Assembly of Rochel) to be summoned to yield the place, or else hee would besiege it. Whereupon he had promised to give him all contentment within two dayes: but the same day the D. of Luxemburg comming to Blay, and sending to *Boisse*, he delivered unto him the place, with the Artillery and Muniton for six hundred crownes: after which, they of Rochel had no retreat in the River of Garonne. *Boisse* leaving this Fort, fell mad and died soone after. The King being gone to Thoulouse, the Marshall of Praslin, and Bassompierre caused the armie to advance, to take in three little places from the revolted, which greatly annoyed that Citie; namely, Cucy, Carman, and the M. de Saint Pucelle, but the enemy perceiving the armie to approach, abandoned them, fearing the chastisement of *Negrepelisse*, and Saint Antonin. His Majestic caused them to be demolished, but spared *Carman*, in consideration of the Earle of Carman, Gouvernor of Foix, a Nobleman very much affected to the Kings service.

And to the end, that during his Majesties journey into base Languedoc, the revolted might no more nestle themselves in the places which they had formerly held in base Guennie, on either side of the River of Garonne, there were some Councillors in the Parliament, appointed to see the razing of the fortifications of certaine Townes, Forts, and Castles, which had been held by them of the Religion: which was put in execution.

During the Kings stay at Thoulouse, there was much speech of the obstinacie of them of the religion, which made the King and the whole Court to conceive, that most of their Townes in that Province how small so ever, would make resistance, the which would cost much of the Nobilities blood. Therefore his Majestic exhorted the Princes and Noblemen of his Court unto two things: the first not to carie themselves rashly in combats without armes, and without command: the other was, to cleanse their consciences from the finnes and offences they had committed: whereupon they all disposed themselves to confession, and to receive the Sacrament.

In the meane time, the Inhabitants of *Montpellier* seeing themselves in danger to lose the fruits of their fields, and the benefit of Haruest, resolved to prevent the spoile which

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they

Ships of Holland set upon in the River of Bourdeaux by the Prince of Conde.

Montrauel and Tonneins razed and burnt.

Rebellion of Negrepelisse.

Negrepelisse forced and all put to the sword.

The charitie of Monsieur de Vicq keeper of the Seales.

Cruelties committed at Negrepelisse.

Saint Antonin besieged.

Saint Antonin surrendered and razed.

The generall of the Gallies comes into the River of Garonne.

Townes abandoned and demolished.

Many townes and Castles razed and demolished in base Guennie.

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A defeat of 800 men of Montpellier.

Bee de Ritz yeelded at discretion.

The Duke of Rohan returns to Caftres.

Monsieur de Soubise passe into England.

The Duchesse of Rohan, prisoner in the Castle of Angiers.

A Declaration against Monsieur de Soubise.

they were ready to make. Whereupon they sent forth 800 men, to assaile such as they had employed to cut downe their Hay and Corne speedily. *Monsi: de Montmorency* being advertised hereof, sent all his horsemen to charge them, followed with good troopes of foot, who being assailed by the Earle of Chastillon, and *Monsi: Zamet*, charged them with such fury, as there were five hundred of them cut in pieces, many taken Prisoners, and the rest pursued to the very gates of *Montpellier*: after which, they carried away all their Hay, Corne, and Fruit.

The Kings Arme being about Beziers past the River of Orb, and had commandement to besiege *Bee de Ritz*, a towne situate amongst steepe and inaccessible Mountaines, which made the besieged thinke they should not be able to bring the Cannon neere to batter them, but they were deceived in their expectation: for seeing the Cannon brought, the besieged resolved to fly by night; but most of them were taken by the Regiments which were in guard; whereof some were slaine, some hanged, and some saved vpon promise of ranfome. They which remained within the towne, yeelded at discretion, whereof there were twelve hanged, and the town redeemed from spoile for 1200 crownes. Whereupon three townes which were revolted submitted themselves, fearing the like punishment.

The Duke of Rohan and his Arme, hearing that the King was resolved to passe into base Languedoc, as well to pursue him, as to besiege *Montpellier*, his Arme growing amazed, abandoned him, desiring rather to retire themselves, then to attend a bad encounter. The Duke put himself into Castles, with an hundred horse onely, assuring himself that place would be one of the last which should be besieged; and that in the meane time he might worke his reconciliation: for the effecting whereof, the Duke of Sully, and the Seigneur of Chalonge came on the Dukes behalfe vnto the King at Castelaudary, but there was nothing yet concluded.

The Earle of Carleil being then extraordinary Ambassador for his Maiestie with the French King, did often sollicit him in his name for a Peace for them of the reformed Religion. To whom the French King made answer (as they write) that no man desired peace more then himselfe; and that he would willingly give it his subiects; but withall he would be obeyed and haue the keys of his Townes. In the meane time *Monsi: de Soubise* came into England, to sollicit his Maiefty for some succors for that party. The Duke haue presumed to diue into secrets of State, and to set downe his Maiesties answer vnto *Monsi: de Soubise* in this manner.

The King of England one of the wisest Princes in the world, being well assured of the pure & good intentions of his most Christian Maiefty, as also of the fraud and perfidiousnes of his bad subiects revolted, which refused him his townes & their obedience, prevented the said *Seig: de Soubise*, and told him, That if he were come to plead the cause of the revolted in France, and to demand succours for them, hee would not heare him, as a Prince, enemy vnto such reuolts and rebellions, which toucheth all Soueraignes to molest. But if he came to intreat him to be a Mediator for Peace, and to employ his fauour towards the said most Christian King, to pardon them, returning to their obedience, That he had not only given this in charge vnto his Ambassadors, but would therein employ himselfe againe most willingly, & that for *M. de Soubises* own part, it would be much better for him to procure his Princes grace & pardon, then to haue recourse vnto new means of making warre against him. That if he would resolve to returne vnto his duty, hee was ready to write vnto the King, and to intreat for him. So he returned againe without any succors granted from hence: but some voluntaries out of the West parts of England, and others went to serue at Rochel of their owne accord.

The King being in Languedoc, sent a commandement to the Earle of Brissac to goe to Fresnay in base Britanie, and to seaze vpon the D. of Rohans wife, whom he brought to Angiers, where she continued some time, to see if this proceeding would make the D. resolve to emprove the Kings mercy by his obedience. The King stayed long at Beziers during the Canicular dayes. In the meane time all the Clergy of base Languedoc repaired vnto his Maiefty: In whose name the Bishop of *Montpellier* made a long speech vnto him, full of complaints, and inuectiues against them of the Religion, perswading the King to persist in his designe, and to root them out. And hearing that *Monsieur de Soubise* was passed into England, to craue succours of men and Armes from his Maiefty in the name of the assembly at Rochel; He made a Declaration by the which

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The conversion of the Duke d'Esquigues.

The Dukes speech to the Ministers.

A speech made to the Duke by them of the Religion.

The Dukes answer.

he was pronounced guilty of Treason, vnworthy of pardon, and incapable of all honours and Offices within his Realme, all his goods confiscate, and his lands vntied to the Crowne.

About this time there hapned an accident which pleased the King, and gaue great cause of admiration to the world. The Duke *D'Esquigues* who had made profession of the reformed Religion for the space of threecore yeares, was now resolved to leaue it, and to vntie himselfe to the Church of Rome. Some write that he had long before certain motions to this conuersion, and that in the year 1616, during the warres betwene the King of Spaine, and the D. of Sauoy, being in Asse with the Cardinall *Ludouicio*, Nuncio to Pope *Paul* the fifth, he was intreated by him to returne vnto the Church. To whom he made answer, I promise you, Sir, when you are Pope, I will become a Catholique. Afterwards Cardinall *Ludouicio* was created Pope, and called *Gregory* the fiftenth, who by his Letters summoned the Duke to performe his promise, and to become a Catholique. The King desired this conuersion should be solemnely performed in the Cathedrall Church of Grenoble, by the Archbishop of Ambrun. His Maiefty sent the Seigneur of Villeaux Clercs, Secretarie of State, Prouost and Master of the Ceremonies of the Order of the Holy Ghost, with a Commission for the Office of Constable, which Letters should be presented vnto the Duke, by the Marshall of Crequy, after hee had made a solemne profession to be a Catholique. And there were other Letters directed vnto the said Marshall, and to the Seigneur *D'Alincourt*, and *Saint Chaumont*, to deliuer vnto him the collar of the said Order.

This Ceremonie was performed on the foure and twentieth of Iuly with great state, where there assisted the Court of Parliament, the Chamber of accounts, with many Noblemen and Gentlemen. They write, that being ready to goe vnto the Church to make protestation of his faith, some Ministers of the Religion which had vntill assisted him, came vnto him, as it seemed, with intent to diuert him from his resolution: seeing them bend their knees, and make offer to speake vnto him, he prevented them, saying:

*My masters, behold a man who by the grace of God hath vowed to serue God, and his King, the remainder of his dayes, in another manner of instruction: then that you gave me. If you come to imitate me, and doe the like, I am ready to heare you; but if it be to speake of any other thing I will not: whereupon they retired somewhat amazed. After which, the Duke was conducted to the Church, where he made a protestation of his faith vnto the Archbishop: returning to his lodging after Masse; the Marshall of Crequi his Sonne-in-law, presented him with his Letters of Constable, and said vnto him; Sir, seeing you are become a Catholique, the King giues you the Office of Constable, and commanded me to deliuer you the Commission, with a dispensation of your oath, the which were presently read. The next day he receiued the order of the Holy Ghost, with the accustomed Ceremonies, and the day after he receiued the Sacrament, with the other Knights of the order. In the evening, the chiefe of the reformed Church at Grenoble (amongst which were diuers Gentlemen and Advocates) came to see the Constable, to whom *Pulsena* Councillor spake in the name of them all, saying: Sir, we are much amazed at the change wee haue seen in your person within these 3 dayes: the change of honour, the change of quality, and the change of Religion. And that which we most apprehend is the change of humour and affection. For that having been brought up from your youth in the Religion which we profess, instructed and confirmed for many yeares in the same: this metamorphosis was the more strange being not foreseen. And moreover, it is not without cause we apprehend, that the same Armes which you haue so long earied to defend and protect our religion, and which haue bin so fearfull to our enemies, will be now employed against vs. To whom he made answer: My masters, you haue no great cause to be amazed at my change of religio. I haue long felt a combat in my soule, and had sooner*

resolved this change if your Ministers, and your selues by artificiall persuasions had not diuerted me. I will say nothing of your Religion; but that I profess now, and to the which it hath pleased God of his speciall Grace to call me, is much better. As for the 4 changes which you say are happed to my person, I may reduce them to two. Of Religion & Honour. For the first, it is the more pleasing, for that I hold it more profitable for my soules health. As for the other, it hath pleased the King to honour me with the quality of Knight of his Order and Constable of France, the which, although there be many within his Realme, which deserue it better then my selfe; yet will I not yeeld to any man living

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in fidelitie, and will wisseffe vnto his Maieftie, with the hazard of my blood and life, the humble duty which bindes me to his seruice, desiring to employ my selfe for your support and protection, so long as you shall be good seruants to the King, and not otherwise.

The Council
loosely reply.

Hereunto the Councillor replied: Sir, I thinke you will doe vs the honour to beleue, that we are good and faithfull seruants to his Maieftie. The seruices which our partie hath done vnto the deceased King *Henry the Great*, his father, during the last troubles, are such apparant proofes, as we thinke no man will call them in question. But we are much troubled to see the bad impressions which the enemies of our Religion giue daily to his Maieftie, breed an alteration in this Estate, and of the fauours which it hath pleased him to shew heretofore vnto vs, as well for the libertie of our consciences, and obseruation of his Edicts; as for the assurance of our liues, goods, and freedom. But that which is most scandalous, is to see Libels cast daily abroad, which tend onely to incense the people against vs.

The Dukes
answer.

My Matters (said he) concerning that which you say of those Libellers, make your informations apprehend, and doe iustice vpon them, wherein I doe offer you all aide and assistance, and will not spare any thing for your protection, conformable to his Maiefties intention: but touching the Kings seruice whereof you speake, there are three sorts of professors of your Religion. The one are direct Rebels, who seeke if it were possible to shake off the oath of obedience, and fidelitic, which they owe vnto their Prince and soveraigne Lord. Others haue beene reduced to his Maiefties obedience by force, and tearme themselves the Kings seruants; for that they haue neither Fort, Meanes, nor Armes to resist him. The third kinde are like vnto Sorcerers, who in the cure of their Witchcrafts and diseases, make vse of the Name of God, and the Scripture, to abuse the simple people, and to couer their abominable impieties, with the vail of deuotion: So are there many of your Religion who endeavour to cloake their bad designs vnder pretext of the Kings seruice, which they haue alwayes in their mouth to deceiue the people (which alwayes are too credulous) being the Kings seruants but in shew: take heed you be not of this number; and speaking these words, he turned his backe and left them.

Mansfield
comes vpon the
Frontiers of
France.

Whilest that the King was busied with his armie in Languedoc, the further part of France, namely, Champagne euen to the gates of Paris, were put into alarme vpon the approach of *Count Mansfield*, and the Duke of *Brunswicke*, who had left the Palatinate, past through Alsacia, Lorraine, and were come vpon the Frontiers of France with their Armie: consisting (as they write) of twelue thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, and fourteene pieces of Ordnance. Mouzon, where the Earle of *Grandpré* was Governour stood in most feare, and was but weakly provided both for men and fortification. He aduertised the Duke of Neuers, Governour of the Prouince, and craued his assistance, and fortified the townes as much as time would giue him leaue.

The Duke comes to Champagne vpon the brute of *Mansfield's* approach; but seeing he had no forces to hinder him, hee sends the Seigneur of *Montereau* vnto him to draw him if he could to the Kings seruice: and in the meane time leaues 12000 foot, and 1500 horse by the Kings command, to oppose against *Mansfield*, and all others. Hee sent succours into Mouzon. The treatie continued ten or twelue dayes betweene the Duke of Neuers, and *Mansfield*; who seeing no conclusion, resolved to besiege Mouzon. In the meane time two thousand of his horse mutined, and would know whom they should serue, and who should pay them. *Mansfield* lying about Mouzon, to let them know that he was in treatie with the Duke of Neuers, and to enter into the Kings seruice; he put his Ordnance into the towne, and gaue the Duke of Saxon *Waymer*, as hostage of his true intent. The Queene, knowing they should not bee able to leaue an armie in time, to make head against *Mansfield*, invited *Don Gonzales de Cordona*, General of the Spanish forces, to follow him and fight with him, who came presently with his Armie neere vnto Mouzon, and sent a Gentleman with Letters vnto the Earle of *Grandpré*, intreating him to informe him of the state of the enemies armie, being ready to doe any thing for the most Christian Kings seruice. The Earle of *Grandpré*, who was assured from the D. of Neuers, that the King would make vse of *Mansfield*, and his troops, temporized, and would giue him no resolute answer, but referred him to the Queene and her Councill, thanking him for his good will; & intreating him to continue.

Count

1622

Count Mansfield seeing the Spanish armie in Luxembourg, and that of France ready to march; That the French had fed him with hopes as he had them with faire words: That they had giuen him no commodities but such as might reduce him to extremity, whereby he had lost many of his Souldiers: That as his men wasted, the French army augmented, and approached neere the Frontiers: And that the Duke of Neuers abated still of his demands, he resolved with the Duke of *Brunswicke* to make a retreat to *Breda* in *Brabant*: But the difficulty was to retire the Duke of Saxony in *Waymer* with his Artillery out of *Mouzon*: for the which he vled this policy, giuing the Earle of *Grandpré* to vnderstand that without any more treaty he was absolutely resolved to serue the King, and to that end would march to *Cassine* (a Castle three leagues off, belonging to the Duke of Neuers) and cary his artillery thither.

Politique of
Mansfield.

The Earle was easily perswaded to deliuer him his hostages and cannon, and so suffered him to depart with his carriages: but he tooke his course towards *Mezières*, and sent to the Duke of Neuers to demand 60000 crownes to dismis his troops, and for the first pay of such as should be entertained into the Kings seruice according to promise, but they varied so in their resolutions, as there was nothing performed of the treatie, but *Mansfield* fearing to be engaged betweene two armies, resolved to be gone.

The Kings army hauing mustred at *Chasteaufortien*, the Commanders seeing *Count Mansfield* and the Duke of *Brunswicke* gone out of France, resolved first to send speedily to *Don Gonzales* who lay in Luxembourg on the other side of the Riuier of *Meuze*; to offer him the assistance of the Kings troops: and withall to follow *Count Mansfield* lest he should enter into France againe some other way. *Don Gonzales* being at *Ivoy* with 2500 horse and 7000 foot, hearing that *Mansfield* had taken his way towards *Haynault*, and that his great forces were reduced to five thousand horse, and five thousand foot, hee resolved to cut off their passage: where we will leaue them going towards *Breda*, after a great battell fought, much honor gotten, and as braue a retreat made, as hath beene in the memory of man.

Mansfield being vpon the frontiers of France, many of the Religion left the places of their aboad and retired to *Sedan*, which bred occasion of much ialousie, so as many were stayed in passing, by the Gouvernors of townes and Prouinces. The Duke of *Sully* passing by *Moullins* in the night with foure boats laden with armes, goods, and money, went to lodge at *Villeneufue* three leagues off: The Earle of *Charles* Lieutenant to the Prince of *Conde*, being aduertised thereof, sent a gentleman to demand if hee had any passport from the King to retire himselfe, but he refusing to giue him any answer, the Earle went to horse backe well accompanied after midnight, to *Villeneufue*, and summoned the Duke to yeeld himselfe, the which he did after some refusal, and was in the morning brought backe to the Castle of *Moullins* and put in safe custody, and an inventory taken of al which was found in those foure boats. The Earle aduertised the King of this action, who knowing that the D. desired to retire himselfe to his house at *Sully*, commanded that he should be set at liberty, and suffered to depart with all his train, armes and baggage, yet he allowed of the Earles action, and commended his fidelity.

The Duke of
Sully stayed at
Moullins.

At the same time the Earle of *Suze* was stayed at *Lions*, by *Monsieur d'Alincourt*, suspected to be going to *Sedan*, to lead the Duke of *Bouillons* troops.

The Earle of
Suze stayed at
Lions.

Many others were committed in diuers places, so as vpon the aduertisements which came daily, that many of the Religion left their dwellings, some for feare and apprehension, others to fauour the comming in of the strangers, and the Duke of *Bouillons* designs, the King made a Declaration, whereby he did forbid all his subiects of the Reformed Religion to abandon their houses and aboads wherefoeuer, to ioyne with them that were in armes, or with the strangers, nor to giue them any retreat, fauour, succour, or assistance, vpon paine of Treason, and to be declared troublers of the publique peace.

The Kings
Declaration
against
them of the
Religion
which
left their
houses.

The King caused his troops to aduance neere vnto *Montpellier*, to cut off their victuals and all intelligence with *Nismes* and other resolted townes: *Monsieur Zames* lay neere vnto them, and inuented a witty stratagem to draw them forth: He laid five or sixe hundred horse in ambush within halfe a league of the Towne, and marched on with two or three hundred foot, with many great carts covered ouer and filled with *Harguebuffes* a croc, and falcons charged with chaines and nails, and many musker barrels fitted together, all which might be charged in an instant: with these Carts and his footmen the plants

The Kings
Treatie
with
the Duke
of
Sully
not
observed.

1622 plants himselfe within halfe a league of the towne, making shew to reape the corne, some of his souldiers being attired like countrymen. The Centinel seeing them, gave the alarm, and the Citizens finding they were not about two or three hundred (never dreaming of any ambush) refused to send out six hundred muskettiers to charge these haughty men, who seeing them come, made shew to retire, but being nere unto them, they gave fire to those warlike instruments which were in their Carts, whereupon they flue about one hundred upon the place: their companions beganne to flye, but the horsemen brake out vpon them and charged them in flankes, so as most were cut in pieces, and few returned to the towne: which newes were very pleasing vnto the King, who resolved speedily to blocke vp the towne, having three thousand five hundred Reiters and Lanquents brought vnto him by the Duke of Aluin, sonne to the Earle of Schomberg.

The Garrison of Montpellier detained.

New Councils erected at Rochel.

The Gentry little effected at Rochel.

The seizure of the vic of Soissons army before Rochel.

After the defeat of *Monsieur de Soubise*, in the Isle of Ric, and before the Kings going to Royan, the Seneschall of Viouonne had bene taken prisoner by *Beaulieu* younger brother to *Dampierre*, and caried to Rochel, where he was condemned to pay double ranfome, that is to say, to *Beaulieu* 1200 crownes, and to the Councell of 48, 600 crownes. Having presented the passport he received from the Assembly at Rochel to *Monsieur de Vicq*, hee shewed it vnto the King and to diuers of the Councell, all which were amazed at the rearmes they vsed against the King and his authoritie in the same. The Keeper of the Seales enforming himselfe particularly of another prisoner which came from Rochel of the forme of this new common-wealth, he told him that besides the generall Assembly which was like the generall Councell of the League, by these words, *We command you*, as they did infer in their passports, they had erected three Councels: the first was a *Councell of warre*, called the *Councell of 48*, which resembled the Councell of the vnion of fixteece at Paris, which had bene the cause of so many miseries during the league. The second was the *Councell of Iustice*, which did imitate a Court of Parliament. And the third was the *Councell of the Admiraltie*, which iudged of all prizes they tooke at sea. That the Presidents, Assitants, and Secretaries of the Assembly, were changed euery two monthes, and in like manner the said three Councels. That at these changes there was much labouring to be named President, Assitant, or Secretary. They which had bene two monthes of the 48, were put into the Councell of Iustice, or of the Admiralty; And they of the Admiralty were put into the Councell of 48, or of Iustice: In all which three Councels they did put some of the Deputies of the Assembly and of the Towne-houfe: These Councels treated of the ranfome of prisoners, and of spoiles taken by Sea or Land: of confiscations and the reuennues of the Clergy: of imposts, customes, tributes, and the Kings reuennues. He sayd that the Nobility and Gentry which went to Rochel to assist them in this warre, were sleightly regarded, and held in ialousie and distrust, for whensoever a Gentleman went out of his lodging, he was followed and watched by some inhabitant. Yea, he had seene after the taking of Sables D'Olonne, how *Monsieur de Soubise* hauing sent *Mallery* to Rochel, to haue leaue to suffer corn to passe into Bourdeaux, whereby he should draw a great imposition to helpe to entertaine his army which encreased daily; This demand being granted by the Assembly and them of the Towne-houfe, was hindred by the Councell of warre or 48: and vpon instance made by *Mallery* to haue an answer, they peremptorily told him that they would make no other answer to *Monsieur de Soubise* but with the Cannon. This was the respect the Rochellers bare vnto their Generall.

Touching their forces in the Towne; he said there were three companies of English, each consisting of an hundred men, (yet others which haue serued there, report they had six hundred English.) There were some companies of French foot and some of horse, besides the Burgeses which bare armes. That their chiefe strength was their army at Sea; whereof one *Guitton* a Burgesse of Rochel was Admirall, and about an hundred ships and pinaces which scoured vp and downe; yet flesh and wood was very deare within the Towne.

The King being at Xaintes as you haue heard, had resolved to leaue a part of his army in Poitou to blocke vp Rochel by land; he made the Earle of Soissons Generall, and the Marshall of Vetry Lieutenant. This army which consisted of 6000 foot and 600 horse, was to keepe them by land from all commerce with the neighbour Prouinces and from enioying the fruits of their lands, lying without their wals.

They

1622 They were to build forts according to the direction of *Pompeius Targona* a great Engineer sent from the Pope, who should passe the Channell betwene Coreille and Chef de Bois with a chaine, to keepe ships from entring into the Towne. This army had their rendezvous on the 28 of Iune within a league of Rochel. They made their approaches and lodged at Laleu and Saint Maurice, where they beganne to build a fort, which the Townsmen did often seeke to interrupt, but it was finished by the 24 of September as you shall heare.

The Kings army preparing for the siege of Montpellier, Aimagues, Vauuert, and other weake townes thereabouts, razed their wals and retired themselves into Montpellier, Vlez, Nismes, and other places. They sought to hinder the Lanquents from ioyning with the Kings army, and to that end had put three hundred men well armed into Saint Giles; and they being led by the Duke of Aluin, and the Comte *Rhyngraue*, prepared to force it, whereupon they sent to Montpellier for succours, knowing they should not bee long able to subsist.

Saint Giles in Languedoc taken.

On the 15 of Iuly they sent out seven hundred choice men to annoy the said Lanquents, whilst they were busie about forcing of the place; who being aduertised of their coming, went and charged them, and after some resistance defeated them, whereof most were flaine and taken prisoners: The besieged hearing of this defeat, fled away in the night and abandoned the towne.

The Kings armie led by the Prince of Conde, marched towards Berderine and Ginac which made some shew of resistance. Being come to Berderine, they battered it furiously, and it was well defended in the beginning, but there being a sufficient breach made, an assault was giuen with such fury, as the towne was forced, and many of the besieged slain, the rest had likewise perished, and the towne bene burnt to ashes, if the Commanders had not stayed the souldiers fury: His Maiestie was contented to be Master of the place, causing forty of the chiefe authors of this revolt to be apprehended and hanged, and the fortifications of the towne to be razed. His Maiesties meaning was to reduce Ginac, another reuolted Towne, to the end nothing might hinder the sieges of Montpellier, Nismes, Vlez, and other townes of importance, if they persisted in their wilfulnesse and disobedience; but being better aduised then the other, and loath to lose it selfe miserably like to Negrepelisse, the preuented her ruine by her speedy returne to obedience, imploring his Maiesties mercy. So they within it yielded to what composition it should please the king to grant them, and deliuered the place, hauing a generall pardon: yet to preuent any future reuolt, and to saue the charges of a garison, he commanded the wals and fortifications should be razed.

Berderine forced.

Ginac perished and pardoned.

After this, the army marched to besiege Lunel, a towne situated betwene Aiguemortes and Montpellier, hauing a garison of twelue hundred men to defend the place, which they beganne to batter. But in the meane time they had aduertisement that succours were coming to them, and were within two leagues of the place: whereupon they sent out certain troops to encounter them, but they vnderstood they were past by certaine vnknowne wayes, and entred by night into Lunel: The Kings Cannon continued the battery, notwithstanding the entry of these supplies; but there fell out a miserable accident, for the wind being very great, hauing giuen fire to a peece, the flame being driuen by a contrary gulf, tooke hold of the powder with such fury, as threecore souldiers were burnt, whereof most of them died.

Lunel besieged and yielded.

The besieged seeing a great breach made, and an assault ready to be giuen, had recourse vnto the Kings mercy and vnto the Prince of Conde, who received them the eight of August, and granted them their liues, armes, and baggage, the souldiers to depart with their matches out: But at their coming forth the disorder was very great by reason of a cart laden with armes which the souldiers set vpon and rifed; and not so content, assailed the garison, who were glad to depart with the best things they had to escape their furie, by whom notwithstanding some of them were flaine.

This tumult came to the eares of the Prince and of the Marshall of Praslin, who drawing his sword, slew some of these pillagers which he met withall. On the morrow after, as they were bringing some carts of powder into the towne, the fire tooke therein againe which burnt some twenty houses and some people, but the cause hereof could not bee knowne.

Two

1622

The King
comes to Lunel
and the army
keeps
Sommières.

Two days after, the King entered Lunel, but the army went towards Sommières, which having defended it selfe in the year 1573 for the space of fixe weekes against the Marshall *D'Amville*, afterwards Constable, being battered with many Cannon, thought now to doe the like yet after the Kings army was once in sight: that the *Seigneur de Vireville* had yielded his Town and Castle, which is within Harquebussie shot of Sommières: that after their best opposition and couragions defending of their approaches (wherein some persons of note of the army were slaine and hurt, as namely, the Duke of Aluin in the legge) they were faine to retire: that their suburbs after their strongest resistance (in which some famous Captaines were lost, and namely, the *Seigneur de Lancheres*, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont, and an Ayde of the Camp, and one whom the King more lamented then any other in all these warres) were all wonne: their trenches gotten, and the foot of their wall, where they flew *Fountaines* a Lieutenant of the Regiment of Piedmont: that a fearful battery was ready which discovered them behind, and now within 24. houres had made a reasonable breach, and that they were without hope of succours, they yielded, their liues and goods saved, without armes. The King in person assisted at their coming forth, that good order might bee exactly obserued within and without, and the garison was with all safety conducted, being in number twelve hundred men.

The death of so many braue Noblemen, Captaines and Souldiers slaine, as well as the sieges of townes as in combats, and so much people lost and ruined in six monthes, since the Kings departure from Paris, made many desire a peace, with this addition, So as it might not be dishonorable: for there was not only a great losse of men of warre, but even of the chiefs of the Kings Council which died in this voyage, or were sicke to the extremity, as well through toyle and the change of ayre, as by the intemperatenesse of the season: amongst the which the Cardinal of Retz, President of the Council, died the 16 of August of a fever, and was much lamented of many. *Monsieur de Vieu*, Keeper of the Seales of France, did also yield his soule to God on the second of September, a personage growne old in the seruice of the King and State, the offices which hee had worthily discharged, and the Embassies wherein he had beene employed, had brought him by degrees to this eminent place, the which the King gaue afterwards to President *Comartin*, one of his ancient Councillors of State.

The King having left the Duke of Vendosme with eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, to cleare Guisane, with the Countries of Foix and Albigeois, and to take such places about Montauban as denied him obedience: He resolved to besiege Lombes, a towne which did much import, for the communication it had with Castres, Montauban, Remont, Saint Paul, Paylars, and other revolted townes, being situated in the midst of them; the which he invested on the 26 of Iuly, and the souldiers lodged vpon the Counterscarpe, notwithstanding any resistance the Garison made. The Cannon played vpon them, and the Marquis of Maloze shewed himselfe with two thousand foot, and three hundred horse to succour them, which he could not effect, the Duke drawing part of his forces from the siege to fight with him, so as they were glad to retire to Rcalmont. The besieged seeing themselves pressed by the Cannon, and out of hope of succours, they being retired, refused to abandon it, and to save themselves by a Port which remained free, in regard they wanted men in the army, the which they did, leaving their families and goods. The Duke advancing his troops at the breake of day to give an assault, found the breach abandoned, and the gates open, which made him doubt that the enemy had some hidden designe: whereupon he sent to discouer, and being assured there were none but women and children in the towne, he caused them to be put in safety, and gaue the spoile to the souldiers, commanding the wals and fortifications to be razed.

The Duke having fortified his army with the Regiment of the Prince of Martigues his second sonne, being twelve or thirteenth hundred men, he came to Saint Supplice, where he received newes that they of Montauban during his absence and the Marshall of Themines, had made roades, and taken Renierz, with foure or five Castles about that towne, and that *Monsieur de Montbrun* (who commanded the souldiers in Montauban) was advanced with three hundred horse, and what foot he could draw together, and had taken the Castle of Villebrunier vpon the Riuier of Tarn a league from Villemur. Vpon this aduice the Duke postes away with his horse, caueh his foot to follow, and doubles the draught

Death of the
Cardinal of
Retz, and of
Monsieur de
Vieu.

Lombes be-
sieged.

abandoned, and

Spoiled.

Monsieur de
Montbrun takes
Villebrunier,
and takes it
again.

1622

A of two Cannon, to goe the swifter: he surprised *Montbrun* on the sudden, who beganne to fortifie the Castle, and forced him to retire vpon *purre* to Renierz, his footmen being thus abandoned, disperised and saved themselves, some in the Vines, others retired themselves into the Castle of Villebrunier, the which being invested, the besieged grew amazed, and slipped downe in the night (being very darke) into the ditches and saved themselves by secret by-ways, onely tenne were taken, whereof nine were hanged, and the tenth saved in regard of his young yeares: after which the Duke recovered Renierz, and all the other places which *Montbrun* and they of Montauban had taken, and then lodged his troops vpon all the approaches to Montauban, where they took three spies, whom they had sent forth with Letters from *Montbrun* to the Duke of Rohan, whom he qualified General of the Reformed Churches of France, and with many other priuate Letters, containing their friends to find meanes to free them of the great miseries wherein they were, being oppressed with contributions, lodging of souldiers, continuall guard, and want of necessities, the common people having no other sustenance but bread and water; and having to doe with a Prince which slept not, so as they should be forced to retire themselves, if they had not speedie liberty given them by a good peace. Thus were their wants discovered, and their messengers hanged for their pains.

After the reduction of so many places in Languedoc, Foix, Albigeois, and other Provinces, the Duke of Rohan seeing their affaires to decline daily, that there remained only *Montpellier*, Nismes, Véz, Castres, and some few other places which held their part, all dreamed with sieges, and deprived of assistance and succours from their neighbours which were already reduced: he resolved to reconcile himselfe by the mediation of the Constable *D'Esquignieres*, to whom he went (being at Pont Saint Esprit) the which the Constable accepted willingly, & obtained leave from the King to treat with him, in which conference there were some Weekes spent, but nothing yet concluded.

The common people suspected that the Duke of Rohan treated for his owne particular, and that he would abandon them, whereupon hee obtained a passport from the King to goe into *Montpellier* to conferre with the Deputies of that Circle, and the Consuls of the Towne; and for that they grew obdurate, seeing the Kings army but small and wearied, it made his Maiesty approach vnto Verone where the Constable came vnto him, every man thinking a peace had beene concluded, wherewith many of the chiefs were discontented, thinking the Kings honor to be intreated by some secret Articles. Others seeing the souldiers grow cold, and that *Montpellier* was well fortified, held the Kings presence more necessary at Paris, then to enter into a long siege, in September, the event whereof might proue doubtful: In the end, they which held for the warre prevailed, or rather they of *Montpellier* who desired no peace. They wrote, that many Tickers were sent vnto them, by which they were given to vnderstand, that if they yielded vpon condition the King should enter (which was the chiefe point of the treaty) they were vnto: whereupon resolution was given to besiege the towne, and the Constable tooke

leave of the King to returne into Dauphine, seeing the Prince ialous for the command of the army: having charge from his Maiesty to treat still with *Monsieur de Rohan*. The Earle of Soissons lying before Rochel, and continuing the making of his Fort, there were many sallies and encounters made by them of the towne, in one of the which *Enesse*, he who had murthered *Monsieur de Boisse* *Pardailhan* the year before in Genesac, was taken. The Earle planted certaine peeces of Ordnance vpon his fort, and shot into the towne to ruine their houses, which did much amaze the inhabitants. There grew some diuision in the towne among the Commanders, some adhering vnto *La Noue*, some to *Fasas*. In Iuly, *Pompeius Targos* the Earles Engineer, had past the Channell at a low water, and measured the bredth of it with a line, and on the fourth of August the chaine of iron which should shut vpon the Channell was brought in 35 Carres, and yet was it not all, and they planted two Cannons vpon the Sea side, to hinder the passage of the Rochellers, so as they could not approach so neere the shoare as they had done.

The Rochellers being much weakened by the ouerthrow of their army vnder *Monsieur de Soissons* in the Ile of Ric, they devised all the means they could to get men out of Normandy, and sending some of their faction with Letters vnto diuers of the Religion in that Province, as well to leauy, as to make some surpris: they wrote that in May before there were thire of those men taken in Alençon, whereof the one named himselfe to be

The Duke of
Rohan treats
with the Con-
stable.

The Constable
comes to the
King.

The proceed-
ings of the
Earle of Sois-
sons before
Rochel.

The Rochellers
Intelligence
vpon Cher-
bourg.

be Secretary *Maieur de Senlis*, who being examined vpon the contents of their Letters and taken oaths, were sent to the Court of Parliament at Rouen. There was another practice discovered, as they write, for the surprizing of Cherebourg, a Sea towne of great importance in base Normandy, the which was prevented by the care of *Monseur de Matignon* Lieutenant generall for the King, who having discovered the plot vpon the fort of Cherebourg, and vpon the port, the secret intelligences they had with the Gouvernor of the towne, and the inhabitants of the Religion: hee dismissed the Gouvernor, and changed the garison, visited the place, and supplied the defects. The Rochellers ships which should have executed this enterprise vpon Cherebourg being returned, they had commandement to keepe themselves ready, and to ioyne with the rest, to hinder the Kings Fleet, which they heard would bee within few dayes vpon the Coast of Britany, to ioyne with those of that Prouince and of Normandy, all which would make a body of about 60 saile, besides the Gallies, meaning to lie in the Road before Rochel; and to blocke it vp by sea, as well as it was by land, and to beginne the siege when it should please the King. The Gallies being come into the Riuer of Nantes, the whole Fleet attended the coming of the Duke of Guise, who was appointed Generall, and came to Paris in the beginning of August, where making small stay, hee posted into Britany, and arriued at Nantes about the end of the moneth. The Captaines and Commanders of the Gallies of Marilles, lying at Coueron three leagues off, in stead of going to salute him and receive his commandements (as they ought to haue done) went out of the Riuer and put to Sea, as if they meant to returne to Bourdeaux, making thier that they did affect the Generall of the Gallies, betwixt whom and the Duke there had beene some priuate discontent, for the command of those Gallies: Notwithstanding, the Duke had commission from the King to be Admirall of his Fleet at Sea, against them of Rochel. In the end this ialousie was reconciled, the Duke acknowledged for Generall, and the Gallies returned into the Riuer of Nantes to receive his commandements: so as hee embarked speedily to goe to Brest, to draw all the Fleet together in Pont Louis or Blauet, from thence to goe in grosse to assault the Ile of Re neere Rochel, and spare the Rochellers the paines of gathering in their Vintage there.

But let vs returne to Languedoc: the King had resolved to besiege Montpellier, notwithstanding that the world expected the conclusion of a peace; they thought the towne would haue bene content their new fortifications should be razed; that the Catholiques should be restored to their former liberty; that the Kings Officers should be restored to their places, honors, and dignities; that those which were absent, should be recalled, and in signe of obedience, they should receive a Catholique Garison vnder a Gouvernor of the Religion. All these things (as they write) had beene concluded; and the King was to enter with his army; but on the last of August, his Miesties guards coming to seize vpon the ports and walls, (as they are accustomed to doe in the reduction of Townes, before the King enters, and the rest of the army being in battell to giue passage to the garison which should retire, according to the Articles of the Treaty) they within fell into a mutinie, and shut their gates against the Kings troops, letting them know, that they were refused to defend themselves and to die like souldiers, willing them to retire: Hereupon the kings army aduanced, and forced a Fort called Saint Denis. The besieged seeing it taken, sent our a Trumpet to complaine of this enterprise made contrary to the Treaty, which they said they would entertaine, but it was onely to discover the state of the Kings army, and to recover it, who seeing small guard in the Campe, and their quarters scattered, the besieged resolved to make a furious sally, and to recover it: and to take away all knowledge of their resolution from the Kings Centinels, they opened an old Port which had beene for many yeares together mured vp, and sallied forth to the number of 1500 foot, and 80 horse: they surprized the guards, slaw some, and put the rest to flight, where diuers Commanders, Captaines, and Gentlemen were slaine. The Alarme came to the Kings quarter. The Duke of Montmorency who was then present, with the Duke of Fronfack, went speedily to horse-backe with all the Gentlemen which were about the King, and charged the enemy, shewing great proofes of their valour and resolution, yet the Kings losse was great: the Duke of Fronfack was slaine, *Monseur de Montmorency* hurt in the belly and thigh with a pike. There were also slaine the Marquis of Beueron, the Baron of Canillac, the Seigneurs of Estrange, Luçon the elder, *Combolet*, and many others. There were few

The Rochellers
prepare their
Fleete.

The Duke of
Guise comes
to Nantes.

Projects of the
Treaty of Mont-
pellier.

The Fort of
Saint Denis at
Montpellier
taken and re-
covered againe.

Montmorency
slaine, the
Montpellier.

A souldiers slaine, for they fled; but the Kings army aduancing with all speed, they were forced to retire and leaue the place.

This ad did much incense them throughout all France against them of the religion. At Orleans the newes of the Duke of Fronfacks death made them ready to take armes against them, offering vnto the Earle of Saint Paul to employ their liues and armes to take reuenge for his sonne: but the Earle answered, that hee was sufficiently grieved for his death, not desiring to see any sedition in a towne which his Maiesty had committed to his care, entreating them to containe themselves in peace. But matters past not so quietly at Lions, where the common people, ioyning with a number of youth, fell vpon them of the religion, spoiled their houses, burnt some with all their goods, and slew and hurt diuers: the which the Gouvernor, Magistrate, nor Guards were able to prevent; and if the Queene Mother had not bene in the towne, and come vnto the place where this tumult was, it had not bene pacified without great murder and spoile of them of the religion, where they are more hated then in any towne of France.

The King having received this losse at the fort of Saint Denis, sent consolatory Letters vnto the Earle of Saint Paul, and the Lady his wife, vpon the death of the Duke of Fronfack their son. The siege continued, and many braue sallies and charges were on either side. Vpon the seuenth of September they took a spy coming out of Montpellier with Letters to the Duke of Rohan, to sollicit him to send them succours speedily, or else they were vndone. He told them that they of Montpellier had attired twelue hundred women like souldiers, to make shew to the Kings army that they had many men. In the meane time they fall vpon the Duke Montmorencys quarter; *Monseur Zamet* Marshall of the Campe came presently thither, and seeing the souldiers retire, said vnto them, *Souldiers, you flee*. To whom they answered, *Sir, we haue no more powder nor shot. What (said he) haue you neither swords nor nayles?* These words touched them to the quick, and made them returne to their trenches, where he found the Captaines, who said vnto him, *Sir, you will be a witnesse that you haue found vs doing our duties*. Having repulsed the enemy, and returning to another place, meeting vpon the way with the Seigneur of Coueron, an Ayde of the Campe, they had both their thighs broke with a Cannon shot from the Port of Peyrou, whereof *Monseur Zamet* died five dayes after, to the great griefe of the King and the whole army. On the 22 of September the King resolved to attempt an out-woke betwixt two bastions at midnight, to the end the darknes might make their bastions and curtaines vnseruiceable: whereupon six or seuen hundred of the besieged sallied forth, but they were beaten, and the worke taken, where the Kings men entrenched themselves. This conflict continued about two houres, with losse on both sides: On the Kings were slaine *Tarnaud*, Lieutenant to the Duke of Luxembourg, Gouvernor of Blaye, Captain *Lago*, the Seigneur of Mironde, and Capitaine *La Bene*, and some souldiers: the besieged (as they write) lost about 200 of their best men.

The Kings army was too weak to inuest Montpellier on all sides, victuals waxed very scant, and were passing deare: they found no forage for their horses, sicknesse encreased, and the fruits and grapes of Autumne killed more men then the shot and sword of the enemy. The King to strengthen himselfe with more men, sent for the Duke of Vendosme from the siege of Briteste to ioyne with his army, and to the Prince of Conde to hasten his regiment of Berry, which was said to be embarked at Lions: vnto *Monseur Bressieu* to come vnto the army with his regiment: to the Seigneur of Montepan to bring his vnto the Seigneurs of Tremont and of Ragny, who were leauying of two regiments in Bourgundy, to hasten them to come into Languedoc with all speed: and to the Duke of Angoulême to bring six thousand men as well horse as foot, of the army which was leauied to defend the frontiers of Champagne against *Manfeld*, seeing the apprehension of all danger was past. They brought come downe the riuer of Rofne, with artillery and munition for the siege of Montpellier. About the same time the Duke of Elsperson was made Gouvernor of Guienne, which place had been voyd since the death of the Duke of Mayen. In the end of September the King battered the towne with 16 pieces of Ordnance, and the besieged seeing themselves cooped vp, beganne to entrench themselves within the Towne, forcing all in generall, men, women, and children, to labour in the trenches. They made a reasonable breach in the wall, but the King would not giue an assault, fearing they had some myne, and withall seeing his army tired, hee desired to be refreshed

A tumult at
Lions.

Monseur Zamet
slaine.

A worke taken
from the besie-
ged.

The King sends
for new sup-
plies.

The better
the towne.

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with new forces before he would attempt it; yet they still advanced their workes, in the which there were divers encounters, and many slaine: amongst others, *Casselman* an old Captain of the Regiment of the Guards, and *M. de Roquelaure* Generall of the Venetians, (who had succeeded in the place of *Monsieur Zamet*) with Capitaine *Saint Iohn*, and many others. The disorder was great in this combat, where the Kings troops flying away, young *Gittereau* and *Guymermont* were slaine. In the end the Duke of Espernon seeing this confusion, drew his sword and commanded the Seigneur of Nantes to charge with an hundred Pikes, and as many voluntaries, which made the besieged retire.

The Pope commands them of Auignon to assist the King.

During this siege the Pope had commanded his Vice Legat to supply the King with armes, powder, munition, victuals, and all other necessaries, and if his Maiefty had a desire in his returne from Languedoc or otherwise to visit Auignon, that he should prepare to receive and entertaine him and his Court as his owne person. And for that the Kings army was full of infectious diseases, the inhabitants of Marseilles, to witnesse their affection to the Kings service, offered that if the King pleased to send the sicke men of his army vnto their towne, they should be carefully lodged and entreated at their owne charges, wherewith the King was verie well pleased. In the meane time, new troops came towards Montpellier for the King. The Duke of Rohan was in Nismes with most of his forces, and the troops that were in Suenness and Viuairetz, which he might easily draw together to succour Montpellier: the King hearing of their intent by some spies which were taken, and which way they would come, tooke such order as they durst not attempt it.

Their factions encreased daily at Rochel for command, the people being ready to ruin one another; they which had not commands according to their desires, turned their coats, left the towne, and went daily to the Earle of Soissons troops, and to *Monsieur de Saint Luc* at Brouage, and made more cruell warre against the Rochellers then any other.

A Combat at Sea.

Vpon the nineteenth of Septemb: there was a great fight at Sea, betwixt the Marquis of Rouillac who commanded the Fleet in Brouage, and the Rochellers: the Marquis having a Gallion called *S. Michael*, and tenne smaller ships, wherof six were runne aground and could not follow the rest, going to ioine with the Duke of Guise, Admirall of the Fleet. The Rochellers attended them at the beginning of the flood, being 14 ships, and bent their course towards Brouage, where meeting them, they beganne the fight, which continued fix houres vntill the ebbe, and then retired without any great advantage on either side. Touching the Affaires of Rochel, and the estate of the Kings army, you cannot be better satisfied then by this Letter written from the Iudge of the Army vnto the first President of Bourdeaux on the 24. of September.

A Letter to the first President of Bourdeaux from Monsieur de Saint Luc.

Sir, the Count *Soissons* Fort is now in defence, and furnished with foureteene pieces of Ordnance, he hath sent fortytwo more to batter the towne furiously. The Rochellers haue great want of money and wood, and their fleet is ready to leaue them for want of pay. They haue taxed thirty of their best inhabitants at an hundred Crownes apiece, ten or twelue haue paid willingly, some with griefe, and others by force. All men of quality desire to yeeld obedience to the King, and are not kept backe but by the impudency of some factious people, who threaten to thrust 15. or 16 out of the Assemblée, saying, they are the cause of all their miseries. Wee attend daily the proceedings of the Kings fleet, which vndoubtedly will be master of the Seas, considering the estate whereunto the enemye is reduced. The Flemish ships which lay by vs, are goneladen with salt. On Monday last, most of the English came out of the towne to our army, where they were well entertained and feasted. My Lord gaue them money and a guard to conduct them to Nantes, where they desired to imbarke themselves to returne into their Country, exclaiming against the discomforts they had received in Rochel, and seeming very glad to be at liberty. The Lieutenant who commanded them with the rest of the English, haue bene committed to prison; we attend hourly what will become of them: but this is not the way to haue Englishmen another time.

We haue a braue Sea-man of Bourage called *Sauteron* of the reformed religion, but a sworn enemy to the Rochellers, who hath past through their fleet, and lodgeth vnder the fauour of our forts: hee takes all the Birkes which bring meale to Rochel, and euen yesterday hee tooke foure at their Chaine; Hee lies within Cannon shot of the Enemy, but neere our Forts and supported by our Cannon; so as when they

A they shoot at him, we shoot at them: Thus we make warre by Sea and Land, and forget nothing which may bring honor and reputation to the Kings forces.

But returning into Languedoc, you shall vnderstand, that some horse-men passing out of Nismes towards Auignon, tooke the Popes Legat, with the Seigneurs of Portes, Bandouin a Treasurer, and some others prisoners, and brought them to their towne, but they were set at liberty, paying their ranfomes. This Legat a little before had presented Letters vnto his Maiefty from his Holinesse, who did congratulate his victories, and commanded him not to thrust himselfe into danger, whereby in his person hee should hazard the hope of Christendome.

In the meane time, the Constable by the Kings commandment, had often conference with the Duke of Rohan, whereby they found meanes to enter into a treaty of peace, protected euer since February; many times begonne, and as often broken off. Many contradicted this designe, and represented the state whereunto they had reduced them of the religion, whom his Maiefty in fix months might wholly ruine or force to obedience: That the King and all France should reape profit thereby, when as the malecontented should haue no place of refuge, and the people should be freed from the apprehension of falling into new troubles: That they of the religion would promise much, but neuer effect the raising of their fortifications but by force: That within fix months they should be constrained to renew the warre: finally, they objected many reasons against the peace which was in hand.

But the King having stronger considerations, according to the aduice of the most ancient officers of the Crown, finding great advantage in the propositions and offers which the Duke of Rohan then made, he commanded the Constable to conclude the businesse, and come to the Campe, but the Marshall of Crecqui came before, and (as they write) brought the first newes vnto the King, of the obedience which *Monsieur de Rohan* was resolved to yeeld vnto his Maiefty, and that he would draw them of Montpellier to submit themselves.

This Treaty was held very secret, vntill that the King causing the Prince of Conde to come priuately vnto him, told him, that he had received newes by a Poste, that the Duke of Rohan was resolved to obey him, and to cause the Deputies of the Reformed Churches, with the inhabitants of Montpellier, to yeeld him all sorts of submission; and withall to haue the Articles put in execution, touching the raising of the new fortifications, in all the townes which were held by them of the religion, wherewith his Maiefty held himselfe well satisfied, resolving to giue peace vnto his subiects.

The Prince shewing some discontent, for that it had bene treated without his priuety, hee humbly besought the King, that seeing hee had now no more need of his person, it would please him to giue him leave to goe and performe a vow which hee had made to our Ladie of Lorette, which his Maiefty presently granted, and he left the Campe with a small traine.

During these negotiations, the Duke of Neuers having freed Champagne from the feare of *Mansfelds* army, finding a fit opportunity, and having good forces in the Country of Rethelois, he lodged his troops as neere as possibly he could to Sedan, forbidding all men to transport any come or victuall out of the Realme, and by consequence to Sedan, which is out of France; and withall, dispersed his troops round about it, in such sort, as victuall grew exceeding deare, especially bread, by reason of the multitude of families which were retired thither during the troubles. The Duke of Bouillon was troubled with this proceeding, he complained to the King, and wrote to the Councell at Paris, desiring to know what they intended to doe: The Duke of Neuers sent vnto the King at the same time to know his pleasure touching Sedan, for that there was neuer so faire an opportunity offered to besiege it. His Maiefty tired with so many troubles which oppressed the people, sent him word by the Marquis of Vieuville, that he should dismisse his troops, or send them with his army of Champagne, which was marching towards Montpellier, which had committed a thousand thefts, cruelties, and spoiles, more then enemies could haue done.

In the meane time *Mansfeld* (leaving the Frontiers of France) had sent word to the Duke of Neuers, that hee gaue the King the Ordnance which he left in Sedan, who shewing this Letter to the Duke of Bouillon, made instance in his Maiefties name to haue it deliuered,

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The Popes Legat and others taken prisoners.

Opinions concerning the Peace.

The King resolves to give peace to his subiects.

The Prince of Conde goes to our Lady of Lorette.

Sedan fortified by the Duke of Neuers.

The Duke of
Guise his de-
votion was the
first at Sea.

but he made answer, that *Mansfeld* had fold them vnto him, and moreover that the Prince *A*
Palatine opposed himselfe, saying, that they were his and not *Mansfelds*, for prooffe
whereof, if hee would visit the peeces, hee should finde his Armes.

At *Rochel* the Kings Fleet had not yet done any great exploit, onely they had taken
one ship at the Sea, wherein were diuers Gentlemen of Normandy going to *Rochel*: the
Fleet lay at *Blauet*, from whence the Duke of *Guise* sent to summon the English and
Hollanders who lay with their ships before *Rochel*, to declare themselves what party they
would follow, and then he resolved to goe with the Fleet against the Islands of *Rie* and
Oleron, and to make himselfe Master thereof, with an intent to ioyne with the ships of
Bouage, and to fight with the *Rochellers* if they offered themselves, and the wind and
tyde would giue him leaue.

In the meane time the Duke of *Rethelois*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Neuers*, (being
but fiftene or sixtene years old) died at *Meziers*, a young Prince of very great hope.
This death did very much afflict the Duke his father, who had grounded the support of
his House vpon the generosity of this Sonne, whose body was caried to *Neuers*, and in-
terred by his mother, and the Duke himselfe went to the King.

But returning to the treaty, the Constable came vnto the King when euery man held
the peace assured, yet he went to view the trenches and gaue it out that the peace was
broken: But soone after there was a truce concluded for foure or fife dayes, during the
which they visited one another, and the Gentlemen of *Montpellier* came walking to
the halfe-moone to view the Campe.

In the meane time newes came, that the *Marquis* of *Maloze* would put himselfe into
Montpellier to fauour such as would not heare speake of a peace; whereupon the King
went to horsebacke, and so continued all night, but the next day these newes were found
false.

The Articles of the peace being concluded on the ninth of October, the Duke of
Rohan entred into *Montpellier* on the eleuenth, where there were many seditious per-
sons which refused to murder him, calling him *Scamblerat*, a name inuented among
them for such of the religion as they held to be the Kings seruants.

In the end, after many Assemblies, they of *Montpellier* promised to obey, and to ob-
serue this treaty of peace concluded for the general of all the reformed Churches of France
and *Berne*. There seemed to be some difficulties in the execution thereof, for the clearing
of which, the Constable, the Duke of *Rohan*, with the Deputies of the *Seuennes*, *Nismes*,
Viez, and *Montpellier*, had diuers conferences vnder the Fort of *Saint Denis*, where in
the end a peace was fully resolved.

The Duke of *Rohan* in performance of that which he had promised, came the eighteenth
of October in the euening to the Kings quarter, most of the Court being retired, so as the
King was almost alone; he knelled downe before his Maiestie, and craued pardon for bearing
armes against him: the King said, *Be you better aduised for the time to come, and I will*
forget what is past. So hauing made him rise vp, they changed their discourse, and halfe an
houre after, the Duke retired to the Constables quarter, where he lay all night. On the
morrow he entred againe into *Montpellier*, and came soone after forth with the *Seigneur*
of *Gallagne*, *Gouernor* thereof, and all the Deputies of the other townes, who came to
beseech his Maiestie to giue them peace, and to pardon their faults past: Hee presented
them before his Maiestie, where all of them vpon their knees craued pardon and peace,
by the mouth of the foresaid *Seigneur* of *Gallagne*, who spake for them all, saying:

Sir, We are sent from all the reformed Churches of France, and the Soueraignty of
Berne, most humbly to craue (in their names) peace of your Maiestie, and with their
humbled more then our bodies, we beseege by the same, most humbly beseeching you to
believe that the false reports which were dispersed amongst vs, of the designs your Ma-
iestie had against our religion, haue plunged vs in these miseries: we desire not to palliate
the crime, we confesse our felues guilty: wherefore we present our selues vnto your Ma-
iestie to craue pardon, and humbly beseech you to receive vs into grace, and after the ex-
ample of God (whose image you are) to haue a regard to our infirmities & to yeeld fom-
thing to the feare we had to lose the liberty of our consciences oppressed: The more cul-
pable your Maiestie shall find vs, the more place shall you haue to imploy your Clemen-
cy. *How* the great your Maiesties father, hath vied our seruise; hath trusted vs, and hath
loued

A speech made
by the Deputies
of the Language
doe to the King.

A Ioued vs, we humbly beseech you that as heire to his royall vertues, so you would cary
the like affection towards vs, and not to distinguish vs hereafter from your other subiects,
but by the seruice we shall doe you. For thereby Sir we pretend to let your Maiestie see
that none can be more then we are, your most humble, and most obedient subiects and
seruants.

The King answered, that he willingly pardoned them, vpon condition they should
be wiser hereafter then they had bene, that they should be good subiects to him, and he
would be a very good King to them. After which they approached neere vnto the King
one after another, to make their submissions: first, the *Seigneur* of *Calogne*, then the
Deputies of *Seuennes*, after them *Viez*, and *Nismes*, and lastly they of *Montpellier*, all which
the King receiued according to his accustomed clemency, and then causing them to rise,
he commanded the *Seigneur Herbaux* to reade a Declaration which he had caused to be
made for the peace. The same day after dinner, the Constable entred into *Montpellier*
with the Marshalls of *Crequi* and *Bassompierre*, and foure thousand Souldiers, who seized
vpon the Ports, Magazines, Cannons, and two of the chiefe Bastions. The Grand Prouost
hauing caused the Kings decree touching peace to be solemnly proclaimed in the Kings
quarter and trenches, hee entred into *Montpellier* and did the like; and the *Harbin-
gers* went and marked out their lodgings for the Court, after the accustomed manner.
The next day being the 21 of October, the Souldiers which were within the towne came
forth in very good order, being twelue hundred in number, who were receiued by *Mon-
sieur de la Courte*, and part of the Kings horse, and were conducted whither they desired.

After dinner the King entred in armes with his whole Court. His reception was stately:
considering the shortnesse of time, and the difficulties of warre; all their rich hangings
and precious mouables which they had hidden for feare of a sacke, were now brought
forth, and set to view to honor this happy entry. They stroue to expresse their duties,
the ioy was general, and nothing was heard, but the acclamations of the inhabitants
of both sexes, who cried continually, *God save the King.* The Consuls being accom-
panied with the best inhabitants of the towne, came to meete him, witnessing by the speech
they made vnto his Maiestie, that they were much grieved to haue offended him, and be-
sought him (in presenting the keys of the Towne, themselves, and their liues) to extend
his mercy vnto them, and not to punish their crimes, and the transgressions of his lawes
with other armes then those of his Clemency and Pity. His Maiestie granted what they
demanded, vpon condition that hereafter they should be faithfull, and neuer take armes
against his seruice vpon any pretext whatsoever: That they should suffer their new forti-
fications to be razed, their defences ruined, and their ditches filled vp, till the which were
done and accomplished, they should haue three Regiments in Garrison, and should obey
whatsoever did concerne his Maiesties seruice.

Viez which hath the title of a Duchy, would no longer persist in her disobedience, but
submitted in imitation of *Montpellier*, and for the better assurance, consented the Castle
should be razed and the fortifications demolished. The Towne of *Nismes* followed their
example. The Duke of *Rohan* was left *Gouernor* of these two townes, and of *Milhaud*,
yet could he not put in any garrison. Many other townes desired to be numbred amongst
the obedient, and of those which would not contradict the Kings will. In the meane
time Commissioners were sent to all the Courts of Parliament, to carie the declaration
of peace, and to haue it verified, the tenure whereof followeth.

Viez and
Nismes submit
themselves.

LEWIS by the grace of God, &c. As euery Christian Prince fearing God should ab-
horre the effusion of mans blood, created after the image of the Almighty; so is hee
bound not onely to auoid the occasions of ciuill and domestique warres, but to embrace
all honorable and lawfull meanes to vnite his subiects vnder the lawes of State in good
concord and obedience. The same Diuine bounty which hath knowne our heart
since it hath pleased him to call vs to the government of this French Monarchy, is iudge
of our intention; and the world knowes that our armes haue bene as iust as forced
and necessarie, for the vpholding and defence of our authority, either against those
which in the beginning, vnder diuers borrowed pretexes haue stirred vp trou-
bles during our minority, or since against our subiects of the reformed Religion, abu-
sed by the practices of sorge of them, who haue thought to make as much

The Kings de-
claration for
the Peace.

1622. vfe of their fimplicity, as of the publique diuifion of our Realme: although our intention was neuer other (after the example of Kings our predecessors) then to maintaine them in peace and vnion vnder the benefit of our Edicts, and to encrease them as our good and faithfull fubiects, if they containe themfelues within the termes of respect and fubmiffion due vnto the Soueraigne; hauing fpared no admonition and care, to prevent the mifchiefe which was eafie to forfcke, before wee came to armes, whereunto wee were forced to our great griefe, to preferue our Royall dignity, and the power which God hath giuen vs, to free them from the diftrifts and lea- loufies which haue beene giuen them with much art and cunning, of our good in- tent, which hath neuer failed any man; and to prevent the accidents and miferies which haue followed; and to make them know (with the end of the chiefe authors and fauou- rers of this publique diforder) the true ground of our fincere intentions, to cherifh and maintaine them all in peace, and the free enioying of that which hath beene granted by our Edicts: And for that our fubiects of the reformed religion, haue beene fince better in- fpired, and acknowledged their fault and this truth, hauing had recourfe to our clemency and bounty, by humble petitions fent by their Deputies, to grant them pardon, and to abolifh the memory of what was paff; and to refpect them hereafter as our other royall and faithfull fubiects; enclining alwayes rather to mildneffe and mercy, then to vfe the ri- gour and iuflice of our armes, although they haue gotten vs great advantages, and might make vs hope for the like iffue: Hauing refpect to their fubmiffions and duties, and being defirous to giue peace vnto our Realme, and vnto all our fubiects in amity and concord among themfelues, and to a general and ioynt obedience towards vs, and for other im- portant reasons and confiderations therunto mouing vs: By the aduice of the Princes, Dukes, Peeres, Officers of the Crowne, and chiefe of our Councell, wee haue ordained, and by thefe prefents declare vnder our hand, and our pleafure is,

The Articles of the Peace.

I. **T**HAT the Edict of Nantes, Declarations, and fecret Articles enrolled in our Courts D of Parliament, fhall be faithfully obferued to our fubiects of the Reformed Religion, in all points as they haue enioyed them during the reigne of the deceased King our Lord and Fa- ther, and fince our comming to the Crowne, before thefe laft alterations.

II. That the exercife of the Catholique and Romifh Religion, fhall be reftored in all places of this Realme, and Countreys of our obedience, where it hath beene intermitted, to be freely continued without any trouble.

III. We exprefly forbid all perfons of what eftate and condition foeuer, vpon paine of pnnifh- ment, as breakers of the peace, and troublers of the publique quiet, to moleft or trouble Clergy- men in the celebration of Diuine Service, and in the enioying of the Offices, Fruits, and Re- uenues of their Benefices, and all other rights which belong vnto them.

IV. And in like manner the exercife of the reformed Religion fhall be reftored againe in thofe places where it hath beene, according to our Edicts and Grants, and the Seats of Iuflice, Offices of Receipt, and Officers of the Treafure, fhall be reftored to the fame eftate they were in before thefe laft troubles, except the Chamber of Nerae, which fhall bee fettled where wee fhall thinke good, hauing heard the complaints of the Deputies of our Province of Guienne.

V. Our pleafure is, that all new fortifications of Townes, Castles, Forts, and others held by our fubiects of the Reformed Religion, and efppecially thofe which haue beene made in the Iflands of Rie and Oleron, fhall be razed and demolifhed, the old walls, towers, ports, ditches, and counterfcarpes, remaining in their former eftate, forbidding all townes to forfike any more: And for the execution of the faid demolifhments, fome of the chiefe inhabitants of the faid Townes fhall be deliuered in hofage to fuch as we fhall pleafe to appoint.

VI. To the end that the Officers of our Crowne, and others depuied, may execute the com- ments hereof, according to the inftructions which fhall be giuen them: our meaning is, that all Townes held by them of the Religion, which within fixteene dayes after the publication of thefe prefents, fhall fubmit themfelues to our obedience, and open their gates willingly vnto vs, fhall enioy the contents of this prefent Declaration.

VII. We exprefly forbid our fubiects of the Reformed Religion, all sorts of Affemblies, Circles,

A Circles, Councels, Abridgement of Synods, and all other of what quality foeuer, vpon paine of Treafon, if they haue not exprefly leane from vs: But they are only allowed Affemblies of Con- fiftories, Conferences, and Synods for matters concerning the government and difcipline of the faid Reformed Religion: forbidding them exprefly to treat of any other politique affaire.

VIII. Our faid fubiects of the reformed Religion, fhall be difcharged and freed from all acts of hofility and from all Affemblies and Circles, and from all other things whatfoeuer contained in the 76 and 77 Articles of our Edict of Nantes, from the first of Ianuary 1621, vntill this prefent.

IX. And for what hath happened at Prinas, we will that a particular abolition thereof B be made vnto the inhabitants of the faid place, and vnto the Seigneur of Brifon.

X. And concerning the Accomplables and other officers in matters belonging to their char- ges, we will that the 78 and 79 Articles of the Edict of Nantes, fhall be wholly kept and obferued.

XI. Likewise for the indgements, sentences, and condemnations, made againft them of the reformed religion, which haue borne armes, We will that they be therof difcharged according to the 58, 59, and 60 Articles of the faid Edict.

XII. So also we ratifie and confirme all indgements giuen by Iudges ordained by the Gouer- nors of Provinces, either in ciuill or criminall caufes, and the executions which haue followed amongft thofe of their party, and the faid Iudges to be freed from all pursuits in that behalf: C impofing perpetuall fentence to our Profectors Generall, their Subftitutes, or any other that may pretend intereff.

XIII. Our pleafure is, that all prifoners on both fides, which haue not payd their ranfomes, fhall be freely fet at liberty; and all promifes made for ranfomes which haue not beene dis- charged before the day of the date hereof, fhall be void and of no effect.

XIV. That all perfons of what quality and condition foeuer, fhall be reftored to their goods, names, actions, honours, and dignities, whereof they haue beene deprived, by reason of thefe prefent troubles, notwithstanding all gifts and confiscations which haue beene made, except mili- tary charges: And fuch as haue willingly treated, or to whom wee meane to giue fome re- compence.

XV. We ordaine that this prefent Declaration fhall be entertained and kept by all our fub- iects according to the forme fet downe in the eight Article of our Edict of Nantes: and that D Commiffioners of both Religions, fhall be fent by vs into all the Provinces, to fee the contents therof put in execution. Commanding all our Courts of Parliament, and all other Iuftices and Officers to whom it fhall appertaine, to caufe thefe prefents to be read, regiftred, and enrolled, and to be inuicably obferued and kept, without any contravention, for fuch is our pleafure. Given in our Campe at Montpellier the nineteenth of October, 1622. and the 13 of our Reigne. Signed Lewis.

Monfieur de Fiat being fent with this Declaration vnto the Court of Parliament at Pa- ris, the Duke of Rohan gaue him this Letter following to the Duke of Montbazon.

My Lord, your * firft fonne in law hath endeoured to ruine our * Houfeyour * fecond hath procured vs peace and confirmed it; and for my part I am fo fatisfied with him, and find my felfe fo much bound vnto him, as I fhall openly declare my felfe vnthankfull, if I fhould euer fhew my felfe other then his moft humble feruant: Ofa delinquent I am be- come a fauorite, wherein he hath not a little furthered mee: And I muft needs confeffe that I am more obliged to the Kings goodneffe then any man elfe in this kingdom, there- fore he may affure himfelfe I will neuer faile in my duty towards him. Monfieur de Fiat will further enforme you of all matters, vnto whole relation I referre my felfe, and in life F and death will remaine your Lordships moft humble Cousin and moft affectionate fer- uant, De Rohan.

As for the particular Articles granted vnto the Duke of Rohan, the fubftance of them was this: 1. That the D. of Rohan fhould haue the Duchy of Vallois by way of engage- ment for 60000 pound Sterling, to be paid at one entire payment, which Duchy fhould be of the value of three thoufand pound Sterling yearly rent: and withall hee fhould haue twenty thoufand pound Sterling in hand, in recompence of his government in Poitou, and other particular gouernments of Saint Iohn D'Angely, Saint Maxant, Mal-

[ff 4.]

lazaiz,

The Duke of Rohan's Letter to the D. of Montbazon, * The Con- stable Laynes, * Montbazon of the Houfe of Roan. * The Duke of Cheureuil who was fent vnto Nimes to treat with the Duke of Rohan.

Private articles.

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lizaits, Melle, and for the Abbey of Lor in Poitiers: That hee should haue the gouernment of Niimes, and Vice, without Garifons: That his Pension and his brothers should be restored, and that the Seigneur of Calonge should haue six hundred pound sterling yearly pension.

2, That Rochel and Montauban should remaine Townes of suretie for three yeares, and haue nothing demolished.

3, That all the new fortification of *Montpellier* should bee razed: That hereafter the Consuls should be named by the D. of Montmorency, according to the Kings pleasure, that is to say, two of either Religion: That in all other things the Kings will should be obeyed, and there should be no more townes of safetie, Hostage, or Mariage: That all B Gouernours should hold their gouernments of the King onely, and not of the said Churches, and without any Garifons, but such as it should please his Maiestie to appoint.

Institution of a new Regiment of light-horse.

Thus the Peace is concluded at *Montpellier*, where the King stayed six dayes: during the which many new Regiments came vnto him; but hauing no further employment, he cashiered some, and entertained others: hee also cast all the light-horse, taking from the Princes their Companies, and instituting a new Regiment of Horse, consisting of fiftene companies which should be commanded by Gentlemen chosen by his Maiesty, to prevent the disorders which hapned daily vpon the first discontent of any Prince, who falling from his obedience, carried his company with him: which done, the King leauing *Monseur Valence* in *Montpellier* with forty Companies of foot, to see the fortifications razed, he went to visit his chiefe Townes of Prouence, Dauphine, and Lionois.

The disposition of the Kings Fleet.

The Peace was not yet proclaimed before Rochel, nor any surcease of Armes: The Earle of Soissons kept them from all commerce by land; and shot into the Towne at random, and greatly ruined their Houses. The D. of Guise meant to doe the like by sea, wherein they had their greatest hope. He appointed a Rendezvous for the whole Fleet at Blauet, called Port Lewis. He attended three great Gallions from Marfeilles, and one from Malta. But the D. fearing that winter would approach, the time would be vnsafefonable, and the Roads bad in those parts, he refused to goe and fight with them, and not stay for the Leuant ships, but contrarie winds kept him in the Harbor. During the which the said Leuant ships came vnto him about the end of September. Hee then gaue order for the fight, and diuided his fleet into three bodies. The first was commanded by *Monfieur de Saint Luc*, Gouernor of Brouage, being Vice-Admirall, hauing ten ships, and two Pinaces. The second commanded by *Monfieur de Guise*, being in number sixteene ships, and two Pinaces. The third body contained six ships, and two Pinaces, commanded by *Monfieur de Marly*. Before these were three Squadrons; the first consisting of ten Gallies. The second Squadron of two & twenty Pinaces, in which *M. de Rochefoucault* was with 1200 footmen. In the third Squadron were three Pinaces, commanded by the Marquis of Afferac.

Hauing thus disposed of the Fleet, about the nineteenth of October, the winde being fauourable, they began to set sayle: but changing suddenly, they were forced to stay in the Road of Bel-Ile, and on the five and twentieth, they came in fight of the Ile of Rie, E where the calme made them cast Anchor, so as they could not approach the enemy by two leagues. There they concluded of the manner of their fight. On the seven and twentieth, hauing little winde, the Gallies approached towards the Rochellers who lay at Anchor about a league from Saint Martin de Rie, being about 70 ships: who seeing the Gallies approach, and the whole Fleet in sight, they set sayle; but the calme was so great, and the Tyde against them, as the Kings Fleet was forced to cast anchor a league from them. In the meane time the Gallies came within Cannon-shot of the Rochellers, hauing commandement not to engage themselves too farre. The Duke of Guise refused to goe and discover their Armie, commanding the Earle of Joigny to send him a Gallie, and in the meane time he tooke a barge, being accompanied by the Earle of Rochefoucault and foure or five Gentlemen, vntill he met with the Gally, with the which hee approached neere vnto the Rochellers, as well to haue the better opportunitie to fight with them, as to discover the burthen of their ships and their Ordnance. The fight grew hot, as the Rochellers were forced to cast anchor, in regard of the calme, in three diuided Squadrons: but the winde growing fresh about one of the clocke after noone, they set sayle againe; and giuing way to the aduantage which the Gallies had by their Cannon, retired by little and little.

The

A The Duke of Guise thinking them to be disordered and in feare, held it fit to packe on all their failles to fight with them. And to this end he commanded *Bouc*, Sergeant Maior of the Armie to bring on the best failers as they came, without any Order: vsing all diligence, to the end they might fight with them. *Monfieur de Saint Luc*, being gone about some Commission to the Rereward, could not recover his Ship, but many others were gone before him; to whom hee sent commandement to attend him; which some did, and others continued on their course, so as hee shot two pieces of Ordnance after them, and made their retire: The which hee did, as well to maintaine the first ranke which was due vnto his Charge, as to prevent all aduantages which the Rochellers might B get by the Fleets being thus scattered. The Duke of Guise recovered his Gallion, and the Rochellers got the winde, so as they must fight with them vpon disadvantage. *Monfieur de Saint Luc* crept vp the winde all he could, being onely assisted by two ships, the rest fell all to lee-wards, and could onely helpe them with their Cannon a farre off, and by the Gallies, who likewise plyed them with their Ordnance, as long as they might doe it without annoying their owne company. In the meane time, the two Ships which were got into the winde with *Monfieur de Saint Luc*, were boarded by foure or five of the Rochellers, one of which was sunke, and in one of the two ships, the *Cheualier de Cuges* Captaine thereof was slaine: this combat lasted vntill one clocke at night, before they were cleared one from another.

C In the meane time *Monfieur de Saint Luc*, continued the fight alone with the Rochellers Admirall, and Vice-Admirall, followed by their whole Fleet, the space of an houre and a halfe: the Admirall attempting twice to board him, and the Vice-Admirall thrice; but hee plyed them so with Cannon, and Musket, that they fell off againe without grappling: and so it hapned with other foure of their tallest Ships, of which some had laid him aboard. But a fift Ship of foure hundred Tunnes, being more eager then the rest to board him, was so entertained, as after hee had vngarled himselfe, and was full of water, which would gladly haue runne aground at Rie, but could not for it sunke by the way.

Now *Monfieur de Guise* (seeing *Monfieur de Saint Luc* so farre engaged) had fetched such a compasse about with fowerall boardings, as hee had gotten into the winde more then all the rest of the Fleet which followed him, and so much desired to succour him, that hee alone without staying for any other, turned short vpon the Enemy (although the rest of his Fleet were stil to lee-ward) and thrust himselfe amongst the thickest of them; which the Admirall of the Rochellers perceiuing, hee turned towards him with all their Fleet (except their Vice-Admirall, with ten other vessels, which were in fight with *Monfieur de Saint Luc*) and bringing vwith them two ships full of fire-works, hee found the meanes whilst they were in fight, to fasten their ships to the poope of his Gallion: so as on a sudden the fire working his effect, burst out all ouer the said two ships, to the vnderment of all the Kings Fleet how the Duke of Guise could free himselfe from them, which in the end, notwithstanding all the enemies Cannon and Musket shot, by his great diligence and valour he effected, and quenched the fire also which had taken hold of his owne ship. This combat lasted about an houre, and was so hotly pursued as many of the Rochellers were slaine, at the push of the pike by them aboard the Admirall. Hauing thus cleared himselfe, hee passed through their whole Fleet.

During this, the Kings Fleet following the said rout vvhich the Duke of Guises ship tooke, cauled the Rochellers Vice-Admirall, and the other ten ships vvhich assailed *M. de Saint Luc* all this vvhile, and were grappled vnto him, to leaue the combat. As soone as hee was freed, and had gotten to the head of the Fleet. Hee set so furiously againe vpon the Rochellers, euen as they were about to reuinite themselves, as the Vice-Admirall, and his Squadron were forced to separate themselves from the rest, and sayle before the wind F vnto Rochel, and the Admirall with the rest to plie vp into the vvinde to recouer Rie: so the night fauouring their retreat, protected them from further losse; the combat hauing lasted vntill one a clocke within night; the darknesse did much endamage the Kings Fleet with boarding and shooting one at another. In this conflict were slaine aboard the Duke of Guises Gallion, the Seigneur of Vinciguerre, with some other Gentlemen and Officers.

The Duke of Guise vwith the vvhole Fleet, anchored in the place vvhich this fight was, the which was very furious, and continued from the morning till fix a clocke at night, A second fight.

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A fight between the two Fleets.

Monfieur de Saint Luc engaged alone amongst the Rochellers Fleet.

The Rochellers beaten and retire.

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night, in which they write were spent 20000 great shot. The Rochellers retired to Saint Martins Road, vnder the fauour of their Forts, and couered with many shelles and barres, where no great Ships could enter but with danger to runne aground. They write that in this battell there were not aboue foure hundred men slaine and hurt on the Kings side, but two thousand slaine and hurt of the Rochellers, and diuers of their Ships sunke.

The Duke of Guise being still resolu'd to charge the Enemy, commanded the General of the Gallies (for that the Ships could not aduance by reason of the great calme) to assault them where they lay. They met with the Vice-Admirall, caried by the Tide along the Coast of the Ile of Re, which they battered so with their Cannon, as the ranne aground hauing lost many men. After this they were ouertaken by a storme, so the Kings Fleet was forced to stay many dayes at L'Eguillon, and the Gallies went to seeke shelter at Brouage. The storme being past, the Duke went to set vpon them in Saint Martins Road, but could not draw them forth, so as after many Cannon shot, the winde being contrary, he was forced to leaue them.

Three dayes after, the Duke gaue order to passe the Flats which couered them, commanding *Adm: de Saint Lus* to take the head of the Fleet, and to ioyne with them if he could: According to this order, hauing past the danger by sound, and spent aboue foure thousand shot on both sides: the Rochellers, as they write, were ready to runne aground to save themselves, hauing no other meanes to escape: but the winde growing contrary, the Kings Fleet was forced to retire.

The Rochellers seeing their ruine apparent, and not to be auoided, came the same night to offer their Standard to the Duke of Guise, beseeching him to suffer them to enioy the benefit of the Peace which it had pleased the King out of his bounty to giue them. The next day *Gittin* their Admirall brought his fagge vnto the Duke, with assurance to disarm, & to satisfe all the other Articles which were enioyned them by his Maiestie, in regard of the said Peace, according to the order vvhich he had receiued from the Maior and Towne-houfe of Rochel.

After this submission, they were stayed three dayes before they could make their retreat by reason of a tempest. On the fourth day, they passed vnder the Lee of the Kings Armie, and saluted it with their Cannon, carrying neither Flags nor Ensignes, and so retired within the Chaine, and vpon the Owle of Rochel. The Kings Ships went to winter in Britanie, and the Gallies in Brouage and Tonne Charante.

This Discourse of the Nauies, my Author faith, was sent him from a man of qualitie, who was in the Kings Fleet, and one of the first in all fights. I haue done what I could to haue all other aduertisements of these encounters by Sea, from those of the Religion which liue in this towne, but could not be assisted, and therefore I must leaue the censure of the Truth, to the iudicious Reader, hauing discharged my dutie as faithfully as I could.

According to their Relation, there were many men of name slaine in these conficts. E Of the Rochellers side the Seigneurs of Plomb, of Loille, of Coudray, of Merande the elder, all foure of Rochel. Moreouer, *Lannay* of Cane; *Emanuel* a Norman; *Captaine La Porte* of Loudun; the Seigneur of Queris, and of *S. John D'Angely*: all these they write were slaine in one Ship; & *Tessere* a Councillor of Rochel was taken prisoner there. As for the Kings Fleet, they write, there perished not any one Ship, neither did they lose many men of command; onely the Seigneur of Vinceguerre, and the *Cheualier de Cuge*, *Beaulieu Persay*, Captain of a Gally, and *de L'Isle* Lieutenant to *Monsieur de Valence*. The peace hauing preferred the rest of the Rochellers Fleet, they gaue publike testimonies of their ioy both by word and writing, as may appeare by this following Letter, which the Mayor and Sheriffs of Rochel wrote to the Earle of Soissons.

My Lord, as our vowes & earnest prayers to God, haue a long time preuented the good newes of the Peace, which it hath pleased the King out of his bounty to giue vs; so wee beseech you to beleuee, that not onely the actions of thanks to his Maiestie for this singular benefit, haue presently followed the happy aduertisements which came vnto vs, and that at that instant we haue shewed all signes of ioy and deuotion, and haue made no stay of the publication thereof, which we haue performed with all kinds of publike acclamations. Wee were bound thereunto for many considerations; but especially by the natural obedience

The Rochellers
submit them-
selves to the
Duke of Guise.

Persons of
Note which
were slaine
at sea.

The Rochellers
Letter to the
Earle of Sois-
sons.

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A obedience which we owe vnto our King, which shall alwayes bee preferred before our priuat interest, especially which he provides for the liberie of our Conscience as he promiseth to doe. We hope, my Lord, presently to renew the assurances by your Deputies, which we meane to send vnto his Maiestie to that end, who shall not depart before they haue the honour to kisse your hands, and receiue your commendements. In the meane time we beseech you to take in good part, as it were by way of anticipation, the priuat submissions which shall be made vnto you on our behaile by the Seigneurs of Lalicu, Beaulieu, Pyneau, and Lamoignon of the body of our Towne: *Beithel, La Londe, Parnau, and Olivier*, Burgeses, whom we send expressly to your Excellencie to acquaint you with what hath hitherto past vpon signification of this happy newes.

B Wee humbly beseech you, not to suffer this Peace to bee interrupted by any alteration which might distemper mens minds; but contrariwise, so to dispose of all things, not onely for the publication of the said peace in your Armie; but also for the sincere execution of the contents thereof, as well by Sea as Land, as wee for our parts will be careful, to obserue whatsoeuer depends of vs, and to witnesse that wee are of vs his Maiesties most humble Subiects and serpents, and that we particularly honour with all affections the Princes of his Blood, amongst the which my Lo: wee know the rank you hold, and the interest which all France hath, that so precious a bud of the Flower-de-luce; should be esteemed, and preferred, for the which wee will pray to Almighty God, as your most humble and obedient seruants; the Maior, Sheriffe, Peeres, Burgeses, and Inhabitants of Rochel, the sixteenth of Nouember 1622.

C The Earle of Soissons, according to the order he had receiued from the King, hauing caused the Peace to be published, dismissed his Armie. The Regiment of Champagne, with twenty complete Companies, vnder the command of *Arnault* their Campe-Master, were left in garison in Port Lewis, which was munitioned with viuals, and all other things necessary; the which troubled the Rochellers, and made them send often vnto the King to be freed thereof. What succeeded you must heare hereafter.

D This with the conclusion of the Peace (which was so pleasing to all France in generall, but especially to the poore afflicted Church of the Religion) I will end the continuation of this History. I know I haue vnder taken a taske will be subiect to much controuersie, hauing treated of a subiect which we haue scene with our eyes, so as some who presume to haue had good intelligences of these actions which haue past, will haply contradict mee, and tax me with mistakings. But they must accept of this answer, that I haue added nothing of mine owne, but can bring my Authors for my varrant, if they haue erred, either transported with passion, or abused with mis-reports and false instructions; the fault is not mine: Neither doe I doubt but other mens relations, which shall speake most confidently, will be subiect to the like constructions. I haue done my best endeavour, and haue related euery thing with as much modestie as I could, no way inclining to any party; but only to set downe briefly (being tyed to strict bounds in this Continuation) what hath been written by my authors, whom I haue found to be altogether Royalists. I haue much desired to haue had information from them of the religion, wherein I intreated some friends to employ their credits, but could receiue no assistance.

Wherefore if in these my painfull employments, I shall giue the Reader any content and satisfaction, I haue the reward I expected, in being throwed from the Detraction of maleuolent tongues.

FINIS.

The Earle of
Soissons dis-
misseth his
Armie.

**A Catalogue of the Townes and Places of Surety and Ostage
for them of the Religion, reduced vnto the Kings obedience during this
Warre; some by force, others by composition, and some of their
owne voluntary submission.**

Pau, a Towne of Parliament, or Councell, in the Countrie of Bearne, was rendred vnto the King in the year 1620, on the fifteenth of October, when his Maieftie went thither in perfon to cause his Edicts to be verified there.

Nanarrins, was reduced vnto the Kings obedience, three dayes after Pau; and the Seigneur of Poyanne left Gouvernour, with part of the Regiment of Navarre.

Orthez, was yeilded vnto his Maieftie, and sent him their Keyes, receiuing *Monsr. Zamet* for Gouvernor of the place, attending some other order, with part of the Regiment of Picardie.

Oleron, Lefcar, Sauueterre, and Nain, expressed the like dutie, they received the Churchmen, which were restored to their liuings; and the Garison which his Maieftie sent thither.

Leztaure, a Towne and Castle strongly situated, which hauing the *Seigr. de Fontailles* for their Gouvernor, who became a Catholike, the Inhabitants would needs haue him changed; which his Maieftie granting, established there the Seigneur of Bleniaille, with some souldiers in Garison. In this fort assuring this place vnto him in the year 1620.

Marais, a Towne in bafe Poitou, heretofore vnder the command of the Rochellers, but now reduced, and continued in the Kings obedience by the Seigneur of Conflans.

Tuene, a Towne in Lymosin, bearing the Title of a Viscounty, belongs vnto the Marshall of Bouillon; but assured vnto the King at his being in Angoulesme, by their voluntarie submission, 1620.

Val in Viualetz, a little Towne, but stubborn Inhabitants, taking part with them of Priuats, were reduced by the Duke of Montmorency, in the year 1620.

Sauumur, was taken from *Plessis Mornay* in the year 1621, and the year following, the new fortifications were demolished.

At the same time were reduced to the Kings obedience, *L'Isle Bouchard* in Touraine, *Platry* and *Joffelin* in Britanie, *Pesins* in Aniou, *Loudun* and *Thouars* in Touraine, *Castelleraut*, *Fontaine le Comte*, *Garnash*, *Talmond*, *Saint Maixant*, *Njort*, *Mallezay*, *Beauueyr*, *Mauleon*, and other places in Poitou, which opened their gates voluntarily vnto the King, and receiued Garison in the year 1621.

Pont Orson, a place of great importance in bafe Normandie, was drawne from the Earle of Montgomery for a recompence, in the year 1621.

Argenton, a Towne in Berry, submitted to the Prince of Conde, 1621.

Gergeau, after some siege, yeilded to the Earle of S. Paul, 1621.

Sancerre, hauing expelled their Lord, and disobeyed the King, was forced to yeeld by the Prince of Conde in the year 1621, their walls were razed.

Sully, after some resistance, was constrained to accept of the Kings Pardon by the Prince of Conde, in July 1621.

Chasteaurenard, fearing the Kings Armes, yeilded vnto the Earle of Saint Paul, after the reduction of Gergeau.

Saint Iohn D'Angely, after the enduring of Royall siege, was forced to yeeld the 26 of Iune 1621, and to suffer the demolishment of their walls.

Taillebourg, a Towne and Castle of the Duke of Tremouilles, protested their obedience during the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

Pons, in Xaintonge, being terrified with the taking of Saint Iohn D'Angely, yeilded vnto the King the 39 of Iune 1621, and was demantled.

Cauumont, was generously regained by the great courage of the Duke of Mayen 1621.

Bergerac, which *Monsr. de la Force* had strangely fortified, perceiving the Kings approach, sent him their keyes the tenth of Iuly 1621, whether his Maieftie sent *Rambure* with his Regiment into garison and demantled it.

Neres, which had bin obstinate in their revolt, & sustained a siege by the D. of Mayen for certaine

certain dayes, was yeilded vnto his Maieftie on the 7 of Iuly, who put a garison therin.

The King no sooner entred into Guienne, but the Seigneurs of Boisse Pardailan, put into his hands these places; *Castillon*, *Casfelaloux*, *Turnon*, *Mont de Marsan*, *Marselle*, *Maidan*, *Thymorol*, *Lerac*, *Loyol*, *Merlatx*, *Sainte foy* and *Thouens* 1621, some of which reuolted the next year by the practises of *Monsr. de la Force*, which were since reduced.

Mas de Verdun, *Maunaisin*, *L'Isle en tourdan*, places in the Countrie of *Armaignac*, were reduced vnto the King 1621 in Iuly, by *Monsr. de Mayen*.

Albiac was forced, spoiled and burnt by the Duke of Mayen, in Iuly 1621.

Pont de Barbasle and *Marmande* were reduced vnto his Maieftie by the Duke of Mayen in Iune 1621.

Marguerite, in Languedoc, was besieged by the Duke of Montmorency, and reduced the sixt of Iuly 1621.

Chelair, in Albigeois, which had oppressed the Catholiques, was besieged & forced by the D. of Vontadour, some of the houses burnt, and the walls bearen down, in Iuly 1621.

Vauuery, a Towne in Languedoc, taken by the D. of Montmorency, in Iuly 1621.

Monheur, in Guienne, reuolted by *Pardailans* sonnes, contrarie to their oaths, was besieged by his Maieftie, forced, spoiled, and burnt, in December 1621.

Moissac, a place in Quercy yeilded vnto the King at his coming neere vnto Montauban, in August 1621.

Poussin and *Bay* vpon *Bay*, in Viualets, were besieged by the Duke *D'Esquigues*, and after some resistance reduced, in March 1622.

Montraut, a place in high Perigort, besieged, forced, and demantled by the Duke of Elbeuf, in February 1622.

Bourmiquet, in Quercy, besieged and reduced by the Marshall of Themines, Ianuary 1622.

Genfack, in bafe Guienne, where the Seigneur of Boisse Pardailan was murdered, reduced by the Duke of Elbeuf, in Ianuary 1622.

Royan, a towne of Xaintonge, surprized by the Rochellers, assieged by the King, and reduced in May, 1622.

Thouins, after three moneths siege by the D. of Elbeuf, was reduced, the 4 of May 1622, and since burnt.

Monsieur reduced in May 1622: At the Kings coming into Guienne.

Montlanguin reduced by the Capitulation of Saint Foy, in May 1622.

Clerac, besieged by the Kings armie in the year 1621 was taken since being reuolted, was againe reduced, in May 1622.

Negrepellisse, a towne in Quercy, reduced in the year 1621, did afterwards in Nouember murder the Kings Garison, and refused to open their gates vnto him in Iune 1622, was besieged, taken, spoiled, burnt, the inhabitants slaine and hanged.

Cariac, *Cadenac*, *Figeac*, the Duke of Sullies Towns in Agenois, receiued the Kings Garisons, in Iune 1622.

Saint Antonin in Albigeois, after some dayes of siege, and rude assaults, was reduced the 22 of Iune 1622.

Carmail and *Mas Saint Spuede*, little reuolted places neere Thouloufe, were yeilded in Iuly 1622.

Berderin, a Towne in Languedoc, besieged by the Prince of Coude, & *Ginac*, *Saint Giles*, *Lunel* and *Sommieres*, were reduced, and their walls demolished.

Aiguemorte was brought to the Kings obedience by the reduction of *Monsr. de Chastillon* to his seruice.

Lombes in Abigeois, besieged by the Duke of Vendosme, abandoned by the Inhabitants, entred by the Duke, pillaged by the Souldiers, and the walls razed.

Montpellier, *Nismes*, *Yjez*, *Castres*, *Milhaud*, *Puy Laurens*, *Brieft*, by vertue of the peace, reduced vpon condition, to demolish all their new fortifications, in October 1622.

Prietas, in Viualetz, the first reuolted and last reduced towne, hearing that the Duke of Angoulesme, and the Marshall of Bassompierre, were coming to bessege them, sent their keyes the 9 of Nouember 1622.

Montauban and *Rochel* obseruing the Treaty of Peace, are to remaine as townes of Ostage for three yeares onely.

Reduced in all (besides these two last) 97 Townes.

A
CATALOGVE OF SVCH PRINCES,
Lords, Captaines, Statefmen, and Gentlemen of Note
as haue died in France, during the three last yeares
of the Warre.

In Viualetz.

THe Seigneur of Morezes under the command of Monf: de Montmorency, was slain with a Musket-shot, through both his Thighs at Vnals.
Roche Colombe killed with a Musket-shot hard by his father at the same Siege.

At the siege of Saint Iohn D'Angely.

The Cardinall of Guise died of a burning Feuer with too much toyling himselfe.
The Earle of Maurevert slain with a Musket shot through the body.
The Baron of Cry slain, in like manner Monf: de Carbonier.
The Seigneurs, of Beauuerdin, Captaine of the Regiment of Nauarre, slain at the Barricades: with other two Captaines and eight Gentlemen.
Of Rocq, Sergeant Maior of Brouage.
Of Brillemont.
Of Fontaine.
Of Fontenil, Rambures chiefe Ensigne.
The Marshall of Brisfac died since in his Castle of Brisfac.

At the siege of Clerac.

Monf: le Baron de Thermes.
The Seigneurs, de la Ruere, Captaine Bourdet his Lieutenant.
Of Mozoles, Lieutenant to a Captaine of the Guard.
Of Mailon, a Baron of Normandie.
Monf: du Fair, died also during this siege, who was Keeper of the Seales.

Before Marguerites in Languedoc, vnder Monf: de Montmorency.

Monf: de Cancy, Cellanell to the Marquis of Portes.
The Seigneurs, of Bartoumian his Ensigne.
Of Saint Giles the younger.
Of Monnan.
Of Claufault.

Before Montauban.

The Seigneurs, of Lixigny, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont, slain in the barricades.
Of Sarraques.
Of Breuil.
Of Castelard.
The Earle of Fiesque.
The Duke of Mayen shot into the left eye.
The Baron of Perfin.
The Marquis of Villars burnt with the powder.
The Marquis of Themines killed at Ville Bourbon.
Monf: de la Frette, Governour of Chartres, slain treacherously in the place.
The Viscount of Bourbonne.
Monf: de Carbon.
The Seigneur Fargon.
Monf: de Fourilles, a Captaine of the Regiment of the Guards.
Two other Captaines of that Regiment.
About fiftene Lieutenants; many other Gentlemen, and Le Seigneur de la Vallée, the Kings Cannonier.

At the defeat of the Marquis of Malauzes succours.

The Seigneurs of Louppes and Larmondie.

Of sicknesse before Montauban.

The Cardinall du Perron, Archbishop of Sens.
Monf: de Pont Chartrain, Secretary of State.
The Seigneur of Visclede, slain in Viualetz.

During the siege of Monheur.

The Seigneur of Camau an old Captaine.
The Baron of Clermont.
The Marquis of Themines called Lozieres.
The Constable of Luynes died at Longueville, in the year 1622.
Father Horé Maucet a Iesuite, killed in Clerac.

Before Montrauel.

The Seigneur of Madailan.

Monf:

Monf: de Saint Iohn, a Captaine of the Regiment of Flaix.

The Seigneur de Clayri, an Aide of the Campe.
Monf: de Sentaife the younger.

At the taking of the lower Toneins.

The Seigneurs, of Miramont, sonne to Monf: de Castelnau.

Of Chalesse.

Of Vernay, a Captaine of the Regiment of Piedmont.

Of Belongnat, another Captaine of that Regiment.

Of Saucourt.

The Seigneurs of Bonniat.

Of Viegoufre, Nephew to Monf: le Bourg.

Of Retrauet, a cunning Engineer.

Of Clair-bois, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Elbeuf.

During the siege of high Toncins, at the defeat of the succours.

Monf: D' Ambre, a Marshall of the Campe.

Monf: D' Ambre his Nephew.

The Seigneurs, of Mautesforie.

Of Boermal.

Of Belhade.

Of Palmpoign.

Of Casans.

At the enterprize of Causade in Querey.

The Baron of Saint Scire.

The Seigneur of Marquis a Captaine.

At the siege of Pouffin by Monsieur D'Eldiguires.

The Earle of Tallard, and some Gentlemen slain at the assaults.

At the taking of the Fort of Cadenac, by Monf: de Pybrac.

The Seigneur of Instaret, a Captaine of the Regiment of Pybrac.

In a combate neere Marcuil, with some Chueuals of Rochel.

The Seigneurs of L'Echauffiere, and of Logerie.

At the siege of Saint Antonin.

The Viscount of Betancourt.

The Baron of Paluan, and some Captaines of the Guards, and other Gentlemen.

At the siege of Roayan.

Monfieur de Humieres, first Gentleman of the Kings Chamber. The Seigneur of Matia, with ten or twelue Gentlemen.
The Seigneur de la Garde the younger.

At the siege of Lombes.

The Seigneurs of Bonniat, and of Gardin, Gentlemen of the D. of Vendosmes household.
Monf: de Pigeolet, Captaine of his Guards.

At the siege of Montpellier.

The Cardinall of Retz, Bishop of Paris, died of sicknesse.
Monf: de Vicq, Keeper of the Seales of sicknesse also.
The Duke of Franfac slain.
The Marquis of Beucron
Monf: de Canilla.
Monf: de Lucen.
Monf: de Combalet, Captaine of the Prince of Conde's Company.
Tarrault, Lieutenant to the Duke of Luxembourg.
Lago.
La Bene, Captaine of the Regiment of the Guards.
Two Campe-masters.
The Cheualliers of Fabregues, and Manican, Castelnau, Ferron, and Bordet, Captaine of a Regiment of Nauarre.
The Seigneur Orbo, a Gentleman of his household.
The Earle of Alex, of sicknesse.
Monf: Zamet, Marshall of the Campe.
Monf: de Requelauze, Generall of the Venetians.
Monf: de Castelnau, Captaine of the Guards.

A List of the chiefe Commanders, Gentlemen, and persons
of Note of them of the Religion, which haue likewise dyed during
these three yeares.

At the siege of Saint Iohn.

THe Seigneurs, de la Chaisnay, a Captaine of Saint Iohn.

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